Communicating the Marshall Plan to Africa: Challenges and Responses

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Abstract

With the irresistible ''apple'' of Africa on its eye, the western world ensured the scramble and partition of Africa leading to the Berlin Conference (1884-85). The subjugation of the African people put the continent in a sorry state. Since the Marshall Plan brought back fallen Europe after World War II into a vibrant continent courtesy of the Americas, the same framework was applied in Africa but it failed woefully. The paper used the qualitative method to investigate why the plan did not provide the needed soothing balm for Africa. With the aid of communication for development, media imperialism and social exchange theoretical frameworks, it discovered that there was a communication gap between those who brought the plan and Africans because it was aimed at working for Africans, not with Africans. The study discovered that involving Africans in what concerns them and participatory communications are appropriate responses to the developmental debacle facing the continent. The study concluded that the onus lies on African leaders, scholars and peoples to change the status quo through ensuing committed and transparent leadership backed with showcasing its invaluable contributions to the world.

Keywords: Africa, Communication, Corruption, Development, Underdevelopment.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

In development studies, societal growth relates with human and infrastructural development. For those in developing or third world countries, development-related issues may not only concern human capacity but technological advancement. In discussing development, reviewing previous historical narratives of colonial regimes which used the resources of smaller countries to develop theirs economically and technologically is a sine qua non.

Perhaps it is reason why experts now examine development through a comparative analysis of the role of imperial powers in underdeveloped countries and how successive governments who are currently holding forth in their countries are faring. This study reflects on where emerging economies are coming from, where they are and where they intend to be in terms of catching up with the comity of nations.

The integral advancement of any country opens up discussions on appropriate models of communicating ideas and values. As this paper shall disclose, supporting other nations involves social exchange - where this is lacking, imperialism becomes the order of the day. No doubt, humanitarian acts create a relationship between donor countries and recipients. With the aid of various theories, this study intends to dig up the "how" and the "why" of the Marshall Plan as it was communicated to Africa while anticipating various challenges and appropriate responses.

1.2. Problem, Aim and Method of the Study

For many years, the western world has been milking Africa dry in a utilitarian relationship that did not mean well for successive generations. From ferrying away natural resources such as tin, iron ore and cocoa, to brain drain and the injustice of imposing foreign news, movies and entertainment on African nations created serious problems. While many African states are bearing the brunt of the scramble and partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference (1884-85), they are contending with post colonial hangovers. These post colonial hangovers are corrosive structures set up by the imperialists.

One of such is the Marshall Plan which was communicated to Africa in a wrong manner. With a big-brother mentality, America sought to help Africa believing that a plan which helped Europe to come out of the Second World War was going to work in Africa – it failed. As it is, the continent is still contending with neo-colonialism.

Current political and technological retrogression is no longer blamed on the colonial imperialists but on current handlers in the continent. It is clear that most governments have now embraced democracy but what is happening now in most African countries is despotism – it appears that what is playing out in the continent is a combination of erstwhile monarchic juntas and a borrowed democracy that is not well assimilated.

The question of development in world is one that goes with many challenges. These challenges depend on which part of the world you come from since every part of world has issues it is dealing with. However, generally speaking, development centers on infrastructural and human capacity building. Unfortunately, in underdeveloped regions of the world, development is measured on infrastructural indices.

It should be noted that underdevelopment rears its ugly head around the problems of injustice, corruption, poverty and environmental degradation or improper waste management amongst others. Like other continents of the world, it is a historical fact that America and Europe suffered quite a number of developmental challenges while

trying to maintain a clean bill of health. As time went on, these seeming challenges were harnessed and transformed into giant strides. The narrative in Africa is not any different.

Rodney (1982) opines that European colonial regimes used a combination of political power and economic exploitation to deliberately exploit and under-develop Africa in the late 20th century.

Therefore, the study aims at:

1. Reappraising the strengths of the Marshall Plan in Europe;
2. X-raying and evaluating the weaknesses of the Marshall Plan as communicated to Africa;
3. Attempting appropriate responses to the failure of the plan ;
4. Challenging African leaders and scholars to help the continent unlearn the failures of the past towards positioning it on the global spotlight.

