

Aid Dependency and Africa's Economic Development: Lessons from China and Southeast Asia's Economic Growth, "Road Not Taken."

By

Daniel Idibia Obida

Department of Jurisprudence & International Law

Faculty of Law

University of Lagos, Akoka, Nigeria

E-mail:danielobida@yahoo.com

Tel: +2348032664114

Abstract:-The question of why some countries are poor and others are rich cannot be easily determined by anyone or legal research as the answer to such question depends on the angle from which such debate is earthed. At best the answer will depend on hypothesis. This study basically seeks to comprehend the role of Africa in development planning and strategy further investigates why Africa has not developed despite foreign aid intervention. It also questions why the Sub-Saharan Africa failed in economic development in the face of China and Southeast Asia which have become giants in economic growth. It seeks to investigate why Africa failed to learn any lesson from China and confront the prostrated economy by employing more effective approaches that can lead to diversion from the current approach to economic development which has failed the region. The study engaged aid dependence and looting of treasury in advancing the understanding on the subject matter and adduce reasons for failure of development in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study after analyzing aid dependence by Africa and the Chinese approaches to development, the study observes concludes that Africa has development deficit in terms of legal institutions, lack of belief in Africa's economic future by her leaders, the compromising stand by the western media towards where Africa's looted funds are hidden and concludes that Africa failed to takes the road of the Chinese and Southeast Asia's pattern of development. It recommends that Africa go back to the basis and go back to the road not taken for her economic development.

Keyword:- Foreign Aid Dependency, LCDs, Foreign Direct Investment, Overseas Development Assistance, Africa, China and Southeast Asia.

I. AID DEPENDENCY AND AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: LESSONS FROM CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH, "ROAD NOT TAKEN."

A. Introduction

It is needless argument that Africa is endowed with plenty of natural resources, a good climate, cultural diversity, and a rich historical past, yet it remains marginalized in the economic development process and global political scene.¹ The question of why some countries are poor and others are rich cannot be easily determined by anyone or legal research as the answer will depend from which angle such debate is earthed. At best the answer will depend on hypothesis. At best, researchers may attempt suggestions which in themselves are not conclusive of factors which make a nation poor or rich. The seeming answer to why some countries are poor and others are rich is the disparities in income and living standards across countries in the world. If one employs the usage of per capita income, it could mean that the average citizen of a wealthy county consumes

¹ The World Bank, World Development Report: Knowledge Development 29-30 (1999)

about as much a few days as the average citizen of many poorer countries consumes in a year,² that the poor countries do not produce and this simply means that when one attempt to adjust the difference in purchasing power, the gap narrows between the two and it has always been so for the past two or three centuries of aid assistance. The differentials in purchasing power in per capita income are said to be about fifty times.³ It also includes a socio-legal issue such as life expectancy, infant mortality and educational attainment⁴ and human development between the developed and the developing countries. Furthermore, the tone in many literatures on the subject matter of aid is confusing as they controversially inconsistent. Most of the literatures are very pessimistic and does not support the idea of aid having any casual importance on growth or reasonable expectations that it would affect economic growth in distant future in developing countries. It noted that in poor countries of Africa, some common technology for manufacturing and production of basic needs are lacking. While it is on record that Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to developing countries has been on the increase in the last decade, Africa accounted for only about one percent of that investment in 1998.⁵ The argument canvassed by some writers that Africa has “undergone considerable demographic changes occasioned by contact with the outside world and by internal population dynamics” may be true to some extent. It is argued by this writer that such reasons are not strong enough to keep Africa backward in economic development and poverty alleviation for the past two decades. The position of this paper is that if a people are not understood by their culture and historical background by aliens, if the people understood their needs, they ought to strive toward achieving their targets and this can be done through planning and strategizing by employing law and development studies.

Stemming from the above is the question of who is to blame for the neglect of African continent for economic developments yet to be determined by writers and social commentators. There has been no agreement. The position of this paper is that Africa should blame itself for its economic lull and pandemic poverty. The pangs of hunger and pain of poverty being experienced by the people in Africa due to lack of opportunities in the continent are daily increasing. However, the African leaders are the major cause of the woes of poverty in the region.⁶ For instance, various reasons accounts for while Africa is still way behind in economic development. These includes some bad experiences that Africa may have undergone over the years of colonial mentality but the lessons that have been learnt from other countries was never put into development manifold by African leaders. Other reasons include the inability of the leaders to resolve on individual basis to forge ahead and the willingness of the international community to genuinely support the effort of African initiatives for development. Many European countries refused to open their markets to Africa as Africa as their competitors or a continent with just a factory of raw materials and nothing more.

B. Background Of Entry Of Foreign Aid In Some Africa States

The entry of Foreign aid (FA) stems from angle of the notion that poverty alleviation and economic development of Least Developing Countries (LCDs) in Africa is a global fight. The assumption is that the West has the burden to kick-start the fight by contributing certain percentage of their annual income toward the

²F. Tarp. “Aid Effectiveness” (2009) ANU – WILDER Publication. For further readings, see http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/discussion-papers/2009/en_GB/dp-05/

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Peter K. Nyikuli, *Unlocking Africa's Potential: Some Factors Affecting Economic Development And Investment In Sub-Saharan Africa*, (1998-1999) 30 *Law & Pol'y Int'l Bus.* 623.

⁶ L. Kilzer, A. Conte, “Africa's wealth floods offshore as corrupt leaders, corporations use banks to hide fortunes” (2012) Available at <http://triblive.com/home/2787113-74/countries-money-nigeria-developing-bonny-island-stanley-africa-gas-ibori>. Accessed on 20/2/2018.

development of the LDCs of Africa. Traditionally, rich countries started giving financial aid to poorer countries in the 19th century. Quite a few of the rich nations which began given monetary aid in the 1920s and '30s includes Germany, France and Britain. The intermittent financial help was later nick-named foreign aid and this provision became more regular as financial aid to their former colonies in Africa, Latin America and Asia. It was in 1960s that the aid programs started to take shape and during the latter years, it became a more definite commitment⁷ by some rich countries. The evolution of a 0.7 per cent target started at this period and the ideas of countries giving 0.7 per cent of national income as development assistance took the centre stage of the developed nations. At the time, most Colonial powers used their wealth and knowledge to build infrastructure such as sea ports, bridges, roads, railways and hospitals in their colonized territories. Some wealthy American industrialists were also not left out in development aid through big corporations like Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The presences of the two donor Foundations are still felt in the country as they still carries out projects in various parts of Nigeria. According to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), over 850 million adults in this world are stark illiterate and that most of them are children under the age of 5 die each year from preventable diseases.⁸ This is one of the strongest reasons adduced by developed nations why the LDCs are to be aided financially by industrialized countries⁹. However, over the last 100 years, foreign aid structures that began with European colonialism have become tied to shifting economic and political interests in their various colonies and Nigeria is no exception to this feat.¹⁰ The initial idea behind foreign aid is the impression that the developing countries have to catch up with the Western development. Countries like Australia and North America which were developed as far back as the 1950s are to serve as the role model for Africa. These developed countries represent the goal that every other country in Africa had to reach. Attaining this goal has been a problem for Africa as the continent is not awash with the same know-how like the West and the rest of Europe. The resources in the region are mismanaged and at best serves as raw material. According to Kilzer and Conte,¹¹ Centuries ago, corrupt African leaders and Western traders became business partners. A few Africans that made some fortunes became Western interests. The West found cheap labor and over 12 million people lost their freedom to the West and Europe. These account for the reasons why the presence of poverty persist and consequently the need to look up to aid intervention from Europe and America to boost the income gap and balance of payment by most countries in the region.

In the early 1960s, the escalation of the Cold War forced US to revise its posture in respect of bilateral assistance to most African Countries. The United States was not alone in this move as it teamed up with other advanced countries to fund the Development Assistance Committee (DAC).¹² Human Development Index ranks

⁷ K. Phillips. "History of Foreign Aid" (2013). Available at <https://www.google.com.ng/#q=K.+Phillips.+%E2%80%9CHistory+of+Foreign+Aid%E2%80%9D+2013>. Accessed von the 22nd day of January, 2015.

⁸ Between year 1999 and 2000, 34 million people in the developing countries were said to be living with HIV/AIDs. One of the various ways opened to give meaning to a better living standard may have been through Oversea Development Assistance. It should be mentioned that the term aid, development aids or foreign aids in most scholarly work all points to Official Development Assistance (ODA). The report of ODA's performance are gathered and published by development Assistance Committee (DAC) which are employees of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

⁹ This report is generated annually by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to monitor the economic development of the countries of the world over. After the annual report, the World Bank and OECD would make recommendations alerting the world of the poorest nations that should be assisted with aid.

¹⁰ See the World Bank Report (1996), where it was stated that Nigeria owes over 32 billion dollars in spite of the country's vast resources and the issue of poverty in Nigeria has been described as "widespread and severe" hence poverty is not only a state of existence but also a process with many dimensions and complexities. These complexities had existed since centuries and it is yet to beget solution as to how to reduce poverty not in Nigeria but also in other developing counties.

¹¹ *Supra note 6 at page 2.*

²⁷ The paper argues that there is a deep disconnect between the country's economic growth and human development. One often wonders, and quite often too, it is unthinkable that Nigeria ranked 158 out of the 177 economies on the Human Development Index. It has also been observed that the percentage of the total population living below the poverty line in Nigeria has increased from 34 in

Nigeria the 142nd position out of the 169th listed where low human development existed¹³ This position underscores not only the limited choices for Nigerians, but also defines the critical development challenges facing the country and this is often the position for most Sub-Saharan countries. For instance, the total net aid flows from all donors that Nigeria received in 1999 was \$152 million. Furthering this discussion, Adetayo et al said that while Nigeria as a country has benefitted from various schemes of foreign aid, some countries that have benefited from foreign assistance at one time or the other have grown such that they have become aid donors (South Korea, and China etcetera); however, Nigeria has remained backward.¹⁴

In 2000, aid flows increased slightly to \$185 million and by 2004, it reached \$573 million. This money expressed in Naira is the sum of N91, 680, 000,000.00 (Ninety-One Billion, Six Hundred and Eighty Million Naira).¹⁵ This amount of aid flow could have achieved some basic economic development in some sectors in Africa if they were applied tacitly and targeted to the needs of the people. This was not the case as the monetary aid was not released on time and to meet the target according to the dictates of donor nations. The above financial aid are far more than those received in Burkina Faso, Ghana and the Africa's total aid within this period, yet, there are no meaningful developments which could be attributed to financial aid.

