

**The international conference on the role of think tanks in developing countries: challenges and solutions, Cairo, Egypt, 17-18 January 2008. Paper on Modalities for South South Cooperation in engendering linkages between research and policy making, by Dr Matlotleng Matlou, Africa Institute of South Africa, Tshwane.**

## **Introduction**

The developing world by definition is a large group of countries facing various political, economic, social and technical challenges. Foreign domination and their colonial history being largely responsible for the underdevelopment of these countries. These societies were taken off their development trajectories and they became appendages or peripheries to their colonizers; they became dependant on foreign values and ideas, largely forsaking indigenous knowledge. This is evident from the Human Development Report, Economic Competitiveness Index and other reports issued by different organizations annually. Indicators of poverty, health, wealth, employment and others show developing countries at the bottom of the global list, especially African nations. In fact many of them will not meet the Millennium Development Goals as agreed in 2000 at a global summit, by 2015 which is the cut-off date.

Military defeat, divide and rule, outright deceit are some of the reasons for the vicious slave trade and colonial exploitation that many of these countries suffered. The situation after independence has remained precarious in many states which were pawns in the cold war between east and west, dictators were supported, an arms race engendered and conflicts fueled. They became sources of supplying others with human and natural resources; they lost their cultures and have since then continued to be controlled or semi-controlled from outside. Of course all the blame cannot be placed on outsiders. Poor leadership, corruption, waste of resources, conflicts, weak systems of government, mental colonisation and inappropriate policies have all played a role in the underdevelopment of the global South. Nevertheless, some countries have managed to focus on development and have surmounted the challenges of under-development. In the 1950s, Malaysia, Singapore and South Korea, were at the same level of development as Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria etc; today the former have made tremendous progress, whilst the latter have not. Cambodia and Vietnam were decimated by wars from the 1950s to 1970s; whilst China and India have overcome remarkable levels of poverty and rapidly developed their economies. Why have some countries made progress and others not? How have countries like Botswana, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, India, Mauritius etc made such progress, whilst others like Burma, Fiji, Guyana, Haiti, Sierra Leone, have not done so well? What can different countries in the South learn from each other? These development challenges and successes should be studied and specific policy initiatives in various fields recommended to different nations. Many developing countries have huge natural resources and human made achievements. However, they are challenged technologically and have large numbers of poorly educated and low skilled people to meet the requirements of modern economies. Development finance institutions, think tanks and countries of the North have thus taken advantage to provide aid and policy prescripts over the past six decades though these have been largely inappropriate and mainly for their own benefits.

Think tanks can play significant roles in this regard. This paper will explore how think tanks in the South can cooperate and to assist other social partners: business, civil society, government and organized labour to meet their objectives and improve the policy process. Furthermore, I will show how they also serve as watchdogs over what the other stakeholders do, especially government. Lastly, I also investigate how think tanks are organised to achieve these objectives, using the Council for the Development of the Social Sciences in Africa (CODESRIA) as one model for South South cooperation.

### **The South - how do we define it?**

The South can be defined geographically as mainly countries in Africa, Asia, Middle East, some nations in the Pacific and parts of Europe, especially eastern Europe. This is a diverse group of countries spread across the globe with a population of about four billion; Africa, China and India making over three quarters of this. The challenges of underdevelopment mean most of this population is the target for global efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals. Therefore, how will countries in the South individually surmount their development challenges, cooperate amongst themselves and also work with the North to create a more equitable global order? In socioeconomic terms some countries in these regions have made substantial progress and have achieved developed country status; measured by considering indicators like gross national products, per capita income, human development etc. However, for the purposes of this paper we will consider them as part of the South.

Countries of the South began their cooperation mainly through support for the decolonization struggles across Africa, Asia and Latin America by those states that were already independent. They also received assistance from progressive allies based in other parts of the world, even within the colonial powers. They expended huge resources – human, financial and others – to ensure that they united in driving the colonialists out. In the early 1950s there were meetings like the Bandung conference bringing the continents above with some countries in Europe to form the Non-Aligned Movement. Later political and economic blocs like the Organisation of African Unity, ASEAN, G77 were established to further the interests of various regions in the South. These institutions continued cooperating in other multilateral forums particularly the United Nations, spearheading the interests of the South in a globe that was divided in a Cold war between the East and West. Such cooperation has continued, grown and deepened, existing until today. The challenge in the South, for most countries is that there is a constant and growing divide in intellectual endeavours and political action. These nations have huge development potential in terms of resources, technological advancement and policy initiatives over the past five decades, but in terms of the Millennium Development Goals there exist high levels of deprivation.