In light of the above, this paper employs the qualitative method of study while attempting a response to the "convulsions" of the Marshall Plan in Africa. The choice of this method is informed by its pragmatic advantages such as, allowing the researcher to analyse already available data on the subject while giving inputs as contributions to the corpus of knowledge.

2. Conceptual Explication

2.1. George Marshall: The Masterstroke Man

George Marshall was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on 31st December, 1880. After graduating from Virginia Military Institute in 1901, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant and sent to the Philippines. By 1906, Marshall resumed studies at Fort Leavenworth where he graduated top of his class thus qualifying for the Army Staff College. By the First World War, he was on the Western Front after working as an instructor for two years. In 1918, he was involved in the planning of the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

In January 1947, Truman appointed Marshall as his Secretary of State. It was while he occupied this position that Marshall devised the European Recovery Program which changed the course of history. He was also Secretary of Defence in 1949 and was said to have helped to organize United States forces in the early stages of the Korean War. Despite occupying these high ranking positions, he was accused of making decisions which helped communism dominate the world. This libel had great implications. It meant that Marshall was a traitor to his country. Disappointed by this accusation, he retired from active politics.

Nonetheless, his giant strides at home and abroad won him the prestigious Nobel Prize for Peace in 1953 for "the European Course."' George Marshall died in Washington on 16th October, 1959. Perhaps it is reason why President Winston Churchill saw Marshall's achievements as monumental thus recognising him as the "organizer of victory" while Truman referred to him as "the greatest living American" (Simkin, 2013).

2.2. The Marshall Plan

The phrase "equivalent of the Marshall Plan" is often used to describe a proposed large-scale rescue program (Roberts, 1990) which was used to bring back life into war-torn Europe. The Marshall Plan officially referred to as the European Recovery Program (ERP) – a United States of America-led project to rebuild Post-World War II Europe (Britannica, 2008). Through the Marshall Plan, the US gave economic support to help rebuild European economies after the end of WW II in order to prevent the spread of Soviet Communism (DeConde, 2002). McMahon (2003) outlines the disaster and economic ruin of the Second World War and its impact on the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe and the third world.

The Marshall Plan which was instituted at the Paris Economic Conference in July, 1947 took the name of U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall. It would be recalled that at that conference, Marshall had urged that European countries to decide on their economic needs so as to get an integrated material and financial aid from the United States (Allen, 1949). Eichengreen and De Long (1991) refer to the Marshall Plan as the greatest economic policy and foreign policy success in this century.

2.3. Theoretical Frameworks

This paper adopts three theoretical frameworks: The *communication for development theory, media imperialism theory* and the *social exchange theory*.

The *communication for development theory* argues that decisions about development goals and methods should be made by the community not government, organisations or experts. It contends that participatory communication which entails that each person in a group who is affected by a development should be consulted and given the autonomy of decision-making is key (Newstead, 2009).

This theory which promotes shared-values is other-oriented. It also gives access to feedback amongst various peoples as opposed to the transmission model of communication which is a one-way traffic. *Communication for development theory* is chosen as theoretical framework because scholars view it as a new paradigm towards a more egalitarian, ground-up society as opposed to hegemonic systems which inhibits development (Newstead, 2009).

The theory hinges on Paulo Freire's thesis on participatory communication which he notes is a catlyst for developmnt. To achieve development in the society, Freire proposed facilitation, reflection and participation (Freire, 1973).

The *media imperialism theory* was founded in 1973 by Herb Schiller. The theory makes the assumption that information flows from the rich information areas of the west to the poor developing nations of the world otherwise known as third world countries. It argues that these information flow changes the cultural identities of the developing nations.

Schiller accuses the western media for dominating the media in the world which adversely affects the cultural identities of third world countries. The theory holds that by imposing transported news, music and entertainment on underdeveloped nations, the industrial or developed world dominates less sophisticated nations through cultural imperialism.