For instance, in Nigeria, there are parastatals or ministry responsible to direct and make recommendations to the government on areas that needs attention for economic or social development. The Act¹⁶ establishing the Ministry of Finance empowers the Minister of Finance to formulate and manage the resources which accrued to the Federation's Account. Under the Ministry, there are other sub-ministries reporting directly to the Finance Minister. Such other ministries or parastatals include, the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Nigeria Stock Exchange Commission, Nigeria Customs Service and Federal Inland Revenue service. The overall general function of the ministry is to coordinate and oversee the economic development in the country. The aid proceeds which accrued to the federal government of Nigeria are directly under the control of the finance ministry. It is therefore the responsibility of the finance ministry to regulate the economic development of the country. This is the only way one can be sure whether foreign aid has been misapplied in Nigeria. It may be correct to say that most African countries also have the same or similar arms of civil service or commission which perform similar functions just like the above.

C. Aid Types In Africa

Foreign aid may be categorized into two types for the purpose of this paper. Aid means financial assistance from Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) countries to developing countries in form of grants undertaken by the official sector of the donor countries; this is economic aid. It has as its main objective for promotion of economic development and welfare of the people of the recipient countries. In some cases, they are concessional grants. The second type of aid is on humanitarian ground due to natural disasters like the outbreak

1992 to 80 in 1998. The concern about the menace posed by poverty has led the Nigerian government to devote considerable attention to alleviating its scourge through various aid programs, some of the time in cooperation with the civil society and donor agencies.

¹³ E. O.Okon, "Five Decades of Development Aid to Nigeria: The Impact on Human Development" (2012) Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development. Vol.3, No.1.,Also available at www.iiste.org.

¹⁴ T. F. Adetayo, O.O. Olawale, A. I. Adebusuyi. "Foreign Aid Intervention and National Development in Nigeria: A Study of Akure South Local Government Area of Ondo State". (2016) Arts Social Sci J 7:203. doi:10.4172/2151-6200.1000203" (2016). Arts and Social Sciences Journal.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶Ministry of Finance Incorporated Act: Section 5 (1) provides for Powers of the corporation in respect of investments to secure money lent by Government. The corporation may enter into, sign, seal, execute and perfect any contract, instrument, mortgage, deed, surrender or assurance for securing the repayment of money, together with interest thereon, if any, lent by the Treasury or by any person appointed by the President to other parties or of money due and payable to the Government of the Federation by other parties, and may sign and execute in the same manner receipts, releases, re-conveyances and acquaintances and other assurances of the lands and property which shall have been mortgaged as security therefore, and may consent to any such alteration of the conditions of the said securities or any of them as the Minister shall think fit.

of diseases like Ebola in Nigeria some years back, natural disasters such as the Hurricane Katrina in America and Tsunami in Indonesia. The Official Development Assistance (ODA) is generally known as aid but grants, loans and credits for military purposes are excluded. Also, transfer payment to private persons, donations from the public and commercial loans and foreign direct investment (FDI) are generally excluded. In recent times, ODA and aid are wrongly confused are one. This is erroneous. There is a difference between the two as it is not all donations that can be taken to come from ODA. Assistance from Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), are also foreign aid but does not come under the heading of ODA. The philanthropic activities of non-profit organizations have played a significant role in helping developing countries for the past 35 years. Official aid comes directly from ODA and it is provided on the recommendation of Development Assistance Committee (DAC), an arm of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, from the above definition, it need be noted that foreign aid is not always a free resource transfer as it often arrives with stringent economic and political conditions. In some cases, official donors requires that the recipient countries pursue some programs or policies with the objective of promoting economic growth or development but quite often than not, this does not work in aiding development and the tying of aid reduces its effectiveness in development targets. Financial assistance from ODA is however calculated as the sum of grants and loans to aid recipient countries for economic development. Development aid has long been recognized as crucial to help poor developing nations grow out of poverty. Aid became a more refined and definite commitment at the period.

D. *Terature Review on Foreign Aid*

. In analyzing foreign aid as a model for economic and social development in Africa, recourse must be had to the historical perspective of foreign aid. The term “foreign aid” ranges from humanitarian support either for natural disasters or military assistance to arms donations in and technical support on human development. For the purpose of this paper, we will only focus our discussion on the standard definition of foreign aid as an “official development assistance,” or aid that is aimed at increasing economic development. Also noteworthy is the fact that the cold war brought about a dramatic shift in political, economic and moral allegiances by the West. It would be recalled that within a few years after the end of the cold war, the world had splits into what is now referred to as the “*three worlds*.” Western democratic nations represent the first world; the second world was the former Soviet Union and its Communist Satellites. The third world was the former colonies and nations that are now all independent countries that somewhat found themselves under imperial influence and Africa is a major player in the list of these countries.

The countries in Northern Europe like Sweden and others have no colonies historically. It therefore, does not have to give money to its ex-colonies in the way France and Britain did. Nevertheless, it recognized the need for humanitarian aid and also the desires to be on the list of aid-givers. It therefore adopted specific targets and started to develop aid programs focusing on some particular countries.¹⁷ This idea came shortly before the evolution of the idea that developed countries should contribute about 0.7 per cent target of their national income for development assistance was conceived. The philosophy behind the idea was short-lived as the purpose of aid began to change its course under the influence of Robert McNamara when he became head of the World Bank in 1968.¹⁸ He enlarged the vision of using donor-funded programs to meet people’s basic needs in the area of health, education, water and sanitation. This was also the period when people began talking about poverty and the reasons why people are poor, the possibility of having economic growth which is more equitable and also growth that focused on the reduction of poverty rather than the wrong assumption that having economic growth would ultimately benefit all. In the United States, Steve Radelet, an academic and former

¹⁷ Some of these programs range from social benefit s in areas of health, building of schools and assisting the strengthening of public institutions and capacity building.

¹⁸ K. Phillips, “The History of Foreign Aid” (2013). Available at <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/rearvision/the-history-of-foreign-aid/5162100>. Accessed on 23/2/2018.

chief economist for the US Agency for International Development (USAID) who worked in the US Treasury on international debt relief deals from 1999 to 2002, posited that the first countries that were able to get out from under their debt burdens were those countries that had borrowed money from commercial markets, not from aid agencies. With this type of statement in mind, the present debates on aid rages on without a seeming end. There is a further argument that foreign aid has a two-way relationship between the donor and the recipient countries¹⁹. Most aid donors base their economic aid in accordance with the foreign policies of the recipient countries. Nigeria for example, have striven and struggled through the construction of the thrust of its foreign policy over the years.²⁰ The major problem then was the type of growth which was needed and this is still in discourse of the effectiveness of foreign aid.²¹ No meaningful growth was achieved in Nigeria despite received US\$ 152 million in 1999 at total aid. In 2000, aid flows increased slightly to \$185 million and by 2004, while it reached \$573 million.²²

Some writers have argued that aid has shifted from economic aid to human well-being; others believed that where there is economic development, it will take care of human welfare. This paper does not agree that the two are the same. The simple explanation is that it is not impossible for a country to be economically developed and yet, there is no legal platform for the welfare of its people. This explains why there is an alarming rate of poverty in some part of Africa. At the end of the cold war, there was an increasing participation in development projects

by both non-governmental organizations and some wealthy philanthropist like Bill Gates and George Soros in the 1990s.²³ In Africa, Nkrumah and a few other African visionaries realized that the most effective way to develop Africa and Africans was to involve the state in economic activities in order to ensure there was fairness in the distribution of the benefits from national income and growth. The new states therefore, invested heavily on socio-services particularly education and health.²⁴ Efforts were geared towards the reduction of African dependence on the colonial aid, in order to achieve this goal; import substitution strategy became the key element of the development strategies across Africa. Colonialism brought intense competition and often

¹⁹ The realities in recipient countries affect the actions of aid agencies. It is however unfortunate that, despite the amount of aid received and the presence of natural resources in Nigeria, human development remains bedraggled in the country. Essentially, there has been some plethora of conceptual ideological transition in Nigeria's foreign aid machinery, though it is yet to see any significant improvement.

²⁰ It is shocking that after some six decades of the development assistance, the results are quite mixed. While economic development has been most successful in far East Asia and to some extent in South Asia, it has been argued that external development assistance has had little role. Where official development assistance has had the greatest role, that is, in Africa, the results have been and continue to be dismal and a continuum of argument of worth is working and what is not working.

²¹ A notable fact in the 1980s is the global recession which led to the relaxing of the basic needs due to the oil shock of the 1970s. At the period, many developing countries were already indebted and the donor countries only lend more money to developing countries in order to manage their debt. This was where the structural adjustment programs beget its name.

²² Ayodele, et al. (2014) "International Journal of Economic Practices and Theories" Vol. 4, No. 6, Available at http://www.ijept.org/index.php/ijept/article/download/The_Linkage_between_Foreign_Aid_and_Economic_Growth/18 tional Journal of Economic Practices and Theories.

²³S. Cook's comment on aid. She mentioned that there are many paths to poverty reduction, most countries that have successfully reduced poverty adopted heterodox policies that reflected their national conditions, rather than fully embracing market – conforming Prescriptions. Countries and peoples must be allowed the policy space to adopt different models of development where aspects of livelihood and food security, land reform, cultural rights, gender equity, social policy and associative democracy figure prominently. This is a sharp contrast to the opinion of Dambisa in "Dead Aids" as she believes that bond markets is the most important areas in which developing countries in Africa should plough the poverty solution. Sarah Coe is a Director United Nations Research Institute on Social Development (UNRISD) as at time this comment was made.

