

THE NATURE OF AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH EXTERNAL ACTORS IN
HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE COLONIAL, COLD WAR AND POST-COLD
WAR ERAS

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NYADERA ISRAEL NYABURI

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Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr Fatih Tayfur
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Faruk Yalvaç (METU, IR) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatih Tayfur (METU, IR) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pinar Ipek (Bilkent Uni., IR) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Nyadera Israel Nyaburi

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Nyadera, Israel Nyaburi

MSc., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Fatih Tayfur

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This research seeks to examine the nature of relations between external actors and the continent of Africa. By looking at the colonial, cold war and the post-cold war eras, I seek to assess how the nature of engagement with external actors affects the past, present, and future of the continent. I will compare the actors, narratives and the outcomes of these eras. I will also look at how the structure of the international system and the characteristics of the domestic environment influence the nature of engagements. Existing theories that explain the consequences of external actors in Africa seem to be divided on whether the involvements of external actors in Africa have negative or positive implications. Three actors namely Turkey, China, and India, will be discussed in depth in chapter three as case studies. I will conclude by giving the similarities and difference of three eras where the continent has been in the spotlight of external actors and give recommendations on some important issues that need to be addressed if the continent is to have a stronger position while engaging with external actors.

Keywords: Africa, Colonialism, Cold War, Post-Cold War, New Scramble

ÖZ

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Nyadera, Israel Nyaburi

MSc., Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Danışman: Assoc. Prof. Fatih Tayfur

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Bu araştırma Afrika kıtası ve dış aktörler arasındaki ilişkinin doğasını incelemeye yöneliktir. Sömürge, soğuk savaş ve soğuk savaş sonrası dönemlere bakarak, dış aktörlerle olan münasebetin kıtanın geçmiş, şimdi ve geleceğini nasıl etkilediğini belirlemeye çalışacağız. Bu dönemlerin aktör, teori ve sonuçlarını karşılaştıracacağız. Ayrıca uluslararası sistemin ve yerli çevrenin yapısının bu münasebetin doğasını nasıl etkilediğine bakacağız. Afrika'daki dış aktörlerin sonuçlarını açıklayan mevcut teoriler, dış faktör müdahalesinin olumlu mu yoksa olumsuz etkiler mi yaptığı konusunda ikiye bölünmüş gibi duruyor. Son olarak, Afrika'nın dış faktörlerin gündeminde olduğu bu üç dönem arasındaki benzerlik ile farklılıkları gösterecek ve eğer kıta dış faktörlerle olan münasebetinde güçlü bir pozisyon edinmek istiyorsa, belirlenmesi gereken bazı önemli konularda tavsiyelerde bulunacağız.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika, Sömürgecilik, Soğuk Savaş, Soğuk Savaşından Sonra,

Dedicated to the Loving Memory of Faith Adhiambo, My Parents, Siblings,
Lectures, and Friends

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGOA	Africa Growth and Opportunity
ANC	Africa National Congress
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corp
DFPT	Duty Free Tariff Preference
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FLN	Front de Liberation National
FNLA	National Liberation Front of Angola
IBM	Inter-continental Ballistic Missile
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MPLA	Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEP	New Economic Policy
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Union
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
RN	Royal Niger Company
SADF	South Africa Defense Force
TIKA	Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency
UAC	United African Company
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republi

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The nature of the interaction between Africa and external actors has been complicated both in the historical and contemporary context. To best understand this complexity, one needs to examine the relevant eras. These include the colonial period that began in the late 1800s and ended in the early 1990s, the Cold War era which began slightly after the end of the Second World War and ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union. It will also include the contemporary era which began in the late 1990s and involves a steep rivalry between traditional actors in the continent and new players led by emerging powers such as China and India.

In these three eras, the role Africa has played in relating with external actors has not been universally accepted with different schools of thought having different opinions. Some scholars argue that the continent has been and remains to be a passive actor and a victim of foreign aggression and manipulation. On the other hand, there are those who argue that beyond the big power politics, Africans or at least their leaders have always been active players in interacting with the external actors. This important debate has found its way into critical theories of international relations as analyzed by historian Stephen Ellis. He argues that Marxists theorists seem to be convinced that Africans are victims of global imperialism and perhaps even passive actors in the whole process. Their emphasis is on the suffering the inhabitants of the continent have been facing for decades. Based on this, Marxist theorists argue that the challenges we see in Africa are part of a systematic scheme to exploit the continent by Western actors. However, neoliberals, on the other hand, have developed the narrative of an incompetent Africa. They argue that African leaders are responsible for the continent's misfortunes. They point out that post-colonial Africa has been characterized by civil wars, ethnic divisions, corrupt leaders, and mismanaged colonial infrastructure, state enterprises and institutions.

Neoliberals have gone ahead to point out that African problems in the post-colonial era can mostly be solved through domestic reforms such as education reforms,

budgeting solutions, research and development, public service reforms, and effective strategic planning. The Marxist on the other hand offer two solutions first is promoting industrialization among African countries and the second solution which is more important is confronting Western influence and power in the continent. The solutions and analysis offered by the Marxist and Neoliberal narratives by themselves do not provide solutions nor resolve the African dilemma since they are both ethnocentric and simplistic. Neoliberals fail to put some important factors in their arguments. First, they ignore consequences of historical experiences the continent has had to contain with. For example, over two centuries of colonialism left the continent with a generation of ill-educated individuals who upon independence did not have the sophisticated skills successfully integrate into the global neoliberal economy. Secondly, Social and cultural complexity that characterize the continent of Africa is often overlooked. These complications explain the fragilities within the continent yet solving them is not as easy as they may look on the surface.

Proponents of the Marxist narrative seem to undermine the historical role of African elites in exploiting their people or even making shady deals and agreements with external actors. If we look at the over three centuries of slave trade, the colonial era, the cold war and the post-cold war era African elites have been at the center of negotiations with external actors. Importantly, we also need to understand the rationale and motivation behind some of the decisions taken by African leaders when dealing with external actors. Last but not least is the oversimplification of the continents' past to only focus on the role and presence of Western powers in Africa.

In extension to the emphasis of Western powers in Africa comes the whole concept of neocolonialism, a problematic concept that seems to cloud any discussion about Africa's role within the international arena. Many neo-colonial theorists appear to ignore that decolonization saw the defeat and humiliation the colonial powers out Africa. Their return to the continent has been silent, less forceful and is characterized not by a sophisticated European superiority but rather taking manipulation of weak institutions and governance systems Africa. Upon attaining independence, African countries were in need of support in financial, technical and diplomatic aspects and

perhaps it is from here that traces of what are referred to as ‘neo-colonialism’ begun. The choice by Africa leaders to seek such support from either the West led by the US or the East led by the Soviet Union is what many consider as the advent of neocolonialism in Africa. This should, however, be looked at beyond the surface interaction between African leaders and external actors. We need to look at the stakes involved in the post –colonial negotiation between Africa and the rest of the world.

What many consider as neo-colonialism is simply a way of branding activities which in other parts of the world qualify as corruption and economic crimes and are punishable by law. This term needs to be re-examined with emphasis on nature and actors involved in Africa. In many cases, neo-colonialism depicts Western activities and actors in Africa yet without the support and deep involvement of players from Africa none of their efforts would succeed. For example, it is clear that granting of mining rights, tax evasion, awards of tenders or allocation of resources in the continent many times involves willingly issuing and receiving of bribes and favors means neo-colonial theorists do not give an adequate explanation of what is happening on the continent. Also, controversial debates such as support of military coups and militia groups by external actors do not all the time serve the interest of the big powers but rather even the coup plotters in many cases have proved to have legitimate grievances and interests. As a result of weak legal institutions in some countries in Africa external and domestic actors have found means of benefit from the continent’s resources and being able to evade being caught up by the law. If transparency and a better redistribution of profits accrued from natural resources, then the continent can undergo a significant transformation.

The debate on neo-colonialism aside, one other question is whether Africa, a continent that covers massive land space, vast sociocultural diversity and consists of several countries can be looked at as a single entity; or perhaps why not? While it is true that serious challenges can emerge in attempting to research Africa as an entity, it is also true that performing such kind of research is not impossible as successful studies have been carried out on vast regions such as the European Union and Asian institutions. The challenges of looking at the continent as a single entity can affect

research that focuses on cultural, economic and political spheres due to their diversity.

However, and this is an important point, it is relevant to look at the continent as a single entity while examining its relations with external actors. First, the relevance of Africa to external actors can be felt if the latter can have the support and better relations with the majority if not all of countries in the continent. For example, a single country in Africa may not have an enormous purchasing power, but when more countries are combined, their purchasing power increases, therefore, providing a competitive market for external actors. Also, the continents' 54 countries that have a significant voting power on issues presented before the United Nations general assembly, this advantage is one that motivates external actors to deal with african nations collectively rather than individual states.

Another importance is the diversity that the mainland offers external actors regarding quantity and quality of natural resources. It is not a surprise therefore that key players in the continent are keen on dealing with Africa as a single entity thereby giving rise to concepts such as the Washington- Africa Summit, Turkey –Africa Summit, India –Africa Summit among others. Also, it is in the interest of African countries to deal with external actors as a single entity and policy makers seems to be aware of this. Recent years have seen African countries speak in one voice at the international arena as was witnessed in the Kenyan cases before the International Criminal Court. Some of the challenges African countries face such as terrorism, insufficient infrastructure, trade, research and war against diseases can best be tackled if African countries operate as one entity.

The role and position of Africa within the global system has been on the rise over the last few decades. However, economic relations between the continent and the outside world began in the 1500s through slave trade and trade in natural resources which was triggered by communities that were living along the continent's coastal strips. These communities traded with the Chinese, Arabs as well as Western merchants although the intensity and scope of the economic, political and social relations with the rest of the world remained minimal (Settles, 1996: 1). The arrival of explorers

from Europe in the 1700s marked an important turning point for the future of the continent, shaping it to what we see today.

Reports and stories given to European governments by early explorers who visited Africa elicited a strong political, economic and social interest. So strong were these interests that a meeting was held in 1884 in Berlin and divided the continent among major European powers. But there are also those who argue that mercantilism, an economic philosophy that dominated Europe between the 16th and 18th century, had a greater influence on the coming of Europeans to Africa. Among the fundamental tenets of this philosophy was the belief that the world's wealth was static and a nation's political and economic health was based on how much of this wealth it owned. This idea triggered a rush of Europeans to the continent and subsequently the imposition of their political, social and economic models as they strived to amass wealth for their countries' benefit.

Politically, the continent was less significant within the international system, and it is only until recently that the actors from Africa have begun to rise to prominence. Indeed one can easily recognize the growing role of state and non-state actors from Africa in international affairs such as climate change, humanitarian and military intervention, and negotiations on matters of international trade, health, and migration. Historically, African governments and other non-state actors have tried to realign themselves with changes taking place in the international arena. Recent events such as the rise of China and the increasing economic and social integration at the global stage has seen the continent responding

The contemporary rush into Africa by traditional actors and new emerging powers led by China and from now henceforth will be referred to as the New Scramble is an important point of reference. This is an important era for Africa since the end of the Cold War and will be crucial in understanding the current and future stakes of continent both internally and at the global arena. Noteworthy, the nature of African relations with external actors has also changed over the years. Such changes can be attributed to internal and external reforms. Internationally, the impunity that was witnessed in the earlier periods seems to have been overtaken by some elements

discipline. States' expansionist and territorial thirst appears to have been quenched while ideological competitions are being handled with restraint. Economic powers are also increasing, therefore, altering the structure of the international system. The rise of China, India, Brazil, Turkey and other countries previously perceived to be from the south is offering many alternatives for regions like Africa not just financially but also inspirationally.

At the Domestic level, I would say, is where much of the changes have occurred. Africa, a continent once considered to be hopeless, dysfunctional and corrupt has all over sudden become the place to be. Foreign investment is flooding in; literacy levels have increased by over 500%, massive investments in infrastructure, governments have become more responsive to the needs of the people. There is a booming middle class that has welcomed over 300 million inhabitants over the last one and a half decade, relative peace and stability in countries that were characterized by civil strifes, victories in combating diseases such as Cholera, Polio, and Malaria just but to mention a few.

These changes have captured the attention global media including the neo-liberal bible the Economists, Times Magazine and China daily while the narrative of Rising Africa is well coined in the story of the African lions (which are the 6 African Countries that dominate the ten fastest growing economies in the world according to the world banks. It is no longer a surprise that almost weekly discussions and forums on the African story can be witnessed in the corridors of top academic institutions across Europe, United States, and Asia, with increasing numbers of departments of African studies being opened. Charles Robertson's book Fastest Billions, A story behind Africa's economic revolution is just one among the many publications on the changes in the continent. Far from the immense praise on Africa as noted above, the continent is still facing some challenges. There are still more improvements in the social, political, economic and structural spheres that need to be done.

The consequences of the nature of relations the post- Cold War era will have in Africa is central to the future of the continent. This is because historically, what we consider as colonialism and Cold War have been the consequences of scrambles for

dominance by big powers at the international arena. That is, the Word Scramble or new scramble as will be used to refer to the post-Cold War era, do not relate to colonialism or neo colonialism but the two are consequences and effects of a scramble. While for Africa the effects have largely been negative, scramble can have positive impacts. For example, the arrival of China and her attempts to displace traditional actors in Africa is considered to be a scramble between the West and East in Africa. However, the consequences of this scramble are offering Africa alternative source of financial, technical, political and security support from China and other emerging nations which offer interest-free loans.

Chapter two covers the Colonial era which is also the period referred to the Scramble and Partition of Africa. The Nature of interaction between the continent and the external actors is mostly seen from a Western perspective, rightfully so because they documented much of the history. But a closer look at what took place during this era shows that the continent was caught up in a time of confusion, caution, and suffering. A review of treaties signed between African leaders and emissaries of the Western countries point out to parties that had their interest, some of which were achieved. For example, the demands African leaders may have made to the Europeans in exchange for their loyalty never included the desire to industrialize the continent but rather personal gifts such as bicycles, mirrors, and others. This, therefore, explains why Africans got a raw deal during the colonial era not necessarily because of Europeans' evil but rather because of what the African leaders asked in exchange. I will look at the actors involved and the narratives that describe the nature of interactions between the continent and the rest of the world.

In chapter three, I look at another important era, the Cold War where we will see the nature of relations with external actors has slightly changed with regard to players involved, their motivation, and the narratives. However, the similarity between the Cold War and the Colonial era is that the outcome left the continent in a devastating situation. Poverty as a result of exploited resources (natural and human) that were never paid for, instability as a result of external actors offering support to different warring factions characterized the post-Colonial and Post –Cold War eras.

In Chapter Four, I open up to a new era for Africa in her relations with the outside world. Indeed for the first time, we will learn that the continent has had a bigger role in formulating and deciding which actors it will interact with and how. We will note that there has been a significant change regarding decision making, freedom to forge relations with other external actors, better participation on matters affecting the continent at the international level. Last but not least is that there are efforts to offer African solutions to African problems. These efforts have reduced the role of external actors in the continent. In this chapter, I will also examine three case studies, which include the nature of the interaction between Turkey, China, and India with the mainland. The objective is to have a micro overview of the post-cold war era through the kind of interaction with emerging powers. In conclusion, we discuss some of the internal and external changes that have affected how external actors relate with the continent of Africa. These changes touch on some critical sectors in politics, economics, and international relations, legal and social transformation. Our hypothesis is that the nature of interaction between external actors and Africa plays a major role in determining the past, present, and future of the continent

This research was achieved through a combination of documentary analysis and observation methods. The rationale for choosing documentary analysis which includes reviewing government documents, academic articles, newspapers and survey reports approach is because the research topic touches on historical events that are best kept in literature. This method proved useful especially in need for information dating back to the 1880s that were critical in our topic. Most of the documents required for this research were on available for the public including some that were recently declassified. Since the study is comparative, and the comparison depends on the different time frame, secondary data collected from the government, academia, and organizations were used.

After receiving the secondary data, the researcher reviewed each document carefully to benefit from the information. Analyzing the three major events (Colonialism, Cold War, and the new scramble) enabled us to identify similar characteristics that qualify them as scrambles. The primary basis for this qualification was that the external actors involved at the time should have had other external players competing with

them for similar interests in Africa. During the Cold War, European powers were competing among themselves over the control of territories in Africa. The Cold War period was characterized by among other things the desire by the United States and the Soviets to spread their ideologies in Africa. Last but not least, the new scramble involves emerging powers competing with traditional actors in the continent for resources and political influence while emerging powers are competing among themselves for among other things market. Based on these characteristics the three events qualified as scrambles.

Analysis of the secondary data also revealed similarities and differences in the manner in which external actors have approached the continent and how African's have been responding to these advancements. This in turn enabled us to identify the factors responsible for the change in relations and whether those changes have prepared the continent for a new scramble which is ongoing.