This theory alleges that advertently or inadvertently, the developing world is at the receiving end of information which flows from world powers through international communication. In terms of media and cultural imperialism, the *media imperialism theory* accuses the western cultures of gradually dominating third world countries (Asemah, 2011).

The *social exchange theory* which was developed by Thibaut and Kelly in 1959 makes three assumptions namely:
1. Relationships are a function of comparing benefits gained versus costs to attain those benefits.
2. Following the minimax principle, people intend to make the most of the benefits while lessening the costs.
3. Since human beings are by nature selfish, people tend to look out for what is of interest to them first before considering others (Asemah, 2011).

Drawing from the *communication for development theory*, the overall development of Africa involves the active participation of all as opposed to dumping ideas of development on the people. The consequence of participatory development communication is social change (Karin, 2008). Also, the choice of *media imperialism theory* and the *social exchange theories* is apt to the study because while the former is indicative of the Marshall Plan, the other is appropriate to responses for the failure of the transported plan to Africa. The assumptions of the *media imperialism theory* take flesh in the Marshall Plan as it was applied to Africa because of its implication namely, cultural imperialism – linear model. Conversely, the study used the *social exchange theory* to buttress the fact that the relationship between the west and developing nations should be a mutual exchange of values. After all, every nation seeks after its welfare.

3. Literature Review
3.1. Various Development Decades: A Resume
To check the menace of underdevelopment, the African side of what would lay the foundation of developmental strides saw different epochal moments. The 1960s became the first development decade for post-colonial Asian, African and Latin American nations. In Africa alone, at least 32 countries had a three to five year development plan (Lopes, 2013). While western nations became donors, these new nations became beneficiaries. This philanthropic gesture appeared as a compensation for the scramble and partition of Africa (1884-85).

The result of this post-colonial "forced-marriage" became the use of derogatory appellations for Africa; for instance, the word "underdeveloped" was substituted for "developing" nations. Also, the world was divided into 3 parts namely, first, second and third worlds. Consequently, studies indicate that under the time under review, there were profitable investments in human resources, education and infrastructure. To drive home the point, development was measured in terms of assessing Gross National Product (GNP) - that is, total money value of goods and services produced by a country in a given year (Leipert, 1987).

Accordingly, the second development decade being 1970s saw a great shift of focus from economic to humanistic model. Scholars like Seers (1969) and Schumacher (1973) made great inputs here. Schumacher's *Small is beautiful economics as if people mattered* (1973) provided a basis for the argument. Seers saw development in terms of realisation of human personality potentials. In resonance with this submission, the Development Academy of Philippines launched the social indicators project in October of 1973 as another form of measuring development (Mongahas, 1999). It mapped out nine areas of concern namely: health and nutrition, education and skills; income and consumption, employment, capital and non-human resources; housing, utilities and environment, public safety and justice; social mobility and political values; these constitutes Nepal's Gross National Happiness (Bhutan, 2012).

The third epoch was in the 1980s. This period was marked by refining and expanding the term "development" to other related areas of concern like gender issues – the role of women in development, cost of environmental degradation and pollution that goes with industrialisation.

3.2. The Marshall Plan: Tales of an Intriguing Road Map for War-torn Europe
Sequel to the ERP, President Harry Truman signed the act establishing the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in April of 1948, to administer the program. The aim of the Marshall Plan was to:
1. Promote European production and support capitalism in Western Europe which had been shaken by the war;
2. Strengthen European currency and facilitate international trade;
3. Contain the threatening Soviet influence Roberts (2000) via national Communist parties in Czechoslovakia, France and Italy by marring the awareness of progressive social changes in European countries through the creation of a united imperialist front against the increasing liberation movements across the globe.

This resonates with Hogan (1990) submission namely that, the goals of the US were to rebuild war-devastated regions, eliminate trade barriers, modify industry and make Europe flourish again. Eichengreen (2008)Eichengreen shares this view when he said, more important efforts were made to modernize European industrial and business practices using high-efficiency American models, reducing artificial trade barriers, and instilling a sense of hope and self-reliance.

