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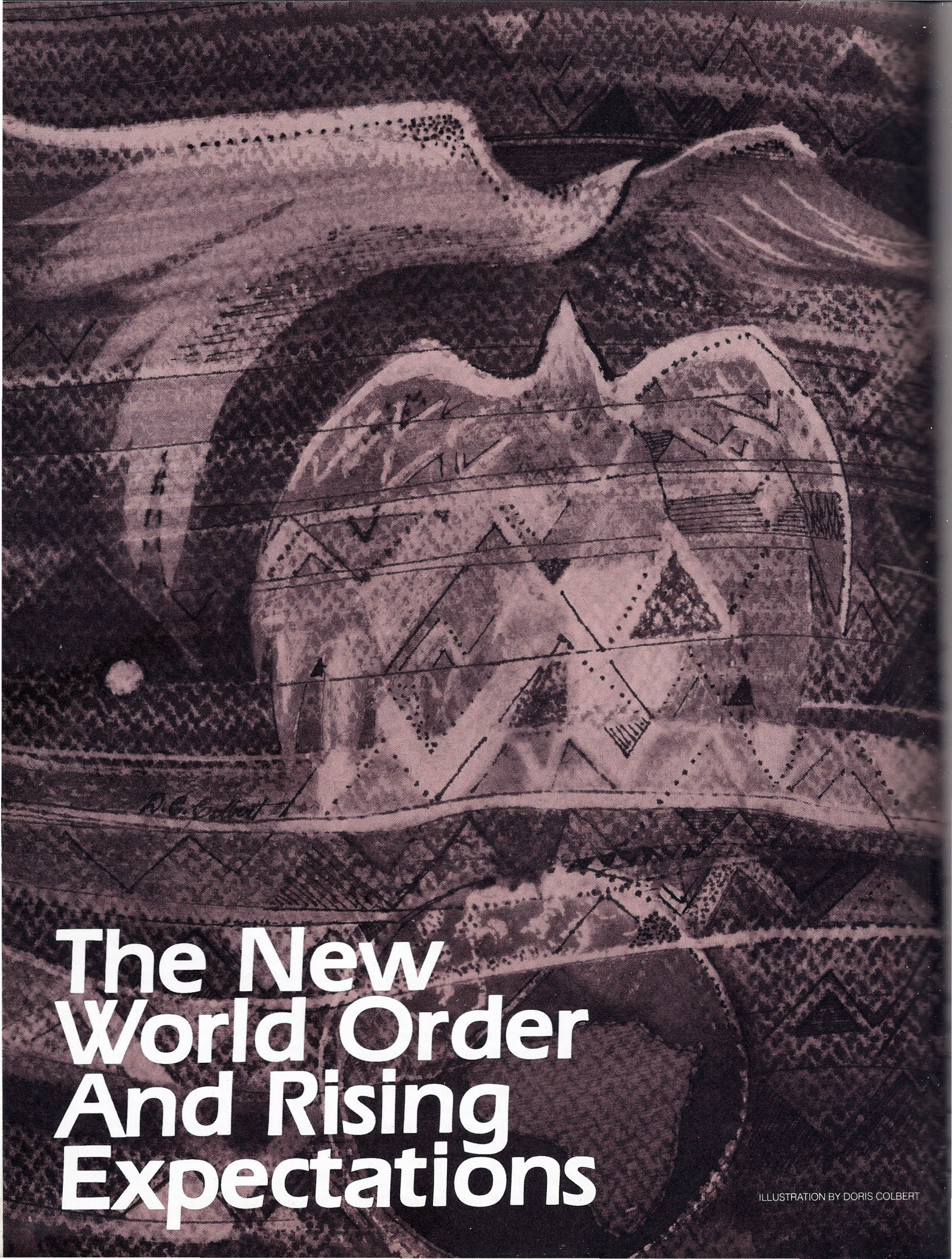
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The New World Order And Rising Expectations

ILLUSTRATION BY DORIS COLBERT

By Linus A. Hoskins

Half way in the last century, Karl Marx stated in the Communist Manifesto of 1848: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism," meaning a class struggle between the capitalists and the proletariat—the forces of production vs. the relations of production. Marx's conclusion was the "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."

