Africa in Contemporary World Politics:The Dynamics and Effects of Domination

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Abstract

Africa has always been part of global politics but majorly on the receiving end. After over five decades of independence, this situation has not changed and there is little reason to believe that positive change is to be expected under the prevailing configurations of power. Against, this background, this paper takes a critical look at the place of Africa in the contemporary world politics. It interrogates its politics of domination, examines the dynamics of that domination and its impacts which it summed under the rubrics of insecurity. Noting that under the established practices, rules and behavioral patterns of the global community that the vicious cycle of domination cannot be broken, the paper made radical recommendations on how best to escape domination.

Key words: Domination, power of chaos, vicious cycle,

1. Introduction

This year the continental body, African Union (AU), marked 50 years of its existence. Specifically the continental body was formed on the 25th of May 1963 as Organisation of African Unity (OAU). It came as a comprise organisation uniting moderates and radicals in Africa who shared the common goal of liberating Africa from the shackles of domination and underdevelopment. It changed its status in 2001 to become African Union. The new Union which was envisioned as a sovereign state consisting of autonomous political entities with a progressive understanding of human and people's rights was above all formed as a defensive response to the persistent marginalization of Africa by an indifferent and predatory international regimes, and as a bulwark against domination (http://www.africanfront.org/history.php).

No doubt, fresh impulses at regional formations and economic groupings are part of the immediate responses to the ravaging forces of globalization, yet it many scholars have used the opportunity of the golden jubilee to step back and interrogate the relative extent the 50 years of the existence of the body has impacted on the position of Africa in the world. In addressing the question scholars take off from the point of Africa's imposed incorporation and then integration into the global community, and then follow the ebb and flow of mainstream arguments which point to the externality of Africa's dilemma and their criticisms. In most literature the approach is historical with domination as the critical variable. Walter Rodney's classic title stands out here.

Just like Rodney's work, this paper is not about AU, it is about Africa! After fifty years of this externality focus in theorising about Africa's dilemma scholars are today beginning to interrogate the role of Africans in Africa's dilemma. That is to say, that there is some shift from external to internal variables but not in the sense of modernisation theory. From Walter Rodney's how *Europe underdeveloped Africa*, emerging titles by Africans discuss how Africans under-develop Africa. Yet common to both is the critical variable of domination. That is to say that no matter how one views Africa's past and contemporary condition, a dominant variable is domination. It is on this variable which is shaped external and internal politics that this paper will analytically focus.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Questions

The linkage between the external and internal dimensions of contemporary Africa's situation can be established with the theory of vicious circle of poverty which generally states that poverty once started by whatever event of factor is likely to continue unless there is outside intervention (www.wikipedia.com). Nurk (2006) had argued that the poorer people are, the less they can afford to plan for the future. The same logic applies to business and government. Thus in African countries where most incomes have to be spent to meet current and often urgent need, national savings tends to be low. Low savings hinders desperately needed domestic investment in both physical capital and human capital. This fact led Nurk to conclude that without new investment an economy's productivity cannot be raised, and, consequently leads to low saving and the vicious circle continues.

While we shall be relying on this theory to understand African condition, we interpret it from political point of view and argue that domination once started is hard to break. Africa appears trapped within that circle from one generation to another. Secondly we shall argue that in a world of competing self interest where power rules, not external, but endogenous intervention can break this jinx of generational bondage. To understand the dynamics of domination the paper will turn to the power theory as a framework of our analysis.

Our approach is historical in which we try to understand the dynamics of domination within the framework of three important epochs: the colonial, post colonial and contemporary epochs. Each epoch has specific

instruments and strategies of domination. Yet while it is possible to separate these epochs and discuss them as units each with own characteristics, we are not unaware of the danger of such isolated treatment especially against the background of our theory vicious circle. We are equally not unaware of the dangers of generalising about Africa. The over 50 sovereign states are each separately configured on the elements of power and therefore separately fitted on the global stage, with diversity in the manner in which each conducts its internal and external relations. The differences have implications on the level and impact of domination in the respective states. Conscious of this limitation we shall nevertheless treat Africa as a single analytical unit in world politics even under pain of limiting the paper to what is general.

The paper is divided into four main sections. After this brief introduction it theoretically examines politics as key instrument of domination which will end up adopting the power theory as a framework of our analysis. The third part broadly periodises the domination of the continent highlighting in the process the specific instrument of each epoch. Detailed attention will be paid to contemporary epoch. The fourth part of the paper addresses the impact of domination. The final part of the work examines ways of escaping domination and its effects.

