European Engagement with Africa
Problems, Potentials and the Way Forward

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Abstract

This research seeks to evaluate European engagement with Africa looking at the problems, potentials and way forward. The continent’s treasure chest of varied natural resource endowments, have made it the source of historic, economic and political competition from especially western interests, a trend that has combined dangerously with the region’s poor leadership and democratic profile in impoverishing its masses, escalating lethal conflicts, while upsetting hard earned developments gains, that have been made.

About 50 years since the sun of colonial hegemonies set in Africa, the continent’s development prospects continue to stagnate. Even the World Bank moved to describing Africa’s poor as the poorest of the poor in its 2001 development report. One question that continues to beg for answers is why a region so richly endowed with natural and human resources continues to bear the brunt of misery in such dispiriting fashion?

The research is built on an exploration of the backward and forward historical continuums of patronizations that have stifled the continent (backward: counting the true cost of the legacies of slavery and colonial exploitation, forward: measuring the real cost of the iniquitous integration of Africa within the global economy and the continent’s role as bread basket for the rest of the world). The research explores the economic rationale for Europe’s engagement with the continent in the political, economic and cultural spheres, casting from a plethora of academic sources drawn from both leftist and right wing publications on the question of European engagement with Africa.

In the end, the research has dwelled on some possible policy recommendations which could help this relationship. These recommendations includes the African debt cancellation, using the Chinese Cushion Effectively for Africa’s development and the last but not the least, the reconstitution of African political and economic power which if considered, could precipitate a reversal in the trend of most African countries.
Definitions of Key Terms

To make this paper easier to grasp, I will start out with the basics of defining some of the major concepts that will be used in the process of this research. These concepts includes:

✓ **Underdevelopment**: this refers to a situation in which there are persistent low level of living in conjunction with absolute poverty, low per capita income, preponderance of agriculture, population pressure and unemployment, capital deficiency, poor foreign trade orientation as well as low level of technology.

✓ **Historical paradox**: this refers to events which underlies the relation between African and West which contains conflicting ideas. A good example of such paradoxes includes the role of the World Bank and IMF loan provision for countries in Africa and the strings affixed to these loans they issue out to these African countries.

✓ **Colonialization**: It means the act or process of establishing control over a country or area by a more powerful and often distant country. This is the cases with Africa being partition among interested European States which wanted foreign colonies.

✓ **Globalization**: It is a concept that refers to the shrinking of the world and the increases consciousness of the world as whole. It involves processes which lead to the integration of economics, cultural, political and social systems across geographical boundaries.

✓ **Hegemonism**: It is a policy or practice through which a nation aggressively expands its influence over other countries.
Abbreviations

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

US: United States of America

FFSA: Federation of Free State of Africa

EU: European Union

GNI: Gross National Income

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

WTO: World Trade Organization

LDCs: Less Developed Countries

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

IMF: International Monetary Fund

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program

EPA: Economic Partnership Agreement

NGO: Non Governmental Organization

ACP: African, Caribbean and Pacific countries

NEPAD: New Partnership for African Developments
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1 Introduction to Study

The African map has always fascinated me. As a child, I often spent time following the borders of the countries. Some times it was hard to follow these borders: they turned and went around lakes, mountains and oceans. Still, there are some borders which were straight and easy. If you have ever followed these borders of the African countries, you will understand the borderlines I am talking about. Perhaps, and in truly many striking ways, these borderlines captures the complexity of this continent.

Africa continues to attract a great deal of attention. The continent is an interesting mosaic of social, economic and cultural diversity which inspires the world. Yet the Africa region continues to obscure clear understanding of it owing to the manifold complexities that define the continent. Few places in the world hold similar promise in the midst of much peril. Africa’s wars have been the most brutal, its corruption unprecedented, yet the powerful thread of solidarity and resilience stitching its people together speaks of better and hopeful times ahead. In short, as Nelson Mandela has often put it, “Africa is not a problem to solve but a mystery to understand”.

Being the world’s second-largest and second-most populated continent, Africa is as well the world’s poorest region, the reason why the World Bank in its 2001 Development Report, defined Africa’s poor as “the poorest of the poor” (World Bank, 2001a). To further corroborate this stance, the United Nations’ Human Development Report (2003) found out that African nations, over-populated the least developed echelons of the world’s countries. Gambia for instance is 151st of 175 sovereign states surveyed, while war-ravaged Sierra Leone emerged unsurprisingly as 175th.

Africa might have instigated a lot of disagreement across the academic and diplomatic community, but there is sweeping consensus that the sub-Saharan region is in dire straits, thrown out of kilter by political instability, poor governance, and in some cases, brutal wars currently affecting some of its countries. In considerable respects, addressing Africa’s troubles and resume of conflicts, holds the key to unlocking the continent’s progress. Paul Collier (2007) for instance, has clearly established statistical correlation linking Africa’s economic perdition to its repeated tenures of warfare and violence, identifying this as one of four traps that stall Africa’s onward momentum. He estimates, as indeed, Oxfam’s report (2008) that the African continent has lost a shocking sum of $18billion dollars per annum as result of war. There are indeed little doubts why many of the world’s development challenges are still largely confined to this region.
Increasingly, it is becoming clear that a critical understanding of the causes of Africa’s predicaments warrants an introspective examination of the continent’s history. Without a doubt, the lurid legacy of slave trade, the flagrant exploitation of the continent by various dimensions of European colonial imperialism, as well as the continuous marginalization of Africa in the era of globalization have all played a major role in the continent’s progress. Today, a much larger confluence of poor governance and corruption, tribalism nepotism, incessant military experimentation with political power, as well as various forms of alienation of the masses, have merged to form a powerful wave of underdevelopment sweeping across the continent.

While standards of living are gradually gaining positive trends, and the continent’s GDP appears to be picking some gains, the African region still trails distantly behind China, some parts of Latin America and India, with falling per capita incomes, sluggish foreign investments, and widening digital divides holding the continent back. Maternal mortality might have fallen, but it is far from appreciable standards, Malaria, HIV/AIDS and abject poverty still continue to reverse hard earned human development gains that have been achieved over the last few decades. This, in a nutshell, is the troubled picture of Africa’s current problems.

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The research is a somewhat limited endeavor which merely intends to add to an ongoing conversation which continues to be a debate in academic as well as the political circles on the issue of European engagement in Africa. This research seeks to enrich students and all those interested in exploring some truly intriguing complexities that underlies the political and socio-economic interaction between Africa and the West, from colonization to globalization. It is in my hope that by wetting intellectual appetite, one might in the end, recruit more minds dedicated to asking truly relevant questions about the present state of Africa, Europe’s contribution to Africa’s present stalemate and also, possible solutions to the problems faced by Africa.

This study is however not entirely concerned with unpacking the sorry narrative of Africa’s problems. Rather, it intends to take a much broader look at another important dimension of the continent’s history – its engagement with Europe. Beginning with the slave trade, to legitimate trade, European colonialism, to the present dispensation, Africa as it is today has been seriously influenced by western intervention in both the positive and negative senses. Many authors have grappled with the causes to Africa’s development. A groundbreaking attempt was made by Walter Rodney’s tirade, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Rodney provides a philosophical point de départ
from which to begin understanding some of the underlying paradoxes that have characterized one of the most controversial relationships in the world – that between Europe and Africa.

This study however focuses on the last 50 years – since the end of colonial hegemonies in Africa, exploring the extent to which European engagements with the region are responsible for its present troubles. The following questions constitute the context of this research:-

- How has Africa a region so richly endowed with natural and human resources continues to stagnate in underdevelopment?
- In what ways have European policies since the colonial era continued to impact negatively on Africa’s prospects for development?
- In what way has the emergence of Sino-Africa cooperation re-design the global socio-political economy.
- What potentials exist within Euro-African partnerships today and how can this be explored for the good of the African region?

1.2 Research Problem

There is no dearth in studies and academic publications on Europe’s engagement with Africa. This work provides in a somewhat limited fashion, an exploration of the respective dimensions in which Europe has engaged with Africa beginning from the colonial era till present. It is hoped that this enquiry will uncover useful clues that will advance understanding of the ways in which this engagement has impacted on, and continues to affect development prospects in the African continent.

In fact, a multiplicity of scholars including Dwight Harris Norman (1914), Long and Reich (1986), Haberson and Rotchild (1995),Digre and Lang (1990) have all explored different respects of Europe’s engagement with Africa in considerable depth. In this light, such concerns as reasons for European scramble for and partition of Africa, European colonialism in Africa, the Cold War and European neoliberal colonization of Africa, to name a few have been duly explore.

However, very few works have actually linked the historical milestones of Europe’s engagement with Africa since 1950’s to present, in ways that account for the continuum – colonialism, Cold war, the debt crises, structural adjustment program, heavily indebted poor countries initiatives, and the present era of globalization. It is from these scenario that I came up with the topic European Engagement with Africa so as to evaluate the relationship and come out with possible policy recommendations for a way forward for African development.
1.3 Method

The method I wish to use in this research is both exploratory study and historical archival methodology with the used of both quantitative and qualitative data. This is simple means of gaining insight of the research topic through exploring works of writers within this field of study. In my case, extensive preliminary works needs to be done with data collected from publications, newspaper articles, the internet and related literatures. These will enable us gain familiarity with the phenomenon in the research topic and understand what is occurring before we develop the paradoxes and set up recommendation to the phenomenon in the research. This preliminary works stems from historical background of Africa – colonial era, cold war era and post-colonial era.

In essence, exploratory studies are carried out to better comprehend the nature of problem since very few studies might have been considered in that area of study. Extensive reading of secondary data in relation to research topic needs to be undertaken in order to get a handle on the situation and understanding of the phenomenon. Explorations are usually based on in-depth understanding and descriptive writings in such a way that it details enough information for any reader to grasp when reading the research report (Bowen, 2005). This is the reason why I wish to use this method. This method makes it possible for a research to come up with a well written research report as well as portraying the writer’s ability and understanding of the phenomenon concerned.