In April 1948, Paul G. Hoffman emerged economic cooperation administrator. In the same year, the participating countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Italy,

Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States) signed an accord establishing the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (which later took the name the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) as the master coordinating agency. Europe already had a Social Order built around protestant work ethic, achievement motivation McClelland (1996) and economic pragmatism. This prepared the ground for the plan.

It is believed that the Marshall Plan and the so-called Truman Doctrine preceded and contributed to the creation of the aggressive NATO bloc (1949). The ECA functioned until 1951, when its activities were transferred to the Mutual Security Agency. It provided $12 to 13 billion in grants and loans (Lapsansky-Werner, 2011) to 17 countries and was a key factor in reviving their economies and stabilizing their political structures. Initially, the Soviet Union strongly opposed the Marshall Plan while the various countries in Eastern Europe denounced it.

However, the plan which started in 1948 ended in 1952. At the end, it became one of the foreign aid programmes of the US that contributed immensely to the economic recovery of Europe (Harris, 1968). The Marshall Plan was replaced by the Mutual Security Plan which was passed by Congress on October 10, 1951 providing simultaneous military and economic aid (Price, 1955).

Belgian economic historian Herman Van der Wee (1991) caps up the invaluable place of the Marshall Plan when he notes that it gave a new impetus to the reconstruction of Western Europe. He further stressed that it made a decisive contribution to the renewal of the transport system, modernization of industrial, agricultural equipment, the resumption of normal production, increased productivity and facilitation of intra-European trade. It is safe to conclude that the Marshall Plan was one of the first elements of European integration and a "success story" akin to that of a blockbuster movie. The concept of the Marshall Plan was extended to less-developed countries under the Point Four Program as we shall discover in how the plan was communicated to Africa.

3.4. The African Shore and the Catastrophe of Communicating a "Transported Plan"

Africans have always been guided by a communication that is communalistic. African communalism is anchored on human/mutual interrelationships which places the community over and above the individual. This cultural belief extends to various areas of development. Before the imperial invasion of Africa, the traditional concept of development rested on stability and integration - The harmony which stems from the two, affected the cultural environment. Elders remained the linking bridge between ancestral divinity and the human society. As repertoires of culture, mores/customs and beliefs, they had to live by example and teach the young to be kind-hearted and avoid conflict.

This forms the basis of African traditional values and education of the young. Little wonder, Moemeka (1998) insists that African communalism is anchored on: Supremacy of community, sanctity of authority, respect for old age, usefulness of the individual and religion as a way of life (pp.128-133). This background of African life sets the parameters for the events that would unfold. Developmental challenges began to emerge such as: poverty, disease (high infant mortality rate), wars and conflicts, bribery and corruption, infrastructural underdevelopment among others as a result of pre and post colonial invasion of Africa coupled with the effects of globalisation.

This meant that Africa had to grow beyond socio-cultural heritage as well as move from communities towards social and economic growth. Africans had to look beyond the boundaries of their culture towards thinking beyond their existing accumulated knowledge. An extension of the Marshall Plan under the Point Four Programme was conceived to help less-developed countries. It should be noted that the Point Four Programme was the fourth foreign policy objective as mentioned in President Harry Truman's January 20, 1949 speech. It was this philosophy that hatched the Marshall Plan for Africa.

Incidentally, the 1960s saw newly independent countries seeking for help from the West. Expectedly, the UK and America displayed the "Big-brother mentality" by coming to the rescue of Africa. This help was also solicited from international organisations – the United Nations Food and Agriculture Association (UNESCO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Child Education Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for development projects. Sadly, the borrowed ambitious scheme collapsed. Moemeka (2008) provides the reasons for the failure of the Marshall Plan in Africa as:

i. First, the plan climbed down on the existing socio-cultural and political life of Africa treating it with reckless abandon.

ii. Second, the European socio-cultural structure and industrial organization were non-existent in Africa. The crux of the European cultural values as outlined by the British anthropologist Radcliff Brown which were basic to the European social order include: The protestant work ethic, achievement and economic pragmatism. The sociologist, Weber (1992) describes protestant work ethic as characterised by the belief in earthly striving for material success and wealth conceived as a sign of providential blessing. Equally, McClelland (1996) use of the concept of achievement motivation, lends credence to the above rendering. The policy failed because the creeds of the European Social Order were alien to the African Social Order.