3. Politics as Instrument of Domination

If we understand politics from the liberal perspective as the arena for the composition and conciliation of interests (Nwankwo, 2008), as the struggle for power, then it exists both at the national and international levels. As such one can confidently speak of world politics or international politics just as we can speak of national politics. Politics even at the world stage is about composing and conciliating interests among the actors. The availability of multiplicity of actors at that stage which includes over fifty of them from the continent of Africa means different interests and needs at any given point in time and situation. Commonality of interests leads to cooperation among the actors in which the various international organisations and regimes are the outcome. However, more often than not one actor's interests conflicts with those of others and except these conflicting interests are rationally reconciled, impersonal forces of disharmony is bound to prevail and which may even lead to dramatic crisis like war. War is the consequence of conflict of interest which cannot be reconciled using peaceful means.

In either of the cases above, those with sufficient power are usually able to prevail over those with less power. In the former case those with power decide authoritatively what gets implemented and this must always accord with their interests. In the later case force becomes the instrument of domination in which the fittest survives to dictate to others. Thus while in 1884/5 the European powers gathered in Berlin to peacefully reconcile their interests in Africa and effectively divided the continent among themselves, the same powers used force and at best gunboat diplomacy to subdue and dominate Africans.

Power is a hard currency in international politics! Accordingly, states struggle to acquire ever more and more power for the purposes of protecting and promoting their interests. We thus find ourselves within the framework of Morgenthau's never dying power theory which defines international politics, like all politics, as the struggle for power (Morgenthau, 1973). On the world stage only those with requisite power are significant actors and those without enough of the commodity engage in the endless struggle to belong or negatively to thwart the domineering influence of those with power through either alliance building or threatening/exercising negative power of chaos. We shall return to this negative power. In the meantime, it is within this context of struggle for power and influence that one can explain the struggle among some countries' aspiration to become African member of a yet to be reformed UNSC. It is within this context that one can explain the exercise of negative power of state sponsored terrorism, and other criminal activities including piracy emanating form some states, aimed at either destabilising the system that presently favours the West, with ever increasing costs on Euro-America as they struggle to maintain the status quo. It is within this power theory that we will appreciate the domination of Africa in the global community, a domination that spans the entire epochs of African history.

Politics is an instrument of domination but has hardly been accorded significant role in thinking and policy making on the place of Africa in the global community. Discussions have been dominated by economics, thus overlooking the key role of politics in shaping this agenda. No doubt, politics and economics are mutually reinforcing such that economic domination of Africa would lead to her political domination. This fact, however, does not and has not detracted from the primacy of politics: the use of power to authoritatively allocate values (Easton, 1953) which includes economic values and resources. In fact economic values and resources are goldmine of politics on the world stage today. Thus despite attempts to leave off economics from the realm of politics at the global centre stage, it has emerged as a principal element in the hands of key actors to politically control and direct other less privileged.

While Africa is the logical outcome of politics of the West especially their imperialistic foreign policies which culminated in the domination of the continent, the internal politics in the continent reinforced this domination. Politics is thus not just an instrument of domination in the hands of these external actors, it is also an instrument of domination in the hands of internal actors: internal to Africa. The African elite learnt the use of State power to

dominate from their dominators. Thus if they became intolerant of opposition, they learnt from their masters who never tolerated dissent while in the saddle. In fact Englebert (1997) took a hard stand on the nature of contemporary African States in sub-Saharan Africa, but which we intend to generalize. According to him contemporary Africa is not African. It descended from arbitrary colonial administrative units designed as instruments of domination, oppression and exploitation.

Even after years of independence these units have been transformed, adopted, adapted, endogenised but without loosing their exogenous origin: "European, not African, and set up against African societies rather than having evolved out of the relationships of groups and individuals in societies". Noting that in Africa the state is not a state, he argued that,

> By the standards of Max Weber's classical definition, a state is `a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory'. Few would argue that, in many respects, most African states fail to meet these criteria: theirs is a dubious community of heterogeneous and occasionally clashing linguistic, religious and ethnic identities; their claim to force is rarely effective and much less monopolistic; their frequent predatory nature fails the test of legitimacy; and their territoriality is generally at best hesitant and contested.

