

Europe and the Challenge of African Integration

Problematic: In reminding African posterity of the thoughts and writings of one of the boldest and original thinkers of Africa, this paper focuses on the issue of Europe's relations with Africa over the last 500 years. Africa is as disunited as ever. Indeed, in the present decade Africa is even more fragmented than in the 1970s. How does one explain this? Does the relationship between Europe and Africa have anything to do with it?

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Europe and the Challenge of African Integration

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" ... the problem in Africa is not so much that development has failed as that it never really got started. At the beginning of the independence period, African leaders, with few exceptions, were so absorbed in the struggle for power and survival and so politically isolated by their betrayal of the nationalist revolution that they could not launch a national development project but instead opted for dependent development, letting their metropolitan patrons determine the agenda and find the resources to implement it. Thus policy making was largely divorced from political responsibility and development strategy was dissociated both from social needs and from the cultural and historical realities of the developing society. This dissociation led to development policies that have been more disruptive than developmental. Development could not proceed in a situation in which the national leadership had no vision or agenda of its own and relied on outsiders". Ake, Claude (1996), Democracy and Development in Africa, Washington DC, The Brookings Institution, p.40

Executive summary

The paper traces Euro-African relationship over the following four Pan-European African "Projects":

1. Slave Trade: The First Pan-European African Project: 1450 to late 19th Century (+ 400 years)
2. Colonialism: The Second Pan-European African Project: 1880s to 1960s (+80 years)
3. Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism: The Third Pan-European African Project (with USA and Japan): 1985 to 2010 (+ 25 years and ongoing)
4. EPAs: The Fourth Pan-European African Project (Ongoing)

Question: Must the historically ordained structured relationship between Europe and Africa remain inescapably negative for Africa in the future, as in the past? What, in this context, is the role of the Nordic countries in Africa?

The essay argues that the *realpolitik* tradition has dominated Europe's five centuries relations with Africa. The other two traditions – the normative, and the now half dead/half alive Marxist revolutionary tradition – have been important influences at certain periods in Africa's history, but they are largely marginal and peripheral to the mainstream tradition. In our own times, Europe, including the Nordic countries, have become, on balance, a negative force for Africa's integration.

The main responsibility for the failure of African integration lies, first and foremost, with African political and intellectual leadership. A general pattern -- a kind of cycle of relationship -- is broadly discernible over the last five hundred years of Afro-European relations. It starts with **resistance** (against slavery, colonialism, racism, etc.); then it moves to active **connivance** on the part of a section of society (who then become agents of the exploiting/oppressor nations of Europe), and **adaptation** to a new reality by the bulk of the population, if nothing else than for mere survival sake. Over time, when exploitation and oppression reach their limit, the cycle moves to resistance leading to the emergence of a new dispensation. And then whole cycle begins again. We are presently living through a post-colonial reality. It is passing through the connivance/adaptation phase. It has yet to transform into active resistance, and genuine liberation of the people of Africa from European (and allied) domination and exploitation. There are some positive signs on the horizon, even (perhaps) among Africa's present political and intellectual leadership, but the main challenge lies with the African posterity. Time will tell how it handles the challenge.

The paper ends with asking some "hard questions" to the leaders of the Nordic and African nations.

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Introduction: Taking a True Measure of the History of African-European Relations

This presentation is made in Europe, but its principal audience is in Africa, as Claude Ake, a long time personal friend and colleague, would have wished. Nonetheless, towards the end of my presentation, I have a few questions to our Nordic Friends as well as to my own compatriots and fellow Africans. In this lecture, I hope I do justice to the two values Claude stood for all his life – namely, African self reliance and pan-Africanism – in the spirit in which he would have wished. This lecture, as all previous lectures in this series, is dedicated to him.

Africa is projected in the Western media largely as a "perpetual conflict zone", where human rights are constantly and grossly violated, and as the land of hunger, poverty, disease and corruption. It is also where the bulk of "development aid" goes from Europe. The European public perception is that in spite of "all this money we send to Africa", there is still so much poverty and corruption there. In the diplomatic silence of their thoughts, one might almost hear the words "What's wrong with Africa? Are the Africans pathologically violent and corrupt? Is violence and corruption coded in their genes?" If one were to do, for example, a

content analysis of much of the research in the universities in Europe (and the US) on African economics, politics and international relations, I have little doubt that a substantial part of it is devoted to this “pathological” side of Africa. And yet a more important and interesting question would be: why, with so much rich resources in Africa, the people are so poor? And a follow-up question: has Africa’s 500 years of relationship with Europe anything to do with the enduring poverty of Africa? Why is the resource-poor Europe so rich, and the resource-rich Africa so poor?

Very few people in Europe know Africa. Of course, there are those who have a “distant love affair” with African music, and African culture, and those who travel there for its bountiful nature and its free wild life. But when it comes to understanding the Euro-African relations, few know, or care to know, that in fact for the last 500 years there has been a constant net flow of resources from Africa to Europe, starting as slaves around the middle of the 15th Century, to the present times.

The slave trade concentrated on certain areas in Africa – mostly West Africa and certain parts of Eastern Africa – but it went on for a very long period of time. Since African countries got their independence starting with Ghana in 1957, it is now 50 years. The slave trade was eight times longer – over 400 years. What is significant is that the slave trade substantially financed the successful emergence of capitalism in Europe. It is one of those historical ironies that the profits from the slave trade enriched Europe, who then used these riches to later colonise Africa.

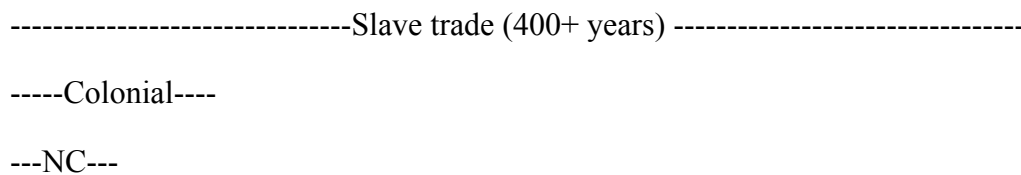
In the colonial times the pillage of Africa continued, now involving the whole of Africa and its entire peoples. From 1885 to 1960s (for over 80 years -- South Africa’s liberation from the double scourge of colonialism and racism was delayed by another 20 years), Africa provided Europe with a constant flow of resources not only in the form of commodities secured from Africa by European traders and manufacturers, but also as “surplus capital” secured by European banks and financiers. The fact that Africa also provided money, as well as raw materials, to Europe for its industrialisation is a less known fact. In other words, Africa provided the natural resources *and* surplus capital for the next stage of Europe’s development.

The exploitation of Africa during the very times we live in, if it is possible to imagine, is worse than during the period of the slave trade and the colonial period. The slave trade went on for a long, long time, but it affected a relatively small area in Africa; the colonial period “captured” the whole of Africa, and penetrated deeply into the society and economy of Africa; in the present neo-colonial period, the exploitation of Africa is several times more intense than in the colonial period. To use the medical metaphor, if the slave trade was a “first degree” burn, then colonialism was a “second degree” burn, and neo-colonialism is the “third degree” burn. It has gone to the very marrow of the body politic of Africa. And therefore to “cure” it, is going to be huge challenge.

The following is an approximate periodisation of Africa’s contribution to Europe’s development over the last 500 years.

- 1450s to late 1800s: 400 + years under slave trade: Africa substantially financed Europe's emergence into Capitalism
- 1884 – 1960s: 80 + years under direct colonialism: Africa substantially financed Europe's industrialisation
- 1960s – today: 40+ years under neo-colonialism: Africa continues to finance Europe's post-industrial growth

If drawn to scale, a visual graphic of Africa's contribution to the development of Europe over the last 500 years might look roughly like:



The present phase has lasted for some forty years; the colonial phase was twice as long; and the period of slave trade, five times longer than the colonial phase. It is necessary to grasp the significance of this, to know that four/fifths of the last 500 years of active Euro-African relations were during the period of the slave trade. In the number of days, the slave trade lasted for approximately 146,000 days, colonialism for 29,200 days, and neo-colonialism to date up to 14,600 days. The pre-colonial, pre-slave period is simply presented in European literature as the “dark period”, and yet who can say if the “Gross Domestic Happiness” (GDH) index of Africans in those centuries was not higher than the GDH of Africans in the present times? Why should the European concept of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) be the measure of human life and human worth?