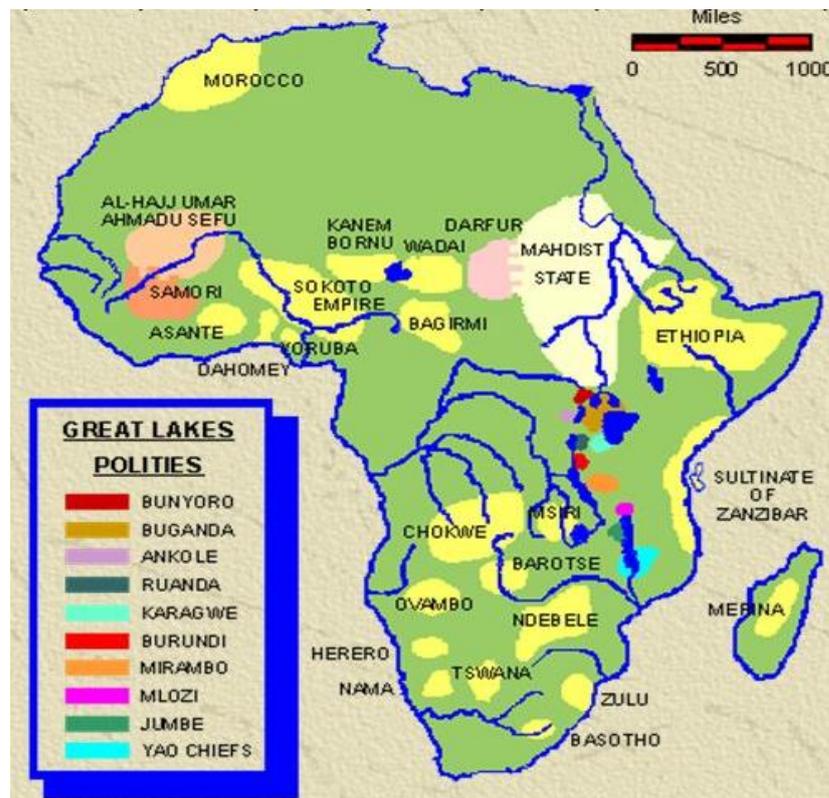


Figure 1: Map of Pre-Colonial Africa

CHAPTER 2

SCRAMBLE AND PARTITION OF AFRICA (1884 -1950s)

This section will provide our research with a critical foundation and a point of reference to the research topic. It is a significant era because it marked the first time that Africa came under serious political, cultural, economic and social influence from the outside world. The very first time that the word scramble for Africa was used is during this period. Also, the nature of engagement and relations between the external actors and African countries during this era will provide a yardstick to measure the changes that have occurred over the years.

The scramble and partition of Africa have been popularly used to refer to the period between 1881 (Europeans controlled 10% of African land) and 1914 (Europeans controlled 90% of African land) when European powers invaded and occupied a vast portion of the continent leading to colonization. Europeans' imperialist involvement in Africa begun towards the end of the 19th century and remains to be the most significant historical era witnessed in the continent to-date (Rodney, 2012: 6). This era has been studied for many years and attracted scholars from different disciplines such as Sociology, History, Economics, Politics and International Relations. Nature, drivers, and motivation, as well as the whole narrative on the Scramble and Partition of Africa, are interpreted differently. However, the outcome of the campaign is one majority of the scholars agree that was disastrous (Wesseling, 1996: 3-6; Nyikal, 2005: 1).

Was colonialism a question of failed foreign policy decision making or implementation on the part of the colonial masters? Or was this a price Africans had to pay to integrate into the global political and economic systems? Was the outcome of this era a result of lack of preparedness on the part of Africans? Could the exploitation, disregard of Human Rights and abuse of territorial integrity that occurred during the over two century's domination of the continent by the Europeans have been different if Africans were organised differently prior to the arrival of Europeans? These and many other questions that surround the whole debate on

colonialism continue to capture the attention of various scholars in social sciences and will inform much of what I intend to look at in this chapter. Noteworthy, the effects and impact of imperialism have shaped how the continent looks and functions today and will. First, I will assess Africa before colonialism.

2.1 Pre -Colonial Africa and the Rest of the World

Precolonial African societies had their unique approach to politics, economics, and culture as well as the whole idea of civilization if compared to the European. Their understanding of trade, war, distribution of labor, religion, science, and technology was different to what was going on in Europe. Most if not all pre-colonial African communities preferred the oral method to preserve their history and cultural beliefs from one generation to another and to maintain their history. This would affect our understanding of Africa's history (Oliver & Atmore, 2005: 35-52).

While the method was efficient and promising at the time in some cases even today, it had numerous challenges that have seen much of African history distorted, forgotten or manipulated due to lack of tangible proof to back the said information. Nonetheless, modern-day scholars of African history and politics have resulted in employing other forms of techniques in their research on the continent such as archaeology, genetics, and linguistics (Finnegan, 2005: 164-187). Oral tradition will remain a primary source of African history that occurred during the colonial era

Africa's contact with the rest of the world did not begin with the European arrival in the continent in the late 1700s as perceived. Many years before the advent of Europeans to the continent, Africa had made contact with the Arabs and the Chinese (Benians, *et. al.*, 1959: 95-126). The general perception has been that the division of Africa by the Europeans was the beginning of ethnic divisions in the continent. This observation is however far from the truth; Africa has not at any point of its known history been a unified, single entity and any attempt to relate the division of Africa communities with the arrival of Europeans oversimplifies the continent's historical diversity and organisation.

Indeed, pre-colonial Africa's social -political, economic and cultural diversity was intense and well structured. Sophisticated and complex political and social systems existed among the over 3000 different ethnic communities. Economically, the continent was opened to trade with the rest of the world or years before the final invasion by Europeans (Klas, 2009: 46). While slave trade was booming along the coast of Africa, it was not the only commodity of commerce from the continent. Animal skin, ivory, spices, and gold were in high demand from Chinese, Arab and western traders. In exchange, Africans received clothes, metal products, maize and guns (O'Brien, 2006: 263). Understanding the systems and organizations involved in pre-colonial Africa one can be able to understand better how, why and to what extent Africans ended up falling into the hands of Europeans.

The political elite in pre-colonial Africa recognized the importance of international relations and had strategies and diplomatic channels to achieve this end. For example, it was not only the Europeans who made the first approach to African rulers but also some African leaders initiated talks with the Europeans as was the case of King Lewinka of Barotse people. Even though the Europeans succeeded to colonize Africa, it was not because the Africans were passive actors but largely because of a number of internal, external and structural issues that gave the European powers and their representatives advantage.

There was no unity among African communities to stand up against the external treat and perhaps neither did they understand the future consequences of European's arrival in the continent. The lack of unity is understandable since African communities spoke over 1000 different languages had different culture and beliefs that made it impossible for them to communicate among themselves. Equally, there was a fierce and irreconcilable rivalry for control of trade routes, water resources, community land and animals that existed among the Africans. They had different cultures and believed in different gods. The political structures differed in size and power ranging from mighty empires such as the Asante and Timbuktu kingdoms in West Africa, the Wanga and Kabaka Kingdoms in East Africa, Zulu and Nkhamaga Kingdoms in South Africa to smaller nations covering villages (Boahen, 1985: 223-232).

These differences worked to the advantage of the Europeans as some Africans welcomed European support to defeat the internal and external opposition in exchange for their loyalty also known as collaboration. Also, Africans' believe in hospitality acted as a blow to them. For example, whenever a 'white man' arrived in the continent, local rulers offered strong people to carry them on their shoulders. This sought of excitement may have blinded them from the real intention of the Europeans and thus by the time they realized that they were being colonized it was too late.

Most African communities never had a stand-by-army because surprise attacks were not familiar and unexpected. Most Europeans who arrived in Africa never faced much hostility from natives at least during the early stages before their intention to have control of the continent became apparent to the locals. Besides, even when some communities tried to put up some resistance, lack of a standby army also meant that Africans were not able to mobilize against the Europeans soldiers who were well trained and equipped with better weapons.

2.2 Actors in the Scramble and Partition for Africa (1880s)

The actors involved in the pre and post-colonial scramble for Africa played an important role that resulted to colonialism. In comparison, there are some similarities between the actors in the post –cold war era and those of the 1880s scramble and partition of Africa. Using foreign policy tools particularly the process and actors involved in decision making to understand whether or not the behavior various actors involved in the scramble and partition of Africa and later colonialism. On the surface, the key players appear to be European countries. Britain, France, Portugal, Italy, Spain, Germany and other nations which employed their state resources in ensuring they acquired territories in Africa. On whose behalf and interest was the European States' apparatus involved in the colonial process serving, remains a complicated question that requires an in-depth study to understand objectively. European state officials and apparatus participated in the process. National parliaments back in Europe were used to pass colonial legislations while individuals working in different colonies were treated as civil servants. State militaries were also

involved in campaigns to suppress any form of resistance to colonial administration. The proceeds acquired from the colonies particularly taxes were also repatriated back to the colonial masters' governments.

The second actors were private companies such as the German East African, Royal Niger Company, and the Imperial British East Africa company that operated in East Africa. These chartered companies controlled various sectors of the African economy which included mining, banking, and trade. The private companies acted as initial administrators of the colonies, and as rebellion from the locals grew stronger, it became apparent that the private companies had no capacity to control the vast territories in Africa. Therefore, they transferred the administrative function to their home government. The German East Africa Company was formed on the 28th of March 1884 and was known at that time as the Society of German colonization controlled the region covering today's Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania. In 1891 it sold its powers to the German government after a series of rebellions (Collins, 2000: 30-34). The Imperial British East Africa founded in the United Kingdom in 1888 as a commercial association, on the other hand, had the control of modern day Kenya and Uganda. This company acted with immense impunity both to the locals and fellow British officials working in the region. With the blessings of Britain and particularly Queen Victoria who granted the Imperial British East Africa Company a royal charter. The company played a significant role in administration and had the mandate to sign treaties with local leaders, increase and impose various forms of taxes including customs duty, hut tax and a poll tax on the locals. It also administered justice, prosecuted British Subjects, and coordinate trade.



Figure 2: Sample Currency Rupees of the British imperial companies

Source: Encyclopaedia of small silver coins, East Africa: 177

Another category of actors whose role in Africa cannot underestimate is that of Individuals. These included politicians, explorers, businesspeople and representatives of religious organizations who had a keen interest in the continent and their actions resulted in long-term effects for Africa. The most prominent of all was the King of Belgium, Leopold the second, by this prominence, we do not refer to his prestigious position as the King but the unprecedented amount of terror and suffering millions living in the Congo Basin had to face under his rule (Between 1885 to 1908).

Adam Hochschild in his article expresses shock and disbelief as to why these deaths and abuses have never been “mentioned in the standard litany of our century's horrors... And why had I not heard of them?” (Hochschild, 1998: 36-48). Leopold II owned Congo as a personal asset including the thousands of rubber trees, the vast mineral deposits and the people who were brutally exploited to fuel industrial growth in America and Europe. After international outcry and pressure, the Congo was taken over by the Belgian government. However, the damage had already been done since by this time more than 8 million people had lost their lives in what is considered as genocide since it claimed half the population of Congo (Gerhart & Hochschild 1999).

Other individuals who had an impact on the continent include Fredrick Lungard, Cecil Rhodes, David Livingstone, Vasco da Gama and others who were celebrities of their time and wrote tales of Africa's wealth and potentially carried significant weight amongst the British public, as the continent became a sought of new El Dorado. Others include like Richard Burton, William Speke, Hermann von Wissmann, Eduard von Liebert and Henry Morton Stanley (who is the European explorer credited with the coining of the idea of 'Dark Continent' with concerning Africa) (See, Stanley, 1988).



Figure 3: King Leopold II, Fredrick Lingard, and Henry Morton Stanley

Source: Private collection by Carlos

The Church also played a significant role as an actor for encouraging more Europeans to travel to Africa and help convert the local people to Christianity (Hastings, 1996). The church was the first institution to introduce writing and written literature to the Africans (Fashole-Luke, 1978: 121). Early missionaries were also famous actors because they were able to act as translators and intermediaries between Africans and the Europeans more so after gaining the trust of the locals who they had provided various forms of support.

To preach and convert the locals to Christianity, the European missionaries had to undergo the arduous task of learning, writing and translating African languages (Taimur, 2002, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*). There is no doubt that this, therefore, explains why a majority of the early books written in African languages were intended to facilitate the spread of Christianity in the continent (Vilhanova, 2011: 34-56). Some of the denominations that were involved in Africa include; the Roman Catholic Church, Protestants, Coptic Orthodox, the Seventh Day Adventist, and others.

The church made requests for financial and security support from their mother countries. Also, it is noteworthy to remember that the church did appear to put a blind eye to the atrocities, abuse of rights and exploitation of Africans and the

African resources or in some cases justify acts of colonialism. It is important to note that in the long run or during the decolonisation period, the church through the various denominations did play some role in condemning colonialism and even provided moral and technical support to independence movements (Andrews, 2010: 663–691).

Traders and business companies also participated as key players during the first scramble for Africa. Arriving from Britain and Portugal through the Atlantic Ocean, in the 15th century, exchange of goods along the coast had started to become a lucrative venture. As slave trade began to be abolished, exchange of goods such as metal products, clothes, and glassware began to be seen as legitimate commodities of trade (Ogunremi & Faluyi, 1996: 94).

Huge profits began to cause conflict among traders from Europe, in particular, the Dutch, English, and Portuguese. Some of the areas that elicited massive conflicts include the control of the horn of Africa and the coast of Ghana (Omolewa, 1986: 145). With over 200 companies actively involved in the African trade by 1856 thanks to efficient transport and communication provided by English based African Steam Ship Company, German's Woermann-Line and French-based Fabre-Fraissinet line.

The consequence of this increased movement from Europe to Africa necessitated protection. Traders knew that they could only get such protection from their home governments and therefore the appeal for security would have led to the militarization of the continent and in extension colonialism. A partnership emerged between the traders and their mother states which started to offer charters to trading companies whose mandate became extended to administration. This partnership explains the emergence of companies like United African Company (U.A.C), Royal Niger Company (R.N.C), Imperial British East Africa Company and others. They then became highly involved in the administration of the colonies as they protected their interests (Faloa et al., 1991: 151).

Indeed, one can argue that the role and activities of traders were perhaps the most significant among all the actors given their long history of interaction and interest in

the continent. European merchants had been part of a wider trade network between Africa and the rest of the world and may have sparked political interest in the continent.

Based on this argument we understand that the role of traders in the whole scramble cannot be undermined. Some have argued that influential business persons were able to arm twist their governments into occupying territories to monopolize sources of raw materials and market. For some like Karl Peters, the founder of the Society for German Colonisation (1884) use of blackmail became an effective way to drag the Germans into occupying the East African region. Peters had begun threatening Otto Von Bismark that he would sell East Africa to King Leopold II after it was clear that Bismark had no interest in colonialism.

The role of these different actors and players in the scramble and partition of Africa is one that I can acknowledge led to the colonization of the continent. That said, it is important to point out that these actors may have led different intentions and motives even though these reasons seem to have a single point of agreement which is the importance of occupation by the European powers on the continent.

European countries power games, economic interest by traders and merchants who not only enjoyed massive profits from the cheap (or free labor) to unregulated exploitation of resources as well as the motivation to control Africa's long coastal lines and trade roots made Africa a clear target of European imperialism. Also, the need to 'civilize' and convert Africans to Christianity, exploit resources, maintain political legitimacy in the international arena led to a conflict of interest between the different actors from Europe causing the disastrous outcome for the continent. Increasing rivalry for control of the mainland necessitated the Conference of Berlin which took place in 1884

2.3 The Berlin Conference (1884-85)

Any reference to the Berlin conference, also known as 'West Africa Conference' in the German, British and French documents, quickly paints an image of European policy makers sharing the continent of Africa among themselves like a piece of cake

(Hargreaves, 1970). This meeting has become to be synonymous with European domination, colonization and historical injustices at the global level. What happened during the conference of Berlin? How were decisions made? Who were the winners and losers during the meeting and how did it impact to colonialism are just but a few puzzles that continue to surround the summit (Chamberlain, 2014: 4-7).

Whether we need to look at this issue from a moral and ethical dimension or legal, political, security, economic or foreign policy perspective remains problematic. Nonetheless, the conference convened by the Chancellor of Germany Otto Von Bismark upon a request made by Portugal started on the 15th November 1884 (Förster, Mommsen & Robinson, 1988: 35-58).

In attendance was a plethora of diplomats and ambassadors representing 14 countries majority drawn from continental Europe but also included the United States. They are; Great Britain, Belgium, France, Ottoman Empire, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden-Norway, the Netherlands, Russia, United States of America, Spain and Austria-Hungary (Wesseling, 1981: 22). Noteworthy, although participants in the conference were 14 in number, among them only four (Portugal, Germany, Great Britain and France) controlled a bigger part of the 20% controlled by external actors while the remaining 80% was controlled by the native Africans at the time of the Berlin Conference.

The official narrative for convening the meeting was to supposedly address the questions and confusions over who controls what and where in Africa, in particular, was the questions of free use and access of the Congo River and Niger River. For Bismarck, this was an opportunity to outplay Germany's rivals in the Africa and not only expand but also strengthen Germany's sphere in the continent. The 1884 conference was indeed a turning point for the continent even though it was not the only dominant factor that led to colonialism since already traces of European control of the mainland existed (Craven, 2015.)