Early in this century, W.E.B. DuBois, in his 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, stated: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Africa, Asia, in America and the islands of the sea."

In the 1950s, there was the Cold War and the cliché was: "The Russians are Coming." And Third World countries were counseled to invite foreign capital for their industrialization process. This phenomenon has resulted—for the most part—in the dependency, exploitation and economic misdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries, wrote W. Arthur Lewis in *Industrialization of the British West Indies*.

In the 1960s, the clichés were: "The Revolution of Rising Expectations" and "The Vicious Circle of Poverty," to describe the plight of the so-called Third World nations. And the United Nations embarked on a decade of development whereby the industrialized countries would contribute 0.7 percent of their GNP to aid the underdeveloped countries. However, only .53 percent was contributed in the 1960s, and 0.3 percent in 1970s.

Foreign aid for developing nations, however, did not always benefit those countries. On the contrary, recent reports show that three out of every four dollars of U.S. foreign aid grants are spent in the U.S. In *The Washington Post* edition of July 5, 1978, Journalist Dan Morgan wrote: "American foreign aid often conjures up an image of national treasure

wasted abroad, of vast sums of taxpayers' money disappearing into obscure foreign lands." The bulk of foreign aid money, according to Morgan, "has not gone mainly into foreign lands. The United States itself is by far the largest recipient of its own foreign aid funds."

Investigations by the FBI into mismanagement and Congressional influence-peddling involving the Agency for International Development, AID, suggest that U.S. companies and consultants—rather than poor people abroad—receive most of the economic development funds. Morgan, further indicated that "in fiscal 1977, about three dollars out of four earmarked for bilateral economic assistance were spent for technical services, products, and commodities in this country. Some \$1.6 billion in all went to private companies, universities and private volunteer groups."

"The problem of the 21st century is Pan Africanism/African nationalism vs. Europeanism/trilateralism."

Also, "AID insists that commodities and equipment needed for projects abroad be bought here," that "U. S. universities have been a prime recipient of AID funds and records show many contracts are repeated," Morgan reported. In fiscal 1977, it was estimated that out of a total of \$2.311 billion in AID bilateral economic assistance, 75 percent of the funds were expended abroad.

In the 1970s, the situation changed to the revolution of rising discontent and corruption, and heightened nationalism in politically independent Third World countries. The neocolonialist states of the 1960s graduated to transnational neocolonialism—neocolonialism thus became transnational neocolonialism. Transnational neocolonialism is the highest stage in the development of neocolonialism. (A transnational neocolonialist state is a former neocolonialist state within the vortex of transnational capitalism.)

The problem of the 21st century is Pan Africanism/African nationalism vs. Europeanism/trilateralism. The spectre that is haunting Europe now is the spectre of African nationalism. The cliché of the 1970s will likely be "Pan African Peoples are Coming."

Trilateralism is the geopolitical manifestation of transnational capitalism. The term emerged from the formation in 1973 of the Trilateral Commission by David Rockefeller and company, "to identify in advance likely social crises and to develop programs to cope with them." Trilateral countries comprise a "community of developed nations"—that is, the Atlantic states (Europe and North America), Japan and other more advanced Eastern European nations, (For details see *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*, by Zbigniew Brzezinski). Trilateralism, therefore, represents European nationalism. Craig S. Karpel, said in the March 1978 edition of *Penthouse* that U.S. foreign policy is "designed not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make the world safe for the (transnational) corporations."

When one speaks of a *new world order*, there is the implication that the *old order* has been, and is still, working to one's detriment. Indeed, such is the experience of two-thirds of mankind.