And yet, it is the last 40 years that the exploitation of Africa has been the most intense -- figuratively speaking, almost twice as intense as during the 80 years of the direct colonial period, and 10-times more intense than during the period of the slave trade. Thousands of slaves were shipped out of Africa during the slave trade period every year, many perishing on the sea during the long voyage; today, too, thousands of Africans leave Africa “voluntarily” for Europe to escape from the ravages of their continent, and many perish in the sea. But, in addition, in terms of the transfer of resources from Africa to Europe, the scale of contemporary exploitation is almost immeasurable. There are simply no figures to calculate the true value of the commodities that are exported to Europe. For example, American subsidies on cotton depress world prices. The valuation of cotton exports from Africa based on these artificially depressed prices thus grossly under-estimates their real value, even in market terms. Furthermore, the prices of all of Africa's exports are set by European or American or Japanese monopolies; Africa is simply “the taker” of these prices. Therefore, the figures provided by the agencies that collect trade data (national as well as international such as the OECD and the World Bank) are simply “indicative” figures that are useful to make comparison from one year to another for analysis based on time series, but these prices do not measure the real value of Africa's commodity exports, which is many times the “quoted”

values in official statistics. In addition to commodities, Africa continues to make regular money transfers to Europe. The incredible fact is that the flow that is from Africa to Europe and America in net terms is obscured and shown by both official and media as if there were a net inflow of money resources into Africa from Europe, which, in fact, is not the case. Unlike commercial accountants, they look at only one side of the ledger – the outflows of “aid” from Europe to Africa. They conveniently overlook the other side of the ledger – the outflows of “aid” from Africa to Europe.

Figures provided by European debt relief advocacy groups that Sub-Saharan Africa receives an average of \$10 billion annually as "aid" and pays back \$14 billion in "debt repayments", present the situation in a slightly more correct light than the one-sided figures on "aid" to Africa given in official OECD or World Bank statistics. But even these figures by the advocacy groups, overestimate the value of "aid" to Africa (they contain, for example, the money spent by the European countries for African refugees living in Europe, and the money governments in Europe provide to their NGOs working in Africa), and grossly underestimate the value of debt repayments. They also do not take into account, for example, what is known as "vulture funds", or companies that make huge profits by buying a country's debt at a reduced price and then suing for the full amount, thus siphoning away "gains" made by debt cancellation. In one case cited by some advocacy groups, the American company FG Hemisphere Fund successfully sued the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) for \$ 105 million for a \$30-million loan incurred in 1980 by the Mobutu Sese Seko government. A judge in Washington ordered the DRC to pay up to US\$ 80,000 a week as a result of the lawsuit.

If government officials and politicians in the European countries know about this actual reality on the ground (namely, a net transfer of resources from Africa to Europe), then there is either an “official conspiracy of silence” about it, or just plain ignorance, or refusal to face the facts.

The irony is that this willful or unwitting ignorance about the Euro-African relations is also shared by the people and government officials in Africa. There, too, the commonly held belief is that “we survive because of aid from the West”. And, indeed, government budgets tend to reinforce this view. Most African government expenditure as reflected in their budgets – recurrent as well as developmental – show a substantial “aid” component, sometimes over 50 per cent of recurrent budget and 100 per cent of “development” budget. Very few people, including economists, who should know better, try to relate the money economy to the real economy. It is as if the “money economy” operates in its own orbit and outside the “real economy”. Once the real economy is made to confront the money economy “face to face” as it were, there can be little doubt that the existential reality is quite opposite to the perceived reality.

Money Economy	Real Economy
Perceived reality	Existential Reality
Flow of “aid” and investments from Europe to Africa	Flow of undervalued Real Resources and surplus funds from Africa to Europe

This ignorance about Euro-African relations is all the worse because it is instilled in the minds of the younger generation in Africa through the educational system in our schools and universities. Generations of Africans come out of these institutions genuinely believing that “they are surviving” only because Mr. Bono, Mr Jeffrey Sachs, and Mr and Mrs Bill Gates, (out of the goodness of their hearts), and “development aid” from Scandinavian and other Western governments, (out of the benevolence of their spirit), come to the aid of starving Africans.

Another aspect of the ignorance about Euro-African relations is about their history. People, including school children, have general ideas about the slave period, about colonization, about the struggle for independence and the fight against racism and apartheid (who does not know Mandela?). But all this is “academic” knowledge, to pass exams, and to get degrees, and so on. They appear not to have made any connection of this to their present reality. History is brushed aside with a stroke of the pen “ ... that is all history!”. That phrase itself is a damning phrase against all “history”. This comes with the official wisdom “ ...History is best forgotten. It is wise to move forward, and not blame slavery or colonialism for the present ills of society and economy”. This view of history is deliberately cultivated by the ruling power elites (temporal and intellectual) of Africa and Europe. If one studies the nature of the mainstream development discourse in the official circles of both Europe and Africa, then the oft-repeated caveat “Don` t go back to blaming the past”, turns out, on reflection, to be the new tactic of silencing dissent in Africa, especially the view that the present difficulties of Africa may have anything to do with its past relations with Europe.

One issue that needs to be revived is a renewed interest in History, and in the context of this paper, the history of Euro-African relations. Without the knowledge of where Africa comes from, our present generation risks taking this ancient continent in a direction that would make the ancestors turn in their graves. As some sage has said, “Forget History and you are doomed to repeat past tragedies”. Forget the slave trade, and you are doomed to find yourself enslaved again – this time in a different form. Is this not what has happened to Africa?

In this sense, the present mood in Latin America is significantly different from Africa. In Latin America, the challenge of leaders like Venezuela`s Hugo Chavez and Bolivia`s Evo Morales to Europe and America is that they have dared to raise the issue of the last 500 years

in a new light, and brought back to the present the conveniently forgotten story of the people of the “first nations”. A similar “recollection of history” is yet to take place in Africa.

Africa	Latin America (e.g. Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador)
Focus only on the short and the present preoccupation with “aid” and technical assistance	Plan the present from a long view of history in order to correct the injustices of the past

So I take this opportunity to go back into 500 years of Africa’s relations with Europe and draw some lessons from this rich (for the European) but depressing (for the African) history. Fortunately, in our times the climatic change negotiations have alerted us to the significance of history and its relevance in the present times. The climate has been damaged by the reckless use of the world’s resources by the industrialised world. This is now widely acknowledged, even by the industrialised countries. What applies to climate change also applies, even more strongly, to the 500 plus years of pillage of Africa by Europe and the West. This is yet to be acknowledged by the Western world, except by some sections of their civil society and the media. ¹

NOTE: The following bullet point presentation reads like a “Table of Contents” but it is the only format possible in a short paper to enable me to list the main features of the last over 500 years of Euro-African relations. Also, some of the elaboration of the points is presented as footnotes so as not to crowd the text and inhibit the flow of the argument. This exercise in a journey to the past is vital in order to understand the present, and to learn lessons from it.

Slave Trade: The First Pan-European African project: 1450-late 19th Century (+ 400 years)

- The Triangular trade between Europe, Africa and the Americas²
- Importance of gold and silver for Europe’s road to Capitalism.
- Its essentially “Pan-European” character ³
- Resistance - a “silent war” - continues in the new world (America and the Caribbean).
- Rise of Capitalism in Europe (Venice, Hanseatic League, the City of London)
- Religious leaders and humanists in Europe lead a moral campaign against slavery ... until it is outlawed towards the end of the 19th century.

Lessons and comments:

- Lesson 1: Africa should never allow itself to be enslaved again.

- Lesson 2: It is vital that Africa`s resources, including human resources, are protected
- Lesson 3: There are always local agents that collaborate with foreign interests for their own gain.⁴
- Comment 1: Arguably, much of the origin of European wealth today is traceable to slavery.⁵
- Comment 2: In Europe there is a strong moralist/humanist tradition that can be allies for Africa; often this tradition is dormant or suppressed for a long time.⁶
- Comment 3: But the dominant tradition in Europe is that of *realpolitik*⁷
- Comment 4: Even after 500 years, the history of slavery and slave trade is not forgotten or forgiven. Its pain and humiliation and the issue compensation continue to haunt the present.⁸

Colonialism: The Second Pan-European African Project: 1880s – 1960s (+80 years)

- 1884 Berlin Conference (e.g. The Congo as par excellence a “Pan-European project”)⁹
- Imperialism legitimized as “civilizing mission” – the “White Mans` Burden”.
- Resistance in Africa (e.g. “Mad Mullah” in Somalia fought for 20 years against the imperialist invasion of his country)¹⁰
- Transformation of African economy and society (a new class structure) to serve imperial interests. Case of Uganda.¹¹
- The African peasantry not only provides cheap commodities for European manufacture, but also “surplus” money for the European banking and financial system. Case of Uganda.¹²
- 30 years of active Resistance (c 1880s–1920s), followed by 25/30 years of Collaboration by the new elite in Africa put in power, and “educated in the arts of governance and economic management” by the Empire, and Adaptation by the masses, followed by almost two decades of Resistance resulting in “political liberation” (1945-60s).

Comments & Questions:

- Arguably, colonialism brought “civilization” to Africa – roads, railways, modern administration, commodity production, religion, culture, education, democracy.
- Edward Said disputes this. See his “*Orientalism*”¹³
- Some themes keep repeating:
 - a) William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, paperback, 2007.

b) Is the emphasis of contemporary empire of the IMF/WB/WTO/donors on "free trade", "globalisation", "good governance" and "democracy, Western style " a repetition of colonial history ... of a new phase of "orientalism"?