The biggest undoing it had for Africa was that it permitted European powers to superimpose their grip and control over a larger area of the continent (actually after 1885 90% of Africa fell to the hands of colonial powers). Total disregard for

political differences, humanitarian law, and international law, ethical and moral laws characterized the decision to share the continent among European powers (Lemanski, 2009: 61-78). Africa was divided into 50 illegal new territories shared among European powers with most, if not all those involved in the partition having not for once set foot in Africa (Barkan, 2014: 8). Africans were not represented during the conference; the division was done with impunity and without acknowledging the diversity of culture and indigenous traditions which could not easily rhyme (Chamberlain, 2014: 9).

There was no thought of historical differences the over one thousand communities had against each other neither was there no consideration for the language barrier, religious difference and existing political and social structures. More so, this division was done against allies they had traded with for over 400 years. Some who provided security and labor as well as organized transport for European traders who visited the continent earlier. In a nutshell, before the Berlin conference, African communities never had any form of conflict with the Europeans that may have necessitated their marginalization from the conference.

When the curtains fell on the meeting after three months, some decisions had been made and were covered in a General Act (Bontinck, 1966: 225.). On the one hand, the General Act came up with a framework through which slave trade from mainland Africa was to be brought to an end, and on the contrary, it did define criteria by which European states could acquire territories along the Coast of Africa. Rivers Niger and the Congo were granted international status and navigation rights allowed to all countries.

The most impressive resolution was the declaration that a vast swathe of Central Africa which had been demarcated during the conference would remain neutral. They called this vast swathe the 'Conventional Basin of the Congo' (Griffiths, 1986: 152). This region was an important gateway to access the interior of the continent. All representatives at the conference were keen therefore to ensure such a critical region remained accessible to all the major players to facilitate easy access into Africa.

King Leopold II was the single, highest benefiting individual from the Berlin conference. Based on mysterious argument on the philanthropic and scientific activities of *Association Internationale du Congo* the king was recognized and awarded the Congo Free State which as earlier observed he ruled like his private property and accused that he oversaw the maiming and causing the death of over 8 million locals (Hochschild, 1998: 30).

For lawyer and historian Anghie, the conference transformed Africa to *terra nullius* a concept that refers to denying the local inhabitants any claims of sovereignty through subordination and suppressing any form of resistance. He goes ahead to argue that this was a conference which ‘determined in significant ways the future of the continent and which continues to have a profound influence on the politics of contemporary Africa’ (Anghie, 2007: 45- 56).

The idea of sovereignty for African communities appears to have been deliberately avoided from the main declarations included in the six chapters of the General Act as pointed out by New York Times’ reporter who was present during the conference (New York Times 20th November, 1884: 5). However, issues of sovereignty of the divided regions and navigation of the main rivers in the continent were not going to be ignored in totality. Representatives of the European powers took to the sidelines of the conference and discussed the contentious issue (Pakenham & David, 2011).

These included the French acquisition of the North Congo; British took control of Southern Nigeria while Congo Free State and access to the sea was given to the Belgians (Falola & Heaton, 2010). The claim by France and Portugal over some parts of the Nigeria, Congo and the estuary of the Congo respectively were not addressed in these agreements (Reeves, 1909). The conclusion of the conference crafted a new form of European imperialism while at the same time creating a new competitive threat to Britain which was at the time the most dominant colonial power (Leon, 1886: 18-24).



Figure 4: A picture of the Berlin Conference 1884-85

Source: Africa Federation (<http://www.africafederation.net/Berlin1885.htm>)

2.4 Factors enabled the Scramble and Partition of Africa to Succeed.

The invention of the Maxim gun (a machine gun) in 1884 was a big boost to the Europeans who then were able to crush any form of resistance from Africans who were only equipped with crude weapons and lacked sophisticated military strategies. The absence of an advance military industry is partly attributed to the history and conceptualization of war among African communities whom long before the arrival of Europeans had developed some universal rules governing warfare.

There was no need for a standby army because surprise attacks against other communities were strictly prohibited. According to oral tradition, wars never involved the whole community as just two or three men could be selected to fight on behalf of the group in a place, day and time decided upon by both parties. So when the Europeans arrived and immediately employed force, the natives were helpless and at the mercy of gun-wielding troops sent by the imperial governments.

Exploring and occupying the interior of Africa had been a major challenge for the Europeans whose influence could not go beyond the coastal strips. This challenge

was due to lack of efficient boats to navigate the African rivers and the killer disease 'Malaria' which killed many earlier explorers who tried to penetrate inwards. The solution with the invention of the steam engine boat that could match the rough rivers leading to the interior of Africa as well as the development of 'Quinine' a drug that was able to cure 'Malaria' thus preventing the Europeans from dying.

Even so still very few foreigners could make their way into the interior because of the geographical challenges and lack ground mapping technologies such as GPS or digital maps available today. Communication was abysmal and unreliable since most of the existing communication platforms in the continent at that time heavily relied on climate or human efforts to move hundreds of kilometers to deliver messages. Such hindrances make us question the role, either deliberately or unintentional, of Africans through their leaders in enabling Europeans to settle in the continent.

Solving the transport and disease problems or rather having the desire and capability to invade and occupy the continent are still not reasons good enough to understand why and how European powers succeeded colonize Africa. Noteworthy the whole process began as a scramble for controlling trade routes and markets in Africa but turned out to be an occupation. Africans themselves were vulnerable to European rule. To start with Africans had an inferiority complex against the Europeans. Narratives such as equal partners that surround relations between Africa and the new actors never existed in the first scramble.

Africans were astonished and surprised by the new tools and equipment the Europeans brought to the continent. For example, the mirror, radio, bicycle, gun - which Africans described as 'the stick that spits fire' or the train which they called the iron snake, were beyond any African imagination and they concluded that the 'White Man' was heaven sent. Noteworthy, the 1880/1900 scramble was characterized by a Europe that knew Africa much better while the Africans knew very little of the Europeans.

The misconception of Whiteman supremacy remained in the African minds for a long time. It was until the First and Second World Wars when Africans, who had been forcefully conscripted to fight along their colonial masters that things started to

change. Africans arrived in Europe during the World Wars only to find that many Europeans were equally impoverished. They witnessed thousands of Europeans die in battle, some African soldiers who had received money meant for upkeep started to buy European prostitutes as well as drink from the same bars with Europeans which was not possible back at home. After these experiences, soldiers who returned home from the war gave the accounts to the people sparking revolutions all over Africa.

2.5 Justification for Colonialism

As we will observe later in the 'New Scramble for Africa' chapter, there is a recurring narrative that continues to be used by the actors involved in the new scramble (Brazil, China, India, Japan and others). This phrase is 'win-win' and is loudly used to describe the new relations between Africa and the non-traditional actors. Interestingly this phrase was also used to justify the 1880 scramble that led to colonialism. While Proponents of European imperialism in Africa insist that colonialism was a blessing to the African people, opponents continue to ask questions as to why the outcome of colonialism had and continued to affect African societies negatively? This was confirmed when a court in the United Kingdom awarded £ 19.3 million to victims of British torture in the pre-independence Kenya (The Guardian, 5 October 2012).

In his ruling, Judge William Hauge said that "*We understand the pain and the grief felt by those who were involved in the events of emergency in Kenya. The British government recognizes that Kenyans were subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration... the British government sincerely regret that these abuses took place and that they marred Kenya's progress to independence. Torture and ill-treatment are abhorrent violations of human dignity which we unreservedly condemn,*" (The Guardian, 5 October 2012).

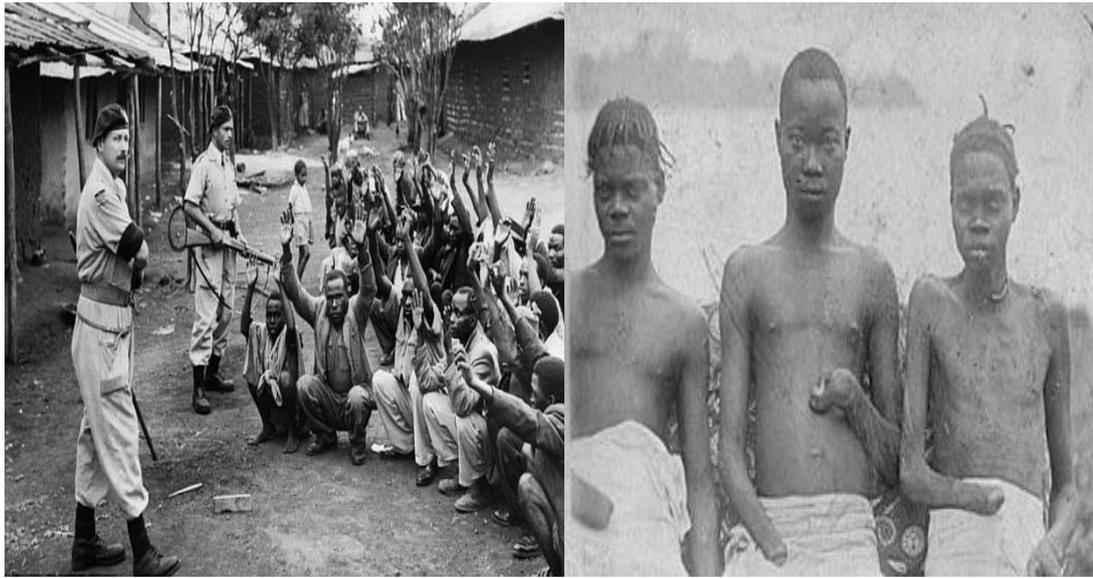


Figure 5: Signs of terror and horror in colonial Kenya and Congo Free State

Source: Private collection/Bettmann-CORBIS

The most popular argument is one that Europeans came to civilize Africans. Looking at the lifestyle and beliefs of Africans, Europeans saw a huge difference with their way of living. Full of prejudice and little understanding of how, why and for what purpose Africans organized themselves, Europeans were quick to declare the latter primitive and needed to be civilized. No doubt that by scientific and modern standards Europe was much more advanced than the Africans. However, a sharp distinction between the two civilizations was that one emphasized on scientific and technological advancement and the other paid more attention to morality and ethics. These two comparisons can hardly be compared, but one thing remains clear that the pre-colonial African society was much more disciplined than what it emerged to be.

For some western scholars such as Rupert Emerson, Europeans succeeded to occupy the continent because some natives looked at their association with the westerners as being of benefit to them (Emerson, 1967: 6-7). This can be true but only in the early stages of the invasion. Africans were optimistic of finding solutions to problems such as medicine, agricultural tools, clothing, and in extension military advantage over their local rivals thus in some cases welcoming the Europeans with open arms. However as time went by and confiscation of land, the imposition of unrealistic taxes (such as the poll tax and hut tax), marginalization of natives from political and social

positions then Emerson's argument cannot hold any water (Spear & Cooper, 1982: 24-33).

Denny, Gallagher, and Robinson also added their voice to the justify colonialism. For them, the much-publicised argument that Europeans were only after economic benefits from the colonies does not give the correct picture. They point out that Africa did not have the economic potential that would have attracted Europeans with such vigor (Denny, Gallagher & Robinson, 2015). This argument is refuted by other publications which proved that colonies did have economic values. One such publication includes an article published by the Times Magazine on February 15, 1896, titled "The Commercial Value of Africa" did prove motives driven by economic gains (Meritt & Uzoigwe, 1976: 27). But again the arguments of Robinson and Gallagher will be important to understanding the contemporary scramble for Africa because both traditional and emerging powers involved in the new scramble have coined their narrative around humanitarianism.

While Europeans succeeded in introducing western education which has become the biggest measure of individual success in contemporary Africa, Christianity, Western ways of dressing, languages, economic systems as well as political structures have also become strongly embedded in African societies. If these are what proponents of colonialism define as civilization then yes, colonialism did succeed; but it is important to remember that these same issues have caused massive instabilities, conflict, and inequality because they are alien to Africans who are struggling to align themselves with these new systems.

Despite over 200 years of imperial domination in Africa, most Africans did succeed to retain their traditions, cultures, and beliefs as well as language and to some extent religion. Perhaps, what we witness as chaos in the continent at times could be a clash of the ideals and values between the West and African civilizations. These encounters can be seen in political, social, economic and cultural spheres.

For the early western missionaries, efforts to convert Africans to Christianity could only be possible if they had the support of their home governments. Such support would be both financial and security to facilitate easy mobility of the missionaries

into the interior of the continent. Also, missionaries appealed to their governments to construct schools, hospitals, rehabilitation centers and colleges near churches. To gain access to any of these one was supposed to convert to Christianity something that was highly irresistible.

Amid the torture and humiliation Africans went through in the hands of colonial administrators, Christian missionaries encouraged the natives to endure the suffering and forgive those who committed sins against them for the Africans will get rewarded in heaven. In short, it appears that the Africans were being encouraged to invest more into their spiritual lives rather than protect their earthly possessions which they were told would lead them to sin. The Book of Mathew (Chapter: 5, the Beatitudes) in the Bible is believed to have been used to encourage Africans to focus on their spiritual growth and expect the reward in heaven.

Western medicine is another aspect of colonialism that is used to justify imperialism. Initially, Africans depended on natural resources such as herbs to cure diseases. Major and minor surgeries were also conducted but without anesthesia or comfort of a hospital like environment. For this reason, western medicine came with a significant relief to the African who no longer had to cope with the use of bitter herbs or painful surgery experiences but at an enormous cost. Some of the newly introduced prescription medicines had adverse side effects to the locals perhaps explaining the sharp decline in life expectancy. Also, western medicine was expensive meaning most locals had to part with assets such as land to afford it while in some cases conversion to Christianity was a requirement to access hospital services.

Western education has been used to justify colonialism in Africa, but this to some extent is exaggerated. Although Europeans introduced western education in Africa largely through the missionaries, it was not the same kind of training given to European children both in Africa and Europe. Education extended to the African was elementary and included lessons on how to read, write and simple arithmetic. The school was intended to facilitate reading religious materials and training Africans to become supervisors in European farms and industries. Much of what we see as

increased literacy in Africa today is not a result of Colonialism but post-colonial efforts by African governments (United Nations, 2009).

2.6 African's Response to the Scramble and Partition

The role African leaders played in the 1880s' Scramble and Partition and following delimitation of border lines of the continent have been ignored with many references given to the European actors. Eurocentric writers even up to recent years portrayed the natives as passive objects and inconsequential savages of the scramble (Touval, 1966: 279-293). The delimitation of territories in Africa whose effects continue to cause disputes to date is as a direct result of dividing the continent among the Europeans. However, as Hargreaves found out in his research, that there was a strong influence from local leaders who entered into strategic agreements with the imperial powers (Hargreaves, 2009: 23).

To better understand this concept one needs to explore the treaties signed between the African rulers and the individuals acting on behalf of European states during the period of the scramble. We will not wish to touch on the legality or ethical elements of these treaties despite the fact that most of the treaties were fraudulent but rather pay attention to the rationale behind decision-making and foreign policy agenda by the African rulers. Actors involved in these policy processes differed from political to economic, and some were among African leaders and persons acting on behalf of either private companies or governments of Europe.

While the treaties proved to be very important for the Europeans during their interaction with other European powers, they were equally important to the African leaders. For the Europeans, these agreements were to be used to lay territorial claims, recognition, and control among their peers at the international arena. Europeans wanted to present some proof of their territorial claims to the other rivals, and because violence or forceful occupation would not have supported their claims as genuine, they resulted to diplomacy. In this case, some European powers even went ahead to try and legitimize their treaties with the African rulers by having a copy of the said treaty translated to the local dialect that could be used to explain to the leaders the terms of the agreement. They also tried to prove that the signatory was

the legitimate ruler of the community to avoid any dispute over the authenticity of the contract (Mason, 1958: 124).

An example was the Nigeria-Dahomey question where Lugard who had signed a treaty with a representative of Nikki, the local ruler, was challenged by the French who signed their agreement with Nikki a few weeks after Lugard (Lugard, 2015: 579-81). The French also got a written declaration from the local ruler Nikki denouncing the earlier agreement Lugard entered citing the signatory as “a Muslim faction that acted improperly” (Touval, 1966: 279-293). This shows a clear recognition and role played by African rulers in the scramble and partition of Africa.

By African leaders accepting to sign these treaties, especially since the agreements involved a cession of rights as well as allowing European influence in their region requires one to examine the interests not only of the Europeans but also for the African rulers. Some sources point out coercion as a reasonable explanation for the actions taken by African leaders (Rudin, 1968: 46-48, 50, 58-60). They argue that on one hand African rulers would fear the European military threat, whether the threat was applied directly as was the case of Mossi, or that African rulers having heard of the devastating attacks and military success of European powers elsewhere in the continent. The intention by African leaders to spare their subjects from such suffering could also be a motivation that may have shaped the decision to enter into an agreement with the Europeans (Skinner, 1978: 149-51).

However, the threat of force was still not enough proof given the fact that most of the time signatories to these treaties were never accompanied by a massive army. Sometimes it was about material gains where money and goods were used to solicit the signature of the ruler. A good example can be Chief Lobengula of Matabele who in exchange for one thousand rifles, an armed steamboat patrolling the Zambezi River and a monthly subsidy of one hundred pounds paid by the British Rudd Concession (BRC).