iii. Third, a total disregard for the socio-cultural realities of the target social system made the Marshal Plan a far cry. This bypassing policy made the recipients suspicious of the imposed plan. Sensing the agents of the plan as ethnocentric, the response came with cultural pride.

iv. Fourth, the plan enslaved Africa with cultural imperialism thus equating development with modernism. Karin (2008) makes the point rather succinctly: "These theories equating development with modernization were advanced from US-based academic and development institutions. From the mid-1970s, scholars in Latin America and Asia initiated critiques, joined by others, of these models of development, for being ethnocentric, linear, acontextual and hierarchical. These critiques were grounded in broader concerns with cultural imperialism and dependency drawing attention toward global conditions…"

This top-down linear method which stifled the Marshal Plan is demonstrated in this chart:

Fig-1. Top-down linear method

Western Powers/America and Europe

Foreign donor agencies   **Cultural imperialism**

Africa

Source: Author
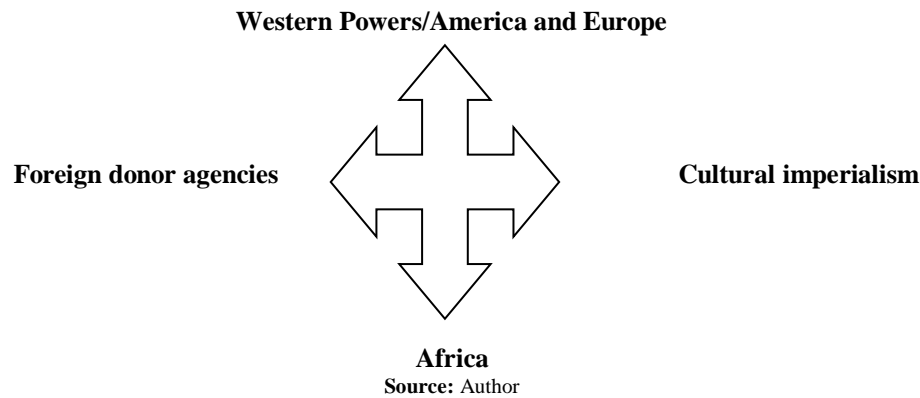
The above chart shows the top/down linear, acontextual and hierarchical development model of the Western world in its bid to ''assist underdeveloped nations.''

The chart above is indicative of the mentality of working for and not with the people. As we have seen, some scholars claim that these reasons are responsible for the failure of the Marshall Plan in Africa. Ake (2001) traces the evolution of this mess to the failure of development policies which includes, International Monetary Fund, IMF's stabilisation programmes which dominated international efforts and authoritarian post-colonial political structures in African States. What then are the lessons for this communication gap between donors and recipients of this plan and how can Africa come out of it?

3.5. The Marshall Plan: Towards an African Response

Academics have articulated fitting responses to the Marshall Plan. These responses are in view of the possibilities of a great continent. It is crucial to state some of these reasons such as:

1. **Dislodging Post-colonial Hangovers:** Africans have called for a dislodgement of imperial leftovers in such a manner that Africans are left to develop themselves. To this, the former President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere in his African socialist gospel, *Ujamma* warned that ''people are not developed.'' The social crusader rather argued that, ''people develop themselves.'' Working with people and not for, over and above them is crucial to this discussion. The benevolent power strategy fastened on advocacy operational in Africa from the 1960s to the 1980s which only provided facilities/amenities for social change for a people without involving them needs urgent review. People who know and understand the target social systems of Africa should be engaged if the desired change is to be achieved (Moemeka, 2008).

2. **Eschewing Post-colonialism and Neo-colonialism:** For Africans to freely communicate with themselves and find lasting solutions to the issues that affect them, both capitalist post-colonialism and neo-colonialism with their ingredients of hierarchical and linear approaches to governance must be kept at the back door. An erstwhile linear model of communication must necessarily give way to a grassroots, people- oriented or participatory model of communication which indicates that power belongs to the people; something akin to strict principles of democratic governance. In this regard, African leaders are obliged to seek servant leadership as opposed to authoritarian or despotism leadership. The people must be involved in their development by way of consultations and active involvement of all.