Anti-Imperial Opposition, Decolonisation, and Neo-Colonialism: 1945- Early 1980s (+ 30 Years)

- Racism remains the social-cultural bedrock of imperialism ...¹⁴
- ... But the Second World War and the emergence of the United Nations triggers political awakening in the colonies¹⁵
- Anti-colonial Resistance – from India, Indonesia, etc to Ghana and rest of Africa
- The Cold War: The USSR demands dismantling of the European Empire
- The US demands that Europe opens its Empire to US capital and investment
- Non-alignment and the “National Project” (Nkrumah, Nasser, Nyerere in Africa).
- Kwame Nkrumah on Neo-colonialism. The African political leaders open the door to neo-colonialism on the grounds that they need “technical assistance” and "capital" from the empire. The case of Uganda.¹⁶
- Belatedly, African leaders wake up to the power of neo-colonialism and agree on the “*Lagos Plan of Action*” (1980) that provides for a strategy of “collective self-reliance” built on regionalism, and pan-Africanism, but the Plan is quickly subverted by the World Bank’s “*Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, an Agenda for Action*” (1981), which, packaged with promises of “aid” and “capital” for “development”, African leaders are quick to accept.

Comments:

- A leadership lacking in political vision and largely self-indulgent and dependent on “aid” and “capital” from the West, the new political leaders of Africa succumbed quickly to the demands of the Empire. Frantz Fanon says it was because of their class character; it was only to be expected of a “flabby petty bourgeoisie”.¹⁷ Claude Ake:
 - “African leaders, with few exceptions, were so absorbed in the struggle for power and survival and so politically isolated by their betrayal of the nationalist revolution that they could not launch a national development project but instead opted for dependent development, letting their metropolitan patrons determine the agenda and find the resources to implement it. Thus policy making was largely divorced from political responsibility and development strategy was dissociated both from social needs and from the cultural and historical realities of the developing society. This dissociation led to development policies that have been more disruptive than developmental.

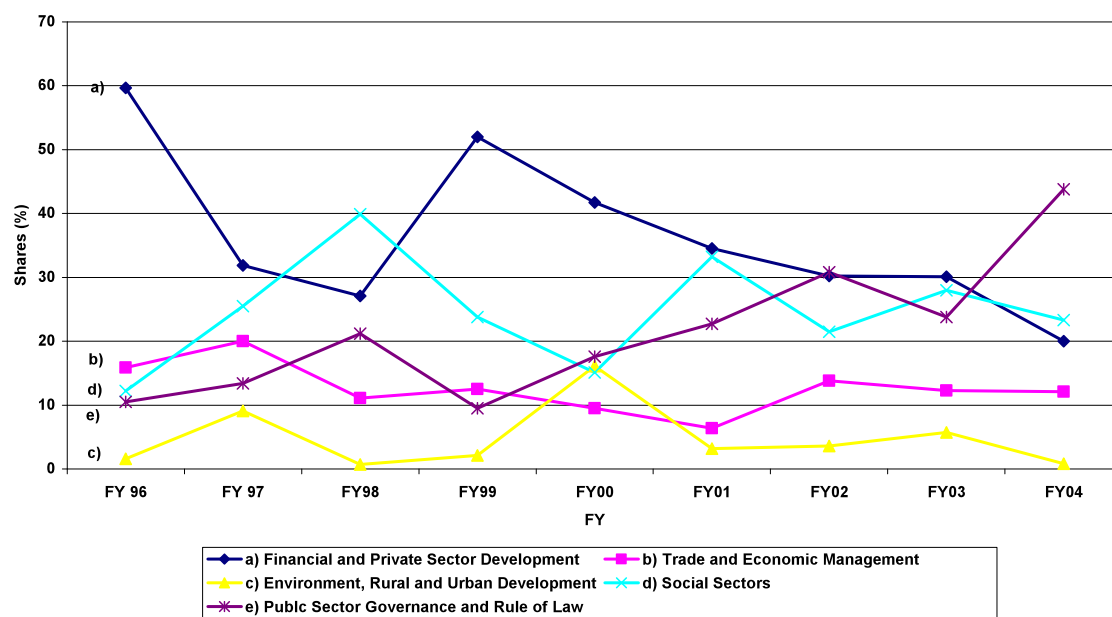
Development could not proceed in a situation in which the national leadership had no vision or agenda of its own and relied on outsiders”

- The progressive left-liberal civil society, the working class, and the intelligentsia in Europe were divided over the cold war, and largely got co-opted into the imperialist agenda. In relation to Africa, many provided strong solidarity support to the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle. However, over the issue of “development aid” many got confused into believing that this would bring relief and salvation to Africa. Some, especially in the Scandinavian countries, fought for and succeeded to get their governments to increase the “aid budget” to 0.7 per cent (in Norway 1.1 per cent), which unwittingly camouflaged the fact that in reality there was a reverse flow of “aid” from Africa to Europe, and the underlying deeply exploitative relations between Africa and Europe – a carryover from the periods of slavery and colonialism. A section of the Marxist revolutionary left continued to fly the flag for international solidarity, with very little real effect, however, on the hard reality on the ground, firmly in control of the *realpolitik* wielders of state and corporate power.

Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism: The Third Pan-European African Project (with USA and Japan): 1985 -2010 (+ 25 years and continuing).

- Crisis in Europe (& US) from 1979 onwards (Oil shocks; Iran revolution; British workers demand “fair share” of added value; decline of corporate profits)
- Anglo-Saxon (Thatcher/Reagan) strategy to get out of the crisis: a.o. Deregulation and privatization at the national level and trade and capital flow liberalization, (i.e. “globalisation”) at the global level.
- The “Third World” demand a “New International Economic Order” (NIEO), but it was quickly squashed by the West
- The end of Soviet Empire, 1989, and the start of the illusion in the West of “triumphalism” and the “End of History”.
- The “Washington Consensus”. IMF,WB,WTO, and "donors" impose hardships on Africa and use “development aid” to impose Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on Africa – the root contemporary cause (on top of historical causes) of de-industrialisation and structural poverty in Africa.
- The conditionalities increase, and markedly shift from economic to political issues of governance, democracy and the rule of law.

Share of Conditions in Core IBRD Loans by Themes



Source of data: ALCID, World Bank, "review of World Bank conditionality: recent trends and practices", Table 2. (June 30, 2005)

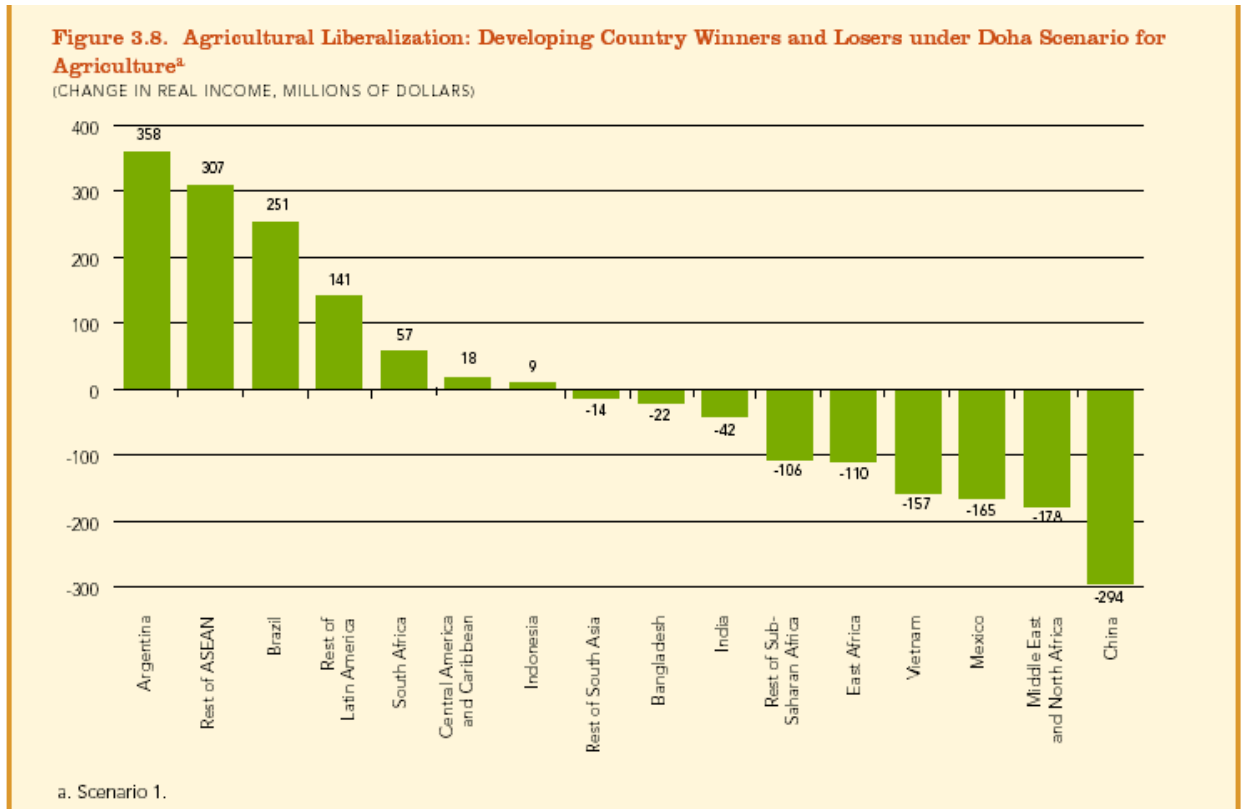
The diagram shows, among other things, that:

- The Financial and Private Sector Development conditionalities have leveled out, indicating the donors' perception that they have "succeeded" in getting the ideas behind these accepted and incorporated within the policy framework of the recipient countries.
- The conditionalities in relation to "Environment and Rural and Urban Development" have barely started. However, with the climate change picking up on the global agenda, and depending on whether the World Bank and the donors exercise control over the funds for climate change, this aspect is likely to show an upward trend.
- The Public Sector and Governance and Rule of Law conditionalities have steadily increased (from 10 per cent to 45 per cent), between 1996 and 2004, indicating donors' perception that it is "bad governance" in the recipient countries that is to blame for persistence of poverty, thus justifying greater donor interference in matters of governance and "aid effectiveness".
- During 2003-05, the rich countries committed \$1.3 billion of ODA funds to improving governance in the LDCs, and only \$12 million to agricultural improvement.¹⁸
- 9/11 provides another enemy. The war on "terror", becomes the new strategic doctrine to unite Europe and the USA and the "coalition of the willing" in Africa, who agree to fight America's wars in Africa.
- Meantime, on the economic front the Empire manages to sell "Project Globalisation" to the dependent power elite of Africa with promises of "development aid", of Doha

“development” Trade Round, of “Aid for Trade” and such other “carrots” (carrots are the proverbial inducement to mules to move forward carrying the master’s burdens).

Observations and Analysis

- The Doha Round has little to offer to Africa.

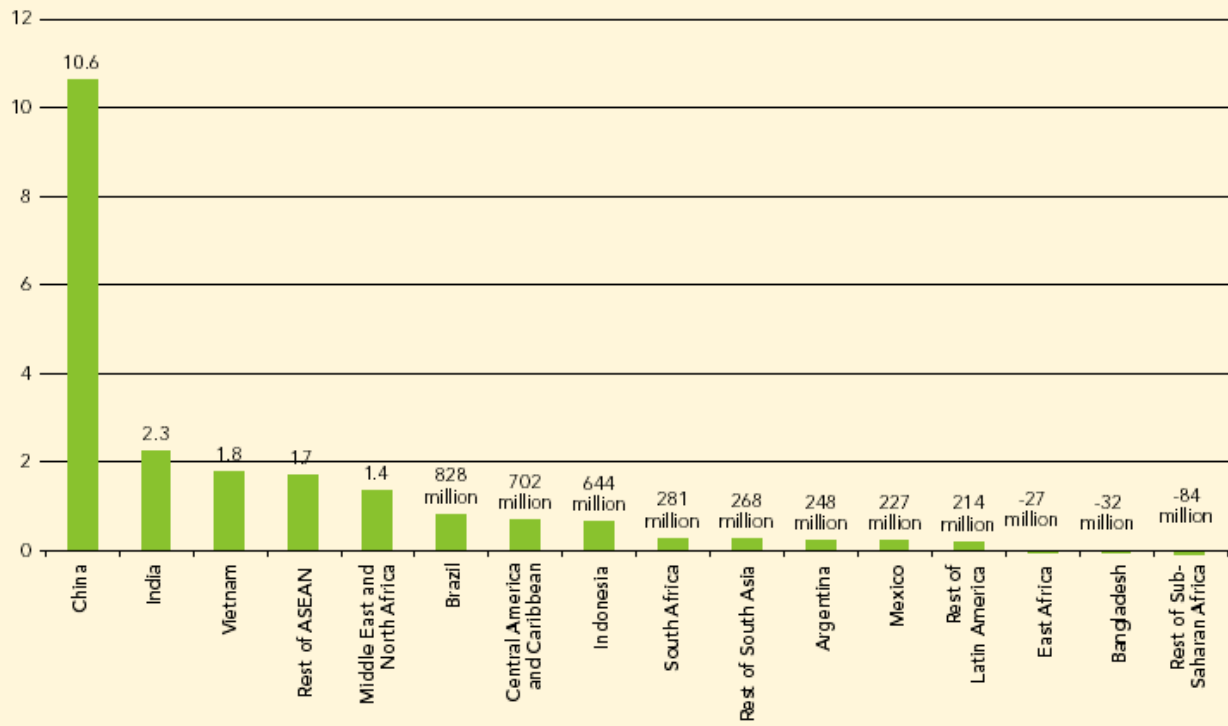


Sandra Polaski (2006), *Winners & Losers: Impact of the Doha Round on Developing Countries*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March.

Africa stands to lose badly in agriculture, but as the following two figures show, they do none better in manufacturing out of the Doha “development” Round, and overall Africa and the LDCs lose out.

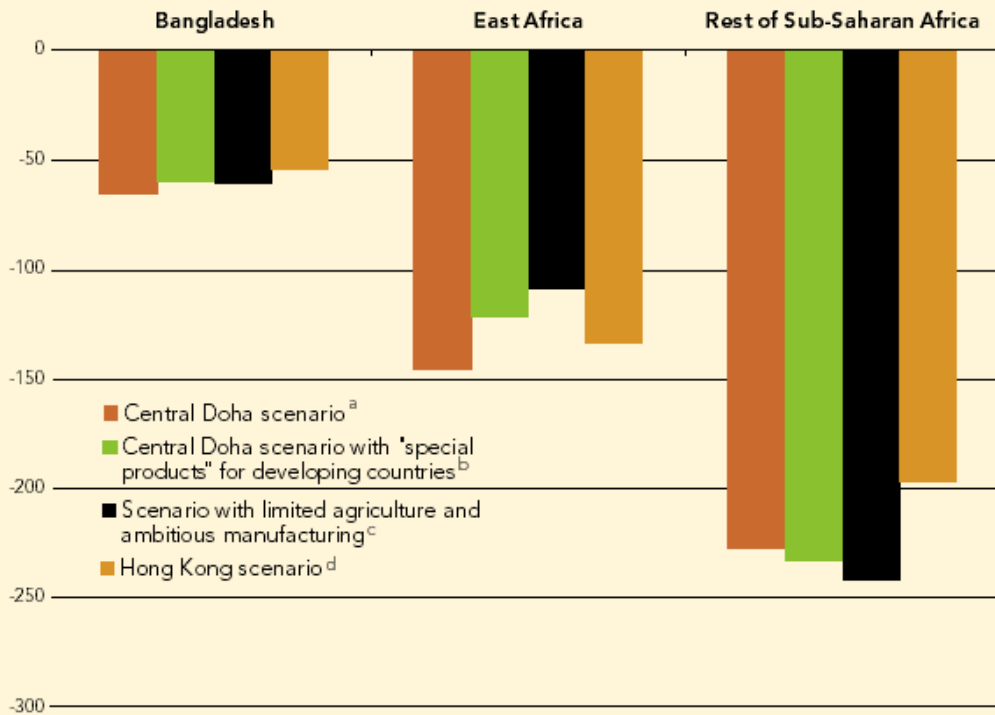
Figure 3.5. Manufacturing Liberalization: Developing Country Winners and Losers under Modest Scenario for Manufactures^a

(CHANGE IN REAL INCOME, BILLIONS OF DOLLARS)



a. Scenario 5.

Figure 3.13. Poorest Countries Lose Income under All Doha Scenarios
(CHANGE IN REAL INCOME, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)



- a. Scenario 3.
- b. Scenario 4.
- c. Scenario 8.
- d. Scenario 6.

Aid for Trade (AFT)

The idea is an old one, but it reached new heights at the Hong Kong WTO Ministerial Conference in December 2005 (the author was then heading the South Centre delegation) in order to lure the poor countries (led by the LDCs) into undertaking ambitious trade liberalization commitments whose economic and policy costs to them were many times higher than what they would gain from aid. So, on 3 December 2005, one day before the conclusion of the meeting, Japan announced that it would provide US\$ 10 billion over three years for AFT. On the same day, the EU Trade Commissioner stated that Europe would also increase AFT from EUR 400 million to EUR 2 billion by 2010. At a press conference, the US Trade Representative indicated that an agreement on aid (being discussed in the background with mainly the LDCs) could unravel if a deal was not reached on other contentious issues. The wealthy and powerful had shown their muscle and purse. The next day the Hong Kong Statement was passed without debate (except for Cuba and Venezuela who entered reservations on certain paragraphs of the Statement). Since then the World Bank offered \$2 billion for AFT “on condition” that its recipients would undertake reforms to promote exports for growth!