From the actions of African rulers at the time, one can paint a picture of leaders who understood that interacting with foreigners and entering into treaties might have had either a positive or negative consequences. Although they may not have had an in-

depth understanding of the treaties and agreements they signed with the Europeans, it is arguable that most of them knew that forming new relations with the outside world would ultimately have an impact on their societies.

Touval argues that the existence of political structures before the coming of Europeans meant that the local rulers had significant experience in domestic and foreign policy with other regional and international societies and were aware of the implications of having or rejecting relations with the Europeans (Touval, 1966: 279-293). So just like today, when the foreign representatives came to request for treaties accompanied with a bunch of goodies, their demands mostly fell on politically conscience ears. African leaders understood the political weight of treaties very well even though they may not have known the legal implications these treaties would have had.

Dr. Margrey Perham after research on West African History speculated the attitude and reactions of the Yoruba and Borgu ruler who unlike other leaders in different parts of the continent were more welcoming to make treaties with Lugard. She argues that the Niger region having been characterized by restlessness as a result of the never-ending conflicts between the weak communities and slave-raiders, the black people of the south and Hausa people of the north, pagans, and Muslims saw. The leaders were quick to enter into treaties as they thought that alliances would mean protection, the supply of military hardware and trade goods as well as confer prestige (Perham, 1961: 532-41).

Some African rulers even initiated relations with the Europeans as was the case with King Lewinka of Barotse who in 1883 sent a message to the King of Bechuanaland after he had received reports that the latter has secured immunity from raids after entering into an agreement with the British. After several exchanges of messages, the King of Bechuanaland recommended to Lewinka a British link and in 1897 Robert Coryndon a Briton arrived in the Barotse Kingdom to sign a treaty with King Lewinka. The King was however disappointed when Robert Coryndon arrived in the kingdom with three personal bodyguards and not a troop of soldiers (Wills, 1967: I6I-5).

It is important to note that African leaders did obtain political benefits, sometimes, through the treaties. Some wanted to maintain the status quo as was the case of Kishi the Yoruba King. Other rulers thought that an alliance with the Europeans would help them to satisfactorily deal with internal and external conflicts (Lugard, 2015: 134-7). A good example was the Chief of Moshi called Mandara whose association with Sir Harry Jackson was seen to be motivated by such desires (Oliver, 1964: 59-70). The Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda Kingdom is another ruler who is considered to have taken the best advantage of his alliance with the Europeans to expand his sphere of influence in the region (Roberts, 1962: 3-15).

Dr. Kilembe in his works cites a phrase from a report by Sir Francis Scott, who was a representative of the British government in signing treaties with African rulers in East Africa saying; *'Africans would find it difficult to understand how anyone who had received a flag and 'made paper' with 'the white man' can be otherwise than under his protection'*" (Kimble, 1963: 281). This shows that African rulers had the perception that by signing a treaty with the Europeans, they would be guaranteed protection especially in maintaining their positions as the leaders which often faced internal competition. Europeans, on the other hand, may have never intended to keep their side of the bargain and used the treaties to lay claim over territories in Africa.

Another important case is where African rulers did play their political games hoping to maintain as much independence as they could by double dealing with the Europeans. An example was the case of the Emir of Yola who appealed for protection from the Royal Niger Company for protection and even signed a treaty with them when the French through Lt. Mizon had threatened him with a French invasion after he refused to sign an agreement with them. He again signed a treaty with the French a few months later. Kabaka Mwanga in 1891 invited the German Mehmed Emin Pasha (name at birth was Isaak Eduard Schnitzer, but later baptized as Eduard Carl Oscar Theodor Schnitzer) to try and dilute British influence in the region (Lugard, 2015: 48- 56).

The case of Emir of Muri also describes how African rulers used diplomacy to gain from the Europeans. A treaty between a French Emissary Lt. Mizon and Emir of

Muri saw the latter receive a stockpile of arms and support from French troops who fought alongside the Emir against his traditional enemies and enable him to defeat the Royal Niger Company that had shown little respect and recognition of his authority.

What we seek to put emphasis by giving these examples is to show that the initiative that resulted in the signing of the various treaties were sometimes brought up by Africans who had their interests and goals that they wanted to achieve. It also proves that they viewed their local political rivals as bigger threats than the Europeans. That is why they could readily agree to form alliances with Europeans to help defeat their domestic enemies and expand their powers as was the case with the Somalis who used their alliance with the British against their traditional enemies the Ethiopians. This emphasis should not be interpreted to mean that Africans liked the Europeans but to show that they did not take a back seat just as they have remained active in the recent scrambles.

Conclusion

The importance of this chapter is to provide us with the historical experience Africans had while associating with external actors. The arrival of foreign powers was received with mixed reactions. On the contrary, some leaders were excited and were willing to partner with the Europeans to further their interests. On the other hand, there are those who remained cautious and tried to resist European influence. The chapter has also attempted to describe some of the conditions that made it possible for the Europeans. To overcome resistance in the continent and set in place a colonial system whose consequences left Africa divided, poorer and less significant at the international arena we have also observed that the narratives of humanitarian deeds civilize and trade were very influential in covering the adverse actions inflicted on the local populations.

Africans abolished their traditional ways of life and opted to use European solutions to African problems. This did not work, and by the time Africans became independent and found themselves in the middle of a global Cold War between two superpowers. We will learn from the next chapter that most African leaders

continued to seek help and solutions to the problems they were facing domestically from either the United States or the Soviet Union. This weakened the continent's ability to resist being divided between the ideological lines that defined the Cold War era.

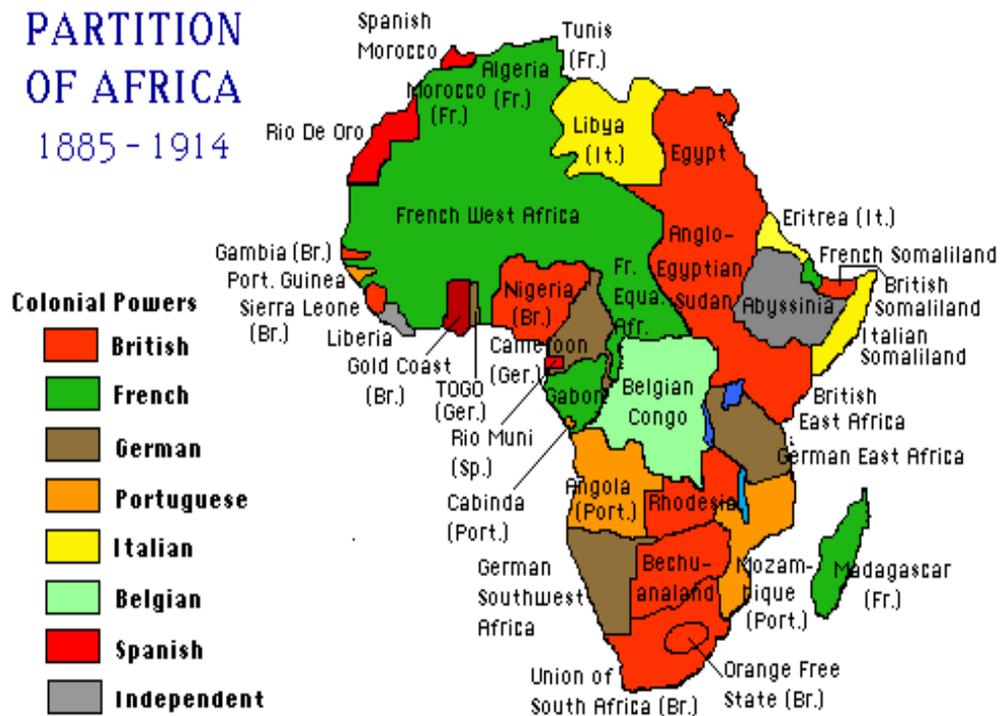


Figure 6: Map of Africa during the Colonial Era

CHAPTER: 3

THE COLD WAR ERA 1945-1990

As the wind of decolonisation began blowing across Africa and liberation movements emerging in different parts of the continent, a major global event was also taking place at the same time. One that at its peak threatened to spill into a nuclear war, this era was known as the Cold War. In this chapter, we will look at the impact of Cold War in Africa. The nature of Cold War activities that were witnessed in the continent was of great significance in shaping the history and future of Africa. Angola and South Africa will be mentioned as case study samples of the activities of the superpowers in Africa. These two countries have specifically been chosen because they witnessed a high number of involvements by the super powers. Angola, for example, was divided between two bitter local rivals with one leaning towards the West while the other group leaning towards the East.

Again there was the involvement of Cuba, a socialist leaning state in Angola with direct and indirect military activities of high magnitude. South Africa, on the other hand, was under the British dominated apartheid regime which was firmly attached to the Western bloc. The chapter will further give our research an important reflection of how African countries responded to global events. I seek to understand whether they handled themselves with caution bearing in mind that they were newly emerging from yet a history of another era (colonialism) that disastrous consequences.

The narratives provided by key actors to justify their involvement in the continent during the Cold War era are also important. In comparison to the colonial era, the Cold War did not last for an extended period neither was the motivation by the external actors much driven by economic gains. That said it is important to note that the consequences of Cold War in Africa had a lot of similarities with the colonial era. I will look at the nature of response by African countries towards the external actors and see whether there were signs of change from the way they responded to the players during the colonial era.

Daniel describes this period as ‘one of the biggest crimes in the 20th Century’ (Daniel in Onslow, 2009: 50). That said, it was indeed a significant period in the history of Africa. It was characterized by massive realignment of states between two ideological blocs, and even so, very little is talked about this period in comparison to the 19th-century scramble and partition that led to colonialism. With the strategic interest of the world powers at heart, combined with the strategic potential of the continent, it was almost inevitable that Africa would have been spared from the power politics as it became a fiercely contested region.

The objective of the super powers included forging alliances with countries that would share the same ideology with them. Africa became one of the regions that the US and the Soviets were keen on creating allies in the ideological contest. While for a short period USSR presence in the continent made the Americans uneasy, the popularity of the socialist ideology was however short lived in Africa. Countries that had opted for the socialist ideology in Africa suffered adverse effects, especially in the economic sector. The reasons for these adverse outcomes can be summarized on the lack of adequate funds since the Soviet Union did not extend adequate financial needed to spark economic growth. Instead, Moscow emphasized on extending military support to various liberation movements.

Just like the scramble and partition of Africa in 1800s left a negative legacy on the continent, the consequences of the 1940s Cold War rivalry in Africa also left a dark stain on the mainland. While the partition of Africa during the Berlin conference divided the continent along solid lines that later formed boundaries for the new states, the Cold War divided the continent right in the middle not by physically but by ideological alignments.

The overall effects of the ideological contest between the Soviet Union and her allies on the one hand and the United States and her allies on the other were strong and penetrated many regions. Few regions in the world would have remained untouched or hidden from the ensuing wars that characterized this contest. Africa, a continent that at the time comprised of either young states which had newly gained independence from the imperial powers or some which were still under the yoke of

colonialism found them at the center of this dangerous event. Colonialism was partly attributed to the rivalry between the great powers in the late 19th century. When some glimmer of hope started to appear with the independence of some countries that were previously under colonialism; the Cold War emerged and once again threatened the future of this young and highly unstable continent.

While there were some positive gains such as decolonization that are associated with the impact of Cold War in Africa, to a larger extent it had adverse effects on the continent. To start with the positive results, Cold War laid a firm ideological identity between the liberation movements on the one hand and the minority-led colonial governments on the other. Clashes had begun to emerge in the colonies as natives demanded independence and self-determination while the administrators and white settlers with the support of their parent countries fought hard to maintain the status quo.

Also, the locals and the colonial masters adopted opposing Cold War ideologies which had different goals; the new ideological orientations began to be used to legitimize actions taken by the various actors in the continent such as the use of excessive force against members of liberation movements. The said helps us to understand the nature of identity among countries that were still under colonialism at the time. Nonetheless, among countries that had gained independence, there was a different form of identity crisis. Here African political elites were sharply divided between communist and capitalist-minded (Shubin, 2009).

Sue Onslow in her book, *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* gives an excellent account of how the South African apartheid regime skilfully took advantage of the ongoing ideological tension at the international arena to develop anti-communist policies. The decision to use the on-going Cold War rivalry to develop domestic policies turned out to be less effective. The apartheid regime in South Africa overlooked many realities regarding the impact of their decision. In the end, it led to brutal violence witnessed in South Africa during the apartheid regime (Alden, 1998).

Onslow (2012) argues that policy makers within the apartheid regime considered the demand for independence by the Black South African citizens as an extension of a global communist conspiracy. This belief blinded them from the strong wind of change that was blowing not only across the continent but also in other colonies across the world (Onslow, 2012: 1-8). She adds that even the attempts by the minority-led South African government to manipulate the 1980 election results in Zimbabwe or the decision to develop nuclear weapons with support from the United States were all caused by fear of communism which they considered a security threat to them. Fear by the white settlers in South Africa, although exaggerated, can be deemed to have been somewhat a reality given the efforts by the Soviets to penetrate deep into the continent (Daniel, 1996).

One key figure whose actions and character facilitated the advent of Cold War tensions in the continent was PW Botha, a white settler who in 1966 was appointed the Defence Minister under the National Party, of the apartheid regime in South Africa. By the time he was named a minister, the government was more concerned with the decolonisation pressure and the intense growing nationalism among the Africans (SADF, 1996a: 7). It was when he assumed power that the focus changed to a broader vision of security in the region.

Declassified intelligence documents that had been submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC, Vol.2, 1998: 3-4), by the South African Defence Force (SADF) show that Sir Botha placed the security of the region in an 'East-West ideological context.' For him, the spread of communism was the greatest threat to the West. He considered South Africa as part of the 'West' and therefore had a significant role to play particularly in establishing a defense line against communism' as far as possible from South Africa (SADF, 1996a: 4).

On the other hand, the 25th of April, 1974 coup against the government of Caetano's sparked a chain of reactions across Portuguese colonies. The withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Mozambique for example, as a result of political instability back at home, paved the way for the rise to power of a communist-inspired regime and the subsequent independence of Mozambique. The political class in South Africa

thought that the event would spill over and inspire native South Africans to rise against the colonial regime given the proximity of Mozambique to their country.

The fear was that the Marxist government of Mozambique (FRELIMO) would provide support and haven for guerrilla fighters to launch attacks. The exit of Portugal from the region made the apartheid regime desperate, and this can explain why it resulted in destabilization in the area (Onslow, 2012: 34). This fear was justified as the new FRELIMO government in Mozambique allowed the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and African National Congress (ANC), liberation movements in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively to train, arm and offer asylum to guerrilla fighters.

The policy of divide and rule used by the colonial administrators to effectively gain and control the land and people in Africa succeeded in dividing Africans along different lines. The most unpopular success of this policy is that it planted the seeds of ethnic consciousness. Although ethnicity in Africa predates colonialism, the colonial powers mastered the art of exploiting it to weaken the unity of the different communities that lived within their colonies. The effect of this is that upon independence, suspicion, mistrust, and betrayal divided the new African political elites and their supporters along ethnic lines. Ethnicity became a basis of seeking power and relevance at the national level.

Also, religious differences, economic inequalities, educated and the less educated members of different liberation movement who played different roles towards the independence created internal division upon independence. These sharp differences among the actors involved in the liberation movements were attributed to disagreements on how colonial wealth and power were to be shared among the people. The divisions were further strengthened by the lack of consensus among the political leaders as to which socioeconomic and political direction and ideology the new countries were going to adopt. Both sides began to accuse each other of dictatorship and high-handedness. These factors made the continent extremely vulnerable to foreign influence and manipulation.

As tension between the United States and the Soviet Union grew by the day within the global system, so were the increasing numbers of actors involved and violence in Africa. The two super powers together with their allies increased support to guerrilla movements, opposition political parties, coup d'états as well as anti-colonial rebellions. Interventions in support of, or against these different wars began to trickle into the continent from supporters of either the Western or Eastern ideological blocks` (Baines, 2008).

3.1 Manifestation of Cold War in Africa

The manifestation of the Cold War in Africa can best be understood by looking at the involvement of external powers in Africa at the height of the ideological contest. The support was included of military, socio-economic, political and diplomatic elements. Both blocs presented themselves as the saviors of the continent and from the surface appeared to have good intentions. African countries, on the other hand, were in need of friendly nations to help them navigate through the transition period. While the key players involved the two Superpowers and their allies, the scope of this subchapter will focus on the Soviet Union and the United States involvement in the continent with the objective of understanding nature of the interaction between Africa and external actors during this period.

Turner (1971) argues that the economic, military and political support the external actors extended to the continent by nature can best be described as bribes meant to influence the behavior of the receiving state (Turner, 1971: 242-4). This is a critical dimension since as we have seen in the previous chapter; the justification for colonialism in Africa was founded on the narrative of Win-Win a term we will still find in the coming chapters. For now, I will examine how the super powers approached the continent and the impact of such relations.