After exploring dearth of scholars’ publications on Europe’s relationships with Africa, this work will borrow strongly from a plethora of both leftist and euro-friendly academic sources. Some of these leftist scholars used in this research include Walter Rodney, Nkwame Nkrumah Tunde Obadina and S.T Akindele, whom are all African scholars within this field of studies. They all have unreservedly castigated the European colonial project in Africa through their publications. The reasons of using these African scholars is based upon their role in championing discussions in relation to European engagement in Africa.

While on the other hand, to balance this out, more liberal and Euro-friendly sources such as World Bank reports, Oxfam compendiums, Report of the Commission for Africa chaired by Tony Blair, United Nation Development Program was also reviewed. Also works of Washington inspired scholars such as Paul Collier, Peter Schraeder, Albert Memmi, Mark Katz, Kempe Hope where also reviewed so as to lend a more appreciative picture of Europe’s involvement in Africa. Some of them went further to seek various development potentials that could be unlocked within the brackets of this relationship between Europe and Africa.
However, this work attempts as much as possible to provide a balance fruition of both critical and supportive evidence for the issues explored, although this is done in a fashion that keeps the study true to its commitment as a critique of European entanglement with the African region.

1.4 Disposition
The first part of the thesis aims at introducing the reader with a theoretical background on the relevant of the thesis topic. This section entails the method used in proceeding with the research, the purpose as well as research problem and questions.

Chapter 2 will serve as a point de depart for the thesis. In that chapter, issues related to the beginning of European- African relationship will be introduce. It will explain these complex relationship from colonial period up to the post colonial period. This chapter generally, will seeks to grapple with issues that lead to the establishment of Euro-African relationship and how it evolved over this period.

Chapter 3 of this thesis will simple provide a continuation of this Euro-African relationship after the African countries got their independence. It will grapples with the relationship between Europe and Africa in a global context after the independence of the African states. Also in this chapter, the reader will be introduce to the emerging China and how their relationship with Africa.

Chapter 4 of this thesis is aim at analyze issues that underline this controversial relationship. Detail analysis of issues like colonialism, neo-colonialism, Cold war and Africa debt crisis are treated within this section. Also in this section, issues related to Sino-African relationship and the effects it has on the Euro-African relationship will be analyze as well.

Chapter 5 of this work seeks to evaluate the report in relation to the research question that was introduced in chapter 1. While chapter 6 deals with the conclusive section of the report as well possible ways through which unlock Africa developmental potentials within the brackets of its relationship with Europe.

1.5 Delimitation of Study
This research is delimited to the exploration and evaluation of selected countries from Sub-Saharan Africa. The research covers the Political Economy development of Sub-African countries with the coming of Westerners up to contemporary time as well paying more focus on the paradoxes that underlies this relation between the West and Africa.
Also there research will not cover issues in relation to American engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa bearing in mind the aim of the research is simple to paint a somewhat limited exploration of Euro-African partnerships. Limited by its scope, the research will merely gleaned over some very pertinent concerns that have characterized Europe’s engagement with Africa.
2 Political Economic History of Euro-African Relationship

There cannot be a concise exploration of the political economy history of Euro-African relationship without talking of the 1884 Berlin conference which legalized European domination over the African continent. As portrayed in the introductory chapter, European superimposed their domains on the African continent and by the time independence was returned to Africa, the realm had acquired a legacy of political fragmentation that could neither be eliminated nor made to operate satisfactorily. Literally carved up during the conference without regards for pre-existing linguistic and political boundaries, the colonial map that made little or no sense is still the basis for the geo-political map of Africa today.

As much as slavery, one will say European colonizing of the African continent was meant for the development and enrichment of the West at Africa’s expense. During this period, millions died. In Congo, king Leopold of Belgium enslaved the entire population to produce rubber and ivory which eventually lead to the death of 13 million people between 1885 and 1908. In addition, the creation of infrastructures which connected Africa’s raw materials to the point of export to Europe (describe as benefits from Western civilizations) also registered huge amount of death. With the harsh reality of the force labor employed by the West (in effect slavery under another name) caused, outrage among liberal groups and tribes in Africa. Resentment of colonial presence development within most part of Africa which eventually lead to their independence. By the 1960s, after years of struggling for Independence, most African countries gained self-rule. Sovereignty of these African states however did not bring with it the necessary development and freedom from the Imperialist influences. Still some colonial legacies could still be visible in many spheres of the African state. With little or no doubt about the continent’s treasure chest of varied natural resources endowments, the West could not leave Africa. This eventually gave rise to the concept of Neo-Colonization and a “chess game” of acquiring client states by the world superpower for socio-economic and political motives, called the Cold War.

According to Tunde Obadina, many African nationalists and critics of colonialism see the independence gained from the withdrawing colonial powers as only partial liberation. Some call it ‘false independence’. Full or real freedom, they believe, it did not come with economic independence. This was reflected in 1965 after a backed-coup of US and Belgian in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). DRC is one of the most mineral rich countries in the world and the Western powers were not about to accept the loss of control to the then president of DRC, a supporter of Socialist ideologies and one of the 20th century’s greatest political leaders, Patrice Lumumba. In 1965, brutal, kleptomaniac army officer, Mobutu Sese Seko was installed in power. While for the following thirty
one years, Mobutu grew immensely rich from his country copper and gold exports and also pocketing foreign aids, while USA used the DRC as base for aggression against neighboring countries. This intervention of West in the political cycle of DRC has had a long lasting effect on this country till date (Obadina, 2000).

With the above said, I seek to grapple within this section of the report, a historical conversation from the point de départ of one of the most controversial relationship in the world – that between Europe and Africa.

2.1 Overview of the Political Economy of Development in Africa

Beginning in the 1970s and worsening in the 1980s, Africa has been a continent in rapid decline. That tragic situation has resulted in the 1980s being declared as Africa’s lost decades by many economists and scholars within this field of study. Using an interdisciplinary political economy approach, this section of this report will seek to grapple a brief description of issues and factors related to the African development dilemma by simple delineating the main components of the continent’s socio-economic and political crisis this continent faces. The continent is now the poorest continent and it is the only region where poverty is expected to increase in the future. The despair of this continent includes crippling total external debt; a weakening balance of payment; intensification of the brain drain; deepening capital flight; declining agricultural productivity and foreign direct investment; deteriorating physical infrastructure; escalating unemployment and crime; pronounced famine and malnutrition; soaring budget deficits; rapid urbanization; rampant corruption; an increasing poverty, socioeconomic inequalities, population growth rates and incidence of HIV/AIDS (Hope, 1997).

However, in this sea of despair there are some few African countries such as Botswana that models of success (depicted in good governance, prudent and successful economic management) for the rest to emulate. Also, some other countries have begun to make transition from the lost decades of the 1980s to the promise of the twenty first century. Some have made significant progress towards political and economic liberalization. Unfortunately, the overwhelming opinion is that, the Africa political economy crisis is primary inevitable outcome of the failure of post-independence development policy formulation and implementation in the majority of the African countries. Owing its roots to previous historical activities, Hope makes us to understand in his discourse that, post independence development policy was formulated through a statist ideological framework which was then implemented by experimentation. Moreover most of the countries had to contend with the adverse international economic environment which eventually pro-
duced disastrous results. Among other things, poverty and socioeconomic inequalities increased, the external burden became heavier, the brain drain intensified, capital flight deepened, the balance of payment weakened, the physical infrastructure deteriorated, unemployment and crime escalated, famine and malnutrition became more pronounced, budget deficits soared, agricultural productivity declined, urbanization burgeoned, environmental degradation expanded, political and civil strife worsened and corruption became more rampant. Theses disastrous development results in turn are the catalyst behind the deepening economic crisis in Africa (Hopes, 1997).

2.2 Africa in the Colonial Dispensation: Concerns and Challenges

Before colonial rule, Africa appeared almost static while most part of the world increased its economic capacities. These other capitalistic societies which included the European, North American and Japanese had their scope of expansion beyond their national economies. They turned their attention to countries whose economies were less developed and who would therefore offer little or no opposition to the penetration of foreign capitalism. With their competitive and egoistic motives, these capitalistic countries seek opportunities to control raw materials supplies, markets for the goods and also profitable fields of investment. According to Federation of Free States of Africa (FFSA) report on *African Nations and Territory Identity*, this eventually leads to the scramble for colonies and dismantlement of African land and nations eventually leading to artificial construction of the 1870 colonial Africa by the Berlin Conference in 1884. The groundwork of the conference was the division and formulation of a politico-geographical map of Africa. The centuries of trade with Africa contributed greatly to the state of affairs for the European capitalists. With previous knowledge of the continent, European capitalistic nation with their economic motives hoisted their own flags in different parts of Africa and established colonial rule.

The colonization of Africa lasted for approximately seventy years in most part of the continent. This seems extremely short for a continent political economic development, but it was in this same period that other part of the world rate of change was greater than ever before. According to *Walter Rodney*, the decisiveness of the short period of colonialism and its consequences for Africa spring mainly from the fact that Africa lost power. Power is the ultimate determinant in a human society. When one society finds itself forced to relinquish power entirely to another society or group of individuals that in itself is a form of underdevelopment. With the coming of colonization, the little control over socio-political and economic life by Africans during the pre-colonial epoch all disappeared. African already established state lost their power, independence and meaning. The political power was passed into the hands of foreign overlords while some few
African leaders were retained as agents of foreign colonial rulers. These chosen few, were simple puppets. It was all about the eradication of African political power throughout the continent (Rodney, 1972).

Another concern of colonization on the political economy of Africa is it influence upon its arts and handicraft industries. In spite of slave trade which lead to the killing and export of African workforce and the import of European goods, most African industries still had vitality at the start of colonial period. Even though they had undergone no technological advance and no expansion, they still survived. With the mass production of capitalism, it virtually obliterated African industries such as cloth, iron and even pottery making. Industries in Africa that had made great advances in production were destroyed and thousands out of work. This greatly affected the political economy of this continent (Rodney, 1972).