Since the AFT had already achieved its purpose in Hong Kong (namely, to “induce” the LDCs to “get on board” or be kicked where it hurts), it is not surprising that not much

progress has been made since Hong Kong. There has been no clear definition of what counts for AFT, no guidelines, a questionable list of priorities, no effective monitoring, and no independent evaluation. The WTO's Director General reported to the Trade Policy Review Body (TRDB) in March 2009 that in 2007 \$25 billion were disbursed; but there is no independent confirmation of this, nor how the "aid for trade" was defined considering that its biggest recipients, according to the DG, were Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁹

The question of "development aid"

One of the reasons advanced by orthodox mainstream economists for the need for aid to Africa is that there is a "savings" or "resource gap" in Africa. In fact, this is a mere tautology. There are various ways in which an "externalised expenditure" drains away the national income. Examples are:

- "Project fees" (proverbial 10 per cent) paid out into Swiss banks in the accounts of corrupt politicians and bureaucrats;
- Payment of past debts, premium and compounded interests;
- Transfer pricing by which multinationals overprice their imports into the country and under price exports;
- Worsening balance of payments on account of worsening terms of trade (between 1985 and 1992 Africa lost 17% of GNP on account of worsened terms of trade)
- Flight of capital because of speculation

Obviously this leads to little, or even negative, domestic saving. And this is called "resource gap" which "aid" and "investment" are suppose to fill. In real life, the objective behind "development aid" (outside the strictly "solidarity" or "humanitarian" aid), is to tie down Africa to a predetermined European (and Western) economic and political agenda.

The following matrix demonstrates the difference in approach between OECD's proposed Paris Declaration "*Aid Efficiency*" strategy on aid (PDAE), and the *Aid Exit* strategy proposed by the South Centre (SCAE).

		PDAE (Aid Efficiency)	SCAE (Aid Exit)
1	Objective or Effect	To perpetuate aid dependency	To get out of aid dependency
2	Strategy	Reform the system so it remains in essence the same. It has no direction.	A 7-point strategy to get out of aid dependency
3	Epistemology	Thinking within the box	Thinking outside the box
4	"Development Aid"	Assumption that aid will result in development	Aid can actually undermine development
5	Relation with the United Nations	Outside the UN system	Within the UN system

6	Relation with the World Bank and the IMF	Within the WB-IMF system	Outside the WB-IMF system
7	Relation with Civil Society (SC) or NGOs	Formal inclusion on the side with inputs that make little or no impact on predetermined agenda.	CS of the South is the core of strategic thinking; CS of the North is part of solidarity
8	Ownership	Remains essentially with the donors and the WB	Passes on to the national democratic forces
9	Accountability	“Mutual” accountability – in reality, accountability to donors	Self-accountability within national democratic processes
10	Conditionalities	Performance conditionalities as in practice enforced by donors	Democratic conditionality in the evolving democratization process
11	Compliance	Compliance tests as laid out by donors	Compliance as laid out by peoples movements – trade unions, peasant organisations, women’s movement, civil society
12	Harmonization	With donor set objectives, e.g. trade liberalisation, privatization, etc	With people driven objectives – which could include e.g. protection of local industry, agriculture & SMEs
13	Predictability	Donor and budget support is inherently unpredictable and unenforceable; the idea itself creates aid dependence	Predictability of national revenue from citizens and domestic economy, as opposed to aid predictability

Source: Yash Tandon, *Ending Aid Dependence*, Fahamu Books and South Centre, 2008

Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) – The Fourth Pan-European African Project

- EPAs are part of broader rescue strategy for Europe in crisis. The “European Project” -- the Lisbon Plan – is an action plan to make Europe "the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and respect for the environment by 2010". The EPA negotiations must be seen in the light of this plan.

The European Commission is pursuing it aggressively with (against) the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries.

- Diminishing the Cotonou Agreement by focusing only on trade. When it comes to trade negotiations, African (as indeed all ACP) countries face a Hobson's choice.²⁰
- Although the Cotonou Agreement provided for the EU to encourage existing regional integration in Africa, in effect the Commission was able to tear apart regional arrangements and deal with regions or individual countries as it suited European interests. In the course of the negotiations what used to be called REPA (Regional Economic Partnership Agreements) became simply EPAs. Now the EU has separate agreements with the East African Community and several African countries individually. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), for example, is now in tatters.
- The concept of "partnership" hides the brutal aspect of power asymmetry (with the powerful EU of 27 nations on one side, and the completely fragmented and weak ACP countries on the other), and ideological obfuscation. African governments are made to believe they have "enjoyed" "preferential" access into the EU market for too long "for their own good", and they must now deal with Europe as "equal" partners and try to be competitive in the global market. The reality is much more complex.
- This is best reflected in the negotiations on agriculture. The European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is a product of the changing dynamics of European strategic interest in ensuring food security for itself, access to cheap raw materials, and access to African markets for value added processed agricultural commodities. The "imperial preferences" that served Europe after the 1929/30 Great Depression and the Cold War are now no longer needed. And so they have now forced on the ACP countries "reciprocity" on the grounds -- because it now suites them -- that it is in order to be "compatible" with the provisions of the WTO.²¹
- ACP is divided and conquered through "technification, sweetification and treatification" (Girvan)²²

Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Crisis: The Moribund Western Empire and the March of the Barbarians: 2007 - Ongoing.

"The new men of Empire are the ones who believe in fresh starts, new chapters, new pages; I struggle on with the old story, hoping that before it is finished it will reveal to me why it was that I thought it was worth the trouble." J.M.Coetzee, Waiting for the Barbarians

"If we look at these universal states, not as alien observers but through the eyes of their own citizens, we shall find that these not only desire that these earthly commonwealths of theirs should live for ever but actually believe that the immortality of these human institutions is assured, and this sometimes in the teeth of contemporary events which, to

an observer posted at a different standpoint in time or space, declare beyond question that this particular universal state is at that very moment in its last agonies.” Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History

- Global financial/economic crisis. The Empire does not even understand the real causes of the crisis, and blames it all on the inadequate supervision of the banks and speculation which allowed “toxic debts” to accumulate. The “remedial” measures put in place try to restore the “credibility” of the banking system, but these measures themselves lack credibility, as they fail to identify, let alone address, the real issues.
- The Empire is collapsing and the “barbarians” are knocking at the door (from the Gulf of Mexico to the waters surrounding Europe)
- Rise of China and prosperity in East Asia under Asian brand of capitalism
- Russia is not a “willing” partner -- challenges West over e.g. Oil, Iran.
- Attempt to woo the bigger Asian, African and Latin American countries through the agency of the G20 faces legitimacy crisis. Africans are marginalised in the G20.
- Attempt to reform institutions of global economic and political governance (the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions) faces legitimacy crisis. The voting “reform” leaves the power structure unchanged.
- Resistance in Latin America (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and others – following the Cuban model of Resistance)
- The emergence of the far Right and Racism in Europe; and marginalization of the left-liberal and revolutionary traditions
- Western security in crisis – contradictory and self-defeating strategy on nuclear weapons
- Climate change –environment in crisis

Capitulation and Resistance:

- By using xenophobia and racism, and the enemy profiling of Islam, the power elite of the Empire is able to isolate their working classes and the liberal-left social forces in Europe from building alliances with Africa and the oppressed nations of the Third World.
- In Africa, as the ruling political elite succumb to the World Bank/IMF/donor consortium under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and the whip of “targeted sanctions” against individual leaders in Africa that do not conform to the will of the Empire, the masses of people sink deeper into poverty and deprivation.

- But resistance to the Empire's economic domination and to Africa's ruling elite begins to take semi-anarchist forms in the margins of Africa.
 - Peasants in East Africa refuse to tend coffee (some even burn them). Why? , because they get very little from the so-called "value chain". The coffee trade, pricing, marketing, processing, bulk storing, shipping, roasting, retailing, etc, are all dominated by Western corporations.
 - Women in Uganda shift from coffee production to grow "Khat", a stimulant widely used in the Horn of Africa, because there is a ready and lucrative market for it. (A similar phenomenon exists in parts of Latin America – Colombia, for example -- and in Afghanistan, where poppy growers are flourishing in spite of massive aerial bombardment of their farms).
 - The fisherfolk of Somalia were routed out of their coastal fishing zones by purveyors of European, Japanese and American trawlers that have a technological and financial advantage over the poor boat people of Somali coastland. Now many of them have abandoned fishing; it is much more profitable to pirate the rich countries' ships, and they are managing to do so in defiance of all the rest of the world's armada against them. Could it be that the Somali "pirates" are an incarnation of their ancestor, the "Mad Mullah"?
 - Those who cannot survive in Africa vote with their feet and boats. Thousands flee the African continent as economic refugees in Europe. This, too, is a form of resistance and protest at the failure of their rulers to provide for them – a case of "voluntary" enslavement.