Africa at independence merely adopted and adapted the instruments of domination of the erstwhile colonial masters. Determined to maintain power against all odds and challenges, the instruments of the States were perfected and turned into instruments of domination of own people. Domination of Africa became both exogenous and endogenous. The exogenous element which is the core element in the process easily finds collaboration mechanism for sustaining itself in the endogenous elements. The collaborative links become more or less reciprocal using the same instrument of politics and complement each other in their effects. This is not far from the Marxist interpretation of international capitalism and its mechanisms.

4. Periodisation of African Domination

Africa has always been part of world politics which has not only shaped her, but which she has also helped to shape. The later is in the sense that in many cases Africa's behaviour and agency acts to define the policies and even identities of external agents. Yet while much have been written on the global impact on Africa, very little if any work has been written on Africa's impact on the global community! The reason is simple: Africa does not matter to the rest! Its impact on the global stage is considered insignificant. We find this thread in all the three epochs of Africa's engagement in the world. African scholars are already victims of this thought pattern in their writings. They write so much on how the external forces are shaping the continent but little if at all on how the continent is shaping her external environment. This is the dominant trend in the three epochs of Africa's history: from the age of colonialism to contemporary age of globalisation.

Colonialism is used here to cover a wide spectrum of European engagements in Africa beginning with the age of exploration in the 15th century through the age of trading, to actual colonialism in the 19th century. During the age of explorations, the period of the so called discoveries, the western world made their major intrusion into Africa. The relationship between the West and Africa then was that of suspicious partnership. From the age of exploration Europe went to the next level, the age of traders. This was characterised by exploitation and plundering of the rich resources of the continent in the name of exchange. Nevertheless, the traders at that stage had no special interest in Africa except trading, and therefore, made no noticeable attempt at colonising Africa (Nwankwo, 2006). Disagreement between them and local chiefs led to sporadic violence in which usually Africans lost as a result of the superior force of the "invaders".

Political power, however, appeared inevitable if the conditions necessary for profitable commerce were to be maintained. The end result was colonialism in which apart from the economic resources of the people, their political powers were eroded through force or through tricky deals. Colonialism which formally began in the 19th century lasted till the 20th century, specifically with the coming in place of the UN after the Second World War. But even with the initiation of decolonization on the platform of the newly formed United Nations, the colonialist did not regard the continent as an entity apart from themselves. Thus Herskovits (1960, as in Nweke, 1986) warned of the danger of according the continent the degree of reality it does not possess. This perception of the continent reflected itself in the political dealings of the West with Africa. Africa was for them a geographical fiction and cannot be thought of as a separate entity outside the authority imposed on it. The domination was total as Africa was merely treated as a dependent extension of Europe. It was like their backyard from where resources were appropriated and expropriated for the development of the metropolitan centres! Africa came to be systematically pushed to the margins by "the states that make the most difference" (Waltz, 1979).

After decades of colonisation with its attendant domination, exploitation, and deprivation came decolonization and independence. This stage was possible because few Africans intellectually and politically challenged the

domination of the continent. They were able to get experts and the newly formed UN to support their course. Unfortunately, but in accord with the vicious theory of poverty, the past underdevelopment continued to have multiplier effects in the post colonial epoch. The newly independent States with their flags and national anthems as symbols of their sovereignty remained in reality mere appendages. This unequal relationship formed the basis of Africa's incorporation into international politics (Erunke & Kigbu, 2012). An international division of labour, was foisted upon the colonial system and hence the correctness of the description of the post independent situation as being neo-colonial (Aidoo, 2010). Above all the post colonial era, saw collusion between the imperial powers and the local elite in the use of the instruments of State and control over economic means of production, to continue the process of exploitation (Nweke, 1985). Thus domination rather than diminish became a double tragedy. While the external dominators exploited as before and repatriated to home countries, the internal dominators exploited and also repatriated to foreign countries. It is this double tragedy that is shaping dependency and underdevelopment in Africa with negative implications for their political independence on the world stage.

Unlike other colonial creations in Latin America, African states are generally more closely wedded to their colonial masters or overlords. These states were made so weak such that till date, they appear to be in no position to have an independent policy of their own in dealing, as equals, both with their masters and the common institutions of their master's creation. The peripheral incorporation of Africa into the global capitalist political economy engendered and continues to engender a dynamic of domination and crisis

The contemporary epoch which beginning coincides with the demise of cold war is characterised by a total onslaught of liberalism and globalization. Driven mainly by capitalist economic expansionism and technological development, globalisation entails above all the gradual transformation of social relations from territorially bound forms of organisation, into what Schelte (2005) called "super-territoriality" or what others have referred to as "de-territorialisation" of social life (Beisheim & Gregor, 1997). Baumann, and Stengel, (n.d.) while observing that globalization is commonly seen as been driven mainly by economic developments and consequently most of the literature focuses on the economic aspects (e.g. Genschel 2003) insists that it should not be seen as one single homogenous process but as a number of related processes, encompassing economic, social, political and cultural aspects (Shaw, 1997). For the continent of Africa, globalisation can allegorically be compared to playing in a "divisionless" football league in which local village clubs are expected to play professionals. The playfield is not level and under such condition globalisation limits rather than enhance Africa's development and prosperity.