That notwithstanding, the capitalist brought in some socio-economic activities which were lacking in the African society. According to Albert Adu Boahen, some writers such as Rodney have contended the beneficial effect of colonialism in Africa as being virtually nil. Boahen further explains that these socio-economical activities eventually laid the intellectual and material development in Africans. There was introduction of formal education, modern medicine, constructions of modern communication as well as the introduction of new industrial sectors like plantation agricultures which somehow provided bases for economic development. These are capitalistic activities that were embedded and still remains part of Africa (Boahen, 1984).

2.3 The Post Colonial Dimension: Economic Challenges, Social Fragmentation and Problems of Political Governance.

The colonial domination of Africa by the West lasted less than a century. The harsh reality of the force labor employed by the Western enterprises (in effect slavery under another name) cause outrage among liberal groups and tribes in Africa. Resentment of colonial presence later development within most part of Africa which eventually lead to their independence. By the 1960s, after years of struggling for Independence, most African countries gained self-rule. Sovereignty of these African states however did not bring with it the necessary development and freedom from the Imperialist influences. This eventually gave rise to the concept of Neo-Colonization.

According to Tunde Obadina, many African nationalists and critics of colonialism see the independence gained and the withdrawing colonial powers as only partial liberation. Some African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana call it ‘false independence’. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Sekou Toure of Guinea, expressed bitter statements that reject the concept of neo-colonialism. Nyerere
saw it as the continuous economic and political domination and the creation of spheres of influence by the West. He strongly warned against the second scramble for Africa which he thought could be worse than the first. While Toure on the other look precisely on the French continuous exploitation of its former colonies after granting them Independence. He saw neo-colonialism as the most dangerous of all philosophies instituted by the West to their colonies. Whether full or real freedom, they believe, Independence will come with political economy dependence. African nations are said to be currently in a phase of neo-colonialism - a new form of imperial rule stage managed by the colonial powers to give the colonized the illusion of freedom

However the tentacle of neo-colonialism has spread to all spheres of life in Africa. When look upon through the political economy dimension, the newly independent governments lacked the governmental institutions and knowledge of good governance. They needed experience leaders to govern their independent states. This provided the foundation for colonial powers that had formed a stronger capturing wall to rule their colonies from afar. Hence re-affirming Nkrumah’s description of neo-colonialism of …

…being based on the principle of breaking up former large united colonial territories into a number of small, non-viable states which are incapable of independent development and must rely on the former imperial power for defense and even internal security (Nkrumah, 1965).

Nevertheless, in order to sustain their economic holds on various African countries, the west before granting Independence to Africans deliberately handed over affairs of government to individuals who were loyal and could only be trusted. The new government in turn had to be friendly with the same colonial powers and carried out administrative activities that would protect the interests of the colonial powers. In case where the leadership failed to yield, the end was usually a removal through Western sponsored coups and political upheavals. This was the case in Democratic Republic of Congo whereby US sponsored a coup that brought to power Mobutu and the dethronement of Lumumba whom favored Socialist and Communism.

Also another political issue worth mention during the post colonial era is the creation of regional grouping of African states by their colonial master. Examples of such situations include the Commonwealth of Nation which most British colonies are members including Nigeria and South Africa. This grouping eventually gives the founder (which in this case in Britain) indirectly the role of political god father to the member state. While The French on it parts sort to promote and consolidate the continuation of the most notable aspect of French culture including language and intellectual traditions. This they did through the creation of Franc zone which provided a common cur-
rency, the *Communaute Financiere Africaine (CFA) francs*, to thirteen of its former colonies. Upon independent, these colonies which included Ivory Coast, Senegal and Cameroon did not have their own sustainable economies and remained reliant to France. This eventually influenced the development in most African states (Schraeder, 2000).

Another issue worth mentioning in the developmental process of Africa after independence is series conflicts which came with the independence of most of the Africa states. It ranged from ethnic rivalries to boundaries. These greatly help in retarding the developmental process in Africa. During the process of de-colonization, some new nations were born which did not exist at all before colonization (Katz, 1996). This eventually brought about social fragmentation. Parties to these conflicts justified and legitimate their position based upon historical boundaries or ethnicity just like the case of Libya-Chad conflict which involved a dispute over 140,000 square kilometers of territory known as *Aouzou strip* which Libya justifies its claims to this territory based on ancient historical boundaries while Chad justifies its stance based on boundaries established during colonial period (Posthumus, 1999). Also conflicts in relation to ethnicity could be traced in states like Rwanda between the Hutu and Tutsi, Sudan and Nigeria which are constantly faced with animosity between the Muslim north and Christian south.

With the understanding of the historical political economy development in Africa through the colonial and post-colonial period which has being treated in this chapter, issues about Euro-African relation in the interconnected world will be the main focus in the next chapter.
3 Euro-African Relationship in the interconnected world

As portrayed by the previous chapter, the relationship between Europe and Africa goes way back. This relationship has been evolving with time. This could be seen in the various events that have colored this relationship; Slavery, Colonialization, Neo-colonialisation. That notwithstanding, there can’t be a contemporary report on this relationship without relating it to the interconnected world we live in today. Thereby implying that there can’t be a concise exploration of Euro-African relationship in this interconnected world without talking of Globalization as well as the European Foreign policy and Developmental program for Africa. Globalization which is the new world order, is seen by Ohuabunwa as an evolution which is systematically restructuring interactive phases among nations by breaking down barriers in the areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavor (Ohuabunwa, 1999; Akindele et al, 2002). With the restructuring of the interactive phases of nations, I will seek to grapple within this section of the report the role of Globalisation in African interaction with the rest of the world. Also I will throw some light on some contemporary issues that helps to explain the Euro-African relationship such as European Foreign policy, African Debt Crises and not forgetting the newly harnessed Sino-African cooperation.

3.1 Unpacking Globalization: Africa in the interconnected World

The term Globalization has been use since the early 1990’s to characterize the present period in which we live. But yet the concept is full of ambiguities and has generated a great deal of debate and controversy. Equally controversial are the specific forms taken by globalization, the force driving it and its consequences for the global system and for particular groups of countries. Despite the ambiguities of the concept, the essential nature of globalization is the compression of space and time, so that people from distant areas are able and in fact obliged to interact with one another intensively and in a wide range of areas. As a result, the world becomes one and interactions among diverse people begin to look like those within a village. Thus term such as “One World” and “Villagization” are sometimes used as synonyms for globalization.

This one world concept in the case of Africa is not as positive as the concept explains. Africa position in the international system has been considerably weakened. This poor performance by African countries is partly due to political and social instability and the rise of authoritarian regimes that have characterized much of post-colonial Africa has helped to further weakening the ability to deal effectively with globalization. Also the end of the Cold War had significant consequences for Africa. With the end of the Cold War, African countries were no longer of strategic
importance. This eventually led to an overall decline in Africa’s international negotiating power and its ability to maneuver in the international system with a view to gaining modicum of freedom of choice, autonomy and leverage in its dealing with more powerful actors. In sum, the cold war and its demise have worked against democracy and economic development in Africa (Akindele et al, 2002).

Given the historical relationship between Africa and the West, scholars like Tunde Obadina thinks it is ironic that the latter is today preaching the virtues of freedom to Africans. Former colonizers and ex-slave-owners have made a virtue of championing political economy liberalization. Yesterday oppressor appears to be today liberators, fighting for democracy, human rights and free market economies throughout the world (Obadina, 1998; Akindele et al, 2002).

While Madungu looks at the concept of globalization as being global and dominant in the world today, but it was not handed down from heaven, it was not decreed by the Pope, it did not emerge spontaneously. It was created by the dominant social forces in the world today to serve their specific interests. Simultaneously these social forces gave themselves a new ideological name the - “international community” - to go with the idea of globalization (Madunagu 1999; Akindele et al, 2002). He portrayed the concept as a combination of “destructive leviathan” which seeks to improve material well being of humankind.

J.F.E Ohiorhenuan went further to explains that it is thus no fortuitous that globalization has been at the epicenter of most developmental and intellectual discourses (Ohiorhenuan 1998:6; Akindele et al, 2002). Ohiorhenuan still went further to explain that notwithstanding, Globalization is a powerful force for improved material well-being of humankind, that would aid developing countries to create better economic environments, to “leapfrog” into the information age but still its effects on the political economy and social cultural nerves of the weaker member states cannot be ignored without severe consequences. In other words, the seeming near consensus on the agenda of globalization notwithstanding the unrelenting encouragement of its uneven thesis does not give room for comfort as it is exorbitantly costly to the developing nations. This is particularly so because it affects the developmental thinking and actions of the developing polities - relegates ethical equity and social concerns markets consideration and reduces the autonomy of the independence states. Indeed Globalization is an awesome and terrifying phenomenon for Africa countries.

Looking at the foregoing, it is apparent that, the globalization process is more symmetrical to the origin and development of the neo-colonial states (in Africa) which were determined by the na-
ture and structures of the European colonizing countries rather than according to a concretely established philosophy or determination to get Africa out of lingering crises. Thus, globalization is a form of entrapment for Africa. Apart from its evocation of powerlessness, it creates a process through which African countries are dominated and exploited by the rich countries and a vicious circle of vulnerability of African governments to outside parasitic economic maneuvering as does the lack of capacity for independence of socio-political, cultural and psychological thinking relative to concrete actions.

According to the report on the Conference on the Challenges of Globalization to Democratic Governance in Africa (2002 in Addis Ababa) by the Development Policy Management Forum, specific impacts of globalization on Africa were indentified. In the political sphere according to the report, the most important consequence is the erosion of sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters, as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. While on the other hand, globalization has promoted greater respect for human rights and contributed to the development of an African press. This has opened African countries to far greater scrutiny than in the past, making it somewhat more difficult for African governments to get away with blatant and excessive abuses of democratic governance and transparency. However, this positive development is negated by the fact that these principles of democratic governance and transparency tend to be applied selectively and subjectively. More important is the fact that globalization for the most part does not facilitate the establishment of the economic conditions necessary for genuine democracy and good governance to take solid roots and thrives.