²⁴ Huge investments also went into the building of economic infrastructure such as roads, port, communications facilities and factories. For instance, in Ghana, the number of primary school increased from 154 to 360 in 1951 to 481, 500 in 1961 (211.9%); middle schools increased from 66, 175 to 160,000 (141%); secondary colleges from 1,916 to 4,552(135%). It was such that there only 208 university students in Ghana. In 1951 the number has increased to 1,204 (478.8%); teacher training colleges from 1916 to 4,552 (137.5%) and many others.

superimposed a brutal economic suppression on the Sub-Saharan African region. For instance in 1880 in Nigeria, King Jaja of Opobo, leading successful indigenous Nigerian traders with some thousands of workers moved into direct export of palm oil into Europe²⁵.

In other parts of Africa like Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah's seven year's post-independence development plan, 62% of all investments were to go to the social services sector while 38% was to go "directly to the productive sector."²⁶ Thus, African's development hope was generally controlled by substantial proportion of consumer goods exports. In Nigeria and Ghana, the states controlled good percentage in exports mainly cocoa, palm oil, rubber and cotton seeds and wool, while Ghana exports cocoa, gold and timber. The United States and Europe were quick to acknowledge that more African countries were likely to follow the human-centered part of economic and social development which had proved to be remarkably successful particularly in Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania, the move may impaired her opportunities in the region and hamstringing her export expansion. This move was not supported by the West as it was viewed from the Socialist perspective and a threat to free market ideology of the West. However, the continuous shift in global power relations which had occurred over the past 25 years played a significant role in aid relationships.

Some former aid recipient countries have now become important economic and political powers in their own right.²⁷ The rise of these powers contributed to the different views and approaches to aid in today's development paradigm, which describe development cooperation on the basis of mutual self-benefits. An example of this is the present relationship between China and Africa.²⁸ It need be said that China even though provides a lots of infrastructure and social development to some African countries, this is not free as they became the privilege buyers of a quite number of African raw materials for the growing economy of China. In essence, no free aid According to David Dollar, Chinese investment in Africa is supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Brookings recognizes that the value it provides is in its absolute commitment to quality, independence, and impact.²⁹ This type of arrangement from the historical point of view of the purpose of foreign aid objective in Africa has been criticized. Finn Tarp and others argues that it is neither analytically defensible nor empirically credible to argue from the outset that aid never work in Africa.³⁰ The above observations suggest that in the field of aid discourse, there are three distinct debates on the effectiveness of aid. The first of these are those who holds the view that aid has created grounds for dependency, it continues to foster corruption, encourages currency overvaluation and prevents countries from taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the global economy.³¹ The popular view is that official aid is ineffective and has created more economic setback for the poorer countries over the years. On the other hand is the view that some believe that the actual aid monies have been too low and therefore, there is need to increase

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ See "The famous Seven Year Development Plan of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah" (1960). Available at http://www.ghanaculture.gov.gh/modules/mod_pdf.php?archiveid=1600

²⁷ Supra note 23 at page 10.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ D. Dollar, "China's Engagement with Africa From Natural Resources to Human Resources" (2016) John L. Thornton China Center at BROOKINGS. Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Chinas-Engagement-with-Africa-David-Dollar-July-2016.pdf>. Accessed on 24/2/2018.

³⁰H. and F Tarp and C-J.Dalgaard, "Empirics of Foreign Aid and Growth"(2000).Available http://www.cer.ethz.ch/resec/teaching/seminar_aussenwirtschaft_wt_04_05/daalgard_hansen_tarp_EJ.pdf.Accessed on the 22nd day of January, 2015.

³¹ W. Easterly. "The tyranny of experts: Economists, dictators, and the forgotten rights of the poor"(2014) Basic Books".This book speaks on three important debates on development: (i) the Blank Slate versus learning from history, (ii) the well-being of nations versus that of individuals and (iii) conscious design versus spontaneous solutions. Furthermore, the most innovative aspect of Easterly's analysis is that he traces back in history the forgotten rights of the poor. Available at <http://williameasterly.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/ejdr201465a.pdf>

the amount in order to stimulate productivity and reduce poverty.³² This camp argues that there is need to have a rethink on what is not working and why it is not working especially in the direction of how the aid is provided.³³ Surprisingly, foreign aid for economic development is that while it has positive effects in other parts of the world, the efficacy of aid on poverty reduction and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa have received mixed feelings with contentious results.³⁴

The third argument is that a handful of some scholars in the development studies have some common grounds on the efficacy of foreign aid. For instance, scholars like Moyo³⁵ has suggested for outright elimination of aid Africa while other scholars argued that after more than \$1 trillion has been spent on the region, nothing seems to have changed as per capita income is still far less than what it was in 1970s.³⁶ This has made the argument very controversial in development economy.³⁷ The third group are said to be less vocal³⁸. This includes Paul Collier who pointed out the role of a number of ‘traps’ which has made foreign aid ineffective as it perpetuates destitution in developing countries.³⁹ Banerjee and Duflo also argued that the use of randomized control trials’ may help devise effective and some sort of specific aid programs in the search for solution on war against poverty cum development.⁴⁰ With the greatest respect to these authors, these are mere suggestions and aspirations which empirical foundations are shaking as they did not bring about any tangible result which shows the efficacy of aid that made a difference in terms of development in any of the Sub-Saharan Countries of Africa.

E. The Politics Of Development Assistance

Development assistance of financial aid from the industrialized countries to the underdeveloped or developing countries has been argued to merely represent largely, a creation of the post-WWII era.⁴¹ Writers like Paul Aduje in his paper⁴² stated that it is noteworthy that foreign aid is determined by criterion, which have nothing to do with where the needs are greatest or where the largest populations of the neediest cases reside. He argued that the determinant factor of the quantum of aid are rather mere ephemerals of friendship, lobby, clout

³²J..Stiglitz. “Globalization and Its Discontents”(2003.)W M Norton & Company. According to Stiglitz, pro-globalization policies have the potential of doing a lot of good, if undertaken properly. He believes that Countries should embrace globalization on their own terms, taking into account their own history, culture, and traditions. However, if poorly designed but posited that where inappropriate approach is followed—pro-globalization policies are likely to be costly. He believes that they will increase instability, make countries more vulnerable to external shocks, reduce growth, and increase poverty. He believes that instead of using globalization carefully and fairly, liberalization policies have been implemented too fast, in the wrong order, and often using inadequate or plainly wrong economic analysis. The review of this book is also available at <http://www.anderson.ucla.edu/faculty/sebastian.edwards/Stiglitz.pdf>. Accessed on the 22nd day of January, 2015.

³³ J .Sachs, “The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time”(2005) New York: Penguin Press,

³⁴Feed Burner, “Why Foreign Aid has Failed to Promote Economic Development in Africa” (2013). Available at <http://www.badousenegalesecuisine.com/blog/2013/05/30/Why-Foreign-Aid-Fails-to-Promote-Economic-Growth-in-Sub-Saharan-Africa.aspx>. Retrieved on the 22nd day of January, 2015.

³⁵ Moyo, D., “Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How there is a Better way”, (2009) Penguin Publications, New York.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷S. Edwards. “ Economic development and the effectiveness of foreign aid: A historical perspective.”(2014)Available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20685>. Retrieved on the 22nd day of January 2015.

³⁸ Supra, note 7.

³⁹Ibid. This publication receives one of the worst criticisms of its time as not appreciating the effect of the aid donors and pointed out what the donor was not doing right at the moment. However, it led to further improvement and thinking in foreign aid direction for a better understanding of the subject.

⁴⁰ A. Banerjee., and E. Duflo, “Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of The Way to Fight Global Poverty (2011). New York: Public Affairs.

⁴¹ D. Ellerman. Rethinking Development Assistance (2008).A lecture delivered at the University of Antwerp, Institute of Development Policy and Management.

⁴² Paul I. Aduje, The Truth About Foreign Aid: Where It Really Goes and Not To Africa! Lawcareer2007@aol.com, New York, United States.

and the quality or lack, in the leadership of a given aid donor country.⁴³ Be that as it may, while the above reasons may be correct, the explanation of why after almost five decades of aid development assistance, the results are still quite mixed remains inexplicable. It is on records that East and South Asia have indeed achieved success in development. The important point to state is these developments were not achieved through foreign aid assistance from the West. It is therefore surprising that Africa where development financial assistance has played a significant role has been a decimal failure in economic development indices. The continuous failure of ODA to encourage the emergence of a self-sustaining growth in agricultural and industrial sectors, geared to local needs, has led many to question the appropriateness of aid per se⁴⁴. There are some known problems with the current system of aid assistance have been identified:⁴⁵ As reiterated by Clive Crook⁴⁶, the countries that failed, often guided by "experts" in the industrialized world, are the ones that gave only a small role, if any, to private enterprise and to prices that are unregulated by government. The history of Sub-Saharan Africa is amazing. Some forty years ago most of the developing countries were a lot more like each other. Today the story has changed and it became clearly a case of sifting the grains from the shaft of the corn. The case of India and South Korea are a leading example. By all standards, both countries were extremely poor:⁴⁷ India's income per capita was about \$150 (in 1980 dollars) and South Korea's was about \$350. Life expectancy was about forty years and fifty years respectively.