5. Politics and the Dynamics of Domination

Domination is always in the self-interest of the dominator. This is why it is an important component of the rational foreign policy of the transnational dominant actors. However, wherever and whenever these dominant actors find it politically expedient to ally with the dominated classes some tactical changes in policy aimed at temporal and superficial accommodation of the interest/s of the dominated classes, are usually effected. Domination is a single variable mutating from colonialism, post colonial era to the contemporary epoch. This means that it is the same principle and practice of subjugating one people to another for the purpose of satisfying the imperial requirement (Aidoo, 2010) that is mutating in an unbroken route from colonial era till date and there is no reason to believe that it will not continue except there is radical intervention. As rightly noted by Afigbo (2008) globalisation must not be seen as the last stage in Western imperial domination since it is capable of further unpredictable mutation.

There is today an increasing consciousness coming from the radical left in various African nations about the negative activities of the imperial forces. Like the ingenious masters that these forces are, they are reducing their classical and obvious forms of domination in favour of the less obvious but highly effective forms of domination and exploitation. Foreign aid, trade relations, control over information, loans, investment, military hardware, all sorts of economic partnerships as well as the supposedly neutral international bodies are increasingly being instrumentalised to serve domination agenda. In line with that agenda, these elements which ordinarily are economic in nature are easily mobilised to support political agenda for poor African States. The so called aid for instance, rather than aid Africa to become a strategic actor in world politics has continued to exacerbate dependency and debt cycle. If therefore, some people speak of aid as a trap they may not be far from the truth as the global implementation of aid policies in Africa, made it impossible for African governments to uncover sustainable independent development model for their future.

The dominant forces no longer hide behind diplomatic language and culture to express their political interests in their relations with Africa. Thus the instruments are employed and deployed mainly when their strategic interests are involved. When that is not the case, Africa and African issues including problems created through their selfish activities are rarely given attention even by supposedly neutral international organisations. Thus whether in conflicts in Ruanda, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and most recently Mali or in the hunger ridden enclaves

in East Africa, it took the international community almost five times the time it would have taken it to respond to similar problem/s in any other part of the world. The principles of international organisations have been abused by the dominant actors to push through their specific foreign policy agenda which accordingly do no coincide with the real interest of Africa. The activities of the IMF and World Bank in the 1980s/1990s cannot be easily forgotten. Most recently the emergence of international criminal court has become instrument of vendetta against non compliant African heads of states. El Bashir of Sudan has been indicted to face war crime in a court that US has vowed not to send her citizens. Bashir has not committed greater war crime than Tony Blair and George W Bush or even Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen. Electoral violence in Kenya which should have been handled by the national court has been taken over by the ICC. Thus for them African court system are incapable.

The United Nations, an international body to tackle various global concerns has been constantly abused by those who have the power to act unilaterally when the international community's views and opinions do not agree with their own national interests (Shah, 2001). The recent NATO defiance of UN and AU to intervene and effect regime change in Libya is a classic example. It was clear to Africa and the continental body AU that world powers do not really reckon with her. Thus speaking against the backdrop of the attacks unleashed on Libya, Zuma (2011) noted that "such can only happen in Africa". According to him,

> "The manner in which Libya was treated by some countries in the developed world remains a scar that will take many years to heal for Africa….We must deliberate as well on how to ensure that we do not have a repeat of what happened in Libya. The Libyan situation is the latest challenge to the African continent…. Those who bombed Libya, they do not have a solution now and the problem is not just Libya, it is all the countries that border Libya…. Those countries for their own personal agenda hijacked a genuine democratic protest by the people of Libya to further regime change. Some of these countries however were looking for excuses to interfere in the continent. In the past, they used to say it was because of the absence of democracy. They are now confused about how to resolve the Libyan issue…. The Libyan situation is a reminder of how to entrench unity in Africa so we can deal with these challenges together in a focused manner to defend the place and authority of Africa and the AU on matters affecting the continent." (Zuma, 2011).