3.2 The Soviet Union in Africa during the Cold War

The USSR is considered the most active communist state in Africa at the time of the Cold War, and their attention to the continent came with the rise of Nikita Khrushchev as the head of Kremlin after the death of Stalin in 1953. Two years later

after assuming power in 1955, Khrushchev sent his first military support to Abdel Nasser in Egypt and strong diplomatic relations being created between Moscow and Mali, Libya, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea and Mali after their independence. Using military, political and economic aid to win the support of African countries, the Soviets were able to earn the trust of some of the African leaders in the Sub-Sahara.

A new group of pro-Soviet leaning countries was formed in Africa (known as the Casablanca group) following a meeting held in Casablanca the capital city of Morocco while the pro-West group of African States referred to as the Monrovia bloc. The main reason why the Soviets thought it right to move to Africa and compete with the West is hard to establish, but at least we can consider the blend of pragmatic and ideological factors.

Soviet involvement in Africa sparked a buzz of activities not only in the political and economic but also education sectors. At the Africa Institute in Moscow, one of the leading academics in the discipline during the mid-1960-70s was Vasily Solodovnikov; he was an optimist and expressed his firm belief that socialism would succeed in Africa from the analysis he made on some of the revolutions that had begun in the continent in the early 1960s. African response to the Soviets with open arms was, according to Solodovnikov, a result of colonialism and the growing desire for socioeconomic and political development.

He wrote that "Soviet scientists, Africanists, and African scientists have one common aim: to contribute to the growth of national consciousness of African peoples" (Solodovnikov, 2002: 361). He added that "The main target is to secure [...] the complete liberation of the African continent from all forms of racial, political, economic, and social enslavement and all consequences and remnants of such enslavement" (Solodovnikov, 2002: 366). For many socialist scholars, the anti-imperialist campaign that was going on in Africa strengthened the relations between Moscow and the continent.

During the 22nd meeting of the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow at the beginning of 1961. Khrushchev unveiled the "National Democratic State" doctrine which spelled out a plan to help African

countries develop into socialist states without going through capitalism. The requirement to achieve this was to undergo two stages: the first one requiring the new states to reject imperialism and the second stage required African countries to show commitment to socialism in addition to industrialization and nationalization of their economies. The ultimate goal for the new African countries was to become part of an international system comprising an alliance of countries with similar ideology; what was referred to as 'international socialism' (Light 1983: 17-25)

When Leonid Brezhnev took power in 1964 Soviet's position in Africa was shaky as a result of failures and collapse of her key allies in the continent through military coups and poor performing economies. He also observed that there was a slow response of African countries to socialist political and economic strategies and decided to introduce some reforms pegged on a more geostrategic nature. He was mindful of the fact that for socialism to succeed, unlike his predecessor Khrushchev, African countries needed to go through a capitalist stage first. The transformation was founded on the New Economic Policy (NEP) by V.I. Lenin. The implementations of this new strategy meant that the Soviets had become tolerant with trade between African countries and the Western capitalist economies as well as in some cases even encouraged implementation of capitalist policies (Radu & Klinghoffer, 1991: 12-25).

Unfortunately for the Soviets (and their African allies), these plans did not yield their intended results. The new liberal program borrowed from Lenin's work and the adoption of socialist ideology by some of the African countries did not have much success. African countries such as Angola that attempted to implement socialist ideology suffered weak economic response partly leading to prolonged and violent political rivalry among different factions causing dangerous instabilities. For Moscow, this failure was attributed to the interference from the West while western scholars blamed the failure on Russian inefficient foreign policy. Nation and Kauppi in their book *The Soviet Impact in Africa*, give an example of failed attempts by the Soviets to incite economic growth the continent. They point out countries like Sudan, Ghana, Mali and Egypt which had shown signs of leaning towards the

Socialist bloc as having caused alienation of these countries' leaders and resulted in the loss of credibility on their ideology (Nation and Kauppi, 1987: 13-48).

As Portugal was facing a steady decline and most of the Portuguese areas of influence becoming more and more elusive, USSR was benefiting from Portugal's misfortunes. The mid-1970s became an important year for the supporters of communism as Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia which had just undergone a successful revolution adopted the communist ideology.

Moscow from this period forward attempted to consolidate the support of these three countries. Also, the Soviets took advantage of the conflict within countries in East Africa and by extending military support to different factions involved in those conflicts, Moscow hoped to make more allies in the region. By mid-1980, the USSR was leading other external actors in supplying military hardware in the Horn of Africa. In return, the Soviets were able to gain access rights in Africa, and the significant presence of their military in the continent provided a sense of assurance to the increasing socialist leaning states in the region.

Politically, there were a significant number of overt ties which characterized the nature towards USSR's foreign policy Africa. State to state and party to party, as well as cultural relations in some instances, became routine between Moscow and some African countries. As shown in the figure below, there were a series of political visits by African leaders to Moscow. The Afro -Asia People's Solidarity Organization was an important channel in strengthening the relations between Africa and Moscow.

Table 1: Visits by African leaders to USSR

Name of the Leader	Country	Year of Visit
Yasouf Dadoo, Chairman of Communist Party	South Africa	October 1981
Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President	Angola	October 1981
Sam Nujoma, President	Namibia	December 1981

Gen. Alfred Nzo, Secretary General, ANC	South Africa	May 1982
Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President	Angola	November 1982
Samora Machel, President	Mozambique	November 1982
Samora Machel, President	Mozambique	March 1983
Chief Leabua Johnathan, Prime Minister	Lesotho	May 1983
Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President	Angola	May 1983

Source: South African History Online 13-Nov-2012,

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/union-soviet-socialist-republic-ussr-and-anti-apartheid-struggle>

Apart from providing arms to African liberation movements, the Soviets did use soft power diplomacy in Africa. Whether it was simply to gain more support or it was an honest approach to helping Africans pick up from the adverse effects of colonialism is hard to establish. Nonetheless, in Moscow, thousands of students from different African countries benefited from scholarships. Most of them offered a place at the Patrice Lumumba University an institution that was renamed from The Peoples' Friendship University of Moscow, after the assassination of the former Congolese president in 1961. This was perhaps a sign of good gesture from the Soviets. However, the same scholarship scheme became one of their undoing.

Reported cases of open racism against African beneficiaries of the scholarship scheme increased by the day even though the USSR government had a clear anti-racism stand. As opposed to anti-racist discourses, Africans studying in the Soviet Union experienced spatial and economic mobility challenges while racial slurs became part of their day-to-day life (Fikes et. al, 2002: 497-524)

Despite their efforts to have their influence to penetrate into Africa and to gain support from the new nations, the Soviet Union did not succeed at least with regards to propelling African states to the ultimate socialist goal. In some countries where

socialism had already made some significant inroads, military coups overthrew pro-Socialist governments. For example in Ghana (1966), Algeria (1965) and Mali (1965), the collapse of such governments had severe blow USSR efforts in Africa. Their legitimacy was completely lost, and various Moscow officials admitted that their policy and approach to Africa was unrealistic especially when they saw that the states previously allied with Moscow shift their allegiance to the West (Nolutshungu, 1985: 142).

3.3 The United States and Africa during the Cold War

The US foreign policy towards Africa is one that was highly shaped by the ideological rivalry with the Soviet Union until the 1990s. Aware of their rivals' determination to extend their sphere of influence across the globe, the US developed policies that would help dilute Moscow's international agenda. In Africa it was not different, the US wanted to make sure that African countries supported a western oriented ideology and pledged their allegiance to Washington. To achieve this objective, the US identified challenges African countries were facing at the time such as colonialism, poor social and economic problems, as well as weak political systems, and used them as bait to lure African countries to the Western bloc by promising to offer solutions.

An early assessment of Franklin Roosevelt foreign policy to Africa indicates that his administration had a "persistent and vigorous opposition to colonialism," he made open criticism of colonialism and called for rights to self-determination which would directly benefit Africans under colonial powers (Dulles & Ridinger, 1955: 1-5).

Diplomatically, the US used its power to try and declare independence for colonies, including those in Africa. In 1943, the US Secretary of State Hull prepared a draft which Washington planned to present before a meeting between the US and European powers over the independence of colonies (Morgan, 1980: 6-9). The draft dated 9th of March 1943 fixed dates for the declaration of independence in colonies and provided a framework for which the countries that were not ready for independence would be put under trusteeship (Louis, 1998: 14-15). However, it was

the ease at which the US ceded ground when this draft undoing by another draft prepared by the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden.

The British emphasized that it was them (British) who had an obligation to administer and provide their colonies with guidance towards political, social and economic development. During a meeting held in London on 23rd of January, 1944 and brought together officials from USSR, Britain and the US who were represented at the meeting by the under-secretary of state Edward Stettinius, the US retracted from its position on the independence of colonies. They were no longer pressing on the fixed date to declare colonies independent nor did the US even demand independence but instead a change in tone to what they described as improving the socio-economic and political conditions in the colonies. This change of heart is considered as early signs of the Cold War that left the US rather satisfied with European empires continuing to control the colonies in Africa rather than their rivals in Moscow.

Economically, foreign aid remains a problematic concept to date. The question of what qualifies as aid or what not remains shrouded in mystery. Nonetheless, the US used to aid, given the nature and value of the aid to African countries to counter Soviet efforts on the continent. President Truman's declaration during his inauguration speech in 1949 that the US would extend support in the form of technical and scientific to Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East was seen as a counter communism policy even though the President did not mention the Soviet Union.

This famous declaration also referred to as 'Truman IV point' (because it was the fourth point of his speech) was at its inception welcomed by many especially from the third world. However back at home and even among other countries abroad, this policy received immediate criticism. When it was brought to the Congress, for example, it passed marginally with just one vote above the opponents. Within the business and agricultural sector, the stakeholders condemned this initiative arguing that allowing the government to support industries and agriculture in other countries would affect their market potential. Such grievances negatively affected this plan

which at the end did not make any substantial impact in Africa. Once again, the continent stared at a missed opportunity that would have seen then benefit from tremendous support from the US (Speech of President Truman, Department of State Bulletin of 30th January 1949: 123).

Unlike European states which benefited from the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, two generous economic aid schemes, during the disastrous economic crisis that followed the Second World War, what came to Africa from the US cannot be compared to the massive amount of resources made available for European countries to help rebuild their economies. Both Africa and post-Second World Europe at the time were facing very similar challenges of unemployment, inflation, destroyed or lack of infrastructure, poverty and lack of investment one can also argue that the Cold War threat was equally a reality in Europe and Africa. This biased approach to Africa can help us understand why Africa failed to take-off after independence. Critics of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan argue that they had negative consequences such as imposing capitalism, American ideas, and militarism. However, would similar plans for Africa made a difference in the continent?

Military aid from the US to Africa was not as extensive as those granted by the Soviets and their allies to the continent. Moreover, the few instances of military aid to Africa was in response to support given to rival groups by USSR. In a nutshell, military aid from the US was never intended for a direct fight with the colonial powers, but they were meant to counter inroads made by the Soviets on the continent. In the end, such weapons can be closely associated with some of the longest cases of civil wars and armed conflict in Africa.

3.4 The Cold War and Decolonization of Africa

At the peak of the Cold War, a series of demands for self-determination, racial equality and dignity were on the rise in Africa but also among other colonies across the world starting with the activities of Mahatma Gandhi from India. This, it seems, attracted the attention of the two rival superpowers that had risen from the ashes of the Second World War and their allies who did not want to miss playing a role during an important turning point in world history.

Noteworthy, the Cold War was not the only cause of decolonization; many other factors beyond the scope of this research played a role. Nonetheless, it was a highly significant event with irresistible consequences to decolonization and future of the continent. The role the Cold War rivalry played in the decolonisation process of African countries remains debatable. More importantly, is to identify the motivation for the support for the independence of African nations from the US and the USSR. I will in this sub-chapter examine how the involvement of both the communist and the western anti-colonial powers contributed to the decolonization of African countries through some case studies.

This, I believe, will help us understand the value of the Cold War scramble for Africa and whether it was a good intervention. The Truman Doctrine gave the United States a leading role in global affairs and spelled out America's commitment to contain the spread of communism across the world. At the same time, communist ideology seemed to have been resonating well with the pain and suffering of people living in colonies.

As an ideology, communism advocated for equality, an end to imperialism and self-determination making it very attractive to the many nationalist movements in Africa. These however made Africa a fertile region for the two powers to flex their muscles. To start with, I will discuss how the Soviet Union and their allies contributed to decolonisation of Africa and gave a specific case of Angola then I will examine how the United States and her allies contributed to decolonization with a particular case of South Africa.

3.4.1 The U.S.S.R Her Allies and Decolonization in Africa

The Soviet Union provided support to various forms of support ranging from military, financial and political support to liberation movements and anti-colonial groups in Africa and by the 1970s some of the African countries had got their independence through support from the communist bloc. Well, known beneficiaries of this support are Angola, Mozambique and Benin, countries which after their independence became close friends with Moscow, or be it for a short period.

The Case of Angola is a unique example of how the Soviets intervened to offer training and arms to the independence movements in Africa and also the Middle East and Asia. This case study will help us appreciate the involvement of USSR in Africa by understanding their approaches, their interest as well as their objectives. The Struggle for independence by Angola against the Portuguese may have begun the moment the natives realized they had got a raw deal from their colonial masters. Such dissatisfaction may not have been visible due to some of the reasons we may not want to dwell in within this chapter, but the people of Angola would not hold on to what they considered as injustice and oppression any longer.

In early 1961, violent resistance against the imperialist government begun. Three groups namely; National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) emerged marking the beginning of a civil war that lasted for over 15 years.

The three groups were sharply divided ideologically; UNITA and FNLA were backed by the western bloc mainly the United States and the apartheid regime of South Africa while the USSR supported MPLA (Saivetz, 1989: 152). During the ensuing wars, the Soviets sent military strategists and advisers as well as military hardware to MPLA members. Support from the Soviets to MPLA did not end with the Alvor Agreement signed in 1975 as a cease-fire agreement. It did continue slightly longer beyond 1975 (Ogunbadejo, 1981).

The long struggle bore fruits with the signing of the Alvor Agreement on the 15th January 1975 that granted independence to Angola under a coalition government that included the main independence fighting groups FNLA, UNITA, and MPLA. Agostino Neto, the leader of MPLA, was chosen to become the first president of Angola. The government did not hold up for long as internal fighting caused mainly by the ideological differences and desire to have majority control of the nation between the coalitions' partners led to the disintegration of the government. Despite the collapse of the administration and the continuing civil war in Angola, the USSR did not suspend their support to MPLA a group which by now was actively taking

part in the hostilities. Interestingly despite the mess created by the civil war, the Soviets made Angola a key target for spreading their communist ideology as they pushed for a more comprehensive and less hasty transition to socialism particularly between 1970 and 1980.

The failed attempt by Khrushchev's regime to successfully introduce socialism in Africa forced the new government to change their approach to the continent. A set of stricter new conditions that African countries needed to fulfill so as to receive aid from the Soviets were formulated. They included; land reforms, an indication of nationalization of industries, cooperation with Soviet-leaning countries, progress in the industrialization of their economies as well as structures to prepare their population for Cultural Revolution. From any dimension, these conditional aid frameworks indeed would have compelled African leaders to put more emphasis on industrializing their economies, which was good for the continent.

However, the Soviets once again ignored critical factors such as lack of human resource capacity, inadequate technology and lack of potential market for the would be produced industrial goods due to nail biting poverty that was as a result of 200 years of colonial domination and competition from highly industrialized countries. However, even for countries that may have fulfilled these conditions, which was highly unlikely, the aid they would have expected to receive from the Soviet Union would not have been very significant to propel these countries towards sustainable development. As Guan Fu points out in his book, countries like Angola mainly benefited from military aid which only served to worsen the existing Civil War (Guan Fu et. al, 1983: 71).

Apart from the Soviet Union, one of the strongest pro-communist allies to have actively participated in the independence struggle of African countries during the Cold War was Cuba under Fidel Castro. Cuba started to spread her revolutionary message to Africa in 1961 through her embassy in Guinea where strategy meetings were held and in some occasions military assistance provided (LeoGrande, 1980). The first cross-continent aid from Cuba to Africa came after several meetings between Cuba's *chargé d'affaires* based in Conakry and officials of the Algerian

FLN (*Front de Libération National*). The FLN movement received a consignment of assorted firearms that include; machine-guns, rifles and motors in December 1961 from Cuba which got permission in July 1962 to set up a military base in Algeria (Cold War International historical project, 2017: 6).

The most significant role Cuba played in Africa during the Cold War era was its support to MPLA of Angola. Although the Cubans joined the conflict much later than the Soviets, they had made contact with MPLA officials much earlier. This was through *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (Imperial Student House), an African students' hostel in Lisbon where revolutionary ideas among Africans from Portuguese colonies were bred (Connell –Smith et al., 1982: 230).

Their contribution was enormous with over five hundred thousand troops sent from Cuba to help MPLA defeat the apartheid regime in what was expected to be a quick win for the socialist leaning bloc but turned out to be the long war. When the dust had settled more than 2000 soldiers from Cuba had died in Angola, but the country had become independent. Similar support was extended to other African countries that were struggling for independence such as Burkina Faso and Congo (Diaz-Briquets, 1989).