Colonialisation of most of the South by mainly countries in the North, took the former off indigenously conceived development. Their culture, languages, resources were now conceived in the North and colonies became appendages of the mother nations. The

periphery would now exist to support the needs of the centre. Of course people in the colonies did not fold their arms and just accept this serfdom. There were wars and other means of resistance and these led to the independence of colonies across the South starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Asia and Latin America; with the Middle East and Africa following largely in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Legacy of colonial education systems**

Any discussion on development, research and linkages to the policy process must be located within the context of the education system and history of those societies. Prior to interacting with other cultures, societies that eventually fell under foreign domination or colonization had their own languages, educational systems, values, norms etc. Whereas people developed knowledge through experience and amongst their peer groups, education is now elitist and depends on one having funds. During colonialism, because of the numerous taxes imposed, many families could not send their children to school and this is where the discrimination amongst others, against educating the girl child took root. Imperialism had the express intention of conquering, usurping their resources, opening markets for the goods of the imperialists and imposing their languages, ideas etc on others. In most of the South, especially in Africa, our knowledge and intellectual property is taken and given no recognition. Education in the mother tongue is not widespread, especially after the primary stage and our educational content and systems are based on western thought and values and not grounded in local realities. The introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes resulted in even more reduced resources for education and making it more expensive. So fewer people could afford education. This explains the present dominance of globalization by the North, even though countries like Brazil, China and India amongst others are fast changing the situation.

In some countries like the United States where there is a close relationship between government and academia, many of these so called experts serve in and out of these two spheres influencing ideas in both realms. We have seen the impact of some of these policies like War against Communism, War against terror; total engagement; driven by academics like Kissinger, Crocker, Rice, Fraizer and think tanks like the Enterprise Foundation, Heritage Foundation, Council for Foreign Relations as they either advise government or when they are in government.. The academics influence policy based on the ideologies and paradigms that they adhere to. Ideas are material and those that dominate shape the world.

The United States encouraged students from many countries across the globe to study there, with a specific agenda. Many of them became admirers of US culture and policies. Thus they became unofficial ambassadors of the United States back home, especially whilst in academia or government. In some cases they propagated specific schools of thought from specific institutions, the most popular being the Chicago School, especially in Latin America. We should be encouraging similar programmes across the South. Having studied in other countries across the globe will allow people to learn from each other and hopefully create solidarity and understanding.

During the Cold War thousands of students from the South studied in Eastern Europe and many on returning home propagated communism and socialism. So the South was caught in between the theories of capitalism and marxism, both foreign theories and we were often victims of the agendas of others. They saw us as pawns in their drive to secure resources and control the world. Some countries in the South came out better than others, but overall we paid dearly in lives, lost of resources and independence during this period and the effects are still being felt across the South today.

Meanwhile, there has been a huge brain drain from the South to the North. Thousands of people from the South move North annually to study and work. Africa annually loses over 20,000 highly trained professionals. There are more Ethiopian doctors in Chicago than at home. About 20-50% of higher education graduates from various African countries leave home annually to seek opportunities in western nations. The figures reach about 80% in some Caribbean nations. However, Brazil, India and China through creating conducive conditions locally have been able to retain most of their highly trained human resources. Nevertheless, there are millions of professionals from Asia and Latin America in Europe and North America. This is the brain power, built over the years at great cost that is lost, contributing to development elsewhere, whilst underdevelopment continues in their countries of origin. The cost to the South is tremendous because unskilled people soon follow the skilled ones. There is a collapse of institutions, economic productivity gradually or sometimes dramatically decreases, dependency on foreign aid and donors increases and these countries become pawns to be utilized by others for their own interests. A positive outcome of the present global economic crisis is the reduction of employment and other opportunities for migrants and many professionals from the South in the North. Thus many are returning home. Having gained skills and experience in the North they can assist their home countries tackle their development challenges. However, they must ensure sensitivity to the appropriateness of their policy options to Southern situations and context.

Trade in education services as advocated under the World Trade Organization rules, is disadvantaging the South, as more well resourced institutions from the North enter their territories. Market forces are driving the agenda, not needs of the academy, especially the growth of western consultancies. Furthermore, donors through technical aid insist on the work going mainly to their institutions. Most of the aid, eventually returning home.