The truth is that no African country can formulate own policies without imperialistic interference. It is the foreign policy agenda of the dominant member states of the so called international community (especially from the western hemisphere), that lie at the foundation of the duplicity in the world politics. One sees this duplicity in virtually all International Organisations especially multilateral donor agencies. Such donors are known to link their grants to an organisation as to whether or not it influences the recipient State to comply with the donor's foreign policy agenda. It may not and is usually not pronounced because the acting government would not want to publicly express its strategy and real intentions. As rightly summarised by Rourke and Boyer (2002), International Governmental Arena is simply an interactive arena in which member States pursue their individual national interests, to gain national advantage. In this relational framework, Africa is made a foot mart incapable of impacting the wider World. She must rely on self-serving gestures of the imperialists.

6. The impact of Domination in Africa

Domination means lack of autonomy. A continent without the autonomy to act on its own cannot be in a position to act in the best interest of its own people. On the contrary, it must act in the interest of "the master" who must be pleased even at the expense of the people. Thus, externally generated policies are prepared by these dominant actors and forced down the throat of the people by their leaders. The outcome has always been counter-productive as the people and the leadership move on parallel lines. The State is left as a contested terrain where various groups struggle outside the law to appropriate power and resources. This is the picture we have virtually in all African states – a situation which is reinforcing dependency, underdevelopment, and insecurity. In fact the impact of domination can be summed under the rubric of "insecurity".

To understand this relationship between domination and the insecurity rubrics, it is important to understand security in the context of Africa and its importance to the continent. Security defined in the context of Africa and by Africa is a complex in which two aspects can be identified. The first aspect is territorial integrity and the second is development or human progress. These two aspects can be deciphered from the preamble of the charter of the OAU now AU which specifically stated that ensuring territorial integrity of the African States can only be conceived as basis for translating principles into practical policies that will crystallize into "a dynamic force in the course of human progress". Human progress is here understood in terms of development. According to Nweke (1985, 2)

> "by incorporating development, African security is from the beginning viewed in holistic terms and appears as the integral elements of the common good of the continent as a whole".

This holistic understanding of security is also underscored by Subrahmanyam (1973) for whom security "does not mean merely safeguarding of territorial boundaries" but also "ensuring that the country [continent] is industrialized rapidly and developed into cohesive egalitarian, technological society".

From the above our concept of security encapsulates all factors that are necessary for the survival of the continent. Put differently, all conditions, whether political, economic, social, psychological, military, etc, that threaten in one way or another the survival of the continent in the global community is a security challenge. Such threats can be internal or external in origin. Externally, the impact of colonialism on security as defined does not need much elaboration. Politically, colonialism completely devastated the social fabric and implanted a new culture of violence (Mimiko, 2010). The devastated fabric includes traditional African systems of conflict resolution. According to Mimiko,

> the democratic process, rudimentary though it was, but with great potential as accompanies
> every human institution, was brutally uprooted and replaced by the authoritarianism of
> colonialism. A new crop of elites was created, nurtured, and weaned on the altar of
> violence and colonialism armed with the structures of the modern State to continue to carry
> out the art and act of subjugation of the mass of the people in the service of colonialism.

According to Obadina (2000) the seed of the political crisis in Africa were laid and maintained by colonialism. "By redrawing the map of Africa and grouping diverse people together, ethnic conflicts were created that are now destabilizing the continent". Economically, the plunderage and systemic way the corrupt enterprises established in the colonies expropriated natural resources in Africa to Europe facilitated under-development of Africa while it engendered the development of Europe (Rodney, 1972). While these and such arguments can be used to explain the insecurity crises rocking Africa, they do not in any way justify them. Africa has come of age!

The post colonial experience that has lasted over fifty years has unfortunately failed to break the vicious circle of this insecurity. In fact the situation seems to be permutating and growing in complexity with underdevelopment and dependency becoming more lucid. As depicted by Aidoo (2010) rising wave of poverty, decaying public utilities and collapsing infrastructure, social tensions and political turmoil, and now, premonitions of inevitable drift into conflict and violence are evident all over Africa. Africa continues after more than five decades of independence, to contend with many social ills including lack of initiatives and poverty of ideas, which together are engendering resentment, dissent, revolutionary pressures, and legitimacy crisis threatening the survival of the continent.