II. DEVELOPMENT LAWS IN CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.

Globalisation of the world economy⁴⁸ is still one of the most important trends that affect the current economic development⁴⁹ in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁵⁰ Another undeniable trend is the existence of the tendency to compare the sustained and rapid per capita growth in per capita income of the Southeast Asian economies. This is a contrast of the Sub-Saharan Africa's stagnation in the level of her per capital income. Court and Yanagihara posit that the remarkable features of the performance of Southeast Asia over the last three decades were their ability to expand and upgrade their linkages with the world economy.⁵¹ In all these, what then can Africa learn from Southeast Asia? As a point of departure from the position of the above writers, this study does not agree that 'there is certainly concern over the increased marginalization of much of Africa'. The question is who is marginalizing Africa from growth? Maybe it may be correct to say some rules of WTO do not favour Africa's trade promotion but the acknowledgement of this is just too recent to deprive the continent from progressive development. However, this study is in agreement that South-East Asian experiences could provide valuable lessons for policy-makers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The countries of Africa must and should adapt to their own context of development agenda. It is painful that Africa has not learnt anything from the East Asian Miracle study.⁵² The surprising thing is while Asia has succeeded Africa has not. The only possible explanation is the

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ T. Habisso, "Africa and the Failure of Development Aid: Time for Designing an Exit Strategy" 2010.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ C. Crook, "Third World Economic Development" (1992), *The Concise Encyclopedia Economics*. Available at <http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc1/ThirdWorldEconomicDevelopment.html>.

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ J. Adams, "Africa and the World Bank: Comments in a presentation at the FASID seminar on Economic Prospects for Africa". (1998), Available on archive.unu.edu/hq/academic/Pg_area4/August-intro.html. Accessed on 27/2017.

⁴⁹ J. Court, T. Yanagihara, "Asia and Africa into the Global Economy: Background and Introduction",

⁵⁰ Y. Akyuz, H. Chang, R., Kozul-Wright, *New Perspectives on East Asian Development*, (1998), UNCTAD *discussion paper*. Available on <http://www.econpapers.repec.org/RePEc:taf:jdevst:v:34:y:1998:i:6:p:4-36>. Accessed on 27/8/2017.

⁵¹ *Supra* note 21 at page 9.

⁵² World Bank, 1993, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*, Washington DC: The World Bank. See also, World Bank, 1994, *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead*, Washington DC: The World Bank.

⁵² T. Daiss, "China Turns Up Heat On Corruption: 'No Mercy Against Law Breakers'", (2016), Available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/timdaiss/2016/08/28/china-turns-up-heat-on-corruption-no-mercy-against-law-breakers/#7ab034383ec6> Accessed on 28/8/2017.

differential approach to trade and industrial policies between the two continents. Africa has more natural resources than most developed countries of Asia but these resources remained corrupted in the hands of the leaders and the influential in the continent. It is not only this, other areas include capital accumulation, governance, Geography and culture and technology. An estimated \$1 trillion gets stolen from developing countries in a typical year, according to Global Financial Integrity, a Washington-based nonprofit that trace illicit money.⁵³ The Chinese government declared war on technology teaching for ten years such that learning in the universities which involve development studies in technology were tuition free. This trend had continued for almost ten years before the policy was relaxed. The same policy saw China where it is today in economic and technology development. Furthermore to the above is the serious war against corruption. Under the leadership of President Xi Jinping there is no mercy for corrupt practices while Nigeria is saddles with crumbling infrastructure, inadequate food supplies and scant health care as the looting of treasury has been in the increase in the country. This practice has no place in China and Asia. Some may say the death penalty for corrupt officials in these countries is anti civil. Even at that, it has aided development in China and China is counted as one of the big economy in the world.

For more than four years, China went through the hub of crack down across all sectors in the country. Power brokers, corporate executives, generals, judges and high ranking government officials, party members and executives of the powerful oil and gas sectors of the country were cracked down by the Ant-Corruption crusade in the Chinese government.⁵⁴ There was no or little exception in the fight against corruption. It was under the leadership of Xi Jinping, one most powerful Army General was arrested in 2015. While there are more to come, one of the active power broker to fall under Xi's reign was a top ranking PLA general. That was the first time an active ranking military official has been brought down by the fight against corruption.⁵⁵ The fight against corruption cut across all segments of both private and public sectors in China. In 2015 alone, Xi's anti-corruption crack down and punished about 300,000 officials. This is nothing compare to the fight against corruption in Nigeria, a country in Sub-Saharan Africa where plea bargain has dealt a blow on the fight against corruption.

China is a typical example of where law can affect development because law is respected and feared, corruption officers who deflate economic growth by looting the treasury would be non-existent or reduced to the barest minimum for fear of the punishment of contravention of the law. A quality of good leader is known by his output through his performances. When Xi Jinping came to power in 2013, the first among other programmes embarked upon by his government was the anti-corruption campaign which had unprecedented effect on the anti-corruption crusade enforcement in China. Among the achievements recorded is the influence the campaign has had on behavior and cultures of corporation and private individuals in the country.⁵⁶ The aim of these proposed amendments is to bring the regulation of commercial bribery more in line with the criminal law of the country. The draft Anti-unfair Competition Law amendments include the following bills:⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid., note 6 at page 2.

⁵⁴ General Wang Jianping, age 62, chief of the Joint Staff Department under the power Central Military Commission, was also arrested and charged with violating Communist Party discipline. He was the second top general to be arrested for corruption in the last few years in China.

⁵⁶ Herbert Smith, "Anti-Corruption and Bribery in China", (2017)

⁵⁷ Ibid. For instance, of the laws includes, liability for bribes paid through third parties; vicarious liability for employers regarding their employees' action and Significantly higher penalties for commercial bribery by companies and parties that facilitate bribes. Also, between 2015 and 2016, there were amendments regarding criminal bribery offences. These amendments were introduced to the

A. *Can African Learn Any Lesson From China/Southeast Asia's Economic Development?*

Philosophically, the way people think and reasons and apply the thoughts are important to achieving development goals. This explains why McCauley,⁵⁸ commenting on aid, stated that the subject in recent years has revolved around two main issues. According to him, the issues are resources and ideas. He believes that there is a constant pressure at home for the donor countries to reduce the resources allocated to foreign aid abroad⁵⁹ which they have a preferred set of ideas to promote. Assuming without conceding that there is good intention to help develop Africa by aid providers, Africa need to contribute to her own development ideas. When alien ideas are forced on a people as development alternative which are alien to their race, it takes time for assimilation. This is one aspect of the problem with the ideologies of the foreign experts who want to develop Africa their own way. The new sovereign powers pointed out that this type of cooperation is not the old vertical relationship which had existed between the colonial powers and their colonies.⁶⁰ This recognition made donors to change their ways of spending and more money are being spent on strengthening of civil societies, supporting gender equality, education, health and human development instead of the old ways of focusing on purely economic development. This latter aspect upset the rules as there are divisions between governments and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as to what amounts to development, whether it is economic development that aid should support or human well-being. This point has also created divisions amongst African leaders particularly the French and English speaking countries. This disunity among African leaders was evident in Addis Ababa when African leaders gathered to form OAU (now African Union).⁶¹ This is where Africa assumed the image of the 'White Man's burden and hence aid dependency.⁶²

There exist three renowned theorists, in development of Africa which work influences Africanist. Some of these writers are Wallestein,⁶³ Amin⁶⁴ and Arrighi,⁶⁵ all of whom originally were Africa specialists on their work in the systematic nature of African underdevelopment. Their researches went deep into to the 1980s to 1986. After these publications, aid dependants were given a second thought as option. All these propositions did not help move to economic prosperity. As far back as 2002, the projection for eradication of poverty in developing countries had been foreseen but however, its realization had remained in the pipeline for many reasons. In specific parlance, if the 0.7 percent recommended globally to be transferred by the rich countries to

Criminal Law in November 2015 and came into force in April 2016. There were other proposed draft amendments to the Anti-unfair Competition Law in February, 2016.

⁵⁸ P. McCawley, "Development Assistance in Asia in the 1990s"(1998), *Esian Pacific Economic Literature*, Volume 12, Issue 1, pp. 41–50. Available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-8411.00028/full>. Accessed on 29/6/2017.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Krafonta, "25 years of African Unity" (1998) Many argued that the donors ignores the indigenous social structures making the mockery of the need for loans and aid, as these could no longer be justified on the basis of new economic order. The paper argues that if what is pigeonholed by underdevelopment is the incorporation of African continent into other economies then the concept, the whole idea of aid leaves much room to be desired.

⁶² W. Easterly, "The Whiteman's Burden and Why the West Efforts to Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good" (2006) Penguin Publications, New York. This book brought up some commentaries and controversies. Part of the discussion was that If West cared as much about the poor as Bono does, couldn't the rich countries wipe out malaria and also eliminate the world's worst poverty? It's not that simple, William Easterly argues in "The White Man's Burden." Take those mosquito nets. When aid agencies hand them out in poor countries, he writes, "nets are often diverted to the black market . . . or wind up being used as fishing nets or wedding veils." Free nets don't get to the people who need them. It equally argued that In Malawi's cities; the group sells nets for \$5 each, using the profits to subsidize sales in the countryside. The program, Easterly reported, "increased" the nationwide average of children under 5 sleeping under nets from 8 percent in 2000 to 55 percent in 2004. A follow-up survey found nearly universal use of the nets by those who paid for them.

⁶³ I. Wallerstein, " Africa and the modern world", (1986), Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.

⁶⁴ S. Amin, " La faillite du développement en Afrique et dans le tiers-monde; Une analyse politique", (1989), Paris: L'Harmattan

⁶⁵ G. Arrighi, (1996), "The rise of East Asia; World systematic and regional aspects", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 16(7/8):6-44.

the poorer Countries, it would generate some awesome amount of the sum of \$175 billion.⁶⁶ Ideally, the resources if it met its target could be most important in addressing the income and non-income dimensions of world poverty. However, the target still remains in limbo as they are not being met.