### **The development paradigm of the South**

The present global financial crises has shown the hypocrisy of governments in the North which have spent billions of dollars and other resources to prop up failed institutions in their countries, something they have always condemned in the South. There is clearly a need for greater government involvement in markets, ensuring the strengthening of institutions, and spreading the social development net. Economic growth in the South is premised on agricultural and land reform, whilst the North has to curb its massive subsidies to its agricultural sector. A cow in the North gets an average of US\$2 per day while in the South most people survive on less than US\$1 per day, better a cow in the North, even with mad cow disease, than a human in the poor South.

Countries of the South need to realize that market forces and social justice are incompatible, making it necessary for greater government interventions in the form of the developmental state. South South cooperation will be vital, in order to counter the disastrous Washington Consensus that has continued to deepen the inequitable growth and distribution of global benefits and entrenching Northern dominance. Biased global practices like utilization of Gross National Product (GDP) for measuring economic growth rather than the more relevant indicators of Net National Product (NNP) must be discontinued, as well as the huge wealth flows from poor developing countries to the rich in the North through unfair trade and interest on loans. We must champion a new and pro-poor global agenda where agricultural subsidies and trade barriers are removed, compensate the South for environmental services, and manage our wealth in the South rather than the over-dependency on reserves of foreign currency such as the dollar, and providing proper jobs for the billions of our people.

Over US\$2 billion daily of interest payments and accumulation of reserves from the South is paid to the North. The foreign reserves accrue only half a percent of interest, but when Southern countries borrow from these same funds some of which they own, they pay twenty percent interest. Added to this they buy our raw materials at low prices and sell us finished goods at high prices, give aid with one hand and take it back with the other. They suck us into the arms race and encourage conflicts in our countries and then pretend to be peace brokers. This is a vicious cycle for us. We are being exploited and also subsidizing the North. This means that effectively, the North is getting foreign aid from the poor South. Such a situation perpetuates international financial instability. We should be investing more in each other's countries; learning from each other, (investing, developing capacity etc). Some counties like China and other Asian states now save more of their resources locally than outside particularly in the USA.

Economic growth is vital for development but growth alone minus equity is insufficient. Important areas where countries in the South should learn from each other and strengthen cooperation are in various areas like health sector, education, public transport, housing, science and technology, agriculture and land reform, and rural development. Efforts of governments must be complimented by civil society, the private sector and research institutions. These efforts mark another milestone on the critical and challenging path for mapping common purpose and coordinated action by people of the South.

The UN Millennium Summit of 2000 attended by 189 countries adopted the Millennium Declaration or the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), outlining eight goals, 18 numerical targets and 48 quantifiable indicators to be achieved by 2015. The goals are: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; universal primary education; promote gender equality in education and empower women; reduce child mortality of under-fives by two-thirds; improve maternal health and reduce mortality by two-thirds; universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS and malaria; reduce loss of biodiversity and halve the number of people without access to safe water or sanitation; and develop a global partnership for development. Although the whole world must meet these targets the greatest challenges are in the South – Africa, Asia and Latin America. The North is supposed to cooperate with the South in meeting the targets through goal eight.

Progress in meeting the goals, so far, has been variable across countries, continents and global. Good results have been achieved for each goal, but the targets are unlikely to be achieved within the time set. Presently, about 1.4 billion people still live in extreme poverty; over 70 million children (38 and 18 million in Africa and Asia respectively) do not attend school; 113 countries failed to achieve equality in school enrollments – 55% of children not in school are female and women occupy 40% of paid jobs; children born in the South are 13 times more likely to die before age five, with about 10 million dying annually; 500,000 women in the South still die annually during pregnancy; 7,500 affected daily with HIV, 5,500 die from AIDS complications and 500 million new cases of malaria occur annually; 40% of the world faces water scarcity, 1 billion have no safe drinking water, 2.5 billion have no basic sanitation and fish stocks and other resources are over exploited; and few of the donors are going to meet their gross target of 0.15% of gross national income as aid.