Jahangir Amuzegar states in the October 1977 edition of *Foreign Affairs*, that "the electorate in the affluent part of the world must be convinced that the present pattern of international economics is still based fundamentally on a system of colonial relationship with the unequal partnership between the haves and the have nots."

Rupert Emerson, in his book, *Self-Determination Revisited in the Era of Decolonization*, suggests that "the international order of the past facilitated the 'advanced' to establish domain over the 'backward.'" And Mahbub ul Hag concludes, in *The Third World and the International Economic Order*, the "poverty

28 curtain" of the old order has made one class/group of people "desperately poor and stagnated in poverty" and another "embarrassingly rich."

Chisanga Puta, writing in the March 1978 *Africa* magazine, noted that "a weakness of the present system of international commodity trade is that even when the raw materials of Third World countries go up in prices, the full benefit is not realized as the developed countries often adjust the prices of manufactured goods in time to offset the adverse affects of costly raw materials." The price of raw materials is often publicized, but not the increase in the price of manufactured goods.

"The majority of Pan African countries achieved or were granted political independence through negotiation and not through armed struggle."

Indeed, the possibility of a nuclear war between the superpowers has received much currency as a threat to world order and security. Given the nature of trilateralism, such a possibility is but a deceptive facade to further confuse, destabilize and disunite Pan African peoples.

The most potent threat to world peace and the survival of mankind is the ineluctable revolt of the sons and descendants of former slaves against the sons and descendants of former slave masters. Recognizing this, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was once quoted as saying, that the confrontation between the rich North and the poor South is "potentially more dangerous than a confrontation between East and West. In the end, what is at stake is world peace."

Again, Brzezinski suggested, in an article which appeared in *Foreign Policy*, summer 1976, that "the global distribution of power is beginning to favor political systems remote philosophically, culturally, ethnically and racially from American antecedents, while the process of

redistribution of that power is threatening new forms of violence."

The question that now arises is this: What has been the detrimental impact of the old world order on Pan African countries, formerly under the traditional sobriquet of Third World, underdeveloped/developing countries?

In the first instance, Pan African countries were advised to adopt the Westminster model of government—a system which has resulted in foreign political dependency. The impact of the Westminster model was explained as follows by author Louis Lindsey: "The institutions of the Westminster model have proven to be inadequate and unsuitable for political mobilization and re-socialization largely because they have not been devised for colonized societies, but are parts of the inheritance of the colonial era—borrowed from the imperialist power and imitatively implanted in the local environment (ii) the adoption of the Westminster model of competitive two party government facilitates the persistence of imperialist control (iii) the two-tier control system provides the illusion that government is government of the people and for the people and (iv) it is this illusion which serves to alienate the colonized people from their potential and reinforces colonially generated myths which keep the colonized society locked into a *status quo* of poverty, dependency, and persistent deprivation."

All this ties in with the fact that the majority of Pan African countries achieved, or more specifically, were granted political independence through negotiation and not through armed struggle or revolution. And, foreign investment throughout the multinational corporations has been the principal tool of economic nondevelopment and exploitation for Pan African countries.

In his book, *The Political Economy of the English Speaking Caribbean*, William G. Demas explains the phenomenon this way: "The danger is that the penetration

of the international corporations into key sectors of an underdeveloped country produces growth accompanied by continued underdevelopment. . . . Because when located in key sectors of the economy, they control the use and allocation of the resources of the economy, thus integrating the country's economy into a world-wide system of production and distribution of goods. Moreover, the retained profits and depreciation funds of the international corporations are not really part of the 'surplus' of the host country, which has no say in its use.

Thus, a large part of the country's savings becomes alienated from its own control, and is used at the discretion of the international corporations. When international corporations dominate key sectors of a country's economy for a long time, indigenous economic initiative and entrepreneurship are stifled, forward and backward linkages within the country are not created; inappropriate capital-intensive technology is used and the country fails to develop its own technology or even to adapt imported techniques to its requirements; wage and salary levels are not really related to productivity in the other sectors of the economy and severe distortions are produced, resulting in unemployment and rural-urban drift.