Economically, globalization has, on the whole, reinforced the economic marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. This has, in turn, accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the ability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries. Economic and social stagnation has also triggered a substantial brain-drain from Africa, further weakening the ability of African countries to manage their economies efficiently and effectively. Finally, while the scientific and technological forces unleashed by globalization have facilitated to some extent access by Africans to advanced technology and information, this has been at the expense of stultifying the indigenous development of technology and distorting patterns of production in Africa, notably by utilizing capital as against labor intensive methods of production, which in turn increases unemployment and poverty (Akindele et al, 2002).
3.2 European Foreign Policy and Development in Africa

Following the end of Cold War, it seemed that European Community was losing interest in Africa. But due to Africa high profile on the international agenda, the continent has featured prominently in European politics. A number of high profile decisions with regards to EU-African relation are taken at the European level. These include European Consensus on Development as well as an EU Africa Strategy. Poverty reduction was their main goal. The EU developmental policy was broadly defined including economic, human, political, socio-cultural and protective capabilities. At the level of bilateral policies, many member states of the European Union have reduce substantially their level of their development programs so as to seek means of doubling aid to Africa.

However more commitments have been made to fulfill promises of the 1970s and to reach 0.7% of GNI (Gross National Income) spent on Official Development Assistance (ODA) as defined by the OECD (Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development) Development Assistance Committee (DAC). In order to achieve this goal by 2015, all 25 EU member states, including the countries that joined the EU in 2004 (EU-10), have all subscribed to new commitments in May 2006. To meet this implementation timetable, the ‘old’ EU-15 promised to reach an individual baseline of 0.51% ODA as a percentage GNI by 2010. This would correspond to a collective 0.56% ODA/GNI. The ten new EU member states will aspire to a minimum of 0.33% by 2015, that is, the 2006 baseline for old EU member states. An interim target for the EU-10 was set at 0.17% by 2010. Half of this collective EU aid increase is supposed to go to Africa. New member states have establishing bilateral development aid programs as part of the requirements for their accession to the EU. The Czech Republic, for instance, selected eight target partner countries, two of them (Angola and Zambia) in Africa. Its aid levels reached 0.1% GNI (Grimm, 2006).

In relation to Aid and Trade, during the Hong Kong WTO (World Trade Organization) round in December 2005, EU committed to 1 billion Euros annually in trade-related assistance by 2010 (which is still to be realized). It was assessed then, that LDCs (Less Developed Countries) do not lack market accessibility mainly because of tariffs barriers, but mostly because of lack sufficient competitiveness on the world market. In this sense, some argue the attempt of the EU over the past decades to carry out a coherent policy is a way to hide the real concern of the EU, Security and Migration. The EU strategy for Africa did not clarify certain issues in relation to the above mentioned aspect. Funding for security purposes has been a centre of controversy.

Also he heighten refugee crisis in the Spanish enclaves in North Africa has been one major aspect of EU foreign policy. Hundreds of migrants climbed over the three-meter high barbed-wire fence that separated Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco. Many of the migrants had been on the
move for several months, if not years, moving northwards from their countries of origin. EU politicians reacted defensively by fortifying the border near both Spanish towns and providing additional aid packages to Moroccan authorities to enhance their border controls. Refugees are deported to Morocco in large numbers. Reports about mistreatment of deported migrants in Morocco made headlines in Europe. After the wide media coverage, migration became a topic in EU-AU discussions. AU Commission President Alpha Omar Konaré criticized EU suggestions for deciding upon categories of migrants on the basis of European labor needs as the “intellectual exploitation” of Africa (Grimm, 2006).

3.3 The New Slavery: Africa’s debt Crises and the Structural Adjustment Program

The debt crisis of sub-Saharan Africa is best understood when considered as an integral part of the global crisis that emerged in 1982. The phenomenal increase in foreign borrowing that proceeded the debt crisis was triggered by the oil price shocks of 1973 and 1979, which eventually resulted in acute current account deficits in most non-oil producing less developed countries. The sub-Saharan African debt crisis originated in the early 1970s when oil producing countries (which included some African countries) under the hospices of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) increased the oil prices to gain additional revenue. The importance of oil to each domestic economy in the world and to the international economic intercourse is difficult to overstate. This dramatic change in oil prices set in motion flows of capital and economic changes whose ramifications are still felt today.

Naturally enough, this brought billions of dollars to the OPEC member countries as well as other oil exporting countries. They deposited much of that money in large banks in the West. Despite the understandable joy created in many of the African countries by the OPEC’s success, the change of oil price instead placed many of these countries in dire economic straits. The deposition of this profit into these western institutions instead fostered crisis for the African countries which needed to pay for their oil imports. That problem was dealt with in a large extent by transforming a large portion of the OPEC profit into loans for these African countries. Moreover this recycling compensated the Western economies since they could use the deposit from oil exporting countries to provide loans for which they charged interest to some extent, offsetting the pains inflicted on them by the higher oil prices. This debt crisis eventually gave rise to a Structural Adjustment Program in the 1980s so as to help most of these developing countries.

According to IMF, the Structural Adjustment is a term used to describe changing the way in which an economy is organized in order to raise productivity. Reforms associated with this pro-
gram includes liberalization of trade and investment policies and anti-competitive agricultural polices, privatization of public services and companies, de-regulation of labor relations and cutting social safety nets and finally improving competitiveness. Based on these objectives, SAPs prescribe measures and conditions for new loans for the developing countries. This entails the following:

- Reduction of government deficit through cuts in public spending i.e. cost recovery programs.
- Devaluing local currency.
- Introduction of higher interest rates.
- Liberalization of foreign exchange rules and trade.
- Rationalization and Privatization of public and parastatal companies.
- De-regulation of the labor market e.g. through wage flexibility, abolishing price control and food subsidies, shift from import substitution to export production (Isaacs 1997:35, Jauch, 2009).

The above neoliberals’ ideology was formulated by the IMF and imposed on indebted countries so as to ensure debt repayment and economic restructuring. But the way it has happened has required poor countries to reduce spending on things like health, education and development, while debt repayment and other economic policies have been made priority. This however implies that IMF and World Bank have demanded that the poor countries lower the living standard of their people even though the Structural Reforms was meant to adjust and structure the economy of these indebted countries. Most of the countries in Sub Saharan Africa were forced to adopt these measures as conditionality for aids, further loans and grants from not only the IMF and World Bank, but also from other donor countries and agencies. Under this neoliberal policy, state intervention was to be reduced to minimum and the impetus for economic growth was to come not as in the past from domestic market but by integration of African economies with the world economy, which is ironically is the very source of the underdevelopment, poverty, debt, poverty and misery these countries are facing.

However, Sub Saharan African countries have been implementing these SAPs for about twenty years now. The issues that have happen in these countries during this period can help to explain what these policies have done in Africa. These issues could help us to understand whether what has taken place is Stabilization or Stagnation of African economies. Whether it is Poverty Reduction or Poverty Intensification. With the help of the following quotations below, from Watkins Oxfam Po-
verty Report in 1996, one could make a decision on the role played by this western neoliberal policy imposed on these countries.

“There is only one thing worse than structural adjustment and that is not adjusting.”

Kwafi Akoor, Finance Minister, Ghana

“ESAP (Zimbabwe’s Enhanced Structural Adjustment Program) has meant that we can only eat two meals a day. We can no longer afford meat, because prices are too high. Everything costs more. I cannot afford to pay the school fees for my son and daughter since they started charging. Government said it was because of ESAP. We can’t even go to the clinic when the children are sick, because we can’t afford the medicine.”

Zimbabwean Woman, Harare

“I have read that our country is stabilizing. That may be true, but we have no jobs. We can’t send our children to school. Maybe stabilizing is a good thing for the country’s we pay debt to, but here life is getting harder.”

Zambian Woman

Overall, looking at the twenty years experience of SAPs in Sub Saharan Africa, the western view held by most neo-liberalist development planners that structural adjustments are capable of promoting social and economic development and stabilizing economies of the Third World countries must now be doubted. As an agent of Globalization, SAPs has certainly increase economic opportunities, but unfortunately these opportunities are not distributed equally. According to Lugala these economic opportunities has been placed in the hands of some few. Multi-national Corporation as well as their home governments has become so strong that the politics of development of the developing countries is at the mercy of these chosen few, who wield both economic and political power. That is what Globalization has become today. These trends have not only polarized the world but it has also led to class stratification within and between countries.

3.4 From Margin to Centre: The Emerging China and Sino-African Relations.

There is no way in contemporary time, any scholar can report on the relationship between Europe and Africa without talking on the Sino-African relation. China’s unprecedented economic growth over the last few decades has stroke the chord to world attention thereby stunning foes and friends alike. Saddled on a spirited economic expansion of 10 percent per annum, China continues to consolidate her position as one of the world’s biggest and fastest growing economies.
While pundits are still gasping from China’s phenomenal economic leap forward, China is relentlessly broadening the circle of its external relations, paved by an aggressive economic offensive need for the search of raw materials to feed the demands of Chinese industries. Its great demand for energy around the world has brought major players like the United States, Europe Union and Japan into fierce competition with its clamor for and securing long term energy.

Being the traditional economic hunting ground for the West, Africa over the last twenty years has witnessed unmatched display of Chinese economic interest, with the volume of China’s trade with Africa increasing exponentially. The volume of China trade with Africa continues to soar, growing from US$ 39.7 billion in 2005 to US$ 55 billion in 2006, moving to hit the US$ 100 billion mark by 2010 (Wanki, 2008). Speaking about Chinese development assistance to Africa and the manner in which they are delivered, are truly varied and diverse. China has indeed financed and unending catalogue of development projects on the African continent. The roads, bridges, rails, building, sport arena and dams built by Chinese firms all over the continent stands as a lasting legacy of the virility of Sino-African cooperation. In fact, one great reason why China continues to receive the olive branch in its ride across Africa is because the continent sees Chinese as a breath of fresh air from the long sorry history of marginalization and subordination under a world order marked by western hegemonism. By providing a truly dynamic alternative to development and trade cooperation, Africa has found in China, friendship, a vital corridor through which to retreat without necessarily surrendering in the face of unacceptable western pressures and prescriptions.