The shocking discovery is that both Asia and Africa were classified as developing countries in the 1980s but one has left the other behind in terms of economic and trade development. Asia has left Africa behind and if Africa's economic adventure is anything to go by in the next 25 five years, the continent has a lot to learn from Asia and South-East Asia for their magic trade magnification and growth over the last fifteen years. Africa needs to learn some lessons from China and the rest of South Korea. The Chinese economy receives a lot of interest in the media but it can be difficult to keep track of the basic facts.⁶⁷ In the 1920s, the vision of President Monroe was beyond that of the US because he saw a very different world than the one we witness today.⁶⁸ In China, where the Qing dynasty approached its third century of imperial rule, it became the largest share of global GDP. At the time, nobody believed that after two hundred years, the global economic leaders and technical experts would be gathering in China against the backdrop of the 4th Industrial Revolution. Unlike the Africans, one of the greatest advantages of the Chinese is the one language pattern. Today China ranked as the world's second largest economy. It could be argued that it could have been the first but for fallen behind from the late 19th century afterwards. The real catch-up in China started in 1978. It is a well acclaimed fact that China had helped lifted more people out of poverty than any other country in the world. The question is how was China and South Korea able to achieve these exploits? They started with the reforms in 1978 at the period when China was poor.⁶⁹ China had a GDP per capita level similar to Zambia, which was lower than half of the Asian average and also, lower than two thirds of the African average. Shocking as this may be to the Africans, this is a fact. However, China bounced back with an average of GDP growth per year consistently until 2014.⁷⁰ With this growth, they were able to rise per capital GDP almost 49-fold, from 155 US Dollars in 1978 to 7,590 US Dollars in 2014 thereby lifting 800 million people out of poverty; this is an unparalleled and unprecedented achievement. Poverty in China has been virtually eliminated. The success story of China's development has been driven by the coastal east. Development in the rural west is still lagging behind but this only goes to show the amount of development that is still to be done as her per capita income is still below the world average.⁷¹ In the first quarter of 2016, China recorded a GDP growth of 6.7%. This is not surprising as there was a strong decline in manufacturing and construction output which serves as the main drivers of China's growth until today.

B. In Pursuit Of Wealth Creation: Differentiating China From Africa

The Chinese prioritizes happiness over wealth and feel an increasing need to safe money but Africa prioritizes wealth over happiness. African people must understand that placing happiness before wealth creation is important. It need be understood that where people believes in amassing so much wealth and forget happiness, it is a wrong approach because when wealth is amassed at the expense of happiness, it stand still. Those who have succeeded economically first ensure that happiness exist to a great extent for their nationals, where this exist, everyone would be happy working for the nation. Conversely, where happiness is sacrificed on the altar of wealth creation, there is a missing link as there is a detachment between reality and rhetoric of

⁶⁶ P.S. Heller, S. Gupta, 'Challenges in Expanding Development Assistance', (2002), IMF Policy Discussion Paper, Fiscal Affairs Department. Available at [http://challenges%20in%20expanding%20development%20assistance%20to%20africa%20\(1\).pdf](http://challenges%20in%20expanding%20development%20assistance%20to%20africa%20(1).pdf). Accessed on 12/8/2017.

⁶⁷ J. Eckart, "8 Things You Need to Know About the Chinese Economy:", (2016),

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

development in that behalf. For instance, the growth reflection in Chinese wealth is basically on disposable household incomes. What this depicts is that happiness and a balanced life are increasingly prized as the Chinese middle class moves up the income ladder.

Apart from the above, another striking difference is the economies of East and Southeast Asia with those in Sub-Saharan Africa. The countries in these two regions are vastly at different stages of development.⁷² Morrel posits that it is difficult to explain the difference which exists between the two regions because they are so extremely based from geographical perspective, physical environment, culture-driven, tastes and preferences. The position of this writer is that at least, despite their disparities, the Southeast Asia region is doing far better economically than the Africa. Development finance plays a big role in Chinese investment. Some years back, Beijing's ascent on the African investment landscape has been frequently documented. It is intended to revamping of the Silk Road “*one belt one road*” program initiative by China. This investment sparked inclusive growth and development across Central Asia. In Latin America, development indicates that many states have outstripped the loans given by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank combined and had moved on with development. Africa needs to embrace accountability and strong law with punitive measures to kick-start up development in the region. Morrel said the aggregate wealth rose, inequality shrank, and Asia's share of world trade and global influence steadily and rapidly grew.⁷³ He further quipped that many Western observers believed that that Asian policymakers had discovered the macroeconomic touch of King Midas.⁷⁴ However, the drivers of Asian miracle were actually led by Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and China with their continuous growth unabated.⁷⁵

The abject poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa is among the most stubborn features of the world economy while the Asian Miracle is doubly remarkable when juxtaposed with the economies of Sub-Saharan Africa in its entirety. According to Maddison,⁷⁶ the most reliable estimates of world and regional gross domestic product for the period 1820-1992 are those prepared by him, he estimated that the beginning of this period sub-Saharan Africa had one-third the income level of the richest regions at the period, Western Europe.⁷⁷ However, by 1992, it only had the 1-20th the income level of the richest regions, such countries includes the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. That is to say that Africa's per capital income in 1992 was approximately that of Western Europe in 1820 in approximation of purchasing parity of 1990 Dollars.⁷⁸ The happiest people do not have everything but they just make the best of everything. As a way forward it is not too late for Africa to retract its initial steps and go back to the drawing board like the Asia. The effectiveness of certain 'market-distorting' industrial policies, such as the temporary protection of promising infant industries with export potential, was acknowledged in the cases of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, but denied as far as Southeast Asia was concerned.

As early as 1987, Brian Pinto⁷⁹ published a pure policy comparison as responses to the so-called ‘Dutch disease well’ due to the problems caused by booming oil exports. This was long ago before the East Asian

⁷² John A. Morrel, “Why Asia Succeeded While Africa has not? A Comparative Analysis of Economic Growth: What Factors have Driven The Divergence of Economic Performance Between East/SE Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa?”, (2006), Being Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Public Policy.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, at page 19.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ A. Maddison, “Monitoring the World Economy:” (1820-199).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ B. Pinto, “Nigeria during and after the oil boom: a policy comparison with Indonesia”, (1987), World Bank Economic Review 1:419-45.

Miracle study. This study warned Nigeria to pay more attention to how Indonesia's prudent macroeconomic management had prevented oil earnings from causing a decline in the agricultural sector⁸⁰ and leading to budget deficits and indebtedness following the end of the boom.⁸¹ Also in 1993, the World Bank's report on the East Asian Miracle prompted a wave of comparative research aimed at further extraction of practical lessons for African countries. Henley⁸² posits that 'although the decisive export successes had been achieved in manufacturing, the World Bank classified this as the most successful state economic interventions. This writer is of the view that what really promote the growth witnessed by the Southeast Asia is rather, the promotion of food production and strict control of food prices. What Africa forget and ought not to forget is the effectiveness of certain 'market-distorting' industrial policies. Most African countries are oblivious of long term protection of promising infant industries with export potential, but want quick miracle solutions. This has become a mirage to the development of African economies and alleviation of poverty. There are no other option for economic and trade growth in the region than production and protection of infant industries. This was acknowledged in the cases of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, but denied as far as Africa was concerned.

Furthermore, in 1999, Collier, Gunning and Bevan,⁸³ taken Nigeria as an example in Africa, did a study on Nigeria and Indonesia. The research is a book sponsored by the World Bank but the outcome result of this book was also a similar conclusion in the area of trade policies and industry. On the other hand, it shared lights some major difference in aspect of agriculture, especially the priority attached which differ radically but there was consistency between the two states. For instance, in Indonesia, much had been done with farmers and the poor. Also, much more than most states in Africa they are on top of production. Agricultural export which were the main produce in Nigeria at the time were taxed heavily through monolithic marketing boards, food crops were largely ignored.⁸⁴ By surprised contrast the story of Indonesia is different as they were indeed active state agricultural extension efforts to promote new Green Revolution technologies in rice farming. Today, most African countries import rice from that country.

In addition to the above initiatives, there was a deliberate strategy of manipulation of the rice-fertilizer price which goes to support rice production and control food prices for the benefits of the poor. As noted by the authors, at no time did the Nigerian government implement a program focused directly on the poor.⁸⁵ Nigeria was not alone in this as in 2004; there was another policy –oriented study between Bangladesh and Kenya.⁸⁶ Conclusively, it is important to also stress at this point that Indonesia's economic problems in the 1960 were not thought at the time to result merely from reversible policy errors or temporary political difficulties. They were also thought to reflect structural impediments to growth with deep historical roots.⁸⁷ It need be noted that while Southeast Asians are no more interested in the pessimism of how their economy had grown, the factors explain

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² D. Henley, "Chalk and cheese? Africa and the lessons of Asian development", (2007), Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), Leiden. Conference titled "Asia and the 'other Third World' in the 21st century: political engagement, economic role and development policies".

⁸³ Bevan, L. David, P. Collier, J. W. Gunning, "The political economy of poverty, equity, and growth : Nigeria and Indonesia" (1999) A World Bank comparative study. New York : Oxford University Press. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/118981468775569456/The-political-economy-of-poverty-equity-and-growth-Nigeria-and-Indonesia>. See also P. Collier, J. W. Gunning Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" (1999) Vol. 13, No. 3. pp. 3-22, The Journal of Economic Perspectives.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ See pages 405 and 382 of the book.

⁸⁶ J. Roberts, F. Sonja (2004), "Why is Bangladesh outperforming Kenya? A comparative study of growth and its causes since the 1960s". London: Economics and Statistics Analysis Unit, Overseas Development Institute. ESAU Working Paper 5, Produced As A Policy Resource For The British Department For International Development (DFID).

⁸⁷ Boeke, J.H. 1953 Economics and economic policies of dual societies as exemplified by Indonesia. Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink.

and predict the persistent African underdevelopment, Asia was once also said to be having the same problem. What marked the difference is how they got out of their problem.⁸⁸ It has also been argued that it is indeed hard to find an economist, social scientist, or journalist who does not take a jaundiced or a tragic view of the development in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁸⁹

While it is true that ethnic fragmentation of most African states may have slow down development because of divergent opinions, it is arguable if that alone can excuse Africa from having the power of reasoning for economic development than most of Southeast Asia. In forty-five to fifty years ago, the same fate of growth impediment befell Southeast Asia, even tougher than what Africa had witnessed but they overcame them all. Africa can also do the same if not better if only they can learn from the Chinese and Southeast Asia. Asian countries were busy thinking of strategies of development while Africa continent were busy brooding and blaming their economic underdevelopment attacks on colonialism as the root cause of Africa's contemporary problems.⁹⁰ The driver of Chinese economic growth and employment is the private sector. What lesson can Africa learn from these, it need to be noted that the private sector firms produced between two-thirds in year 2010 and 2012 up to three-quarters of the China's GDP; it accounts for 90% for her export. The private sectors in African state must invest in productivity and human development. Where this is achieved, it will create massive employment and continuous production will lead to surplus for export and hence foreign exchange. Africa needs to prop up her tertiary sectors where financial service should account for more than 80% of economic profit. These sectors also provide the largest sources of employment in China and Southeast Asia and it can work in Africa.