By Way of Conclusions

Some Questions to Our Nordic Friends

By "our Nordic friends" I mean real friends of Africa, and depending on the context, friends of the South, and these include a wide cross section of the liberal-left in civil society, the intelligentsia and some few in the bureaucracy -- whom we refer to here collectively as the "progressive" minority in Europe. I hope also, of course, that these friends will raise these issues in the wider society, especially among the youth.

In general, it is quite shocking that the European public (especially the younger generation) know so little about Africa, and what they know is largely shaped by the crass visual and written media and the entertainment industry. Even more appalling is their apathy towards the plight of the peoples of the South. Pictures of African boat people dying by their hundreds trying to cross over to Europe leave them, "at best", cold, and at worst fearful of the invasion by the "barbarians". A xenophobic and racist Right is in control of power and voice.

So here are some questions to Nordic society.

Question 1: What are the effects of “globalisation” in the Nordic societies? The “Nordic culture” appears no longer what it used to be 20 or 30 years ago, when I first encountered our Nordic friends. Could it be that the Anglo-Saxon virus of “greed” (with a corporate and banking executive class demanding big salaries and bonuses, for example) has infected the body politic of the traditionally frugal, modest and non-aggressive Nordic people?

Question 2: What are the effects on those Nordic countries that have joined the European Union? Have the “Brussels priorities” and the “Brussels culture” diminished or in any way changed the basic fundamentals of the traditional Nordic way of doing things?

Question 3: The Fourth Pan-European African project (the Economic Partnership Agreements – EPAs) has been very divisive of Africa; it has been a major factor in Africa’s present fragmentation (see above). Sweden held the chair of the European Union for six months in 2009. What did Sweden accomplish to try and mitigate the damage done to Africa by the overbearing hand of the European Commission? Or, better still, has it done anything to reverse the trend, and allow Africans a legitimate right to empower themselves and move towards their own indigenous project of African integration? Was the attempt made at all? If so, can we expect some positive outcome in the months and years ahead?

Question 4: The dominant Anglo-Saxon culture of “individualism” (a la Margaret Thatcher) has become the dominant ideology of capitalism under neoliberalism. Is the famous Nordic model of welfare state in retreat?

Question 5: Is Nordic democracy in retreat? Democracy is never a “completed project”; it is always, even in the West (despite illusions), a “work in progress”. Democracy can even move backwards, become retrogressive, especially when a group of religious evangelists (as in the UK and the USA under Blair and Bush) seize state power (through democratic elections, of course), and in the name of “war on terror”, among other forms of xenophobia, trample on the ordinary rights of the citizens. Is the Nordic model of democracy suffering from a similar virus?

Question 6: Europe benefitted from the 400 years of slave trade. Africa is today largely impoverished and de-industrialized largely as a result of incorrect policies imposed on it through SAPs and aid conditionalities during the last 25-30 years of “Project Globalisation”. Why, then, is the present European leadership so harsh in their treatment of immigrants from Africa?²³

Question 7: After the end of the slave trade and slavery, and the end also of their own intra-Nordic wars of imperial conquests and national liberation, the Nordic people have settled down to a more peaceful and friendly relations with Africa. Is this achievement of the last 50-100 years now under threat? Has the dominant Anglo-Saxon “imperial ethos” corrupted the essentially “anti-imperialist” recent culture of the Nordic people? The *Nordic “nations”* (as people) appear still to be self-consciously anti-imperialist, but could it be that the *Nordic “states”* (as the constellation of financial/corporate power) can now, together with Britain,

France and Germany, be properly described as “imperialist”? Has Sweden become an imperial state?

Question 8: The Pirate Party (Swedish: Piratpartiet) is a political party in Sweden, founded in 2006. Among its objectives it has reportedly taken the position that patents are obsolete and should be gradually done away with. This sounds like music to the ears of Pan-Africanists who too have been fighting against the monopolization of scientific knowledge under the present intellectual property (or IP) patent system. Is there a germ of possible alliance here between the youthful Swedish Piratpartiet and now the Pan-European Pirate Party movement and Pan-Africanist anti-patent movement? This is a Pan-European African new project that may be worth exploring. Is there still some hope for Africa among the Nordic youth?

Some Questions to the African Power Elite

By “power elite” I mean not simply those in state power, but also the business elite, the intellectual elite, and, depending on the context, the “NGO elite”.

Question 1: The most shocking aspect of Africa today is the exodus of its people. People (both skilled and unskilled) are leaving the continent in their thousands on a daily basis. In 2009, for example, more than 27,000 migrants arrived by boat in the Canaries Island, off the coast of Morocco, hoping to find their way to Spain and then further north. Thousands more arrived in various other locations on the European coast across the Mediterranean. Thousands perish in the sea every year. Is there a parallel between this contemporary form of massive exodus and the thousands of slaves who were shipped out of Africa every year to the Americas 500 years ago? What is different today from the past? The present rulers in Africa may not be encouraging this exodus wittingly, but by their neglect of the economy and by failing to provide opportunities for gainful employment in Africa, are they not complicit in this new form of slavery of our times?

Question 2: The other shocking aspect of contemporary Africa is hunger and famine. Africa has known droughts in pre-colonial times, but instances of famine were rare, if ever. But today hunger and famine stalk the continent. Do the power and intellectual elite feel any sense of responsibility towards the emergence of such a situation? Do they think there may be any connection between hunger and famine in Africa with the neo-liberal policies they have been pursuing for the last 25-30 years?

Question 3: People in Africa are dying of preventable or curable diseases. Malaria is still rampant, as well as AIDS/HIV and other illnesses. Do the African power elite and civil societies feel any sense of responsibility towards remedying this situation? Are they going to do something about it, or do they think that this is the responsibility of Bill and Melinda Gates, Mr. Bono, Mr. Jeffrey Sachs and other “donors” outside of Africa?

Question 4: African leadership goes cap in hand begging for “aid” from the West, and now also from countries such as China. Meantime, millions of dollars (probably four or five times

of all the “aid” put together), leave the continent by questionable but officially “legal” ways (such as super-profits of foreign corporations; “transfer pricing” tricks by international traders; debt payments; declining terms of trade; etc.), and through not so legal or legitimate (and publicly unmentionable) routes. Do the power elite feel any sense of embarrassment about it? Has the beggar mindset become an ingrained part of their style of “governance”? Have national pride and national dignity become yet another “commodity” in the global market place?

Question 5: Our friends in Europe are not the corporate and state power elite (their aggressive onslaught on Africa on the EPAs is an example), but the small group of left-liberal-revolutionary people in civil society, academia and the arts/culture. Many of them try hard to get their governments to “give” us aid, at least 0.07 per cent of their GNP, more if possible. They, unfortunately, are mistaken about the role of aid in our countries. Their *realpolitik* compatriots in state and corporate power use aid to exploit us commercially and to divide and conquer us. How do we restructure our relations with these well-meaning progressive bloc in Europe away from reinforcing our “aid dependence syndrome”, and help us fight other battles in their societies, especially now the battle on the EPAs?

Question 6: In 2008 the leaders of the three regional blocs -- the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) – took the initiative to create a free trade zone by integrating these three regional efforts. This was a step in the right direction. If this can be achieved it would create a free trade zone of 26 countries with a GDP of an estimated US \$624 billion. Why, then, are the leaders negotiating and signing the EPAs? Will the 2008 initiative have the same fate as the Lagos Plan of Action?²⁴

Question 7: The Western Empire is slowly dying. It should be dead in another 50 or 100 years, not long in the time span of world history. Remember we had 400 years of slave trade. Of course, the Empire is in a state of denial about its impending collapse. As the historian Toynbee reminded us, “If we look at these universal states ... through the eyes of their own citizens, ... (they) actually believe that the immortality of these human institutions is assured, and this sometimes in the teeth of contemporary events which ... (show) beyond question that this particular universal state is at that very moment in its last agonies.” What vision do we provide to our younger generation today, and to the coming posterity, so that they are prepared for the impending collapse of the Empire?

Question 8: Because the Empire is in a state of denial, it is consciously or unconsciously predisposed to reverse the perception of the reality on the ground to suit their own interests. “Development aid” is presented to us as if it is “for Africa’s good”. The Doha “development” Round is anything but developmental. Nonetheless, contrary to all evidence on the ground, they have managed to persuade our ruling oligarchies (in state, business or academia) that the Doha negotiations are “good for Africa”. We have seen that the “Aid for Trade” was simply a ploy worked out at Hong Kong to persuade us to accept the deal they had worked out among themselves and the bigger countries of Asia and Africa. In reality, the biggest amounts of

funds for AfT have gone to Iraq and Afghanistan. So why are we in Africa chasing this AfT rainbow? They have managed to persuade the Least Developing Countries (LDCs) in Africa not to raise objections to further “integration” of their economies into “Project Globalisation” by “waiving” the application of WTO rules on them, and promising them “duty-free-quota-free” access to their markets under the so-called “Everything But Arms” (EBA). At the same time, however, they are destroying the LDCs’ manufacturing capacity, and so EBA is really quite useless for them. Also, they are depriving African governments of the autonomy of governance through intrusive Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that, these days, are political as well as economic. Why do our leadership allow these things to happen to us?