The genesis of Sino-Africa relations did not just emerge now. It backdates to the 15th century when an imperial fleet under the command of Admiral Zheng visited Eastern Africa as part of a circumnavigatory expedition. In fact, archaeological finds of ceramics excavated around Timbuktu in West Africa and the great Zimbabwe ruins were traced back to China, suggesting that some form of indirect trade and communication had existed between both regions over 3000 years ago.

However it seems fair enough to trace China’s contemporary linkages with Africa to the Bandung Conference of 1955, where China shared developing nation’s sense of humiliation, the fierce urgency to restore lost dignity and a pious but powerful determination to reclaim its own dignity. Following the posits of this conference, China began cultivating ties with and offered economic, technical and military assistance to African countries engaged in liberation movements against colonial rule, as part of what Beijing conceived as a united revolutionary front against superpower dominance. The Maoist 1960s equally saw a tremendous flux of Chinese traders going to settle in Africa. With a re-invigorated military, a buoyant economy and growing international authority,
China found a place under the sun, assuming a dual role as Torchbearer for the Third world and also a power balancer of Western and US hegemonism. They dedicated the decade following 1990 to enlarge, consolidate and strengthen ties with respective African countries in the economic, military, political and cultural dimensions. China re-engaged Africa on a scale that bewilders the sensibilities of even the keenest analysts. Raw materials and more especially oil is without doubt a key goal in China’s interest in African. They have taken further moves to deepen economic cooperation and trade with oil producing countries like Nigeria and Angola where a record deal of US$ 3 billion was reached in 2002 (Wanki, 2008).

With little or no doubt, Africa is still significantly under the political and economic tutelage of the West. However China’s triumphant debut in Africa as well as the European foreign policy and development in Africa as treated in this chapter, has opened the floodgates for widespread assessment of many central issues spinning on the fulcrum of Euro-Africa cooperation which will be explain furthermore, in chapter four.
4 Analysis of Euro-African Relationship

A general overview of the previous chapters portrays the African continent as an exposes continent plagued by travails and anguish. This is true when one considers the events that eludes this continent such as inter ethnic and inter religious killings in various African countries, the rates of premature deaths all over this continent, the high poverty rate, poor governance and above all, the resignation to bad fate of contemporary Africans who seems to have lost the will to advocate and fight against the difficult and unpleasant situations that the reality of the existence poses to them. According to Uzukwu Eugene in the editorial of Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology, Vol. 12:2000, “it is so bad that a descendant of African slaves in America thanked God for the singular favor bestowed on his parents and on himself, by having counted his parents worthy to be slaves in America”. This indeed is an irony of life. It is in this light, I seek to analysis the African situation vis-à-vis their interaction with Europe.

4.1 Assessing European Colonial Policy in Africa; the Cases of British, French and Belgian Policies

Whereas there are few canons of European history that have escaped challenges in recent years, the same claim cannot be made for African colonial history. The tendency in recent years however, has proven differences and similarities between the colonial policies. This is partly because of de-colonization and the Congo crisis in the 1960’s which resulted in an overproduction of literature of varying qualities. This eventually prompted world economic system thinkers to take a historical view of the global politics and how the development of capitalism and imperialism divided the world economy into a core, which there is advanced economic activities and wealth and also a periphery in which less advanced economic activities occurred and wealth was scarce. These eventually lead World-System thinkers such as Immanuel Wallenstein, Samir Amin and Andre Gunder Frank, to research about colonialism which they found in many ways, economically detrimental to their colonies. It is in same path I seek in this section of this report, to reappraise the presumed virtues and the presumed illiberal European colonial policies in Africa - Belgian, French and British Colonial policies.

To begin with, the Belgian foreign policy in its colonies was termed Paternalism. As described by John Middleton’s Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara, the Belgian Paternalism is formed on the belief that assuring Africans a relative degree of well-being would obviate any demands they might otherwise make for meaningful political participation. Paternalism was based on the doctrine that Belgium alone knew what was good for Africans and was ready to offer it if Africans remained quiet and obedient to the Belgian colonial masters. It is but no surprise that each co-
Colonial power used African territory as testing grounds for its policies. The British Indirect Rule was developed in India and tested in Nigeria, while Senegal was the lab for French Direct Rule and Assimilation. Congo was the lab for Belgian Paternalism.

Paternalism completely refused education to Africans. As explained by John Gunther, educating the Africans could later empower Africans and they will then demand a growing share responsibility in the shaping of their future. This was not the only negative aspect of this policy. The Rwanda genocide of 1994 and the conflict in the Congo are the most visible legacies of Belgian colonial rule in Africa. The case of Rwanda was a skillfully played ethnic card by the Belgians. They used the Tutsi against the Hutus and later the Hutus against the Tutsis which helped in planting the hatred which surfaced as genocide in 1994, that claimed approximately 800,000 lives. While on the other hand, the resource-rich Congo today is a case study of violence and object for plunder. The call for plunder was given in 1884 when European powers in Berlin declared Congo a free state, meaning it was free for all colonial masters. These provided room for chain of exploitation from the days of King Leopold of Belgium, through the Belgian government to Mobutu (Fowale, 2009). Rodney further observes in the years of preceding independence that the net outflow of capital from Congo reached massive proportions and the story of exploitation and bloodshed continues with the flurry of mercenary activities in the Congo till this day (Rodney, 1973; Fowale, 2009).

Unlike the Belgians, the French had a very clear approach in their administration of Africa. Their colonial policy was termed Direct Rule through which France had a firm grip on its colonies, a situation that exist till this date. France adjusted its policies to reflect changing times and circumstances within France, in the colonies as well as International scenes. The Direct rule constitutes Cartesian approach which includes Assimilation, Associations, Differentiation and Paternalism. This system provided a class of African elites “assimiles” (those who had embraced French culture; speaking French, eat French food,) who saw Africa’s destiny only in France’s hand. A good example was Houphouet Boighny (who later became Ivory Coast president) who opposed independence of Ivory Coast on grounds that it still needed more guidance from France (Fawale, 2009).

Like all other colonial powers, French colonial exploitation of Africa was merciless. A case study of this exploitation is Guinea, as shown by Rodney. France obtained one billion (old) francs in foreign exchange based on the sales of of bauxite, coffee and bananas (Rodney, 1973). Also the dubious military connections between France and Africa are not only colonialism legacy, but a continuation of Direct Rules.
The British Colonial policies were generally guided by the principles of *Indirect Rule*. Officially not introduced until 1934, Indirect Rule refered to the imposed government of Africans through their own institution. Based on the assumption that British and Africa were culturally distinct and the institutions in Africa were suited for their government under British control. But still there were some limitation of the role of African political power more especially when their rules conflicted with colonial rule which sought to make colonial conquest a commercially viable enterprise.

From the above, one will understand why Rodney spells it out in black and white that “*colonialism was a one armed bandit*”. Frantz Fanon categorizes colonialism as “*violence in its natural state*”. The entire system of colonialism was based on how much, how best and how fast Europe could exploit Africa even at the cost of African “*life and limb*”. It sowed the seeds of violence and instability that have followed Africa till this day. The legacies of colonialism are still quite visible everywhere in Africa. The most outstanding is the diametrical relationship that exists between Europe and Africa. This continent remains the least developed in the world and a showcase for hunger, disease misery and conflicts. “*Africa entered colonialism with a hoe and left with a hoe,*” says Rodney (1973).

### 4.2 Africa at the Dawn of Independence: Neo-Colonialism and the Cold War

It is without doubt that the tentacles of neo-colonialism and the cold war present in Africa have over the years spread in all aspect of life; such that the Africans are caught in the hooks from which it has continuously sought emancipation. To make it more elusive, *Dependency theorist* such as Walter Rodney argued that after gaining independence, the African states moved into a kind of power vacuum when they began the developmental process. According to Dependency theorists, economists and historian from the western and developed states acknowledge the existence of Colonialism and Imperialism, but understate the extent to which the economic progress of the rich Northern states was based on their exploitation of the currently underdeveloped states. It is in same path I seek to analysis the various dimension of neo-colonialism and cold war on the African continent.

According to The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2000 edition), Neo-Colonialism is economic and political influence which a powerful country uses to control another country. But from our research, neo-colonialism in Africa is that which guarantees the continuous dominance of the West over Africa even after independence. Thus, re-affirming the description of this concept by some prominent African nationalist. Nkrumah used *fake independence* to describe the independence granted African countries while in same light of argument, Sekou
Toure and Julius Nyerere considered neo-colonialism as the worst form of imperialism. They saw Africa been caught in the same hooks from which it has continuously sought emancipation. To make this more comprehensive, I shall examine the various dimensions of neo-colonial grips on Africa.

4.2.1 Political Dimension on Africa
First, the political dimension of neo-colonialism has succeeded in giving many African countries merciless and corrupt leaders. On attainment of independence, many African countries thought they were free to determine independently who their leaders were to be. However, the contrary was the case as the colonial powers did not conceive of political power in independent Africa in that way. Their understanding was simple to form a strong bonding which will enable them rule from afar. Thus re-affirming Nkrumah’s definition for neo-colonialism. Nevertheless in order to sustain their grip on various African countries, the western imperialists before leave deliberately handed over the political and economic issues to people whose loyalty could only be trusted. In return these new leaders had to be friendly to their former colonial master and also protect the interests of their colonial master. If the leadership failed to yield to such, the end was usually a removal through western sponsored coups and political upheavals.