C. *China Succeeded But Africa Is Limbo*

As far back as 2006, academic discuss was agog with writers already begun itemising factors which accounts for the success in Asia and why Africa has not succeeded. Amongst such writers we find Morrell, who in his thesis starkly pointed out how China and Southeast Asia's economic growth transfixed the whole world between the 1970s and the 1990s.⁹¹ Some of the questions Morrell asked in his paper were whether Asia did something that Africa failed to do, or did both regions do the same things with Asia simply doing those things better than Africa?⁹² He also questioned whether the international community has approach Asian development differently from that of Africa?⁹³ Other possible question is what is really wrong with making policies that has worked in Southeast Asia to work in Africa? Some literatures throw searchlights on a wide range of possible explanations of both why Asia is successful and Africa is failed.⁹⁴ It appears from this study that there would be no better explanation that better explains the situation in Africa without the inclusion of trade and industrial polices, technological progress, gap in saving of capital accumulation, good governance, strong corruption laws with tacit enforcement culture and population dynamics among other factures.

Factors relating to governance in public sector institution and capacity building and enforcement of law have been the primary drivers of the divergent growth of China and Asia. For instance, in China, active or passive bribery in the public and private sectors are prohibited by the Criminal Law. On several occasions, the

⁸⁸ B. Higgins, "1968 Economic development; Problems, principles, and policies", second edition. New York: W.W. Norton.

⁸⁹ Sender, John 1999 'Africa's economic performance: limitations of the current consensus', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13-3:89-114.

⁹⁰ B. Davidson, "The black man's burden; Africa and the curse of the nation-state", (1992), London: James Currey. See also, M. Mamdani, "Citizen and subject; Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism", (1996), London: James Currey.

⁹¹ J.A. Morrell, "Why has Asia Succeeded While Africa has not? A Comparative Analysis of Economic Growth: What Factors have driven the Divergence of Economic Performance between East/SE Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa? (2006), School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Supreme Peoples' Court and the Supreme Peoples' Procuratorate have issued interpretations to the rules regarding some of these criminal offences and rules. There are existing rules which also set up stiff minimum financial thresholds for the investigation and prosecution of such offence.⁹⁵ The Anti-unfair Competition under Article 8, prohibits commercial bribery by business operates in connection with the sale of commodities and for-profit services. Everyone respect the law and there is no exception, no plea bargains which down play the enforcement of the law in some parts of Africa. Further to the above is the SAIC, a body set up to investigate and enforces the law which ensures that regulations are issued and guidelines for implementation which clarifies Article 8 of the Commercial bribery offices are strictly adhered. This is unlike what obtains in some of the cases of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in regular courts in Nigeria. The role of plea bargains⁹⁶ in the criminal court of Nigeria especially with the cases of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission leaves rooms to be desired.⁹⁷ In China, the corruption laws have become stronger since the coming into power of Xi Jinping in 2013. One of the ways to access a great leader is his/her attitude towards law reformation and a strong and potent law covers all other aspect that needs be put right. President Xi on resuming office without wasting time made the curbing and elimination of corruption one of his main focuses. Thus in 2014, shown from the statistics provided in a speech given by the head of the Supreme Peoples' Procuratorate, Cao Jianming, that there were almost 40, 000 cases and more than 50,000 person under investigation⁹⁸ for corruption or dereliction of duties. This achievement is unprecedented in the history of that country. Most leaders in Africa are above the law as they disrespect the law with impunity. The achievement of this led to early identification of corruption risks. Some writers have attributed the failure of development in Sub-Saharan Africa to the negligence of the role of law in development.⁹⁹ Taking this argument further, it is accepted that movement of development rested on four pillars of cultural reform and transplantation strategy; an ad hoc approach to reform based on simplistic theoretical assumptions; faith in spillovers from the economy to democracy and human rights; and a development strategy that stressed state-led import substitution. In the 1990s, all these four pillars fell flat given rise to artificial economic manifold of development plans that are alien to African development culture.

III. SURVIVING WITHOUT FOREIGN AID: THE CASE OF NORTH AFRICA.

⁹⁵ Supra not 36 at page 10.

⁹⁶ See Section 13 and Section 76 of EFCC Act (2004) which introduces Pleas Bargains in Criminal Trial. See According t A.A. Kana and M. Y. Zakari, Plea bargain has been defined as a negotiated agreement between the prosecutor and a criminal defendant whereby the defendant pleads guilty to a lesser offence or to one of multiple charges in exchange for some concession by the prosecutor, usually a more lenient sentence or a dismissal of the other charges. Thus, plea bargain is also known as "plea agreement" or "negotiated plea." *Journal of International Law and Strategic Studies (JILSS)*.

⁹⁷ It would be recalled that on October 2010, Cecilia Ibru, the Chief Executive of the defunct Oceanic Bank was arrested and charged with a 25 count charge of criminal information bordering on economic crimes by EFCC. She entered into a Plea Bargain with EFCC and was only sentenced to six months imprisonment. This can never happen in China. She is not the only one on this as there are others who are believed to have stolen money and on arraignment would enter into a Plea Bargain with the Prosecutor and get a lesser sentence. Governor Alameyeseigha of Bayelsa state of Nigeria was also arrested by EFCC and after arraignment, he pleaded guilty to the charges and entered into a plea bargain with the prosecutor. He was however sentence to 12 years imprisonment for the 6 counts charges , that is two year for each count but they were to run concurrently. He was released almost immediately since he had already spent a year in prison. The released drew much controversy from Legal scholars of repute but there was nothing anybody could do about it. These two are just a few example of how Plea bargain had made mess of the Criminal justice system in Nigeria.

⁹⁸ C.E. Palmer, V. Jing Latham , Watkins, "Bribery and Corruption" (Second Edition) Editors: Jonathan Pickworth & Deborah Williams. Published by Global Legal Group. Latham & Watkins 18th Floor, One Exchange Square, 8 Connaught Place, Central, Hong Kong

⁹⁹Y. Matsuura, "Crumbling Pillars: The Collapse of the L&D Paradigm: In The Role Of Law In Development Past, Present And Future", (2005), Nagoya University Research Project on "Development Assistance and Law" in the 21st Century under the JSPS Core-to-Core Program.

North Africa holds and plays very key important economic positions in Africa's economic development. The foregoing position was manifested at Khartoum (Sudan) during the discussion when the newly independent African countries were gathered to discuss the creation of premier financial institutions for Africans, by Africans. In 1964, all the North African countries apart from Libya signed and subscribed to the Bank's capital stock, contributing upwards of about \$80 million and this was 40 percent in the total funds so that operations could begin in earnest in 1967.¹⁰⁰ However, in 2015, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Egypt were noted to have undergone unprecedented political and economic changes.¹⁰¹ The change was ascribed to the Arab Spring which causes unforeseen fundamental upheavals, which also resulted to an unknown certainty. Unlike some other African countries, North African countries are different in their approaches to development in many ways. In December 2010, the event that took place in Tunisia where a fruit vendor totally set himself ablaze out of desperation and in protest against police harassment sent several unprecedented messages to businessmen and governments alike as the event triggered widespread demonstrations.¹⁰² The demonstration lasted for months spreading to other African countries. These types of demonstrations were the first of their kinds as they spill-over to all the North African states to some of the Arab states in the Middle East several months thereafter. The demonstration took different dimensions in all the five countries in North Africa. It brought about a constitutional reform in Morocco by King Constitutional amendment confirmed by a referendum which curtailed the rights of the King and strengthened democratic principles. In 2011, there was an early election which brought a change of government. This change brought the initiation of a peaceful social reform now referred to as social tensions which subsequently referred to as Moderate Revolution tensions in the Arab world. In Tunisia, the mass protest led to the deposition and flight of President Ben Ali and an election for a Constituent Assembly. This accounts to why in 2014, there was a new constitution which came to effect and the constitution till today is regarded as one of the modern one in the Arab world. The transition in that country was also successful. Apart from Tunisia, Algeria is also not left out. In Algeria, the government quickly met one of the demonstrator's key demands by lifting the 19 year old state of emergency and reformation of legislation on political parties and elections in the country. The President Bouteflika through a mix of brutal crackdowns and financial concessions (increase of salaries of public sector) managed to stay on to power. Nothing fundamental political turbulent took place in that country but at least there were changes which was the result of the demonstrators.

In Libya, the political unrest erupted in 2011 into a civil war. It took NATO to intervene. There was an election in 2012 and 2014 which failed to bring stability. There has been no stability in that country since 2014 as the two factions claimed to be in power and the terror organization ISIS has been making strong appearance recently. This unrest had led to steady slowly in economic growth in Libya. Gadaffi, the head of that state was ousted and killed. Also, protest erupted in early 2011 and this led to the resignation and arrest of President Mubarak of Egypt. There were face-offs with parliamentary resulting to two presidential elections and a military takeover. The stability of the country cannot be determined even in its transitional phase at the time of this study. The perceived fear is that President Al-Sisi may be as repressive as Mubarak. In summary, these countries had relied on trade instead of aid for their economic survival.

A. *Economic Potentials Of Northern Africa*

The five North African Countries are diverse both politically and economically; they are both the oil exporter and importers. The major economic experiences shared by them are the private sector, national budget, balance of payments and inflation as well as population, labor, market and commercial laws. The determinate factor of the North African Countries' economies is, of course, the political situation discussed above. An

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/north-africa/>

¹⁰¹ M. Raschen, "North African countries face common economic challenges", (2015), KFW RESEARCH: Focus on Economics.