After taking over the presidency of the non-aligned movement in 1979, Castro used this position to push for an end to imperialism. In the same decade, the overthrow of Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie and the subsequent outbreak of conflict between Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia led to the realignment of power in the Horn of Africa as the Americans, Soviets, East Germans and Czechs sought new allies. This saw Cuba transfer their support from Siad Barre of Somalia, who had now turned his allegiance the Americans to Mariam El Mengistu of Ethiopia. This was a critical period that put to the test Cuba's anti-colonial narrative as its soldiers fought against Somalia's invasion of the Ogaden region and also provided tactical and strategic advice to Ethiopians against Eritreans who were fighting for independence.



Figure 7: Fidel Castro speaks during a visit to Luanda, Angola in March 1984.

Source: *Prensa Latina / Reuters*

3.4.2 The U.S.A Her Allies and Decolonization in Africa

Over the years, the US has received credit for her efforts in helping many countries gain independence. Davidson Nicol describes the perceived role of the US involvement in Africa during the Cold War when he wrote that "*Some of those who lived in the former colonial territories were certain... that the process of decolonization would have been considerably slowed down or would have taken a different course, had there not been pressure from the United States*" (Nichol, 1978: 365-395).

However, from his point of view, he considers both Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman as not having been highly committed to the decolonization of the continent. He is not alone in this school of thought as Thomas Neer writing in the mid-1980s argued that the global image of the US during the Second World War as a decolonization campaigner may not be accurate (Neer, 1985: 17, 64, 60). Nore adds that the threat of USSR influence in Africa forced Washington to take a rather conservative approach.

The United States found herself between a rock and a hard place during the decolonisation period that happened to coincide with the Cold War. While on the one hand the US was seen as a global leader and advocate for independence, the reality was that the importance of the colonies to her allies was essential. The colonies were not only proving to be a lifeline for the wrecked economies of Western European countries destroyed during the Second World War but granting independence to African countries would result in the emergence of nations with weak institutions that would not be able to resist the subversion and penetration of communist ideology as well.

The US also had their national interest, some of which were extremely difficult to achieve while demanding her western allies to grant independence to their colonies. One example of the national interest was the ability to access cheap natural resources. The western allies needed the colonies to help finance the rebuilding of their economies. This means that decolonisation approach by the US was purely clouded by pragmatism and even though it went ahead to advocate for the right to self-determination for the colonies openly. It did so in line with her Cold War interest. This accounts for why Washington chose a 'Europe First' strategy between 1948 and 1968 (Nwaubani, 2003).

To avoid confrontation with Britain, the United States used other means to put pressure on her ally to grant independence to African Countries. This is considered to have been the case in the Suez Canal crisis. R. F. Holland argues in his book *European Decolonisation: 1918-1981*, that the United States was able to take advantage of the Suez Canal Crisis which led to the resignation of Anthony Eden as the Prime Minister paving the way for the rise of Harold McMillan.

The latter shared the same decolonisation sentiments with the United States which is considered to be in an indirect way to decolonisation. McMillan's 'Wind of Change' speech would not have had any serious significance if he was not the primer. The US, now leading power after the Second World War, was believed to have attached conditions of decolonization to the European powers that went to seek loans and

financial assistance from Washington following the economic crisis that was as a result of the Second World War.

The Atlantic Charter signed by President Roosevelt and his British counterpart Winston Churchill on 9-12 August 1941 was welcomed by many nationalist leaders in Africa who, unknowingly perhaps understood the contents of the Charter particularly Article 3, from a literal view. Article 3 indeed required commitment from both leaders to “respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live,” and “to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them (Wilson 1969: 9).

This clause became a propaganda tool and was subjected to different interpretations which almost eroded its meaning. For example, on 9 September 1941, the British premier made a ‘clarification’ of the charter. He stated that Article 3 meant that “*primarily, affected the restoration of sovereignty, self-government and national life of the countries and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke*” (House of Commons Debates, 9 September 1941).

Supposedly this interpretation meant that African colonies were not entitled to the spelled out privileges. The US president took five months before responding to the assertions by the Winston Churchill when he said that "We of the United Nations have agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but the whole world (The Times (London), 24 February 1942)

Opponents of the idea that the American foreign policy to Africa lacked dynamism have come out strongly to defend this position. The behavior of the US during the early stages of the Cold War era would easily associate Washington with decolonisation. Gibbs, a proponent of America's anti-colonialism campaigner, argues that indeed Washington exerted pressure to the colonial powers to introduce reforms, particularly in the political arena within their colonies (Gibbs, 1995: 306-309).

Rightly so, starting from the late 1950s, political reforms in many African countries such as Kenya, Ghana, and Tanzania allowed Africans to form and join political parties and even have special representative seats in their nation's parliaments. Adding their voice to this debate, Ronald Robinson, and Wm. Roger Louis points out that with the US, a powerful ally on their side, Western colonial powers quickly changed the way they treated their subjects in the colonies. For them, more often than not, the colonial powers tried to avoid direct armed confrontation and showed some signs of tolerance to the demands of the locals, associating this change of heart to pressure from the US for "liberal advancements towards independence" (Louis and Robinson, 1994: 43-47)

At the United Nations, the US was considered as having used her position to influence the decolonisation of Africa, which to some extent is true. When 17 independent African states joined the United Nations in 1960, US-Africa relations took a new direction. J. F. Kennedy's administration showed positive efforts and pragmatism as it developed policies that strengthened the United Nations anti-colonialism campaign. Having abstained in the initial vote for Declaration for Decolonisation conducted in December 1960, the US voted to approve the formation of the so-called Special Committee of 24 in November 1961.

This committee was tasked with the responsibility to establish a framework to implement the Declaration of Decolonisation immediately. The US positively responded to bills sponsored to the United Nations by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Andemicael, 1976: ch. 4-5). This rigorous support for African countries through the United Nations was a good indication by the US on her commitment to helping countries in Africa to attain self-determination; however, the vigor did not last long.

The momentum began to significantly decline in 1965 up to 1987 as the US did not put any pressure on decolonisation as was seen in the early 1960s. Some argue that this decline of interest was a result of America's continued involvement in the Vietnam War and the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. The attitude shown by Henry Kissinger and the National Security Council that the white minority governments in

Africa were there to stay was not a positive indicator. Kissinger is on record citing that the exit of European colonial powers from Africa would depend on an agreement with the US on issues not limited to strategic balance of power, economic and political stability. This statement was captured in the National Security Study Memorandum 39.

Many African leaders to came face to face with the reality that the interests of the continent were only secondary to the S.A.L.T agreements, Vietnam and the affairs of the Middle East (El-Kawas and Cohen, 1977). Therefore, the inadequate response from the US particularly in favor of liberation movements struggling to fight for freedom at the time prolonged their thirst for freedom.

The United States and the Soviet Union's support for African independence would soon be put to question. Their activities of the two superpowers in the form of proxy wars turned Africa into a battlefield for supremacy and a dumping site for obsolete and old weapons that had remained after the Second World War. The World Policy Institute prepared a report that indicates that the United States alone sent weapons worth US\$ 1.5 billion. Without any regard of what their actions would lead to, the two super powers facilitated and supported the overthrow of promising leaders in place of individuals who could easily dance to their tunes.

In connection to this, dictators found a haven as a result of the support they received from the super powers. This created an environment whereby the international community was putting a blind eye on the atrocities being committed in the continent by its leaders. The few initiatives introduced to bring reforms lacked local and international political goodwill to strengthen institutions, demand respect and provision of basic rights in Africa. This neglect was better captured when the world woke up to the terrible events that took place in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide.

The fate of the continent was in the hands of few autocratic leaders supported by the two super powers, and they did not miss the mark to exploit this opportunity. They presided over mega corruption scandals in their governments, wasteful expenditure, suppressed opposition and fundamental freedoms, together with foreign multinationals entered into one-sided deals that continued to further exploitation of

the continent's resources. In simple words, the Cold War rivalry denied the African an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of independence that many had shed blood for; the independence witnessed in Africa was simply a transition from the 'white' colonialism to the 'black' colonialism.

3.4 Response of Africans and Effects of the Cold War

Newly independent African states became part of an international system that they found chaotic and sharply divided along ideological lines between the East and the West. Those countries which got support from the USSR were not welcome by the United States while those who had shown support for Western values and way of thinking did not get the support of the Soviets. However, for the different liberation movements in Africa to get diplomatic, military and political backing, they had to choose one of the sides.

Also, with much of their economies looted and pressure from the citizens for radical reforms, elevate lives to better social and economic status; it is easy to imagine how desperate African leaders had become. This form of desperation would force African leaders to make quick decisions most of which were wrong and had negative consequences for the future of the continent. Indeed, the Cold War era was taking place at a critical time for the continent since it was a transition period from colonial regimes to self-determination. Decisions made during this period would remain instrumental in shaping the future of the continent.

To stay away from the ideological war, some African leaders wanted to remain neutral. Their objective was to have independent foreign policies that would not be dictated by either the US or the USSR. They, therefore, partnered with like-minded leaders from Asia to form the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) after a meeting held in Bandung' Indonesia during the Asian-African Conference that took place on April 18-24, 1955. This gave birth to the 'Ten Principles,' conditions that were necessary for one to become a member. Although Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia are considered to be the brainchild behind this movement, by 1961, 25 leaders from Africa and Asia were also part of the campaign.

Objectives of NAM included self-determination, opposition to apartheid, national independence, non-adherence to multi-lateral military pacts and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states, independence of non-aligned countries from great power or block influences and rivalries, the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. Others include the struggle against colonialism, racism, neocolonialism, foreign occupation, and domination; non-interference in the internal affairs of States, disarmament and peaceful coexistence among all nations (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

What NAM sought to achieve was to provide an alternative ideology away from the Western and Eastern divide, and its founding was very much consistent with the Cold War. Leaders involved formation of NAM acknowledged that economic challenges would undermine the strength and survival of the movement and therefore sought to find solutions. During the 1964 conference held in Cairo, the leaders resulted in adjusting the scope of the movement from a politically driven movement to a movement that focuses on finding solutions to economic problems that affected the 'Third World.'

NAM went ahead to achieve some of its objectives such as advocating for independence for countries that were under colonialism. However, the movement did not seem to hit a high score in preventing the superpowers' ideologies from influencing its member states. This was to be a difficult objective to achieve since the big powers appeared to offer immediate solutions to some of the challenges faced by the countries given the latter's economic and political muscle that NAM could not rival.

Understandably, away from the big power interests and the Cold War, African leaders had an honest desire to associate with developed countries for purposes of mentorship on development. Some factors can explain why despite the formation of the NAM, the Cold War still had a negative impact on Africa. First, as we have observed, disunity among African leaders especially on which ideological path their countries would follow towards development gave the West and East fertile ground

to exploit the division and attempt to push for their ideology at a time when the entire world was being treated to the fierce rivalry.

This paved the way for several military coups and assassination of several key political figures in Africa as was in Ghana, Mali, Uganda, Congo and Burkina Faso. Rivalry among the local leaders also led to the outbreak of numerous civil wars as was the case of Angola who's over three decades of bloody conflict prevented any form of sustainable development. In total, these civil wars accounted for 9 million deaths in Africa.

When the Cold War came to an end, Africa lost the only factor that made the continent relevant in global politics. Most African leaders who depended on the support of the two super powers were abandoned. This was the case in Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola and many other African countries. For example, in January 1990, Kenya's President Daniel Moi who was an ally of the US was presented as a symbol of democracy in Africa during his visit to the Washington despite his poor record of human rights and corruption. However, in a speech read by the US ambassador in December of the same year, President Moi was accused of being a dictator and was forced to repeal Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution that declared the country a de facto single party state.

Why the sudden change of tone? Many asked, but the answer was clear, that the collapse of the Soviet Union brought to an end any threats posed by communism and therefore President Moi was no longer useful. This was the same trend across the continent and in fact as the major powers withdrew their support from dictators in Africa. This explains why the early years after the end of the Cold War were accompanied by demands for reforms in governance across the continent.

Also, over 30 military attempts took place in Africa within the first –five years after the end of the Cold War. For example, Nigeria, Uganda, Ghana, Mali and others countries experienced successful military coups. After being left without much support from their former allies the US and USSR, some African leaders resulted to orthodox means of clinging to power. Some formed paramilitary groups which would terrorize anyone objecting their rule, retrogressive laws and selfish

amendments were made in the constitution or resulting to nepotism in employment to government positions and development opportunities all to guarantee their stay in power.

Conclusion

Once again Africa and her people paid a huge price for being involved in another major global event. The Cold War came at a wrong time for Africa whose nations were still young, unstable and lacked strong institutions. On the one hand, the two Superpowers may be credited with some efforts to help liberate African countries from the colonial yoke. However, on the contrary, it seems that much of the decolonization success came as a result of internal dynamics. For example, the rise of home-grown nationalism, the role of ex-soldiers who fought in the World Wars and perhaps an irreversible wind of change that was blowing across the entire globe-sweeping with it colonial regimes.

Indeed, even of their good intention as seen in the various support extended to Africans, what may have shaped the US and USSR foreign policy to Africa at the time was more about having an influence on determining who would lead the newly independent nations. In most cases, these had to be those who shared similar ideology with either Moscow or Washington. Evidently, even countries which chose to ally themselves with either superpower did not benefit much as externally influenced instabilities tore the continent apart. Countries that did not sink into the trap of violence were not also spared, some like Kenya were forced to forfeit their participation at the 1980 summer Olympics in Moscow, yet it is such platforms that the Kenyan flag has always been able to fly high due to the exemplary performance of their athletes.

Similarly, even in countries that did not face civil unrests, leaders were sharply divided laying fertile ground for decades of bitter hatred, suspicion, and marginalization of different ethnic groups. Betrayal became a common theme in Africa as dictators formulated means to either manipulate their opponents and the citizens or to govern using an iron fist. African countries were run like private

enterprises by individuals who received significant support to cling on to power from the East or the West.

By the time the Cold War came to an end, the damage had been done. Over three decades of stagnant and declining growth, inflation, high levels of illiteracy due to little or no reforms in the education sectors, regional instability and millions of refugees made desperate journeys in search of safety. The economy of the continent got the biggest hit as a result. Looting of public resources, lack of foreign and domestic investments plunged the continent into a vicious cycle of poverty. The causes of limited foreign direct investment were a result of unstable economic and political environments that made Africa less attractive to foreign investors. These combined with 200 years of colonialism that ended with looting of the continent's wealth as the colonial masters were leaving left Africa in an appalling state. Runaway inflation, unemployment, nepotism, ignorance, and crime characterized Africa at the end of the Cold War which marked the beginning of a series of democratization struggles.

The end of the Cold War period in the 1990s was followed by a decade of relative silence regarding activities of external actors in the continent. There was some level of involvement of international organizations such as the World Bank and IMF whose policies, particularly the structural adjustment programs have been blamed for the worsening the continent's fortunes. In the early years of 2000, the presence of external powers begun to increase significantly in Africa. Also, these external actors were unique in a way because they included non-traditional emerging powers.

In the next chapter, we will look at how Africa is responding to the renewed interest in the continent by external actors, also referred as the 'new scramble for Africa.' By examining the nature of interactions and actors in Africa, we will attempt to identify whether there is a difference in the way the continent is responding to the new rush in the continent by external actors. This contemporary event is critical to our research because it lays a yardstick for comparison with the two historical events already discussed.



Figure 8: Map of Africa during the Cold War era

CHAPTER 4

THE POST-COLD WAR ERA (*The New Scramble for Africa*)

Having observed the two historical scrambles for Africa, we will be able to have a much better understanding of why and how African and the external actors behave in particular ways in the post –Cold War era. Perhaps we will even be able to distinguish the similarities and differences that characterize these three periods. This chapter is important because it is not only touching on the ongoing new scramble for Africa but also it is one that is occurring at a time when the world and Africa, in particular, have undergone significant changes. To begin with, the international system has been able to curb, to at least to a larger extent, the impunity that was witnessed in the previous scrambles through institutional reforms.

Indeed despite the many weaknesses of institutions such as the United Nations and International Law, it is no longer business as usual for persons, organizations or countries to simply walk into another society and subject those communities into a colonial, imperial or even exploit resources without the consent of the host community. This will be better explained when we examine the response of African countries later in this chapter.

Secondly, the new scramble is unique because of the actors involved, the previous scrambles were dominated by major world powers, and emerging states were sidelined. By examining the role of actors involved in the new scramble with an important emphasis on emerging powers we will be able to assess the possible consequence of the new scramble. It is important to remember that the term the new scramble remains problematic regarding definition and different scholars look at it differently as explained below;

4.1 The scope and concept of the New Scramble for Africa

4.1.1 A 'New Cold War'? (China and the United States)

For scholars like Chipaike and Makwerere (2012) the term new scramble for Africa refers to a new phase of Cold War whose major players include China on one hand

and the United States on the other. These countries according to the two scholars have brought their competition to dominate the global political and economic architecture deep into the continent (Makwerere & Chipaika, 2012: 2). Since China began to witness significant economic development in the last decades, scholars like J. Mearsheimer have questioned whether the rise of China can be peaceful and predicted that such a rise might not be peaceful (Mearsheimer *et. al.*, 2012).