Developing countries are part of the global system of trade, multilateral agencies and international law. In most cases this global system is western dominated in ideas and values. It also requires enormous resources and capacity to effectively participate in, thus disadvantaging poor countries. This is evident from the numerous meetings, conferences and commitments that take place just under the United Nations System in general and for particular organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO). Effecting WTO rules includes removing trade barriers, creating institutions, building capacity, implementing various standards and regulations and maintaining complex bureaucracies, all too taxing for many developing countries. Over the years we have witnessed the marathon negotiations that take place over trade, climate change, finance and various other global issues. Often the richer countries dominate these discussions and the outcomes.

### **An understanding of Think Tanks**

Think tanks which are institutions that are involved in research both basic and applied (academic and non-academic); knowledge generation and application, teaching etc should be assisting in knowledge creation in order to meet societal needs. The questions are what can think tanks in the South do to change the development agenda in their countries; how should they cooperate in doing this and what can they learn from each other; what links should they develop with similar organizations in the North? What networks within and across nations and regions should be developed? What joint or comparative projects which will help us learn from each other should be engaged in? How can the vast resources in the South be mobilized rather than depending on Northern donors who have their own interests and agenda? What mechanisms should be established to involve all social partners in the work that we do, so that they assume ownership of the options and results? How should we seek to change the paradigms of knowledge since this has a great influence on global relations of power? How can we become more independence and hopefully improve the quality and relevance of the work we undertake? The quantity of think tanks is not as important as their quality of work and its relevance for the development of the South. They must also assist in improving the quality and quantity of data and information collected and disseminated.

These are some of the questions and issues we will seek to answer and explore utilising the role of think tanks as a paradigm. Furthermore, the CODESRIA model used in Africa will be analysed and for its relevance in advancing South South cooperation. This paper concentrates on the role of think tanks and research in the policy process, particularly in the South and how policy makers impact on think tanks. We will analyze the experience so far and make recommendations for how both the think tanks and the policy options can be made more home grown, taking into account local situations and interests and what countries of the South can learn from each other.

### **Linkages between research and the policy process – what role for think tanks?**

Policy research is defined as providing scientific facts that are translated into policy advice i.e. evidence based, policy researchers also independently develop initiatives through their studying development issues or theoretical issues from their fields of study. There are various types of policy research and these can be grouped into four areas.

**Monitoring or surveillance** is where the research process includes studying the development of policies, their implementation and the outcomes and impact of the policies. There is an element of early warning and identifying trends. The researchers can then advise the policy makers on challenges, gaps, problems and progress; where changes have to be implemented, lessons learnt etc. The results can also be used for training and capacity building programmes where theory and practice are brought together. **Evaluative studies** are usually conducted after the policies have been implemented with the intention of assessing the impact, the extent to which the original objectives have been fulfilled and what unintended results have emerged. **Prognostic research** involves analyzing issues with some degree of regularity with the intention to predict the future as closely as possible, based on different scenarios. It is closely related to the monitoring and surveillance process. **Prospective research** is similar to the prognostic one except that it concentrates on facts largely outside the control of policy makers.

For researchers to influence the policy environment they will need to define what they do. This refers to the scope of work, the fields in which they work, the values and guiding principles of their organizations etc. Where they work covers the context and environment in which they work. This includes the political, economic, social and technological world which is ever changing and over which they have little control. Understanding this is important if they are to influence it.

Influencing policy must not be viewed as an end in itself, more important are using the influence to support development needs. There are no specific best practices for influencing policy, rather it is about convergence of factors which vie towards or away from impacting on the policy environment. Building both personal and professional relations between policy makers and researchers is vital. Added to these are the quality of research work, strong interest and demand from policy makers, transparency of the policy process, availability of systems, structures and procedures to implement the research results and options. How they work includes the methodologies used to order

their work. To these impact on the extent to which policy makers take into account research issues when they formulate and implement policies?

Stable policy making environments allow for easier interactions, access to policy makers and absorption and implementation of the research findings. It also means that policy makers are available over the long term and researchers do not have to deal with different people all the time and have to re-start their processes ever often. Researchers will need to investigate the capacity of policy makers to utilize their research. This includes capacity building, regular briefing, formation of alliances and partnerships with other stakeholders to lobby governments. Networking with donors and other power brokers in the policy process is also very important.

Policy making has the fundamental goal to achieve intended and desired goals, plus unintended but desired ones, whilst reducing unintended and undesired effects of policies. However, in the market place of ideas that policy making is, there is no guarantee that decision makers are influenced by research results since there are many other factors that they consider, for example political expediency and their survival. It is thus not surprising that many African countries have had outsiders dominating their policy processes because of the greater resources they command, the bias towards ideas from the North, lack of respect and confidence in local people and their capacity largely as a result of colonialism.