¹⁰² Ibid.

example is the civil war-torn Libya. While Algeria and Libya are oil exporters, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia are oil importers. In 2014, the forecast by International Monetary Fund's is that the oil price decline suffers most in the oil exporter countries. As a result of this, there was a slight increase of economic growth in years that proceeds. A mention is made particularly of a significant drop of Algeria's growth in 2015 to just 2.5 percent heralding a rise only to 3 or 4 percent per annum in year 2016.¹⁰³ Low price in oil causes strains on the national budget of most oil exporting countries in Africa.¹⁰⁴ The decline has made many national budgets to slip into deficit. Similarly, for the North African oil importing countries, the oil price decline became positive factors of trade benefit for Morocco and Tunisia. What has aided some growth in these areas is the economic situation in Europe as the exchange rates are significant factors. The euro countries are an export market for Morocco and Tunisia. After the many years of economic depression and weakness, it appears that there is hope for significant sustainable recovery because when there is depreciation of the euro against the US dollar, it causes a lift in Egyptian pound in real terms of its export industry.

The oil importing countries are not also left out as they revived their strength in 2011/2012. Their growth rates were rated to about 4–5 percent per annum. However, the good news is that despite the situation, most North African countries have quietly gone ahead with the rough task of reforming their economies, particularly in their public sectors. The changes have resulted from necessity but most of the changes have been to keep up with their competitors. The good news is that most North African countries have quietly gone ahead with the tough task of reforming their economies, particularly in their public sectors without foreign aid dependency. Some of these changes have been through necessity, but most have been to keep up with their competitors.¹⁰⁵ By the United Nations' projection, the five countries of North Africa's educational attainment in the last quarter of the 20th century pose a very big question. There would be a population increase of 60 million people by 2050. This population increase is more than the projected job opportunities in the region and likely to create a wave of unrest. Investors in North Africa can however take the opportunity to invest in tourism. In Morocco for instance, tourism contributes to the country's higher economic activity. Other countries in North African can follow this example. Presently, opportunities are opened ranging from light manufacturing to logistics to catering and restaurants services. Foreign aid is however less discussed in North Africa. Even though, they have budget deficit, North Africa is considerably higher than in other developing and emerging countries of Africa in terms of economic growth.

North African has managed to subsidize of energy consumption at a very significantly higher rate than elsewhere in Africa. On economic and political level, the countries are indeed cooperating with each other in the frame work of African Union, the Arab Maghreb Union and the Arab League.¹⁰⁶ It need be mentioned that some of the relations are strained. Morocco and Algeria had conflict over Western Sahara as a result of the significant flow of refugees from Libya. The countries with the exception of Libya entered into association of agreements with EU in the 1990s and have supplemented them with agreement with further agreements since 2011. Free trade is allowed by European Union (EU) and even largely finances some development projects.¹⁰⁷ The "European Neighborhood Policy" (ENP) modified in 2015 and was extended to Libya. Under a special initiative, the German bilateral development policy also supports the region¹⁰⁸. In 2011, Wael Ghonim, an

¹⁰³ L. Chikh, "Algeria's gas exports to EU set to rise 15 percent in 2016" (2016) Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-algeria-energy/algerias-gas-exports-to-eu-set-to-rise-15-percent-in-2016-official-idUSKCN0XV0UG>. Accessed on 24/2018.

¹⁰⁴ See Nigeria's national budget of 2017 and its economic growth profile in 2016. The situation shows that if there is oil price increase, the budget hardly runs into deficit but where the reverse is the case, the reverse is the case..

¹⁰⁵ The Economy: Global Economic Issues, "North Africa: What You Need To Know", (2015), Available on <http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/issues/economy/global-economy-watch/north-africa-what-you-need-to-know.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Supra note ...

¹⁰⁷ Id.

¹⁰⁸ Id.

Egyptian Google executive who became hero of the Egyptian revolution, said the country does not need loans or more debt. He said the country needs investment, expertise with knowledge and empowerment. In his reply to the panelists, he said the solution is not money.¹⁰⁹ The stability of the North African countries will depend on general policy reform but to a great extent. There must be political stabilization and democratization in the regions.

IV. CONCLUSION

Many states in Africa especially, the Sub-Saharan Africa must now choose development instead of looting their treasury and taking them for banking abroad. The Western Media and the West must change their ideologies of bulking passing. They must jettison the idea of pretending to be doing a good job only when there is an embarrassing story or a scandal that undermines their own credibility as the watchdog of the state, but are silent about when it comes to where African looted funds are hidden in Europe.¹¹⁰

For so long, the media in the West ignore the role of western institutions in corrupt deals.¹¹¹ It is not also a hidden fact that the media in the west tend to ignore the role of western institutions for many reasons; as they would prefer to show the worst aspect of African poverty level and yet but refuse to admit that the western institutions are a contributory factor in the role they played in Africa's poverty by providing shield to the looted funds from Africa. This may be due to the fear of forfeiting certain revenue through adverts.¹¹² This can only mean a disbelief in the futures of Africa.

The case of Nigeria-Halliburton saga is one example of multinational corporation's corrupt practices that is too recent to be forgotten. In a statement, Halliburton said it was not responsible for the bribery, only its former subsidiary but the same Halliburton reported to the Securities and Exchange Commission in Nigeria that it was paying \$382 million to resolve the matter.¹¹³ In most part of Sub-Saharan Africa, most senior leaders and Presidents have epic histories of dirty corruption practices. This must stop. Africa must realise that the consequence of so much money which leaves the developing countries have serious economic consequences on sustainable development and intergenerosity. Africa must ensure that the multinational corporations which parry their tax payment through distribution of their profit to subsidiary companies should be held accountable and be made to pay tax. Both corporations and individuals must face equal punitive wrath of the full weight of the law. Strengthening of legal institution is very important in the fight against corruption. The study also finds that if there were no banks that are ready to admit the stolen money from countries like Nigeria, it would be difficult to have safe haven for the looted money by some leaders in the continent of Africa. More so, it has been argued that it is corporations all over the world that take advantage of the porosity in the movement of money, and shift resources across borders at will. This means the struggle for development by Africa must be supported from all strata with the cooperation international community with Africa taking the lead. Finally, Africa must start from within to develop in order to avoid corporations all over the world from advantage of the porosity in the movement of money, and shift resources across borders at will outside the continent.

V. RECOMMENDATION

¹⁰⁹ M. Badawy, "North Africa economic growth critical to its future", (2011), Reuters.

¹¹⁰ A. Adusei, "Hiding Africa's Looted Funds" The Silence of Western Media" (2009). Available at https://wikileaks.org/wiki/Hiding_Africa%27s_Looted_Funds:_The_Silence_of_Western_Media

¹¹¹ Ibid., note 11 at page 4..

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

- The Chinese realized on time that knowledge transfer must increase and driven by domestic innovation while in Africa, most leaders failed to invest on knowledge transfer and human development.
- The Chinese believes strongly that growth from a low base is normal as it would eventually account for building basic infrastructure which is as key driver becomes more difficult to sustain as the basics are met and yet it is indispensable. Most countries in Africa failed to share this belief that growth must start from a low base but instead, allowed foreign aid mercenaries to ride and incubate the pace of her economic growth.
- During Deng's leadership, there was gradual prices liberalization because of an initial dual price system. That is, allowing a quota and a market price at the same time. But one powerful instrument used was that the sub-national governments were granted greater fiscal autonomy coupled with incentives to attract investment and drive growth, while the private sector was also expanding. Most states in Africa lack this vision or overlooked it and concentrate their development plans as often as marshaled by the central government with foreign technical experts. Africa needs to strengthen her legal institution for the fight against corruption just like the Chinese did.
- Given the global poverty statistics index, China accounts for about 18 percent of the world's population in year 2016; ¹¹⁴ it is therefore not surprising the alarming rate at which the Chinese have reduced poverty and stems up the standard of the people is worth emulating by Africa countries. African leaders should take this road and not concentrate on looting public treasury and hide same in foreign banks that later give same looted funds from its region as foreign aid and take the praises. .
- Africa needs to evaluate her development laws and strengthens her anti corruption laws. The Chinese example is apt. Even though the world condemns the death penalty sentences as the only punitive measure for anyone found guilty of corruption in China, but it has worked in china. The position of this paper coming from the background of the Nigeria situation is that as long as no drastic or stiffer penalties are placed those found guilty of corrupt practices, such as life sentences and death penalty, the fight against corruption would never succeed in most parts of Africa.
- The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa must learn that catching up with regional integration is easier than pushing the frontier innovation of her membership at World Trade Organization.
- In China, such a move from frontier investment pushes growth to a productivity-led model and this, according to projection; it may add 5.6 trillion US Dollars to China's GDP by 2030. This is huge and Africa can borrow a leaf from the Chinese and Southeast Asia's initiatives but that is the "road not taken" by Africa.

REFERENCES.

- [1]. A. Adusei, "Hiding Africa's Looted Funds" The Silence of Western Media" (2009). Available at https://wikileaks.org/wiki/Hiding_Africa%27s_Looted_Funds:_The_Silence_of_Western_Media
- [2]. A. Maddison, "Monitoring the World Economy:" (1820-199). Ayodele, et al. (2014) "International Journal of Economic Practices and Theories" Vol. 4, No. 6, Available at http://www.ijept.org/index.php/ijept/article/download/The_Linkage_between_Foreign_Aid_and_Economic_Growth/18 Journal of Economic Practices and Theories.

¹¹⁴ See 2016 World Population Data Sheet. Available at <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Datasheets/2016/2016-world-population-data-sheet.aspx>. Accessed on 24/2/20-18.