Beijing whose political ideology differs from that of the United States seems to be keen on overtaking Washington's economic and political dominance in the world, and her efforts in Africa appear to be an extension of this global objective. China has in the recent years tried to overrun initiatives started by the United States in Africa. American programs such as the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the Command (AFRICOM) are facing steep competition from China's Belt and Road initiative; a Chinese-supported Africa Development Bank model and the China-Africa Development Fund (Singh, 2009). While the post-Second World War Cold War era was characterized by extending military support to African countries, the post-Cold War era is mainly characterized by soft power approaches by external actors towards the continent.

The U.S soft power has been reinforced with the enactment of Africa Growth and Opportunity Act as well as remobilisation of traditional actors such as the USAID to revamp their funding programs. China, on the other hand, is extending huge amounts of financial support to support the construction of mega infrastructure projects in Africa. For the first time, African countries have access to massive sums of money from China without conditions being pushed down their throats. The gap created by the United States refusal to provide funding to some countries in Africa because of political and economic conditions like democracy are now being filled by the business-like approach by China (Prendergast & Thomas-Jensen, March/April 2007).

President Trump's administration decision to cut aid funding in the 2017 budget may have a bearing on the outcome of the rivalry between China and the US in Africa. Similar to the previous Cold War, scholars like Engdahl have analyzed the role and

response of the US and China in conflict areas such as Darfur and other parts of Africa from a new Cold War perspective (Engdahl, 2007). Proponents of the idea of a new cold war believe that what is going on in Africa is a ‘big-power’ clash between the US and China (Schraeder, 2000: 295-414).

4.1.2 Scramble for Resources

Other scholars (Kumar, 2016; Ghazvinia, 2008; Melber, 2007) look at the activities in the continent as a rush for the resources rather than hegemonic related interests. No doubt, Africa is one of the regions in the world highly endowed with valuable natural resources. Vast deposits of uranium, gold, iron, salt, bauxite, silver cobalt, agricultural products as well as petroleum can be found on the continent (Maphosa, 2012: 2). Proponents of the idea of the rush for resources argue that the ever growing demands for the above mentioned natural resources globally are what has led to the new scramble. For them just as the 1800s scramble and partition was driven by the industrial revolution, the new scramble is a result of advances in the field of technology which highly depend on a number of the minerals mentioned above. The scramble for energy resources is one of the areas that have received much attention from scholars in this section.

The World Energy Outlook report of 2014 prepared by the International Energy Agency singled out Africa’s energy potential as being the epicenter of a challenge seeking to overcome global energy deficiency (IEA, 2014). The report predicts that in the future, the current supply of energy will not meet the demand and therefore new sources of energy need to be discovered. Africa is seen as a potential savior of the future global energy crisis with the ability to provide fossil, solar, geothermal, petroleum and hydro energy. The relationship to the new scramble is that whoever will control African energy resources will have the upper hand in the coming years. Over the years, the global North has been in charge of most of the energy explorations in the continent, but not anymore. Major players in the energy sector from India, Brazil, China and South Africa have entered the race to explore the untapped energy resources in Sub-Saharan Africa giving the traditional actors from the West a run for their money (Shcolvin, 2015).

By examining the domestic needs for oil resources by the actors involved in the new scramble one can understand the make sense of their involvement. Take the example of the US whose consumption of oil and petroleum products is over a quarter of the total global consumption due to her huge military and industrial needs. However, regarding the oil deposits, only 3% of the world reserves have been proven to be in the US territory. On the other hand 15% of the proven global oil reserve rest under eight countries in West Africa (Wöstmann, 2002: 5).

For the first time in a decade oil exports from Africa; largely from Angola and Nigeria, but also from Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Chad and Equatorial Guinea overtook exports from the Middle East (Kiernan, 2007). China, whose oil imports over the last decade have doubled, is also a principal actor in the new scramble for Africa. This involvement is translated as being driven by the huge demand for oil domestically. It should be remembered that to date, imported oil consists of 40% of the total oil consumed in China (Ashild, 2007: 4). Other emerging powers which appear to be keen on oil from Africa include Malaysia and Brazil which have oil exploration activities in Sudan and West Africa respectively.

By examining the new scramble as a consequence of competition for natural resources, the actors involved also increase if compared to those presented by scholars who argue that the new scramble is a reflection of a new Cold War. For Scholvin (2015), the new scramble is primarily caused by the demand for natural resources and has attracted actors from traditional western countries, China and many other emerging powers such as Brazil and India. Apart from the state actors, there are several non-state actors such as transnational enterprises involved in the competition for natural resources, and their activities seem to complement the state actor's role in the scramble.

In the energy sector, a few examples of external state-owned companies involved in the Africa include; Tullow Oil Company, Royal Dutch Shell, China's CNPC, ExxonMobil, Italian Agip Oil and BP. Brazilian Petrobras, Malaysian Petronas India's Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) and China National Offshore Oil

Corp (CNOOC) all of which get significant support from their home governments (Xu, 2008: 1124).

4.1.3 South-South Cooperation

An emerging argument mostly promoted by the new, non-traditional actors such as the BRICS, Turkey, Japan and other emerging economies from the global south is that the increased attention on the continent is not about a new Cold War or competition for resources, but it is a win-win ‘cooperation’ among the developing countries. Proponents of this model insist that the arrival of non-traditional powers in Africa has been to challenge the historical win-lose engagement between the continent and Traditional actors and replace it with a win-win partnership. They accuse Western powers of being responsible for the challenges Africa is facing such as underdevelopment and conflict which they believe are effects of the continent being pushed to produce cheap raw materials for exports to the West.

However, definite similarities with Western-led involvement in the continent can be seen with the new arrivals. First, the concept of win-win is not new to the ears of African leaders and policy makers. When the Europeans arrived in the continent during the 1880s, the message they spread to the Africans was that they came to offer win-win alternatives to the locals through the so-called ‘civilization’ programs, what happened remains enshrined in the books of history. In the 1990s a look at the much popularized free market economy practices that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank foisted to developing countries across the world and most importantly Africa were according to these financial institutions meant to forester ‘mutual benefits.’ The outcome of these programs left Africa even much poorer and heavily indebted.

That aside, the new non-traditional actors are very vocal on the idea of ‘partnership’ with African countries. Will this new partnership work for Africa? That is a question that can be answered in future, but for now, the win-win narrative is receiving mixed reaction from Africans and scholars across the world. The fact that the new actors are not providing an alternative model away from the practices introduced by neo-liberal actors should be a cause for concern.

Both China and a majority of emerging powers are benefiting from pre-installed neo-liberal structures by institutions such as the World Trade Organisation that promote free trade which in turn continue to create a balance of trade disequilibrium in many African states. The current global political and economic arrangement will continue to cause a one-sided benefit against Africa as long as the continent does not review her export policies and products irrespective of whom it trades with. That said, understanding the developing relations between African countries and the global South is crucial in understanding the new scramble.

4.1.4 Security, Governance and War against Terrorism

This school of thought combines political, strategic and economic drivers to explain the new scramble for Africa. They argue that external actors consider insecurity or any form of political instability in the continent as a threat to their prosperity particularly in exploiting natural resources. For example, the US State Department, industry heads, and the Pentagon have been struggling to develop coherent policy frameworks that can ensure a balance between risk and investment in the continent (IASPA, 2002). The phrases ‘war on terror’ and ‘promoting democracy,’ like in other parts of the world are narratives which have been used to militarize the continent and justify foreign troops entering into the continent. While we will not go into details over the debate on whether such interventions are justified, we wish to observe that there seems to be an apparent relationship between instability and natural resources in many African countries. It should also be remembered that Africa is seen as ground zero in the global war on terrorism, piracy, disease, drugs, and arms-trafficking (Albright, 1999).

Millions of dollars have been invested in several counter piracy and terrorism initiatives in Africa. Some of the examples include the Eastern Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative involving Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti, Tanzania, Eritrea and Uganda; the Pan Sahel Initiative supported by the US State Department in Mali, Chad, Mauritania and Niger is being implemented by private military contractors and the Pentagon. There is also a massive counter –piracy operation off the coast of Somalia which has attracted several countries including China, India, US (Combined

Task Force 151), European Union (Operation Atlanta), NATO (Operation Ocean Shield) and Japan. Some have however argued that these military operations only serve to radicalize more young people to join militia groups (Pendergast, 2007).

Regarding the new scramble, the external actors are keen on forging alliances with African countries to help them defeat what they perceive as their external threats. The US can be an example in the way it has formed alliances with Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Djibouti to help contain the Al-Shabaab group in Somalia. The European Union is also investing heavily both in resource and personnel several military initiatives in Africa such as Operation Atlanta and African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). For Turkey, the war against the terrorist organizations the Gülen Movement (FETO) and PKK have also benefited from support from some African Countries. The arrest of pro-Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan in Nairobi 15 February 1999 and the closure of several Gülen affiliated schools in Africa are among a few examples.

The geostrategic advantage Africa can offer other countries remains quite appealing. In the age of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (IBM) with capabilities to carry nuclear warheads, the location of Africa between the East and the West and connected to Europe and Asia to the North, one may consider using the continent to install Missile defense systems or even use it as a launching ground for IBMs. Already the US benefited from her military bases in Ethiopia and Djibouti to coordinate and launch attacks in the Horn of Africa and Iraq in 2003.

Therefore we can argue that the importance of Africa in global security strategies can be responsible for the new scramble. Apart from the United States, China has shown interest in setting up military bases in Zimbabwe and already completed the construction of one in Djibouti. France, India, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and Turkey (in Somalia) are all countries with military bases in Africa (Johns, 2016; Feige, 2016; Daily Sabah: 9 January 2016).

The immediate consequence of the new scramble especially on governance has been the change of tone and attitude especially on how the West is dealing with African countries. Conditions of good governance that were previously attached to foreign

aid by western actors are today moderate. This can be explained in two approaches; first, the availability of alternative funding from emerging powers who do not attach conditions on internal political reforms means that the effects of demanding political reforms before providing aid are no longer effective. Secondly, it seems that Western donors are coming to terms with the reality that aid can only achieve so much when it is used as a tool to force reforms in the continent. Recent years have seen conditions attached on aid being imposed only for very severe violations of good governance values as was the case during the 2012 coup in Mali (Hyden, 2013: 10).

4.1.5 Trade deals and Financial Institutions

The new scramble for Africa has become characterized by a unique feature that has attracted little attention from scholars. This is the issue of financial aid and trade deals between Africa and the rest of the world. We wish to emphasize from the beginning that China's ease at extending financial support to African countries has changed the traditional way in which Africans received support from institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank as well as donor countries. This time, one's ability to offer financial assistance in Africa is proving to be a key determinant of who leads the way in the continent. Indeed even the rapidly growing influence of China in Africa is attributed to financial muscle. However, they are not alone, more and more state and non-state actors are using financial support and loans to make inroads into the continent.

Historically, African countries immediately after independence embarked on development strategies that focused on import-substitution. Domestic industries were supposed to be developed with funds issued through the World Bank to reduce importation of goods as well as increase the value of African exports. Nonetheless, these strategies failed for some reasons such as the dismal performance of the industries due to insufficient energy, skilled workforce and steep competition from already industrialized nations. This, in turn, meant that African countries were not able to service the loans they received from the World Bank and sunk most countries into a dangerous debt-cycle (Mkandawire, 2005: 1-33). The devastating effects of Africa's engagement with the World Bank and other Western donor countries are

well known, and new emerging powers like China, Japan, Republic of Korea and others are utilizing this in the name of offering alternative nature of finance that the continent badly needs to facilitate economic and infrastructure development. Whether African countries will be able to avoid sinking into a debt crisis in future as a result of free-flowing loans into the continent is yet to be seen.

4.2 Africa's Response to the New Scramble

While the response by African countries is important in determining the outcome of the new scramble, more importantly, the reaction of African nations on the new scramble may as well shift global political and economic balance. To begin with, unlike the colonial era when Africans openly resisted efforts by colonial powers to transform their economies, today governments and business actors in Africa have been working towards integrating with the global economy. This is not because of external force but rather from the realization that the survival of African economies depends on joining and staying on board the competitive, capitalist bandwagon of the global economy (Hayden, 2013: 4).

4.2.1 Is Africa, a Passive Actor in the new Scramble?

Any mention of external powers in Africa is always associated with exploitation, colonialism, neocolonialism or simply big power politics. The role or interest of African states or leaders is always overlooked as the continent is seen as a passive actor, a victim of external powers. Many will go ahead and associate the lack of development, instabilities and the general position of Africa in the global arena as being facilitated by the actions of external actors. Dietz and his colleagues seem to question the very notion that at the international arena Africans are not capable of carving out their interest (Dietz et al., 2011: 5).

The transformation of the global system into a multipolar structure has opened up the door for several African countries to be able to take charge of their destiny (*See* DIE 2006; Dollar 2007; Clegg 2009). However this is just a recent observation, indeed despite the fact that sometimes African countries have had to put up particular terms and conditions that benefit the donor country or institution, it will be simplistic to

assume that domestic actors in the continent do not play an important role in shaping the activities at the international level.

Political reforms that the continent has witnessed since the mid-1990s have led to the emergence of governments that are more responsive to the demands of the people and not external powers. Previous regimes needed support from external actors to cling on to power. This shift has come at a huge cost and should not be ignored. One can even associate the so-called 'Arab Springs' that blew across North Africa to be an extension of such struggles. Indeed the support former presidents Mubarak (Egypt), Ben Ali (Algeria) and even Gadhafi (Libya), Mobutu Seseseko (Zaire), Daniel Moi (Kenya) and Museveni (Uganda), received from external powers that allowed them to rule their countries for far too long. Their replacement has been as a result of people-driven revolution to demand a better response from their governments. That aside, African countries have continued to be an active player in the new scramble providing a conducive environment for different powers to come into the continent. As we will see in the coming sub-chapters for example, the Look East policy is a clear indication that African countries are active and will initiate some of the relations themselves.

It is true that external actors have had ways on how to deal with the continent for a long time and in some cases, these have also worked to their advantages. We should nevertheless be keen enough to notice that the ruling elites in Africa have also crafted elaborate means of dealing or perhaps double-dealing with both the super and emerging powers. (Nolutshungu 1996; Kaag 2008: 3-18). Some initiatives within the continent that were started after the Cold War period with the aim of strengthening the continent's position in the global arena is also taking shape.

One example is the formation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) associated with former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and his South African counterpart Thabo Mbeki. NEPAD has taken a leading role in promoting a transnational alliance for African countries with the aim of giving African countries a voice and promote the continent's interest while dealing with the rest of the world (Adedeji 2002). The African Union remains an important actor even

though it has come under heavy criticism for being less efficient when it comes to solving the problems Africa is facing; some of the roles it has played however have been worthwhile.

The continental organization has in the recent years provided a platform through which external actors can deal with the continent. Most of these platforms have been organized under the brand of summits some of which have become annual events if we take the example of Tokyo-Africa Summits, India-Africa Summits, China-Africa summit and other periodical events such as the Turkey-Africa Summit, the Washington-Africa Summit, and the Asia-Africa summit.

These important developments have enabled Africa and external actors to harmonize their engagements and give the continent better bargaining power more than ever before. Also, the development of Agenda 2063 by the African Union which is a vision that seeks guide the continent towards sustainable development by 2063 is also a significant move in providing terms of reference in negotiating with external powers. What has changed in the 21st Century is that Africa, not only through its leaders but also the people seems to be well aware of the direction they want to take and they also know what it takes to get there.

This can be explained by some cancellations of mining rights for foreign companies, refusal to enter into 'one-sided' trade agreements as was the case of Tanzania with the European Union in 2016. There has been a new wave of developing strategic and development plans by individual countries which then provides a framework on what, when and how these countries need and acquire. Most importantly, unlike the previous years, availability of alternative funding, technical expertise, and political big brother at the Security Council namely China, African leaders are taking advantage of the recent changes in global political and economic environment to exercise more freedom. On the other hand, external actors' needs are well known by policy makers on the continent some of which are political. For example, the ongoing China-Taiwan issue, India's bid for permanent membership of the Security Council, Turkey's war against the outlaw Gülen movement need support of countries, and Africa brings on board 54 votes in the general assembly

4.2.2 Look East Foreign Policy

At the turn of the millennium, some African countries had shown signs of strengthening relations with the East. These actions were later followed by calls to reduce dependency on the West and focus more attention on a partnership with fellow emerging countries in the East. Indeed, this decision could have well be informed by the appealing economic changes countries like China, Singapore, Turkey, Malaysia, India, and others witnessed since the year 2000.

Most Africans could easily associate with similar challenges the above countries had been able to overcome such as inflation, poor infrastructure, low literacy levels, industrialization just to mention a few. African countries have been keen on achieving sustainable development and sectors such as energy, transport, agriculture, information and communication technology, tourism, mining, and construction were going to play a crucial role in achieving this status. Eastern countries, on the other hand, seem to have utilized these very same sectors to achieve sustainable development, and African countries appear to be interested in learning from the emerging economies.

The shift from West to East may have been informed by fatigue arising from over 50 years since the independence of most countries dependence on Western aid, loans, political and economic models as well as a partnership which was now taking too long to offer tangible solutions to the continent's woes. A good case of countries that have shifted full gear to the look East policy is Zimbabwe. Since 2003 Zimbabwe has had an official Look East Foreign policy that emphasizes relation with Malaysia, India, Indonesia, North Korea, Iran, and China.