"In short, domination of a country's economy by international corporations produces distortion, misdevelopment and imbalance and lack of internally propelled dynamics for change even if per capita income in the statistical sense increases. It is only now coming to be realized that an infant economy with its infant entrepreneurship needs to be protected against complete take-over by the international corporations, just as the infant industries of such an economy have to be protected against imports."

Because of the endemic inequality of the capitalist system, Pan African countries became "price takers" with the industrialized countries as the "price makers." This has resulted in their unfavorable

terms of trade. For example, for the period 1961-70, the terms of trade figure for the industrialized countries was 110; for Pan African countries 89. In addition, during 1961-72, industrialized countries accounted for 69 percent of world exports; Pan African countries only 19 percent. For the period 1960-73, the GNP of the industrialized countries increased by 5 percent, while the figure for Pan African countries was only 3 percent. The gap between income in the industrialized countries and Latin American countries is estimated to increase from a ratio of 5 to 1 in 1978 to 8 to 1 in the next 50 years. The income gap between the industrialized countries and countries in the South Asia region is expected to grow to more than 20 to 1 over the same period.

"The rising importance of the African continent is shown by the increased interest in Africa by the U.S.A., the USSR, France, China, and Britain."

All this is compounded by the fact that the debt of the Pan African countries stood at \$250 billion at the end of 1976, an increase of 145 percent since 1970. Moreover, balance of payments deficits of these countries grew from \$12 billion in 1973 to \$33.5 billion in 1974, to \$40 billion in 1975, and is expected to reach \$112 billion by 1980. This then represents a general picture of the political and economic experience of the Pan African countries under the yoke of the old world order. There are also significant psycho-cultural effects which should not be regarded as secondary effects of the old order. It is through these latter effects that the system has prolonged thus far. The transnational neo-nationalists in these countries, educated in the image and likeness of the colonizer, are the medium through which the prolongation has occurred.

Another question: What are the overt political and economic changes that are

progressively causing the walls of the old world order to tumble down as those of Jericho?

First, the United Nations has grown from 51 member nations to 149 in 1977, with Pan African countries controlling the majority vote in the General Assembly.

Second, with the conclusion of the Fifth Pan African Congress in 1945, the process of decolonization spread like fire in these countries, along with the growth of the nonalignment movement among Pan African countries. The geopolitical significance of this movement is that after a combined total of more than 600 years of disparate colonial rule, Pan African countries are reluctant to remain within the sphere of influence of any former colonial power or contemporary super power.

Third, the 1960s marked the end of colonialism, with the attainment of political independence by several Pan African countries. This geopolitical extenality coincided with the civil rights movement in the United States.

Four, there is the Panama Canal issue, whereby the Panamanians will have control of the canal by the year 2000—a clear example of Pan African nationalism vs. Europeanism.

The rising importance of the African continent is shown by the increased interest in Africa by the U.S.A., the USSR, France, China, and Britain. Whereas U. S. foreign policy toward Africa was lukewarm and negligible in the 1950s and the 1960s, the situation has since changed. The industrialized countries now realize that their future depends on the Pan African countries—after all, Pan African countries contain two-thirds of the world's national resources and comprise two-thirds of the world's population.

The struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia—a corollary is the uprisings in the township of Soweto by school children in June 1976—is a new reality. So is the establishment of either military, one-party, or other form of political organizations in Pan African coun-

tries, and also the Cuban involvement in the Horn of Africa.

The Cubans say their involvement in Africa is to promote Pan African nationalism, to bring about unity, stability, and a sense of identity among Pan African peoples and to participate in the demand by Pan African countries for the restructuring of the present world political and economic order which has worked, and is still working, to their detriment.