The post independent decline has been caused largely by mistakes of the local elite who failed to either to understand the real intentions of the international conspirators or that they understood but decided to play along with them for their own selfish interest. There may be reasons to choose the first option as such mistakes, if indeed they were such, arose, and continues to arise out of the syndrome "of know it all" by international organizations and their conspirators who feel that they have private pipelines to good policies and are trusted as such by the elite. In reality they initiated policies aimed at protecting their interests! However, the second option best represents the reality. A culture of predation by the local elite expropriated the enormous wealth of the States, impoverished governance, ruined the national economy and engendered insecurity that reflected on the poorest citizens.

To be on a safe side, however, this paper argues that domination which is both internal and external is directly linked to the various aspects of development failures in Africa as a continent. Thus *The Economist* (13-19 May, 2000) blamed the entire crises in Africa on the nature of post-independent African States and the nature of the political contest therein or lack of such contest, external intervention in the internal affairs of African countries by political powers of various domination and vintages, external interventions driven by brute economic motives and internal destabilization driven by the motive of capturing the State and its coffers. In response, terrorism and other ideologically inspired violent non-state actors are spreading through out the continent. From the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, al-Shabaab in Somalia or Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in North Africa with the ongoing revolutions, to the Islamist terrorist activities in Nigeria and Niger, the entire recourse to violent actions can be explained by pointing at a variety of socio-economic and political conditions in Africa which produce grievances. The violent responses to these grievances by the dominant actors either in the form of local repression or external intervention lead to even greater domination.

External interventions are undertaken in cases where strategic interests are at stake. They become pretext for the return of the colonialists. To return, they must create the impression that Africa is incapable of securing itself. As Muhammad (2013) puts it, "capitulating African leaders have failed to reject the misnomer that Africans can't secure their own borders and people independent of foreign powers. African Heads understand the economic interests at stake and have gone along to get along at the price of self-determination". Both the internality and externality of the crisis which has resulted in the deterioration of the ability of Africa to control its affairs, and, there from, seek to engage more positively on the global stage must be given adequate consideration. At the present, the continent is rendered voiceless in international economic organizations and virtually irrelevant in the

global political calculus. The vicious cycle continues as the scare of exploitation and domination persists.

7. Escaping Domination: Strategic Options

The thinking of any options out of the present forms of domination requires understanding the real forces behind the problem. The conclusions made above point to the role of Africans in the domination project. Some have however argued that this is consequent upon the inbuilt mechanisms by external forces that make it difficult for Africans to disentangle from the colonial perfected role for them. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) noted the systematic disarticulation in the indigenous economy and the intrinsic tying of same with the external economy of the colonizers as example. They opined that the deep-seated corruption in most African states and the selfish behavior of some of the political leaders to sit tight in office even when they have obviously outlived their usefulness in the eyes of their people are attributable to the effects and support of colonialism and imperialism. Boadua (2012) certainly also agreed with Ocheni and Nwankwo with emphasis on conspiracy theory when he noted the common knowledge

> that billions of Africa's wealth have been stolen and deposited in European and American banks by African leaders. The financial institutions where these bounties are deposited are aware that individuals cannot amass such wealth taking into account the combined income from their businesses and other sources….
> The conclusion that can be drawn is that African leaders' corruption is another plot by the Colonialists to stagnate the industrial and economic development of African states. Stolen monies by corrupt African leaders deposited in the financial institutions in the West help them to finance their plans to keep Africa in perpetual poverty.

They destabilize any regime that fails to play according to their rules and prop up another as a solution. They denigrate any positive achievement of any recalcitrant regime in order to remain on top. If they cannot act directly in this manner, they set up and use very strong and workable strategy to maintain their hegemony through such institutions as World Bank and IMF with the pretext that their "colonies" could be helped through borrowing to finance their development projects (Thomas, 2004).

The theory of vicious circle as elaborated earlier states that poverty once started is likely to continue unless there is outside intervention (www.wikipedia.com). Thus the so called investment and reform agenda which has been going on for the past six decades have not yielded much and it will be foolhardy to think that it will yield now except we first understand why they have not worked over the past years. They were not meant to work! No doubt, the first era of domination, the colonial domination, was able to come to an end because Africa's forebears with the assistance of external forces like the United Nations were able to struggle against all odds. Their efforts inevitably led to disastrous consequences for many of them with the ensuing conflicts and social failures costing millions of lives but finally to independence.