These, and many more questions, need to be asked of our leaders in Africa, and our friends in Europe, in the style of the BBC programme called “Hard Talk”. We need to ask hard questions, and expect honest answers.

Allow me to end with one more quotation from Claude Ake:

“ ... I think that the whole process of being now forced to ourselves, these realities would mean that, for once, the self-reliance that we have always talked about would now confront us as an inevitable reality. And once we confront self-reliance as an inevitable reality we will also discover the masses in its true sense, because the whole way that you're going to conduct self-reliance development is if the people had the end and the means of development.” (Interview with Walusako Mwalilino shortly before his death).

Finally, in closing my speech I wish to thank the Heads and staff of the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI) and of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research (DPCR), Uppsala University, for their generosity and kindness. They allowed me three months of reflection in a self-empowering environment of their respective institutions. I know that a better world is possible and in the making.

¹ Footnote: French Filmmaker Philippe Diaz, in illuminating documentaries, traces globalisation back 500 years to the Spanish and Portuguese conquests of the Americas. Diaz shows how the colonial North used the South's resources to build its industrial base and how its continued control over resources, global trade and debt rules prevents developing countries from ending poverty. Diaz produced "The Empire in Africa" about Sierra Leone. His new film, "The End of Poverty?" is a satire on a book by economist Jeffrey Sachs, who, Diaz told the news media, IPS, "runs all around the world with Bono and these guys claiming that if we bring mosquito nets and fertilizers, it will end poverty." He points out that 30 years ago, Sachs advised the Bolivian government to privatize everything, and today the country is essentially owned by foreign corporations. Abel Mamani, Bolivia's water minister, says in the film, "In the case of railroads, they have practically disappeared since they were privatised. In the east we don't have trains anymore. They have been entirely dismantled."

The filmmaker says that the year "1500 is when everything started, the time where Europe expands outside its borders and takes everything it can from Latin America, Africa, Asia - the land and all the other resources. The moment you take the land away, the only way people can survive is to sell their work for food. You take resources away, you create slavery, poverty." Eric Toussaint, head of the Committee for Cancellation of Third World Debt in Belgium, describes in the film how "The Dutch destroyed the Indonesian textile industry and built a textile industry in Holland. Same for ceramics. The textiles and ceramics that we are told are Dutch are in fact made with techniques they took from Indonesia and specifically from Java, brought them back to Holland and built a wealthy industry." The Kenyan minister of agriculture, Kipruto Arap Kirwa, says in the film that Kenya doesn't have the right to roast its coffee. They are forced to sell their coffee to the North which refines and packages it. "Today, Germany is the biggest coffee exporter, and it doesn't have a single bush of coffee." (IPS, New York, November 14, 2009)

² Footnote: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade began around the mid-15th century when Portuguese interests in Africa moved away from the fabled deposits of gold to a much more readily available commodity -- slaves. The first stage of the Triangular Trade involved taking manufactured goods from Europe to Africa: cloth, spirit, tobacco, beads, cowrie shells, metal goods, and guns. The guns were used to help expand empires and obtain more slaves. These goods were exchanged for African slaves. The second stage of the Triangular Trade (the middle passage) involved shipping the slaves to the Americas. The third, and final, stage of the Triangular Trade involved the return to Europe with the produce from the slave-labor plantations: cotton, sugar, tobacco, molasses and rum. Between 1450 and the end of the nineteenth century, slaves were obtained from along the west coast of Africa with occasional military campaigns organized by Europeans to capture slaves, and with active co-operation of African kings and merchants. During the eighteenth century, when the slave trade accounted for the transport of a staggering 6 million Africans, Britain was the worst transgressor - responsible for almost 2.5 million. Alistair Boddy-Evans, "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade". Summary extract from the author's blog.

³ Footnote: Portugal and Spain initiated the slave trade between Africa and America as early as the late 1400s, followed by Great Britain in the 1500s and Holland, France, Denmark and Sweden in the 1600s. The first Swedish slave trade expedition to Africa was organised by the merchant and iron works owner Louis de Geer in 1646. Slaves from Africa were traded for sugar in the West Indies. Upon arrival in Stockholm in 1647, sugar, gold, ivory and four black slaves were handed over to Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. In 1649 the Swedish African Company (Svenska Afrikanska Kompaniet), with Louis de Geer as the main owner and other Swedish nobility as partners, was granted privilege by Queen Kristina to engage in slave trade. In 1650 the Kompaniet made an agreement with the king of Fetu in Ghana to be granted Cabo Corso as a Swedish colony. A large Swedish fort, Carolusborg, was built and trading posts established at several places along the coast. In 1663 the Company was chased away from Cabo Corso by the Africans. The Swedish castle was

taken over by the Dutch, later by the English who made it their headquarters for the African slave trade. In 1784 Sweden acquired the West Indian island Saint Barthélemy from France. By 1812 the number of slaves had increased to 2,406.

⁴ Walter Rodney estimated that by c.1770, the King of Dahomey was earning an estimated £250,000 per year by selling captive African soldiers and even his own people to the European slave-traders.

⁵ There were primarily two sources of "primitive accumulation" for the emergence of Capitalism in Europe -- one internal in the form of the appropriation of the lands of the poor peasantry and their dispossession; and the second external, namely gold from Africa and the Americas (later also silver from Americas), and the slave trade.

On August 24, 2007, Ken Livingstone (then Mayor of London) apologized publicly for London's role in the slave trade. "You can look across there to see the institutions that still have the benefit of the wealth they created from slavery", he said pointing towards the financial district. He claimed that London was still tainted by the horrors of slavery. More visible examples (than the City of London) are the rich ornate buildings in the cities and shores of Europe (including London, Lisbon, Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen and Stockholm) that go back to the 15th to the 19th centuries.

An appropriate monument inscribing this part of history should be placed on the outside of each of these buildings, like the one outside Fort Carolusborg Castle in Ghana. A visit to the Castle in Ghana is a sobering experience, a lesson on how human beings should not treat other human beings in such inhuman manner. Suitably worded inscriptions placed in front of these "historic" buildings may remind younger generations in Europe to understand what they owe to Africa, and to learn to be a little more respectful and little less patronising towards the present generation of African people in their countries. This is not to "blame" anybody for what happened in the past; it is a simple affirmation of our common humanity. This would be an interesting project that European parliaments could take to the UNESCO General Assembly.

⁶ Even during the period of the slave trade, there was some opposition to it within Europe. A Spanish Dominican priest, Bartolomé de las Casas, (1484 -1566), was a settler in the "New World", and witnessed the torture and genocide of the native Americans by the Spanish colonists. Las He was critical of Columbus for capturing and sending natives back to Spain as slaves in order to repay the funding for his expeditions. Casas appealed to the imperial court of Charles V for the rights of the natives. But he failed. "History" was against him; it was "much too early" to opposes the inexorable force of History. It took another 400 years before slave trade was illegalised.

⁷ This tradition is normally traced to the 16th Century writings of the Italian Niccolò Machiavelli in whose best known book, *The Prince*, he proposed a fundamental break between political Realism and political Idealism. *The Prince* describes politics as amoral; for the good to come out from evil actions political action must be decisive, swift, effective, and short-lived. It is this tradition that largely guides Europe's relations with Africa, with some mitigating influence of the other two traditions -- the idealist/moralist tradition, and the Marxist-revolutionary tradition.

⁸ At the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, African nations demanded an apology for slavery from the former slave-trading countries. Some nations were ready to express an apology, but the opposition, mainly from the United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and the United States blocked this. The fear of monetary compensation was cited as one of the reasons for the opposition. At the 2009 World Conference Against Racism, officially called the "Durban Review Conference" in Geneva, the issue of slavery and slave trade got entangled with the more controversial contemporary issue of Israel. As soon as the Iranian President took to the floor, about 40 delegates (mostly from the West) walked out. The issue raised in the Durban meeting on slavery thus got sidetracked.

⁹ Invited to the Conference under the Chairmanship of German Chancellor, Bismark were: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway (union until 1905), and the Ottoman Empire. The United States was invited but did not participate.

The Conference agreed on the "Principle of Effectivity" which stated that powers could hold colonies only if they actually possessed them (*Uti Possidetis*), in other words, if they had treaties with local chiefs, if they flew their flag, and if they established an effective administration in the territory. If the colonial power did not do these things, another power could take over the territory. It therefore became important to get chiefs to sign "protectorate" treaties and to have a presence sufficient to "keep order" in the area. After the Conference, there was a "Scramble for Africa" since even within areas designated as their "sphere of influence", the European powers still had to take possession under the Principle of Effectivity. So expeditions were dispatched to coerce traditional rulers into signing treaties, using force if necessary.