The Cuban-Pan African linkage also signals the emergence of new actors on the rostrum of international political affairs and the truism that the world is no longer bi-polarized but multifarious.

In the economic sphere, between 1973-74 there have been 37 nationalizations of foreign enterprises in 18 African countries; the figure is almost identical for Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition, there have been at least 21 forms of economic groupings among Pan African countries, ranging from the formation of the Latin American Free Trade Association in 1960 to the Caribbean Common Market in 1973, the African Trade Organizations in 1967, the Arab Trade Groupings in 1964, and the Asian Trade Arrangements.

Moreover, control of economic resources is manifested in the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in 1960, the International Bauxite Association in 1974, the Union of Banana Exporting Countries in 1974, and the International Coffee Organization, to name a few. There are also organizations among Pan African countries to control tin, copper, tea, rubber, cocoa, iron ore and sugar.

Also, there have been concrete steps taken to move away from non-capitalist forms of economic organizations, namely, democratic socialism, co-operative socialism, African socialism and Marxism-Leninism. (For example, Jamaica introduced Democratic Socialism in 1973; Guyana became the world's co-operative republic in 1970; Tanzania practices

African Socialism, and Angola is a Marxist-Leninist state). These movements support the contention of the late Lord Maynard Keynes who argued, "world peace, prosperity and freedom could best be achieved by emphasizing non-capitalist national self-sufficiency rather than the international market capitalism. We have to go beyond capitalism if the fruits of the industrial revolution were to be realized in a humane and rational way."

"There is an increase in Pan Africanness."

By far, however, the greatest omen has been the demand by Pan African countries for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The genesis of the NIEO dates back to 1952 when the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution for "financing of economic development through the establishment of fair and equitable international prices of primary commodities." There was also the 1974 U.N. Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which was designed "to eliminate the widening gap between developed and developing countries." It warned that the "remaining vestiges of colonial domination . . . and neo-colonialism in all its forms (are the) greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries . . . (that) even and balanced development (is impossible) under the existing international economic order (and that the old economic order) is in direct conflict with current development in political relations." The declaration also endorsed "full permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and all economic activities."

On May 1, 1974, the General Assembly passed an addendum labeled a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order—the specifics of this programme covered trade and raw materials, transportation,



ILLUSTRATION BY DORIS COLBERT

the international monetary system, and regulation of transnational corporations. The demand for the NIEO, however, climaxed on December 12, 1974 when the General Assembly passed the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

The NIEO, indeed, represents a class struggle between the industrialized capitalist countries (Europeanism) and the Pan African proletarian countries (African nationalism). Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, during a radio interview (WHUR-FM, December 17, 1977) said the NIEO was "a natural complement to the process of de-colonization."

Needless to say, the industrialized nations did not welcome the NIEO with open arms. *Fortune* magazine, in a November 1976 editorial, noted that "the rich nations owe their wealth not to the poverty of the poor nations, but to generations of capital formation and to human capital of education and skills. The poor nations aren't poor because they have been exploited by the rich nations but because of various combinations of meager natural endowment, adverse climate, cultural impediments, and inappropriate policies . . . the rich nations aren't guilty and they shouldn't be afraid . . . the governments of the industrialized nations have little influence over the economies of the Third World. Most of the capital used in the Third World is internally generated."

The U.S.A. was initially hostile to NIEO demands and agreed to deal with the question of debt repayment on a case-by-case basis. But Canada cancelled \$300 million owed to it by Pan African countries, the United Kingdom cancelled \$572 million, and Sweden \$200 million. Finland and the Netherlands also cancelled debts.

Finally, there have been other changes in the psycho-cultural area. For example, for the first time a Pan African woman, Penny Commissiong, was crowned Miss Universe in July 1977. This is a geopolitical reality. Also, one can say with a great deal of certitude that there has been, and still is, an increase in Pan Africanness. □

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