The same logic of vicious circle can be applied to the contemporary domination patterns which are mutations of colonial domination. However, external intervention is not an option. With Africa tied to the apron of their so called Western development partners, their activities will continue to engender a dynamic of domination crises. To maintain relevance, Africa's resources have to remain largely owned and managed them. Euro-America remains the main buyers of African crops and minerals in a dependent exchange system which they contrived. They determine the price at which to buy African goods in what they call free market system. In the system, Africans are advised not to intervene or for instance subsidize, and yet they do it to save their own economies. They foist International trading agreements overly influenced by them in such a way as to benefit them. In fact in all their interventions in the continent the relationship has remained exploitative. That is why all their investments in Africa are in the areas that will give them access to the resources they need, and politically to preemptively secure their countries and their countries' access to resources.

It might be debated but one of the consequences of globalisation is the stiff competition over resources, especially raw materials for the industries. This increased global competition from emerging powers like China and India, is being resisted as it challenges the monopoly of domineering members of the West over the vital resources needed to remain relevant powers into the 21st century. Direct foreign investments from all sides are being secured on their own terms. To perpetuate themselves, they offer African governments so called "expertise services" which these governments accept oblivious of the fact that they serve imperialism (Ake, 1982). African Academia especially in the field of social sciences, have been co-opted to think along the lines of the West to be acceptable. According to Jeriko (2012) this is a continuation of the domination project and an attempt by the West to keep Africa's knowledge and all its aspects subordinated to theirs. Consciously or unconsciously, some Africans have been part of the system that works to undermine their own knowledge. This they do by not fitting everything that is researched, documented and known in the African context. This has come from blindly copy-pasting research methodologies, approaches and different styles used in the pursuit of knowledge in the metropolis. Such colonization of African knowledge complicates escape route.

From the above, decolonization of knowledge becomes the first step to escaping domination. Tuhiwai Smith, in

his work Decolonizing Methodologies (1999) discussed extensively how knowledge is colonized and subsequently revealed strategies to be used in the decolonization of knowledge. Secondly, on the practical level of governance, the vicious circle of domination and its crises can be broken through radical intervention by internal forces. This requires that nation States in Africa assert themselves on the foundation of endogenous approach to issues affecting them. Without reference to the external dominant actors, they must take their problems into their own hands. According Boaduo (2012), there is absolute need for Africa to

> re-think and re-strategize in terms of approaches, methods and techniques about implementation plans for sustainable and equitable development. In every respect – institutional resources, raw materials, skilled and unskilled labour, material and human resources -Africa has all these potentials to stand on its own feet to initiate its political, social industrial and economic development agenda in the new millennium. Dependency on foreign assistance from the same colonialists and imperialists for Africa's development should be limited or completely curtailed for obvious reasons.

Convinced that the crises of insecurities in the continent are linked to dependence on external forces, the answer to the problem would be to limit dependence. Africa must responsibly delink and this is not new in dependency theories. In fact this can be read into the Lagos Plan of Action which in 1980 declared:

> "We view with disquiet the overdependence of the economy of our continent…This phenomenon has made African economies highly susceptible to the external development and with detrimental effects on the interests of our continent" (Lagos Plan of Action: OAU, 1980).

The Action plan which detailed Africa's integration and Security Strategies in terms of "collective self-reliance and self sustaining development" highlighted the contribution of human resources development strategies to the improvement of living standards through increased employment and income generating opportunities. It also focused on the utilization of indigenous technologies and the promotion of science and technology as a basis for the economic transformation of African societies. The Plan also called on OAU member states to cooperate in the development and utilization of regional, sub-regional and international training and research institutions with the urge on countries to institute frameworks for staff development, supported by requisite financial arrangements, sectoral advisory committees and central advisory councils. The move was in response to the perceived need for action to provide the necessary political framework for measures to achieve self-sustaining development and economic growth in Africa (OAU, 1980). What has happened to the declaration?

Boaduo (2012, citing Bidstrup, 2001) noted that Africa is capable of building on high and sustained industrial, social, economic, political, educational and technological structures that support growth at all levels. According to him, the advent of the colonialist's engagement has altered the scope and character of external linkages and the imposition of colonial rule created fundamental changes that have conditioned the economies of African countries. The truth of the matter, according to him, is that colonial regimes shaped the structures of African economies including the sectoral distribution of activities, key products in the economy, the extent of physical infrastructure and the development of human capital (Chazan et al, 1999); and up to date, they do not want to standby and see that it changed to their disadvantage. But these are in the past. If African governments have not realized that something has to be done about this and continue along the same path, they carry the ultimate responsibility.