Researchers provide inputs into the policy process, seek to influence policy and policy makers and mould the world based on their ideas. The expectation is that researchers will produce academically credible and high quality policy research. Thus proper communication channels with stakeholders and trust between researchers and policy makers builds credibility.

Researchers assist in scanning issues to address societal challenges and problem solving. They also assist with modeling, surveys, long term scenario planning and futures studies which all improve the policy process. They provide evidence based research for policy formulation and, implementation; and policy options not recommendations for policy makers.

Research institutions also participate in knowledge generation, training, mentoring capacity and institution building. Furthermore, research institutions need to create and strengthen effective and efficient networks amongst themselves and with various social partners, business, civil society government and organized labor, locally and globally.

Noting that in many developing countries policy processes are dominated by outsiders and donors what can be done to develop local capacity? First it is important to seek local resources in order to reduce dependence on outsiders and the undue influence they have. If donor funds must be used there must be insistence that local people and institutions play vital roles in shaping the policy process, capacity building must be engendered, networks must be built, institutions strengthened and proper incentives must be offered to local researchers etc.

The challenges of development have been studied by many, but quite often this is done by outsiders, so called experts and their institutions. These people often have spent short stints in the countries they are writing about, do not conduct in-depth research and

recycle many ideas. The policy prescriptions and options they recommend are not home grown nor wholly appropriate; thus nationals of these countries and their research institutions are sidelined. The donors have perpetuated this anomaly in the interest of providing jobs for their nationals, the technical aid they provide largely returns home and the recommendations from their staff often favors procurement from the donors. So what they give with one hand they take with the other. In cases where local researchers and their institutions are utilised, they often rely on donor funds. This compromises their independence, the work they do can sometimes not continue because of lack of resources or they are persecuted by their governments. Sometimes inadequate fieldwork is conducted so the results cannot be relied upon. Commissioned work, especially for policy purposes often does not meet academic standards, because of the weak institutions in some countries of the South.

Many think tanks in the South have been established through donor funds and their existence depends on external parties. Some of them have most of their staff being from the North. They have pushed mainly western ideas like Structural Adjustment Programmes, privatization of public services; rightsizing; reduced state intervention etc. This has been in the face of resistance by the West to opening its markets to goods from the South, especially value added ones, providing subsidies to various sectors of their economies and stifling growth in the South. The West has also held a stranglehold in institutions like the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organisation ensuring that their policy prescriptions, especially the Washington Consensus during the unpopular Bush regime dominate globally. However, these same governments are leading in giving bailouts to their financial and manufacturing companies, increasing protectionism, intervening in different parts of the economy, all in contradiction to what they have preached to the South.

Meanwhile we have numerous so called experts on the South from the North. They establish institutions there and become the fount of ideas from their governments and international organizations. There is a conglomeration of about 25 African Studies Centres in Europe who form the Africa Europe Group on Interdisciplinary Studies. Institutions based in Africa can only be affiliate members with no voting rights. Similar situations exist in North America where many universities have departments specifically on various regions or countries of the South. We, just like during colonialism, remain objects of study, under agendas determined by others. There are many more experts on the South in the North than the other way round. This is a reflection of the colonial past and present globalization that favors the North.

The development challenges outlined provide sufficient scope for policy work for think tanks from developing countries will be vital in assisting their governments to navigate these complex global systems at national, regional and continental levels. They will also need to coordinate their work across the South. They should share information, expertise, build each other's capacity and provide opportunities to training new researchers.

I will now provide a synopsis of CODESRIA and explore the lessons it provides for South South cooperation.

## **CODESRIA Model**

The Council for the Development of Social Sciences in Africa (CODESRIA) was formed in 1974 to strengthen the Social Sciences; undertake multidisciplinary work linking humanities and social sciences in various languages; ensures geographic spread of activities across Africa and globally for people and institutions interested in the continent. CODESRIA has developed strong relations with donors, whilst maintaining its independence, allowing it to increase its programmes and the number of researchers involved in them. This is very useful especially for the relatively poorly resourced countries. A useful network has developed where institutions and researchers are able to undertake joint projects, academics share experiences and develop capacity especially of young researchers. Considerable policy research is carried out whilst the academic work is also very policy relevant. Grants and fellowships are provided to individuals and institutions for research and other activities. Interaction across different language groups which is normally limited is also enhanced. The division in Arabic, Swahili, Hausa, English French, Portuguese, Spanish blocs is partially overcome, and the walls broken down. The themes for many of its conferences, seminars, workshops and meetings deal with development challenges. The links between theory and practice are constantly strengthened and refined.