A relevant example is the case of Belgium in the crisis of the Republic of Congo, which produced one of Africans most recognized despot, late Mobutu Sese Seko. These have eventually led to corruption and the continuous exploitation of Africa by the West. Hence the institution of bad leadership and bad governance has and is still playing a major role in the continent nemesis. This has gone a long way to develop underdevelopment in Africa. While on the other hand, those African leaders who were not supported and positioned into offices by the West have increasingly been doctorial in trying to secure their position as they see hands of the West on the walls. Ready examples in this light, includes Muammar Ghadafi of Libya and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

4.2.2 Economic Dimension on Africa
It is no surprise that the West in recognizing the need for its economy to grow, they have to apply the Machiavelli’s principle of *the end justifies the means*. In order words, the west is building its own economy through the deliberate and calculative destruction of economies in Africa. They termed African countries as raw material producers. They as well determine what price these raw materials were bought from Africa and subsequently when the raw materials are processed, the West tells Africans the price they want to sell the finish products. Thus, African countries are not in any way determiners of prices even when issues and events related to them particularly.
Another issue within this dimension worth mention is the control of the African economies by West through Loans and Grants. When loans are given, the usual things that accompany them are series of policies and conditions which have always been detrimental to the loan receiving country. This has been termed by many as Loans with strings. The strings attached to these loans, creates obstacles for the African countries simply because they have been positioned in a dependency and indebtedness state to the West.

Also the approach used in the *Blair Commission Report on Africa* to explain the economic dimension of neo-colonialism on this continent is a point worth mentioning. According to this report, the legacy of all Africa problems after Independence was the weak starting point in the race for development. Even in the 1960s, the early years following independence, average incomes in Africa grew. It is no coincidence that, when the problems of the 1970s set in, the income of the average African declined. In that decade Africa became one of the battlegrounds on which the proxy conflicts of the Cold War were fought. Both sides backed venal despots who were less interested in developing their national economies than in looting the assets of the countries they ran and then stashed away billions of US dollars in their private international bank accounts. That decade only reinforced Africa’s problems with Africans share of world trade being less than 1% with a greater percentage of Africans living on less that a US dollar per day. Africans are no longer able to meet the basic necessities of life, which prior to the coming of the European had never been lacking. Since it has extremely become difficult for the Africans to feed themselves as a result of mostly poor governance and leadership imposed by neo-colonialist, it has in same route been very difficult for them to think along same route with the rest of the world that considers scientific advancement as the most important priority of the age.

4.2.3 **Socio-cultural and other dimensions on Africa**

An issue worth mentioning is that of Africans who wallow in intellectual ignorance. This according too many scholars and intellectuals is the worst situation a man could be placed in, especially in contemporary times. It was in this light *Shorter Aylward* gave a vivid description of the vicious circle of poverty in Africa. According to him *Poverty, Ignorance and Diseases* forms the vicious circles of Africa; not only poverty causes diseases, but diseases causes poverty since it reduces the effectiveness and size of the work force, while not only is ignorance a cause of disease, but disease is a cause of ignorance because inadequate school performance is related to ill health of school children, and finally, not only poverty causes ignorance, ignorance causes poverty since it deprives people the knowledge and skills they require for making a living (*Aylward, 1999*).
Another dimension which I will love to analyse here is that of Africans in contemporary time have become “Deluded hybrids”. In term of Genetics, combination of two variant genomes from two genetically variant parents results in the development of offspring which are called Hybrids. With the variant genomes from the West and that from the Africans forefathers, has made me to term most Africans in contemporary time as an offspring of Deluded hybrids. This could be traced in the aspect of African Identity. A good example is the issue of Africans taking pride in speaking foreign languages better than some of the foreigners while some of the Africans cannot communicate enough in their own mother tongues. As a result of the problem of Identity, Africans have eventually lost the focus of existence, entangled within their own original identities and western identities that was imposed on them during colonial era and after independence, they find it difficult to apply their potentials in developing the very world around them.

4.2.4 Cold War and Africa
Another event worth mentioning at dawn of Africa independence is the Cold War. As far as Africa is concerned, the Cold war resembled colonialism in many ways. Africa was the target and theatre of both. Africans were victims of both and paid a high price in life and limb. Africans had a say in neither. Both left indelible scars on the continent in the form of economic and political ruin. Above all, colonialism and the Cold war share the same legacy in Africa – conflicts for which Africa presently accounts 88% globally, and many of which still rage in the continent today as seen in the Belgian Congo or present day Democratic Republic of Congo. The Congo serves as an excellent example in any analysis about the link between colonialism and the Cold war. No sooner had the Congo tasted its early days of independence than the forces neo-colonialism transformed it into a Cold War theatre. It began with the elimination of Congolese nationalist Patrice by the CIA and Belgian secret service with the connivance of their handpicked agent Mobutu Sese Seko. Lumumba’s crime was that he harbored communist sentiments. The rest of the butchery which ran for 32 years was left in the hands of Mobutu who received regular supplies of arms and military advisers from the powers that he served.

Also with the trust of international efforts to curb proliferation tend to concentrate on the manufacture and supply of new weapons, a large amount of stockpile of Small Arms and light Weapons were pumped into Africa during and after the Cold War era by U.S.A, Soviet Union, and their allies. According to World Policy Institute, about 1.5 billion Dollars worth of weapons in Africa has come from U.S.A. However these leftover weapons found their way through clandestine networks and local smugglers to exacerbate on-going conflicts in Africa and on the hand has helped facilitate the commencement of new conflicts in continent. These weapons have helped
regionalized and prolong wars in conflict clusters around the continent – from the Mano River Union in the West of Africa through the Great Lakes Region to the Great Horn. In areas such as Liberia and Sierra Leone where war has officially come to an end, the presence of small arms makes sure that physical insecurity persists through banditry and violent settlement of scores.

4.3 Debt servicing versus development: Africa’s lost decade

It is no doubt that Africa is the center stage of the world that is still struggling for human and economic rights. It is home of the world’s graver health crises including the HIV/AIDS pandemic and chronic famine as well as constituting world’s most indebted countries. Even though it contributes just 5% of the developing world’s income, it bears about 66% of the debts. Due to this, the average African state spends approximately three times more of its scarce resources on debt servicing than it does on providing basic services for it is population. This sounds rather bizarre for a poor state to spend more on debt servicing to wealthy nations and institutions than on basics social services when millions of their citizens lack access to education, preventive health care, adequate food supply and safe drinking water. But still, it is the situation faced by African states.

At the London School of Economics, a development studies researcher, Gavin Capps has researched the numbers behind the debt. In an article titled "Redesigning the Debt Trap," he explains the dangerous web and impact of the debt, structural adjustment programs, and capital flight on the Africa continent (Capps, 2005). He cites Africa Action, a U.S.-based NGO, reporting in 2001 that the ratios of foreign debt to the continent's gross national product increased from 51% in 1982 to 100% in 1992. Africa's debt grew to four times its export income in the early 1990s. Its debt burden is twice that of any other region in the world, it carries 11% of the developing countries' debt, with only 5% of its income. The gross national product in Africa is US$308 per capita, while its debt stands at US$355 per capita. The money spent paying back the debt and the interest on the debt expanded from an average of US$1.7 billion from 1970-1979 to US$14.6 billion from 1997-1999. Africa received a total of US$540 billion in loans, paid back US$550 billion, and still retained a debt of US$295 billion between 1970 and 2002. In 1990 African countries paid out US$60 billion more than they received in new loans, and by 1997, this increased to about 162 British pounds. In 2001, sub-Saharan Africa borrowed US$11.4 billion, and paid back US$14.5 billion (Rodino, 2005).

However, this catastrophe has played out in the social service and health sectors in most of these African countries. Shrinking African national budgets are being spent in greater proportions to
repaying Western creditors at the expense of welfare or productive domestic investment. During the 1980s debt service repayments averaged 16% of African government expenditure compared to 12% on education and 4% on health. A decade later, the situation remains appalling, as interest payments are prioritized over human needs. In 1999 the Zambian government was pressured to spend US$14 million more in debt service than on its collapsing health care system, in the face of the AIDS pandemic reaching new heights. Also in 1999, 33% of Angola's gross domestic product was spent on debt repayments, as compared to 4.9% of gross national product on education and 1.4% on health. In the whole of sub-Saharan Africa in 2001, debt repayment amounted to 3.8% of GDP, as opposed to 2.4% spent on health care.

In tandem with the debt repayment crisis, poor governance and corrupt leadership has helped to increase the debt of these African countries. This is the largest problem faced by African countries. The leaders of struggling African countries continue to take care of themselves and those around them while they leave the rest of their countrymen to fend for themselves with little education and a stark landscape of resources. This corruption in government filters down to the businesses and people of the countries in a negative way. Business owners and citizens feel no need to follow tax rules and provisions. Knowing that the government is corrupt, they will fight to avoid paying taxes at all costs. The lack of revenue from taxes hinders the development of many needed things in struggling African countries. Countries do not have enough money to develop good roads. They do not have enough money to provide sanitary drinking water for their citizens, and they cannot provide the medical care that so many people need. But still, the leaders of these countries receive lots of aid from foreign and other organization which they keep for themselves. In such a situation, it is right to attribute the blame of the African crisis to it is corrupt leaders, but there is still more to reveal.

Most of these African leaders came to power through the help of their western allies. A good example is late Mobutu Seso Seko, of the Democratic Republic of Congo, was helped by the west so as to guarantee Western strategic interests during the Cold War. (Mobutu was installed in mineral-rich Democratic Republic of Congo after the CIA-backed assassination of popular radical nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba). The following thirty one years of his rule, Mobutu grew immensely rich from his country copper and gold exports and also pocketing foreign aids, while US used the DRC as base for aggression against neighboring countries. This locally stolen wealth just like many other corrupt leaders in these African countries is transferred to advance western economies. But the question is the dormant and silent role of the western countries towards their financial institutions which recieve these funds from Africa.
However, it is not surprising that Western countries have been salient about this prominent problem. This wealth can only leave Africa with the willing partnership of these western financial institutions. While the western scholars and politicians continue to pour blame on the corrupt leadership and poor governance, little is been said about their financial institutions. By current acceptable standards of European law, the willing keeper of stolen goods is equally guilty.