3. **Revamping Participatory Communication:** At the heart of integral development is participatory communication. Africans leaders ought to engage their people in participatory intellectual discourses and dialogues aimed at mobilization and engaging all and sundry in development related issues - be it at the level of interpersonal, group, or trado-rural communication, it behoves all to listen to one another, ask critical questions that affect life as well as the realities of peace and justice so as to drive home wholesome growth in all sectors of life. Leaders at all levels as well as the led must learn the act of active listening. The African Unity (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), other similar bodies and indeed countries that make up the African continent must chart a new course which involves interaction, trade and investment within and outside the region. The international community ought to listen to the people of Africa and seek to understand their systems better towards engaging the continent in meaningful roles.

   The chart below makes a case for a worldwide *participatory model* in contradistinction to the enslaving *linear top/bottom model:*

Fig-2. This chart illustrates the much needed ''cyclical participatory model'' akin to symbiotic relationship among nations and continents in contradistinction to the existing ''linear top/bottom model'' of development.
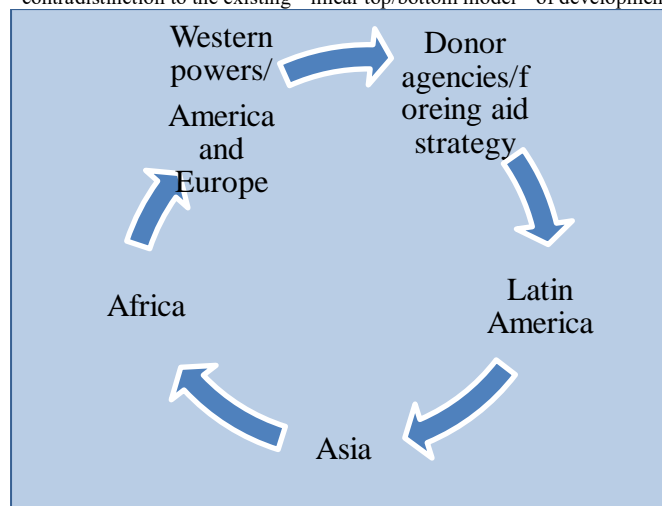
Source: Author

4. **Debuting a Plan by Africans, for Africans:** African experts and leaders should present to Africans and the world, the blue print of a plan by Africans, for Africans. The plan may borrow Rosengren (2007)Rosengren's ''Great Wheel of Culture in Society'' hypothesis which is a circumflex that groups the basic social institutions like religion, politics, economy, technology, science, scholarship, literature and art, around two pairs of fundamental value orientation: Expressive versus instrumental value orientation and cognitive versus normative value orientation. Culture is at the centre of the wheel, which also forms its hub. This presentation, though by a European, speaks of a development that is all-round yet cultural; in the estimation of this researcher, nothing can be more African. A culture-bound development that meets the needs of the people and attempts answers to the puzzles of life would engender integral development.

5. **Curbing the Negatives Effects of Globalization:** Africa should not be seen as a dumping ground. This mentality which makes the negative effects of globalization stare the continent in the face are rife. While the place of Africans occupying key positions in global-affairs is commendable, the case of brain drain is a monster to beware of. Donor agencies must make known their intension(s) – any motivating factor other than philanthropic and humanitarian is out of place. For instance, it is now clear that the call by some Western Governments for African countries to legalise same-sex marriage as a prerequisite for help is a bait and a needless bullying. While the morality of this attraction is on check, the point is, an action might be good but its basic orientation, evil.

It is imperative to harness the response of the first development decade by increasing the Gross National Product (GNP) of African Nations as well as that of the second development decade which deals with health and nutrition, education and skills, income and consumption, employment, capital and non-human resources; its requirement of housing, utilities and environment, public safety and justice; social mobility and political values as outlined by Nepal Gross National Happiness, as panacea to communication gap between foreign donors and African recipients.