It has developed 25 year strategic plan (2007-2032) divided into 5 year phases, which is visionary and provides focus. The plan is reviewed through the geographical sub-regional committees, Council and during the triennial general assembly. CODESRIA organizes colloquia, seminars, training institutes etc. which develop skills of individuals and institutions; improve the quality and quantity of publications and disseminate knowledge about Africa, which both produces documents in-house and in collaboration with publishers across Africa. There is a strong publishing programme based on internationally recognized standards. Publications are sold at subsidized rates across the continent and most of its universities receive free copies. Agreements with publishers in Africa to reduce cost of publications have been signed. CODESRIA has sought to overcome gender and generational gaps by encouraging the development of more female academics and younger scholars. The older and more established researchers act as mentors and models for others. Presently a database of over five thousand scholars / institutions based in Africa and globally has been developed. Its use of multidisciplinary methods and projects combats fragmentation of knowledge and its production. It has also lobbied for the strengthening of the African academy, increased funding for higher education, a culture of excellence and academic freedom over the years. Linkages to other communities outside academia is based on connecting theory and practice. Research relationships and joint projects with other regions of the world – Asia, Latin America, Europe and various parts of the Diaspora have been developed.

CODESRIA has augmented the inadequate resources available in many African countries for researchers and their institutions. It has allowed valuable work to continue for developing knowledge, largely by Africans and reduced Northern dominance in this area. Over the past thirty-five years CODESRIA has assisted in strengthening the social sciences, developing knowledge about and in Africa, growing and nurturing institutions and creating linkages with international partners. It has been a breath of fresh air in an atmosphere where many similar institutions have become fossils or produce very little at great expense.

It has a small core staff in Dakar, Senegal which carries out its work programme. The regional committees and Council provide oversight. It is membership organization with payments of \$20 or 30 for individuals and \$500 for institutional members in Africa and globally. Their benefits include receiving publications, participating in CODESRIA events at reduced cost.

## **Conclusion**

The South faces various challenges as outlined by the status of implementation of the MDGs and made worse by the present global economic and financial crises. Governments have to develop and implement policies to ensure sustainable development of their nations. No country is an island and requires the cooperation of others to meet these goals. This explains the regional, continental and multilateral initiatives across the globe. The experience of the South, which recognized similarities in history and challenges, contributed to its formation and its continued existence. The partnership between research and the policy environment is a mutually beneficial one.

Institutions of the South should identify their strengths and cooperate in the provision of these services. They should develop networks which allow more cost effective utilization of resources across institutions and geographic space, share experiences through study visits and offer joint courses and create appropriate research agendas to assist the South with development challenges. Stronger institutes and researchers must assist and mentor weaker ones, whilst ensuring their resources are not over-extended and burdening; stay focused; and manage competition and conflict.

We have to ensure that think tanks do not remain elitist. Knowledge does not reside amongst only the ivory towers. Ordinary people have through their life experiences and indigenous knowledge vast resources that should be tapped to deal with the myriad of development challenges facing human beings. The internet has certainly proven this and academics and policy makers should stop mainly speaking to themselves and producing esoteric ideas and reports. We should take advantage of information technology and communication systems to reach as many people as possible.

Today's global world is marked by the flow of goods and services traversing national boundaries and increasingly being governed by regional and international institutions. We are also seeing the rise of regionalism particularly in the North with the European Union being the leader. African, Caribbean and Pacific countries have been bullied, divided and ruled as the EU bloc negotiated economic partnership agreements over the past three years. Regionalism is also growing in the South, but this is on weak foundations. It will be a long time before we are so united and organized. Most progress has been made in Asia. If the rich world is coming together and showing that unity is strength, then it will be folly for the South to continue being in disarray.

We should build private and public sector capacity both human and institutional; whilst ensuring that this is then used effectively. We should insist that donor aid uses our capacity, otherwise refuse it. This after all is what the principle of equal in the New

Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) espouses. The CODESRIA model which has been relatively successful in Africa can be adapted for use in partnerships in other regions of the South within the policy environment and to further the development agenda.

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