According to a paper presented by Abubakar Momoh and Paul Okojie on *Redesigning the State*, Nigeria has had 220 billion dollars of its money deposited in personal bank accounts in Western Europe since independence. The article stated that this was 5 times more than the Marshall plan given by the US to reconstruct Europe after the Second World War (Okojie et al, 2005). If this figure is truly accurate then the banks have to face up to their role as responsible bankers. Certainly these huge amounts should have prompted them to examine ethical banking concepts that apply when unexplained funds appear.

To follow the simple money trail, 220 billion dollars leaves Africa and goes to Western European banks. When the money arrives, it is not stored physically as cash in bank vaults. The money is immediately pumped into the economy as financing for development, industries and commerce. The direct result of this is that the European economies benefit unwittingly from this free money while Africa economies goes down the drain. The irony is that this money meant for developing Africa is instead developing Europe (Askira, 2006). While on the other hand, the IMF and The World Bank then gives out loans with the necessary terms that such loans dictate. No doubt some of the money borrowed by these Africa countries is part of their stolen wealth stored in Europe. These loans then get to Africa and make the same trip back to Europe again where the bankers are always willing to save the stolen wealth. At this point one can only imagine the thoughts in the minds of Western bankers as they see millions being deposited in accounts even as they watch African images of poverty and famine on their television screens.

I will wish the readers to imagine a scenario where a Western European leader places a billion dollars into a personal European Bank account. With little or no doubt the banks would immediately alert the authorities concerned. They would do this under the time honored code of civic responsibility which is well-practiced in Europe. This is not the case with stolen funds from Africa. It just seems that this selective responsibility does not extend to Africa.

Today almost all western financial institutions keenly look for laundered money to prevent terrorists and drug dealers from abusing their institutions. It is virtually impossible for terrorist organi-
izations to use the western banking system due to this attention given to strange money. Somehow money from Africa seems to pass through this net. Maybe the reason is that terrorism and drugs kills. But still, in Africa there is a prevailing terrorist called Poverty that strikes everyday.


China’s honeymoon with Africa is increasingly getting topical by the day, attracting unprecedented attention and cascading interest from diverse angles of the East and West academic and political circles. While this is partly owing to China’s resurging visibility on the world stage, it is also a consequence of the geometric growth of Chinese presence across the various flanks of the African continent. With its tactical diplomatic advantage in her unique position in the world – having one foot in the developing world and another in the developed with a seat on the United Nations Security Council, China can conveniently flirt across the North and South, straddling both axes with relative ease in fostering her foreign policy objectives. However, China’s triumphant debut in Africa has indeed opened the floodgates for widespread assessment of many central and intriguing issues on the fulcrum of Sino-Africa cooperation. Amidst these issues, pundits and politicians within this field of studies, have already began drafting out potential list of effects of this cooperation on the nature and strength of Euro-Africa relations in the short and long terms.

For one great reason, in the midst of China’s thirst for Africa’s resources to establish her economy, Beijing’s fiery determination to carve out a superpower niche for herself on the international affairs is certainly now. Building stronger political ties with African countries is a central role of Beijing’s political calculus. According to Wanki, strong relations with Africa guarantee’s China a great deal of leveraging momentum in the United Nation, especially as Africa has the most developing countries (53) in a single continental bloc. As a matter of fact, China has exercise her ascending diplomatic clout against the West in many recent instances with considerable success. Beijing has counter-vetoed a US-EU backed UN Security Council veto demanding the prosecution of Sudanese officials for crime against humanity in Darfur, as well as other vetoes on Zimbabwe. She has equally signed out aid and development assistance to Angola, when the IMF/World Bank conditionalities backed by EU and US seem pestiferous to Angola’s interests. These actions of China has help gain considerable favor in the eyes of most African countries which see China as a torchbearer for their course. This present euphoria in Africa over China, is nothing short of the increase fatigue with Europe in the continent, which albeit her assistance to region, has left a legacy of pain beginning from the slavery to colonialism, then to neocolonialism, political and economic manipulations, support of dictatorship, onerous conditionalities to development assistance and excessive meddling in the domestic affairs of African coun-
tries to serve various western political, economic and strategic interests. But with China’s increasing fraternity and emergence, the certainty of Africa’s closeness to Europe in the long run merits considerable rethinking.

Further more on the economic sphere, it seems fair to say that, while European partners show Africans the stick, their Chinese counterparts gives out fruits instead, thereby winning the heart and mind of the African during the process. An illustrative example is the African recent rejection of The Economic Partnership Agreement (EPAs) put forward by the European Union as the proposed basis for reaching a new set of economic and trade related agreement with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries.

According to Wanki, under the Lome Convention ACP countries enjoyed unilateral trade preferences into EU market for almost three decade. Replaced by the Contonou Agreement in 2000 which extended such unilateral trade preference until the end of 2007, the EPAs which are World Trade Organization (WTO) compatible reciprocal trade agreements were expected to replace the current non-reciprocal preferential trade regimes at the beginning of 2008. However the EPAs are regarded in Africa as inherently iniquitous because they intend to open relatively fragile African economies to fierce competition from more powerful and competitive European firms and products, while slashing government budgets through the elimination of tariff revenues.

While on the other hand China trading engagement with Africa is hinged on a win-win principle. They provide concessional loans, trade incentives as well as support to African partners with less stifling terms. This is in contrast to the European Union onerous preconditions and its insistence on tying aids and investments bundles to apron strings on democracy, human rights and good governance even though they left a legacy of pains in this continent, beginning with slavery to colonialism, then to neo-colonialism, political and economic manipulation, support to dictatorships, onerous conditionality to development assistance and excessive meddling in the domestic affairs of African countries to serve various western political, economic and strategic interests (Wanki, 2008). With China’s fraternity and emergence, African leveraging capacity at the international scene has increases and eventually leading to the questioning of the certainty of Africa’s closeness to Europe in the long run.

Another point worth mentioning here is that China’s trading engagement with Africa is hinged on the win-win principle. Despite its many flaws, China provides concessional loans, trade incentives as well as support to African partners with less stifling terms. This however is an indicative of a mutual partnership in which both partners are considered equal, at least in principle, working
towards helping each other. This eventually is contrast to the European onerous preconditions and its insistence on tying aids and investment bundles to apron strings of democracy, human rights and good governance. In many respect African bargaining position has immensely strengthened through its close partnership with China.

However, Africa is still significantly under the political tutelage of the West despite China’s rising ranks in Africa, which has posses a lot of challenges to the ways western countries have often sought to maintain their hegemonistic leverage. It is true that Africa increase partnership with China has lead to trade, development assistance, loans, developmental knowledge exchange and sharing, enhancement of opportunity for economic buoyancy of the African countries as well as the empowerment of African leveraging capacity, but the issue of non-interference and non-conditionalities clause, especially in areas of fostering good governance, human rights and democracy, are indeed fanning worries that China’s influence could derail international attempts in enhancing these virtues in the African continent.

Some Western as well as African scholars argue that, China presence in Africa continues to undermine, alter and challenge the leveraging abilities of international institutions to stimulate positive changes and reform in Africa. This is simple because of China’s foreign policy which saddle on the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other states, arms sales and indifference to human rights, democracy and good governance. This has eventually lead to the provision of insulating gadget by China to non-compliant countries who can now wade off the impact of international economic, political or fiscal pressure.

A good example is the case of Angola, whereby the IMF and some Western countries have been pressing Angola to improve its oil sector transparency for the greater good for its people, as a prelude for them to receive aid packages from donor community, partly under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative led by the United Kingdom with strong US support. When Angola refused these terms, Beijing promptly stepped in and signed out the cheque for Angola. China intensifying romance with African government fraught with poor human rights record and bad governance like Sudan and Zimbabwe, has stirred international outcry. According to Wanki, China cannot preach a gospel of sustainability in its dealing with Africa, and then turn a blind eye to the unfolding carnage that is being perpetrated in Darfur by a Khartoum government that flourishes largely on Chinese largesse and protection. That is a similar scenario in Zimbabwe. To further amplify its untoward indifference to international controversy, China continues sale of arms to autocratic governments in Africa with devasting human rights credentials for not more
than economic concessions, especially oil exploration rights, is enough to make us re-think the bases on which the Sino-African cooperation was found.

From the above analyze, it is without that the European has had a major influence over the Africa, ranging from their continuous interventions in political, economic and social activities of the Africans. With these issues treated, the following chapter will seek to evaluate the research questions in relation to the materials provided in previous chapters as well as this chapter.
5 Evaluation of the Research Questions

Africa is the second largest continent and has the second highest population in the world. It is richly endowed with mineral reserves comprising of bauxite, cobalt, diamond, gold, platinum, copper, uranium, aluminum, coal and a range of others. It has good quantities of oil. It has the second largest tropical forest in the world. The Equator, the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn all transverse the continent, and this has implication for climatic conditions favorable for cash crops. Africa boast of the longest river and also the second widest lake in the world. It has the tallest free standing mountains in the world. It has a wonderful and wide spectrum of fauna and flora species and many other breathtaking natural features which attract tourists. It is the most multilingual continent in the world, with a rich cultural heritage. Archeologists have unearthed abundant scientific evidence to show that the human race originated in Africa. Historian on their part have also documented that one of the very earliest forms of writing in the world, the Hieroglyphics style was developed by Egyptians. But despite all the above heritage and legacy, Africa continuous to stagnates in underdevelopment. The big question is WHY?

Why is Africa underdeveloped? Is it because of the lack of natural resources? Of course not. Japan has very little minerals compared to many African countries and yet it is a highly industrialize and developed country. Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea has more oil than Norway and yet the economies of these countries are quite different. The poverty cannot be as a result of ethnic variety in Africa, since United State of America also has a large racial mix and yet it has a developed economy.