The Congo had become a bone of contention. Earlier, King Léopold II of Belgium had founded the International African Society in 1876 serving primarily as a "philanthropic front". At the Conference, The Free State of the Congo was confirmed as "private property" of the Congo Society, in effect of King Léopold II, but the signatory powers would have free trade throughout the Congo basin as well as Lake Niassa. The Niger and Congo Rivers were made free for ship traffic.

By 1895, the only independent states were Liberia (founded with the support of the USA for returned slaves); and Ethiopia that fended off Italian invasion in a War that lasted 7 years 1889-1896.

¹⁰ Sayid Maxamed Cabdille Xasan was a Somali religious and nationalist leader. He established the Dervish State in Somalia that fought British, Italian, and Ethiopian forces for a period of over 20 years (from c 1900 to 1920). The British were so "mad" at not being able to defeat this anti-imperialist warrior, that instead of using the epithet on themselves they used it on Sayid Xasan, naming him in their official dispatches as the "Mad Mullah".

¹¹ In June 1884 the British declared a "protectorate" over Uganda, and banished King Muwanga of Buganda to the Seychelles, putting infant Daudi Chwa as King, under the direction of the Lukiiko, the local parliament. In the following years, in a major land reform, the British created a landed gentry displacing thousands of poor peasants from their land and depriving them of their traditional entitlements. The Lukiiko became the seat of the landed gentry who became the new owners of what was called "mailo" land.

¹² After initial funds from Britain, all the finance was internally generated in the form of taxes and levies. Loans were given to cooperatives at 6% who then on lent to peasant farmers at 9%. Over time, the surplus from Uganda, extracted out of peasant commodity production, became so large that a substantial part of it was exported to Britain. In 1958, for example, of the £17.5 million deposited in Uganda banks £11.6 million was used in Uganda and the rest was sent to Britain. A colonial economic historian, Walter Newlyn wrote: "The outstanding characteristic of this phase of their development (of the banks) was that they soon became able to collect deposits locally in excess to what they were able to utilise (sic!) in the East African countries and these surplus funds they invested in London. The result was that for a long period of their history, these banks were actually involved in the process of exporting capital from the underdeveloped countries of East Africa for use in a developed country". Nabudere, Dani W. (1980), *Imperialism and revolution in Uganda*, Onyx Press, 1980;, p.65, citing Newlyn W.T. (1972), *Money in an African Context*, Oxford, p.43

¹³ "My contention is that Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient's difference with its weakness. . . . As a cultural apparatus Orientalism is all aggression, activity, judgment, will-to-truth, and knowledge" (Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, 1978, p. 204).

¹⁴ Julian Huxley, the first Director of UNESCO implored his readers not to forget that "Africa remained for the most part in an early stage of 'barbarism'" What was needed, he said, was to help the "development of backwards areas and backward peoples." J.Huxley,

“Colonies and Freedom”, *The New Republic*, 24 January, 1944. Quoted in Frank Furedi, *The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race*, Pluto Press, 1998, p. 7

¹⁵ “The principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the declarations of the United Nations, and the declared struggle against the Nazi racial doctrine, accentuated this development (anti-imperialist, anti-racist) even further. In the Far East, the Indian subcontinent, and the Pacific, the war generated extensive discussions about race ... the war similarly gave great stimulus to the Pan-African movement.” Lauren, P.G. (1988), *Power and Prejudice: The Politics of Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press), p.144. Quoted by Furedi, *ibid*, p.20

¹⁶ In 1960, even before Uganda’s independence, Britain invited a World Bank Mission from five imperialist countries chaired by Professor Edwards Mason of Harvard University to draw up Uganda’s “Development Plan”. Among other things, the Mission emphasized Uganda’s “need for capital”, and hence need for "fair treatment of existing investment". It also recommended the appointment of a senior officer to receive "visitors and delegates from lending and granting agencies" and to "interpret their needs". The Obote government accepted the Mission’s recommendations. Nabudere, *loc. cit*, p.180-1

¹⁷ Frantz Fanon, “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness”. Fanon is best known as a revolutionary philosopher from Martinique who settled in Algeria working as a psychiatrist, where he wrote his best known books, among them, *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skin, White Masks*. Their profound and cutting analysis continues to apply to Africa and much of the South today.

¹⁸ UNCTAD (2007), *The Least Developing Countries Report: Knowledge, Technological Learning and Innovation for Development*

¹⁹ WTO (2009), *Report to the Trade Policy Review Body (TRDB) from the Director General on the Financial and Economic Crisis and Trade Related Development*, March 26, Job(09)/30, paragraph 68.

²⁰ The phrase is said to originate from 16th Century England. To rotate the use of his horses, Thomas Hobson, a livery stable owner, used to offer his customers the choice of either taking the horse in the stall nearest the door or taking none at all. At one point in January 2008 President Bharat Jagdeo of Guyana accused his Caribbean colleagues of not telling their people the truth about the trade deal with Europe. He said that the EPAs "is a bad deal and the region has little to gain from it", but went on to add that the Caribbean "had no choice but to sign".

²¹ As far as agriculture is concerned, the main objective of the old Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was to ensure food security for EU countries in the context of the cold war.

Within Europe itself the policy was to sustain high-cost and market-inefficient (market-distorting) producers through minimum grower prices guaranteed by subsidies, and dumping incidental surpluses in the world market with export rebates. Outside Europe, it was through giving preferences to producers in the colonies (later independent countries but still tied to Europe), so that they produced essential foodstuffs for Europe at guaranteed prices that were higher than world market prices. Sugar is a classic case, where world prices were artificially kept low, and yet a country like Mauritius, for example, could export 100% of its sugar to Europe at higher than world prices.

Food security for Europe in the dangerous times of the cold war was thus a strategic objective. The cost in financial terms was heavy, but it was considered justified under circumstances then prevailing. But it was presented to the ACP countries as a "concession" to them. When the cold war was over by 1991, the high cost of storage and export refund payments were no longer justified at the EU level. Nor were the "concessions" to the ACP countries defensible. These considerations, and the impending conclusion of the Uruguay Round Agreements (URAs), were the reason for the CAP reform. In 1992 a fundamental shift was made in CAP from the system of price support to one of direct aid to farmers. The aim was to reduce domestic price of agricultural products, without eroding farm incomes. This was seen as WTO compatible, since they are deemed less trade distorting under "green" or "blue" box measures.

Furthermore, the Commission came under pressure from the European food industry which wanted access to cheap primary agricultural inputs, and market access in processed foods. But agricultural trade liberalisation in the WTO and the reforms in the EU-ACP relations could not be done in haste. It was necessary to delay these until the European food industry had reorganised itself. The EU Trade Division adroitly managed to carry this out by stalling agricultural negotiations in the WTO, and by using the flexibilities provided by the "green" and "blue" boxes. The EU also needed to bring down the commodity high prices and to break down the tariff walls of the ACP countries to provide cheap inputs and a market for its food industry. Therefore "preferences" had to go. Europe and its former colonies were now to deal "on equal terms". This was deemed to be the requirement under the WTO, and therefore binding. The impact of "reformed" CAP on food processing industries - especially those based on sugar, cereals and beef -- in Southern Africa has been to seriously damage agricultural development and value-added industrialisation of the region.

²² In his essay, "The Caribbean EPA Affair: Lessons for The Progressive Movement", Professor Girvan argues: " ... that the EPA institutionalises a relationship of asymmetrical power with the European Union based on the principles of neoliberal globalisation; that it was secured through the manipulation of a highly asymmetrical power relationship ... (using) three techniques which were employed to great effect to bring about the desired result. Technification refers to the conduct of the negotiations in technical terms inaccessible to the general public, hence serving as instrument of political exclusion; sweetification describes the process by agreement is presented to decision-makers and the general public as one likely to

generate substantial economic benefits; and treatyfication refers to incorporation of the agreement into a legally binding international treaty with muscular enforcement machinery, hence circumscribing the actions of present and future governments.

²³ In Spain in 2005 the government legalized 800,000 undocumented workers—a measure which was bitterly denounced by European leaders. Zapatero had earlier opposed the European Union’s Return Directive, which lays down common rules for the expulsion of undocumented workers. But under pressure from the EU the Spanish government is now enforcing strict immigration controls, under the militarized European Border Control Agency (FRONTEX), which is equipped with surveillance systems including satellites and aerial drones to monitor the movements of immigrants and Rapid Border Intervention Teams to arrest them. As the Oxfam International stated in a recent report on the Spanish government’s 2007 “Plan Africa”: “One wonders whether it is a matter outlining a plan of Spain for Africa or a plan for Spain in Africa.” It continues, “The use of development aid as a currency exchange to get African governments to raise fences, toughen their immigration controls or accept the repatriation of emigrants is a perversion of cooperation for development and is unacceptable.”

²⁴ Within a year of signing the LPA (1980) the leaders of Africa had succumbed to the World Bank directed Structural Adjustment Programme, and thus abandoned the LPA.