The question asked above as to what has happened to the Lagos Plan, can be asked also about the recent NEPAD and APRM. In the name of helping African States realize the objectives of NEPAD and APRM, the dominant actors are working to ensure that they never worked because of the danger they posed to their interests. As point of entry, they offer technical and financial support. It is foolhardy for Africa to expect that these dominant actors will stand-by for AU's initiatives to mature. The option for endogenous development requires African governments to stop seeking the financial and technical support from them and do everything their own way (Boaduo, 2012). Even in technology, you don't wait for it to be transferred to you. It is stolen and Africa must go all out to steal it and this way start turning the tide of domination and exploitation. Presently in all situations, Africa looks outside for solutions. Government officials instead of looking to the domestic arena for resources of solution, address themselves to the international community. By so doing they become more accountable to foreign governments and international aid agencies than to their own citizens with programmes are formulated not on African situation but those of foreign governments (Hyden, 2005)

For the avoidance of doubt, African endogenous solution may not be perfect at the start, but through repeated actions it will improve and finally prevail. Just take a look at Iran today. Iran did not delink, she was delinked and with endogenous approach, or what she called economy of resistance, Iran is an emerging world power to the distaste of what Iran refers to as "Arrogant Powers". It is Iran's independent development that is threatening the West not nuclear programme.

To note is that the greatest challenge to the capacity of Africa to follow up the Lagos plan of action is their

vertical integration to the global politics which colonialism navigated. The antidote to it is to vehemently pursue horizontal integration without counting costs coming from the imperialists who are sure to work and have been working against such. Horizontal integration in this context would mean giving life to the many Africa regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Economic Community (EAEC). Presently all are endangered species because of the interests of extra territorial forces. One would agree with Boaduo (2012) that these bodies instead of standing in their isolated forms where development initiatives are not planned among the blocks, they should concentrate on the principle of comparative advantage and specialize in products each region has greater comparative advantage. This is a way of heralding Africa's industrial and economic development without the imperialists. Africa must limit itself to consuming what it produces and develop the political will to manage its affairs.

Reforming Africa's political and economic governance is clearly a priority. This is first and foremost an internal problem in Africa. In it Africa's political and economic elites must show willingness to developing their full potential so that the continent can take its fair place in the international system. The dominant actors would not want it to succeed even when they will be pretending to the contrary. They will therefore attempt to intervene with "goodwill advice and resource support" all packaged as a Trojan horse. Conscious of this, there is the need to critically examine every international support to Africa. The task will be difficult but not impossible! One is equally aware of the configurations of power at the World Stage, dominated by the same imperialists. This recognition makes some people shrink at the thought of confronting these powers with own initiatives. Such people argue that Africa lacks the requisite powers to challenge the status quo. This is not altogether correct. If Africa has no positive power, it can mobilise negative power, the power of chaos. The dominant are very much interested in preventing any disruption of the present world order which is to their advantage. Africa can make use of its power of chaos to at least threaten the disruption of that order as to compel negotiation and compromise. The power of chaos is Africa's strongest weapon which in this 21st century, she must not shy away from responsibly using. To use this, Africa requires actors with the political will, and the capacity for internal mobilisation of their peoples. The recent floating of an alternative to World Bank in which South Africa is participating can be viewed as part of the positive ways of beginning to wrest power from the colonialists.

Conclusion

Both the Colonialists and the entire global governance structures have held Africa hostage for many years. They have made it impossible for her to take her rightful place in the international system. After over ten decades of independence, Africa must work to become a strategic international force, pioneering coherent and inclusive development plans that are endogenous. This is the pathway to escaping domination and its effect. The security challenges faced by the continent cannot be stopped by the same people who orchestrated and continues to orchestrate it through their intelligence agencies. Africa must take the initiative. She must develop her own measurement of progress, listen more to African experts rather than to IMF and World Bank, to Washington, Paris and London with their selfishly contrived statistics. This requires realistic action by, and political will from, African governments. It is against this background that one welcomes the inauguration of a new development bank in which South Africa is playing a role.

However, the fact of the matter is that Africa is dealing with evil geniuses. They will never accept that anything good can "come from Nazareth", that Africa can make any contribution to the world. This is part of the mechanism of domination: outright disregard for anything coming from Africa. The academia must be weary of such works which are quick to highlight external actors' engagement in the continent without examining how Africa has shaped that environment. Above all unified actions not words is called for among African States to end internal domination to be able to face external domination even through the power of chaos!

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