- [3]. A. Banerjee., and E. Duflo, “Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of The Way to Fight Global Poverty (2011). New York: Public Affairs.
- [4]. B. Davidson, “The black man's burden; Africa and the curse of the nation-state”, (1992), London: James Currey. M. Mamdani, “Citizen and subject; Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism”, (1996), London: James Currey.
- [5]. B. L. David , P. Collier, J. W. Gunning, “The political economy of poverty, equity, and growth : Nigeria and Indonesia” (1999) A World Bank comparative study. New York : Oxford University Press. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/118981468775569456/The-political-economy-of-poverty-equity-and-growth-Nigeria-and-Indonesia>.
- [6]. B. Higgins, “1968 Economic development; Problems, principles, and policies”, second edition. New York: W.W. Norton.
- [7]. B. Pinto, “Nigeria during and after the oil boom: a policy comparison with Indonesia”, (1987), World Bank Economic Review 1:419-45.
- [8]. Boeke, J.H. 1953 Economics and economic policies of dual societies as exemplified by Indonesia. Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink.
- [9]. C. Crook , “Third World Economic Development” (1992), The Concise Encyclopedia Economics. Available at <http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc1/ThirdWorldEconomicDevelopment.html>.
- [10]. C.E. Palmer, V. Jing Latham , Watkins, “Bribery and Corruption” (Second Edition) Editors: Jonathan Pickworth & Deborah Williams. Published by Global Legal Group. Latham & Watkins 18th Floor, One Exchange Square, 8 Connaught Place, Central, Hong Kong.
- [11]. D. Dollar, “China’s Engagement with Africa From Natural Resources to Human Resources” (2016) John L. Thornton China Center at BROOKINGS. Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Chinas-Engagement-with-Africa-David-Dollar-July-2016.pdf>. Accessed on 24/2/2018.
- [12]. D. Ellerman. Rethinking Development Assistance (2008).A lecture delivered at the University of Antwerp, Institute of Development Policy and Management.
- [13]. D. Henley, “Chalk and cheese? Africa and the lessons of Asian development”, (2007), Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), Leiden. Conference titled “Asia and the 'other Third World' in the 21st century: political engagement, economic role and development policies”.
- [14]. E. O.Okon, “Five Decades of Development Aid to Nigeria: The Impact on Human Development” (2012) Journal.
- [15]. F. Burner, “Why Foreign Aid has Failed to Promote Economic Development in Africa” (2013). Available at <http://www.badousenegalesecuisine.com/blog/2013/05/30/Why-Foreign-Aid-Fails-to-Promote-Economic-Growth-in-Sub-Saharan-Africa.aspx>. Retrieved on the 22nd day of January, 2015.
- [16]. F. Tarp. “Aid Effectiveness” (2009) ANU – WILDER Publication. For further readings, see http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/discussion-papers/2009/en_GB/dp-05/
- [17]. G. Arrighi, (1996), “The rise of East Asia; World systematic and regional aspects”, International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 16(7/8):6-44.
- [18]. H. Smith, “Anti-Corruption and Bribery in China”, (2017).
- [19]. H. and F Tarp and C-J.Dalgaard, “Empirics of Foreign Aid and Growth”(2000).Available http://www.cer.ethz.ch/resec/teaching/seminar_aussenwirtschaft_wt_04_05/daalgard_hansen_tarp_EJ.pdf.A ccessed on the 22nd day of January, 2015.
- [20]. I. Wallerstein, “ Africa and the modern world”, (1986), Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- [21]. J .Sachs, “The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time”(2005) New York: Penguin Press.

- [22]. J. Eckart, “8 Things You Need to Know About the Chinese Economy:”, (2016), J. Adams, “Africa and the World Bank: Comments in a presentation at the FASID seminar on Economic Prospects for Africa”. (1998), Available on archive.unu.edu/hq/academic/Pg_area4/August-intro.html. Accessed on 27/2017.
- [23]. J. Court, T. Yanagihara, “Asia and Africa into the Global Economy: Background and Introduction”, J. Roberts, F. Sonja (2004), “Why is Bangladesh outperforming Kenya? A comparative study of growth and its causes since the 1960s”. London: Economics and Statistics Analysis Unit, Overseas Development Institute. ESAU Working Paper 5, Produced As A Policy Resource For The British Department For International Development (DFID).
- [24]. J. Sender, 'Africa's economic performance: limitations of the current consensus', (1999) Journal of Economic Perspectives 13-3:89-114.
- [25]. J..Stiglitz. “Globalization and Its Discontents”(2003.)W M Norton & Company.Available at <http://www.anderson.ucla.edu/faculty/sebastian.edwards/Stiglitz.pdf>. Accessed on the 22nd day of January, 2015.
- [26]. J.A. Morrell, “Why has Asia Succeeded While Africa has not? A Comparative Analysis of Economic Growth: What Factors have driven the Divergence of Economic Performance between East/SE Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa? (2006), School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- [27]. John A. Morrel, “Why Asia Succeeded While Africa has not? A Comparative Analysis of Economic Growth: What Factors have Driven The Divergence of Economic Performance Between East/SE Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa?”, (2006), Being Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Public Policy.
- [28]. K. Phillips, “The History of Foreign Aid” (2013). Available at <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/rearvision/the-history-of-foreign-aid/5162100>. Accessed on 23/2/2018.
- [29]. K. Phillips. “History of Foreign Aid” (2013).Available at <https://www.google.com.ng/#q=K.+Phillips.+%E2%80%9CHistory+of+Foreign+Aid%E2%80%9D+2013>. Accessed von the 22nd day of January, 2015.
- [30]. Krafona, “25 years of African Unity” (1998 L. Kilzer, A. Conte, “Africa's wealth floods offshore as corrupt leaders, corporations use banks to hide fortunes” (2012) Available at <http://triblive.com/home/2787113-74/countries-money-nigeria-developing-bonny-island-stanley-africa-gas-ibori>. Accesses on 20/2/2018.
- [31]. L. Chikh,“Algeria's gas exports to EU set to rise 15 percent in 2016” (2016) Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-algeria-energy/algerias-gas-exports-to-eu-set-to-rise-15-percent-in-2016-official-idUSKCN0XV0UG>. Accessed on 24/2018.
- [32]. M. Badawy, “North Africa economic growth critical to its future”, (2011), Reuters.
- [33]. Moyo, D.,“Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How there is a Better way”, (2009) Penguin Publications, New York.
- [34]. P. Collier, J. W. Gunning Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?” (1999) Vol. 13, No. 3. pp. 3-22, The Journal of Economic Perspectives.
- [35]. P. I. Adujie, “The Truth About Foreign Aid: Where It Really Goes and Not To Africa” (!2007). Available at Lawcareer2007@aol.com, New York, United States.
- [36]. P. McCawley, “Development Assistance in Asia in the 1990s”(1998), Esian Pacific Economic Literature, Volume 12, Issue 1, pp. 41–50. Available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-8411.00028/full>. Accessed on 29/6/2017.
- [37]. P.S. Heller, S. Gupta, ‘Challenges in Expanding Development Assistance’, (2002), IMF Policy Discussion Paper, Fiscal Affairs Department. Available at [http://CHALLENGES%20IN%20EXPANDING%20DEVELOPMENT%20ASSISTANCE%20TO%20AFRICA%20\(1\).pdf](http://CHALLENGES%20IN%20EXPANDING%20DEVELOPMENT%20ASSISTANCE%20TO%20AFRICA%20(1).pdf). Accessed on 12/8/2017.

- [38]. Peter K. Nyikuli, *Unlocking Africa's Potential: Some Factors Affecting Economic Development And Investment In Sub-Saharan Africa*, (1998-1999) 30 *Law & Pol'y Int'l Bus.* 623.
- [39]. S. Amin, *La faillite du développement en Afrique et dans le tiers-monde; Une analyse politique*”, (1989), Paris: L'Harmattan.
- [40]. S. Edwards. “Economic development and the effectiveness of foreign aid: A historical perspective.”(2014) Available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20685>. Retrieved on the 22nd day of January 2015.
- [41]. T. Daiss, “China Turns Up Heat On Corruption: 'No Mercy Against Law Breakers'”, (2016), Available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/timdaiss/2016/08/28/china-turns-up-heat-on-corruption-no-mercy-against-law-breakers/#7ab034383ec6> Accessed on 28/8/2017.
- [42]. T. F. Adetayo, O.O. Olawale, A. I. Adebunsi. “Foreign Aid Intervention and National Development in Nigeria: A Study of Akure South Local Government Area of Ondo State”. (2016) *Arts Social Sci J* 7:203. doi:10.4172/2151-6200.1000203” (2016). *Arts and Social Sciences Journal*.
- [43]. T. Habisso, “Africa and the Failure of Development Aid: Time for Designing an Exit Strategy” 2010. The 2016 World Population Data Sheet. Available at <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Datasheets/2016/2016-world-population-data-sheet.aspx>. Accessed on 24/2/20-18.
- [44]. The famous Seven Year Development Plan of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah” (1960).
- [45]. Available at http://www.ghanaculture.gov.gh/modules/mod_pdf.php?archiveid=1600 The World Bank, *World Development Report: Knowledge Development* 29-30 (1999) W. Easterly, “The Whiteman’s Burden and Why the West Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good” (2006) Penguin Publications, New York.
- [46]. W. Easterly. “The tyranny of experts: Economists, dictators, and the forgotten rights of the poor”(2014) *Basic Books*”. Available at <http://williameasterly.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/ejdr201465a.pdf>.
- [47]. World Bank, 1993, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*, Washington DC: The World Bank. See also, World Bank, 1994, *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- [48]. Y. Akyuz, H. Chang, R., Kozul-Wright, *New Perspectives on East Asian Development*, (1998), UNCTAD *discussion paper*. Available on <http://www.econpapers.repec.org/RePEc:taf:jdevst:v:34:y:1998:i:6:p:4-36>. Accessed on 27/8/2017.
- [49]. Y. Matsuura, “Crumbling Pillars: The Collapse of the L&D Paradigm: In The Role Of Law In Development Past, Present And Future” (2005), Nagoya University Research Project on “Development Assistance and Law” in the 21st Century under the JSPS Core-to-Core Program. M. Raschen, “North African countries face common economic challenges”, (2015), KFW RESEARCH: Focus on Economics.