This is why Ake (2001) proposes new development paradigms for Africa which includes economic development based on traditional agriculture, political development through decentralisation of power and reliance on indigenous communities. Perhaps that is why Moemeka (2000) insists that communication and development is everybody's problem. This means that everyone is supposed to be involved in any development that affects him or her. Accordingly, in attempting to redefine the concept of development needs in the third world, Escobar (2011) reviews previous debates on globalization and post-development by calling for the development of a field of "pluriversal studies" which the author illustrates with Latin American Movements. Using Colombia as a case study, he argues that peasant, women and nature are capable of becoming objects of knowledge and targets of power to the amazement of experts.

As the third decade indicated, gender issues especially the invaluable role of women in development, serves as a catalyst to the integral growth of any society. Checking the hazards of industrialization (pollution) for a safe environment also aids development. Since studies have indicated that these issues relate to technological, economic, structural and value oriented paradigms, it behoves all stakeholders to ensure that Africa does not engage in a one-way-traffic kind of communication which gives the impression that the continent has nothing to offer.

Sen (1999) argument that political rights which include freedom of expression and discussion are pivotal in inducing political response to economic needs is worth recalling here. The author contends that they are also central to making citizens interact with one another to form shared goals or values as well as priorities. This view resonates with the theoretical framework which noted that that decisions about development goals and methods should be made by the community not government, organisations or experts and that participatory communication entails a situation where every person in a group affected by a development is consulted and given the autonomy of decision-making (Newstead, 2009).

Once again, we recall that the assumptions of the *communication for development theory*, *media imperialism theory* and the *social exchange theory* have been justified in this study. As we have seen concerning the *communication for development theory,* the overall development of Africa involves the active participation of all as opposed to seeing the continent as a dumping ground of ideas which does not lead to social change. While *media imperialism theory* discloses why the Marshall Plan failed in Africa, the *social exchange theory* actually suggests how African scholars ought to respond to the failure of the plan towards simulating integral growth for the continent.

Since the *social exchange theory* explains when and why people continue and develop relationships while ending others, the *media imperialism theory* explains "why" the Marshal Plan failed. Since *social exchange theory* uses the economic muscle to argue for the satisfaction of all parties in a relationship, it presents us with a modelled-relationship that should exist between the west and developing nations – that is, a relationship that satisfies the interest of all - This means that the requisite response to the Marshall Plan is predicted on *social exchange theory* which implies that Africa too has something to offer and its people have the right to seek for all that enhances their welfare.

4. Conclusion

We saw that Europe had a Social Order built on achievement motivation, economic pragmatism and protestant work ethic. With the technological, political and economic know-how on ground, war-torn Europe took flesh again. This giant stride by America through the Masterstroke's man, Marshall trumpeted victory for her like a movie which is better watched than described. The short time which the plan took and its smooth-flow is, indeed, epochal making it a timeless   creed in the annals of both American and European history. For Europe, the Marshall Plan became one episode, many scenes.

Though the African side of the story is nothing to write home about, it is worth noting that the lesson puts before Africans the challenge of intellectual exchange and inquiry into the "why" and "why not" of the plan. Scholarly muscles will constantly wrestle to recoup that which was lost but finding out why it vanished in the first place is equally important. The foreign incursion of a plan into the African system, the inability to allow a people to develop themselves and the top/bottom syndrome among others facilitated the collapse of the plan.

With the failure of the plan comes the challenge of establishing a robust African Social Order by Africans, for Africans. Since development in Africa is now associated with a holistic approach namely, infrastructural development, human capital growth as well as human capacity building, there is hope for the continent. Will the cankerworms of foreign loans/over dependency on aids, bribery, corruption, impunity, neo-colonialism as well as conflicts, hunger and disease be destroyed by the dynamics of participatory communication among Africans and between the continent and other continents of the world?

As it is, African leaders, scholars and peoples must evolve transparent and committed leadership aimed at revamping Africa and showing her rich potential to the world. This would not only bail the cat but perhaps change the present state of affairs.

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