Unfortunately, the overwhelming opinion about Africa political economy crisis is primary the inevitable outcome of the failure of post-independence development policy formulation and implementation in the majority of the African countries. This owes its roots to European engagement with Africa. Hope makes us to understand in his discourse that, post independence development policy was formulated through a statist ideological framework by the West, which was then implemented by experimentation. Moreover most of the countries had to contend with the adverse international economic environment which was control and an regulated by the West and this eventually produced disastrous results. Theses disastrous development results in turn are the catalyst behind the deepening economic crisis in Africa (Hopes, 1997).

The lurid legacy of European policies on the African continent help to further underdeveloped Africa. Collorated by Slavery, Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Cold War, West continuous intervention in Africa internal policy, it is without doubt that these European policies are the foun-
dation of African crises. However, some scholars link the problem to the African people and the ways they do things. These includes their continuous endemic conflicts, widespread corruption and despotic regimes. But as you most have realize from the previous chapters, the source of most African conflicts lies with the coming of the West. The West during the process of decolonization created new territories which never existed before. This eventually brought about social fragmentation which has escalated to conflict such as the Libya-Chad conflict in Aouzou Strip. Also the Rwanda genocide of 1994 and the Conflict in Congo are visible legacies of the Belgian colonial policies in this colonies. The case of Rwanda was a skillfully played card by the Belgians where they used the Tutsi against the Hutus and later on the Hutus against the Tutsi which helped in planting the hatred among this two clans, which surfaced as a genocide in 1994. While the issue of corruption and despotic leaders in most African countries today, are simple legacy of neo-colonialism. Before granting independence to Africans, the Western imperialist deliberately handed over affairs of government to individuals who were loyal and could protect their interest. Most of these leaders have been presidents for their countries since independence and incase of death, their sons have succeeded them. Good examples are the case of Faure Eyadema of Togo, Joseph Kabila of DR Congo and Ali Bongo of Gabon to replace their fathers as presidents. These precedents and developments seem to have encouraged Gaddafi, Museveni and Hosni Mubarak who are busy grooming their children to replace them.

However the nature of this controversial and complex relationship, most of the national budgets of post colonial Africa are largely funded by European tax payers. In as much as the Sino-African relationship may have spurred some intriguing issues in the global socio-political economy, Africa still needs Europe to address its poverty challenges. It is without doubt that China on it is part has play major role in reshaping the European views on Africa. It has increase Africans leveraging capacity at the international level by providing an option other than the West and not forgetting their unending catalogue of development projects they have carried out in Africa. But it is obvious that Africa and Europe share much more than economic injury that still overshadows any conversation between the two continents.

It is with little or no doubt that many African countries still have a love-hate relationship with their former colonial masters as would be expected in any master-servant relationship. But the major issue is where do these continents go from here. What potentials exist with this complex Euro-African partnership and how can this be explored for the good of Africa. The following conclusive chapter will throw some lights on this.
6 Conclusion and Possible way forward for Africa

Indeed, it seems right to say that few relationships have been as controversial, and yet as promising and full of potential as that which binds Europe and Africa together. In many ways, Euro-African interactions have vacillated through both high and low points – the agony of the slave trade and the bitter legacy of African enslavement in the Euro-American Diasporas remains eternally burnt in the psyche of most Africans. The distortions and exploitations of Africa resulting from the European colonialism continue to infringe on the continent’s potentials for sustainable economic development even today. In fact, one cannot help being constantly reminded of Albert Memmi’s (1974) riveting voice:

The colonizer finds himself on one side of a scale, the other side of which bears a colonized man. If his living standards are high, it is because those of the colonised are low; if he can benefit from plentiful labour, it is because the colonised is exploited at will...

The more freely he breathes, the more the colonised are choked (Memmi, 1974, p52)

Yet, in many ways, Africa remains indebted to Europe. Various forms of European civilization have for instance, contributed in animating Africa’s way of life. Western education and literacy helped open the continent to the global political economy, and European system of political organization continues to yield beneficial dividends to some of Africa’s countries, albeit the fractious contestations that have often resulted from adapting forms of western democracy to Africa. At present, the European Union accounts for about 61 per cent of all development assistance to the African continent, and its member’s states continue to bilaterally support African efforts at enhancing peace, stability, security and development in the African region.

In short, Euro-African relations contain the good and the bad in all the extremes. But the onus of this work is centered on how to move the relationship between the two regions further, perhaps to a place where Africa could benefit more. Clearly, the continent has been receiving the shorter end of the development stick thus far, and the status-quo needs to change for the African continent to realize its full potentials. Europe still largely patronizes Africa, interfering in the continent’s political, economic and even social ways of life in very dramatic dimensions. European corporations still reap excessive profits from Africa’s natural resources, at times, at the precarious mercy of local African communities suffering from the side-effects of such huge profit margins. A vivid example in this light could be seen with Shell’s operations in the Ogoniland and Niger Delta environs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, where water sources and farmlands that hold
the livelihoods of local peoples have been tarnished by oil exploration activity and oil spills. If Europe and Africa are truly partners, then the partnership is a hugely unequal one. In certain respects, looking at the present condescending posture given Africa in its relations with the West, Helena Woodward (2007) might have been right after all, when she pointed out that “while we might think that we are done with slavery, slavery is not done with us”. Europe thrives on the pinnacle of progress, yet Africa trudges on, helplessly, dragged behind by warfare, hunger, diseases, bad governance and in no small way, by the evil hangover of European sponsored slavery and colonialism of Africa.

The question is “what is the way forward?” How can Africa’s development potentials be unlocked within the brackets of its relationship with Europe? The few ensuing recommendations touch the surface of certain considerations that should be mainstreamed if Africa is to reclaim its rightful place as a development powerhouse:-

✓ **Reconstitution of Africa’s political and economic Power:** Once upon a time, there was a creed of unity that animated Africa’s hopes, inspired the legendary singer Bob Marley, and enthused anti-colonial pantheons like Kwame Nkrumah and Marcus Garvey, the creed was a United Africa that speaks with one voice politically, economically and culturally. Africa’s future can be ennobled by its unity. The continent is a mosaic of diverse, mostly richly endowed countries that could wield serious political and economic clouts in the international stage and secure precious bargaining chip, should they come together. Yet Africa’s unity has often been a bone of contention, partly because of the limited vision of some of the parochial leaders in the continent, but mostly as a result of serious political influence by powers outside Africa, which in turn scare of the continent’s prospects as a united force. The reason why Europe is emerging as an indispensable force in the international community is because of the joint clout of the European Union which has projected a powerful European muscle flexing around the world. Should the African Union too be a strong, tightly knitted supranational organisation, there is real possibility that the African continent could develop joint leverage in the world stage, thereby being able to negotiate its destiny better. In short, in reconstituting Africa’s political and economic power lies a major route for the region’s development renaissance.

✓ **Debt Cancellation, Market Access and Industrialization:** Prospects for a reawakened Africa lie in the following parameters:-
Complete debt cancellation,

Enlarged market access for Africa’s produce,

The systematic and guided industrialization of Africa.

Africa’s debt burden has often been a poisoned chalice for the international community to gulp. There is increasing evidence that the so-called Bretton woods establishments possess the horizons of actually cancelling all of Africa’s debts without hampering their operating capital, yet the decision not to do so has staged an affront on the World Bank and IMF’s true motives as engines for development in the world. Debt servicing consumes a serious amount of Africa’s development potentials – resources which could have been used to jump-start the continent’s economies, fight malaria and HIV/AIDS, improve institutions of good governance and foster human security. By and large, it increasingly seems more obvious that Africa’s destiny lies in its own hands. The market access hurdle on the path of Africa’s products continues to restrict the continent’s position as a producer, not just consumer of European and Western goods. This is linked to the third and most important point here, which is Africa’s industrialization. The NEPAD (New Partnership for African Developments) framework provides an ambitious platform for Africa’s industrialization, but it seems a strong focus on the right track. The problem with the excessively neoliberal agenda of the project is that it bases its funding seriously on external partners like Europe, and so far, Africa is yet to see real, meaningful, robust “marshal plan” from Europe. As a result, there seems to be some sense in Libya’s Gaddafi’s proposal to create an intra-African pool of investment for Africa’s industrialization. Gaddafi might have been known worldwide for his hot temper and frequent political diatribes but he got this one right.

✔ Using the Chinese Cushion Effectively for Africa’s development: That China has arisen as a politico-economic colossus is no news. The countries 9% annual GDP growth rate and insatiable thirst for oil and natural resources has sent it to Africa seek and acquire a means of fueling its booming economy. Yet, unfortunate, it seems China knows what it wants from Africa, but Africa does not yet know what it wants from China. Chinese presence in the continent is so dramatic, and the country is reporting record profits in its engagements in Africa, but Africa too must leverage China for better dividends for its resources, and use the Chinese presence as alternative partner to leverage Europe as well for a better deal for Africa. With China, perhaps the days when Africa had to kneel before Europe, and be derided sometimes by ridiculous and overbearing conditionality
are getting over. Rephrasing President Kennedy, Africa must not fear to negotiate with China strongly, just as she must never negotiate out of fear.

In all, this work has painted a somewhat limited exploration of Euro-African partnerships. Limited by its scope, the paper has merely gleaned over some very pertinent concerns that have characterized Europe’s engagement with Africa – from slavery, through colonialism, to today’s unequal relationship between both regions. There is no doubt that Africa is a bread basket to the world. Yet the region continues to appear as a site for the most devastating samples of misery, poverty and hardship. Underlying this paradox is a severe problem: which is the marginalization and exploitation of Africa in the world, and largely by its European partner. Consequently, this paper has dwelled on a limited number of suggestions which, if considered, could precipitate a reversal in the trend. Generally, this work is seen as a brisk touch on a much larger work that could constitute student’s dissertation within this field of studies.
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