Other countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Rwanda, Tanzania, Angola, and Mozambique have also strengthened economic, military, cultural and trade ties. This explains why China has become the leading trading partner with the continent while other Eastern countries have successfully forged relations with African nations. That said however Western countries particularly the US and members of the European Union have continued to emphasize their relations with African countries sometimes through a change in policy and strategies of dealing with African Countries.

While this chapter focused more on the shift in relations between African countries to emerging powers, there are those who still believe that such shift is largely economic as African nations are striving to benefit from finance, technology and economic advantages from the East. On matters of politics and security, there remains a close tie between African countries and their traditional partners from the West.

4.3 Actors in the Post-Cold War Era: Case of Turkey, China, and India

This section will sample some of the external actors involved in the new scramble for Africa. More specifically, we will look at the nature of relations and the primary drivers of these actors to Africa. Our case study sample will focus on three countries; China, Turkey, and India. Our choice for these case samples has been informed by their role in the continent as well as their status as emerging powers which is different from the traditional actors. The choice of these three countries, however, does not in any way mean that they are either the more or less necessary. We simply seek to provide a general framework for comparison with traditional actors. This will perhaps help us to look at the scramble from the actor's point of view and see whether Africa will in the process benefit from the new engagements.

4.3.1 India in Africa

The relationship between the sub-continent of India and Africa has a rich history that can be traced back to the pre-colonial period. The Indian Ocean that connects the two parts of the world made navigation and mobility much easier making the two regions even much closer and promoted trade (Sadiq, 1987: 1). The tight historical relations were mainly associated with colonialism as both parties struggled and supported each other to overcome the burden of imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi, an Indian independence fighter brought his strategy of 'non-violence' means to independence to African countries and used the United Nations which India became a member of; to demand Independence of African nations. In the recent years, the nature and approach of Delhi to Africa has been through the following channels

4.3.1.1 Political Engagements

Political relations between Africa and India have been around for a long time. However, the magnitude and scale of the recent engagements are at a level never seen before. In the past few years, India has emerged as a serious actor in Africa terming her relations with the continent as that built on partnership. In return, one can easily recognize ease at which African countries are responding to India's efforts to Africa. Perhaps, these can be attributed to the unique ties that exist from similar development challenges, strong principles and believe in South-South relations and people-to-people connection as over one million Indians live and work in Africa (Amanda, Makokera & Schoeman, 2015: 2-4).

Also, India's relations with African countries have received a boost under Prime Minister Modi's tenure. His strategic approach to the continent has been crafted into three categories namely; bi-lateral, regional and at the pan-African level. These engagements have given rise to prominent forums. Some include annual India – Africa trade ministers meeting, foreign office consultations, India – Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), regular meetings of joint working groups, 'Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation' (IOR – ARC) and inter-governmental joint commissions (Ministry of External Affairs, India, 2014-15).

So far three critical India-Africa Forum Summits held in October 2015, May 2011 and April 2008 has allowed for both parties to refocus on the terms of the new relations which seem to focus on development and economic ties. During the three summits, African countries were represented at the highest level with the most recent one in 2015 attracting over 35 African heads of states to Delhi. Interestingly, not only were continental issues discuss but also issues touching on global affairs such as the restructuring of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) found their way into the agenda of the third summit (Ministry of External Affairs, India, 2015). Below we will examine the nature and drivers of India to Africa.

3.3.1.2 Desire to balance China's influence in the continent

The first decade of the twenty-first century has been characterized by the steady growth of Asian countries in particular India and China. These two nations despite clear indications of becoming important actors in the international arena, a huge contrast to their economic, political and social structure models (Wang, 2011: 438). The activities of these two Asian giants in Africa provide a complex point of analysis. There are those in India who see the rise of China as a threat, given the various boundary disputes and competition for natural resources especially energy. On the other hand, there are those who see the rise of China as an opportunity particularly the business class in India.

Also, the geopolitical proximity of India and China, in particular through Tibet, creates a scenario of mutual suspicion, competition as well as the military build-up. It is against this backdrop that India may want to challenge China in Africa a character realist theorists will well agree on. Both China and India have opened up military bases in Africa, their state-run petroleum companies are busy exploring oil potential in the continent as well as trade, and investment relations have intensified in Africa. Beijing and Delhi have both in the last decade hosted huge delegations of African leaders under the banner of Sino-Africa and Delhi-Africa summits which can be seen as an attempt by either side to gain more ground support from the continent.

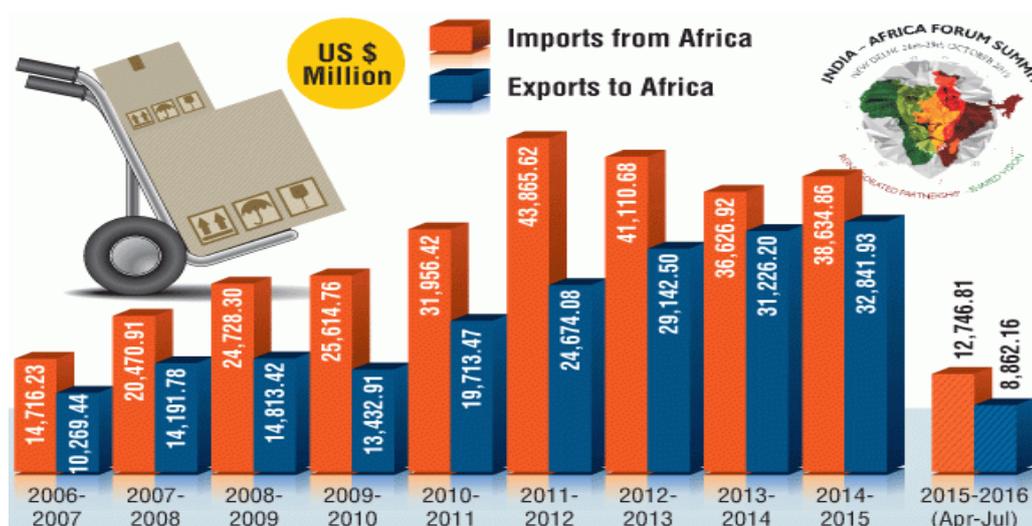
4.3.1.3 Trade Relations

In comparison to her rival China, Trade between Africa and India appear to be low. However, the trade between the continent and the subcontinent has witnessed a fifteen fold rise between the year 2000 and 2016 from approximately US\$ 4 million to US\$ 75 million (Sharma 6th September 2015). During the 2014 Annual India Economic Summit hosted by the World Economic Forum, Indian industrialists, and African leaders set a target of US\$ 500 billion additional trade between Africa and India between 2014 and 2020. The backbone of this ambitious goal is pegged on the growing demand for energy resources in India and Africa's increased production of the much-needed uranium, coal, and oil (Amanda, Makokera & Schoeman, 2015: 5).

Agricultural products from India specifically rice is increasingly finding their way to Africa while tea, cotton and other cash crops from Africa characterize trade between the two regions. India’s favorable import policies such as the Duty-Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) that is extended on products from least developed countries are also making the sub-continent an attractive destination for Africa’s agricultural exports (Exim Bank database, 2000-2016).

There have also been remarkable efforts to diversify exports from India to Africa which today include; pharmaceuticals, communication materials, and electronics. On the other hand, African countries have not yet succeeded in diversifying their products which largely remain in the form of natural resources.

Table 2: Trade between India and Africa between 2002 and 2016



Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2016

4.3.1.4 Foreign Direct Investment from India

Since 2005, investment inflow from India to Africa has been recommendable. India has climbed the ladder to become the fifth highest source of foreign investment in the continent just behind US, China, France, and Malaysia (Viswanathan et. al. 2015: 12). Among the sectors that continue to attract Indian investors, particularly from the private sector, including power, energy, information and communications,

healthcare, agribusiness, telecommunications and pharmaceuticals (Gokarn, Sindu & Godbole, 2017: 44-63).

Bharti Airtel, the largest telecommunication service provider in India is operational in 17 African countries while other major Indian multinational companies such as Essar, TATA, Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited (ONGC) and IFFCO Fertilizer Company have set up huge production plants in Africa. African countries are not performing well regarding investments to India. In fact, Mauritius is the largest African investor in India at the tune of US\$ 8.4 billion (Gokarn, Sindu & Godbole, 2017: 49-52). Nonetheless, bilateral investments between India and Africa continue to be encouraged through the signing of treaties and Memorandums of Understanding (MoU).

4.3.1.5 Cooperation in Development

Initially, India's development outreach in Africa favored their fellow colonial counterparts in Anglophone African countries and was not more than training and technical support. However, the approach and nature of development support have changed in the last two decade where over US\$ 12 billion have been extended to lusophone and francophone countries (Exim Bank, 9th November 2015). There has also been an extension of the role of development initiatives from India to Africa to include investment, concessional loans, capacity building, technology transfer, trade, and grants.

India, just like other emerging powers is becoming more attractive to her no policy prescriptions and non-condition attached to development assistance towards African countries. Also, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda have benefited from a loan waiver from the Indian government totaling to a sum of US\$ 24 million under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) framework (Michael, 2014: 341-357).

In extending her development assistance to Africa, India is using a three-channel approach namely grants, credits and capacity building. To start with, provision of grants to African countries is a new phenomenon and is spread across different

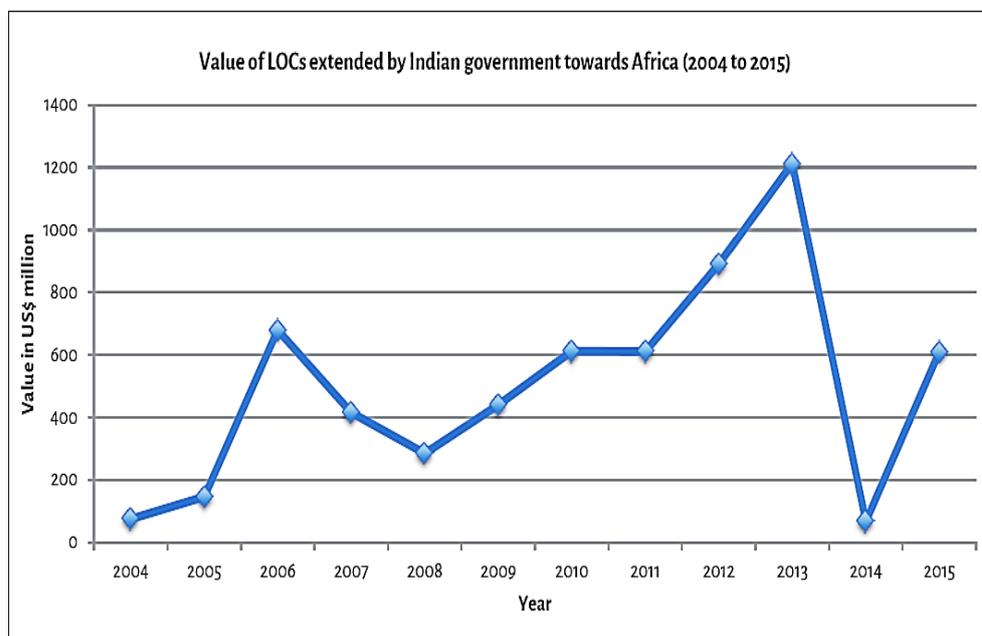
sectors. Since 2005, African countries have received approximately US\$ 2 billion from the government of India in the form of grants. Education, administration, management, Information, and Communication Technology (ICT) sectors being the biggest beneficiaries of the said grant. Of the US\$ 2 billion, about US\$ 700 million worth of grant has been spent on establishing academic and professional training centers for Africans.

Examples of these institutions include; Centre for Indian Studies in Africa (CISA), the India-Africa Institute of Agriculture and Rural Development, India-Africa Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (IAIEPA), India-Africa Institute of Foreign Trade (IAIFT), among others (Mullen and Arora,2016:10). In addition to these, another separate US\$ 500 million was allocated in the 2014 budget of India under the category of ‘Aid to Africa’ and is to be spread over the next four years as a grant (Michael, 2014: 341-357).

As part of what Delhi considers to be a mutually beneficial partnership, the Indian government has developed a credit scheme for African countries. These Lines of Credit (LoCs) have been crucial in providing the continent with an alternative source of finance. Africa’s response to these low hanging fruits has been encouraging. Between 2006 and 2015 Africa accounted for over 58% of the total amount of credit India provided externally. The ease and speed of securing these loans have made it easy for African governments to turn to India and away from their traditional partners like the World Bank and IMF.

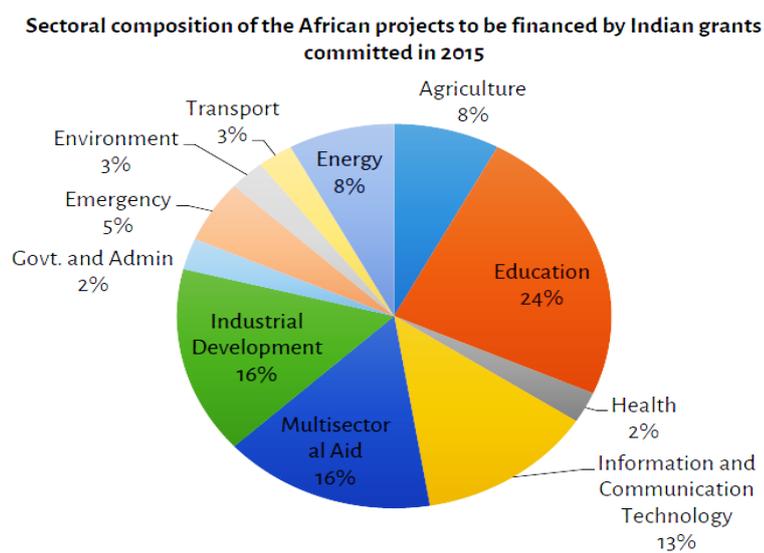
To put the above into context, 65% of the loans to Africa were provided between 2008 and 2015 with an additional US\$ 10 billion spread over the next five years between 2015 and 2020 (MoE, 2015). Approximately 137 projects in Africa have been financed by the Indian government through the credit scheme and touch on different sectors as shown below;

Table 3: Grants offered by India to Africa between 2000 and 2015



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Table 4: Projects per sector financed by the Indian government to Africa



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Regarding capacity building, Africa and India share two common features. On one had both of them have similar demographic characteristics of populations over one billion and rapid economic growth in the last decade. However, while India has been able to make bigger steps than Africa, the role of human resource in development is well acknowledged and forms part of engagement between the sub-continent and the continent.

African scholars will continue to benefit from over 50,000 scholarships to be provided by the government of India between 2015 and 2020. This is done through various channels such as the African Union Commission (implemented by the Indian Department of Agriculture Education (DARE), Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) (Mullen and Arora, 2016: 10.) Government efforts are also being supplemented by the private sector from India who conducts training and organize capacity building programs. The C. V. Raman International Fellowship program is an example of private sector input. This fellowship gives African scholars an opportunity to enroll and be trained at leading research institutions in India (Haidar, November 9, 2015)

4.3.1.6 Military and Security engagements

Security is an important point of convergence in India-Africa relations. Historically, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, one would expect that hard power would not be a significant element of India's policy towards Africa. Gandhi's beliefs and principles notwithstanding, contemporary Indian policy makers understand very well the need to project one's hard power as an emerging country. Years of investment and research in the defense industry combined with the third largest army in the world makes India a formidable force in the international arena. Her engagements with Africa have also seen the inclusion of hard power policies alongside the use of soft power. It is important to note that both India and African countries continue to face different forms of threats be it secessionist as is the case of Kashmir or terrorism as well as piracy.

In response, the Indian Navy has been deployed off the Gulf of Aden to conduct anti-piracy operations. Also, the Indian military under the United Nations has

undertaken several peacekeeping missions in African countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia and Liberia (Pham, 2007: 347).

4.3. 2 China in Africa

Although China is not a new actor in Africa, it has become a dominant actor in the new scramble for Africa since the year 2000. Politically, China supported Africans' course for independence in the 1960s and played an important role during the 1955 conference of non-aligned states held in Bandung'. After attaining independence, there was a rush between China and African countries for recognition of sovereignty, and over 15 countries from the continent developed early diplomatic ties with China while a number were allied to Taiwan leaving the rest neutral (Brautigam, 2011a: 31).

Economically, historical ties between people in business from Africa, mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong can be traced back to the 1950s. This was when traders from the continent went to place orders for products in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, back in Africa these areas were popularly known as a source of cheaper consumer and textile products (Obiorah, 2008: 3-8).

Apart from opening representative offices in Africa, the 1980s witnessed a sustainable increase in business and companies owned by the Chinese in the continent. Culturally, the popularity and spread of Chinese Kung-Fu movies across Africa led to an awakening of the Continent's' population regarding China. Schools of Martial Arts were opened, interest in Buddhism and Confucius' teachings became enhanced among the young Africans living in major towns across Africa at the time (Obiorah, 2008: 4).

China has recently become the partner of choice for many African countries in what has been described as the 'Look East policy.' The contemporary engagement between African countries and China is on an unprecedented scale. These relations have taken the nature of the foreign direct investment, technology transfer, tourism, agriculture, development assistance, trade and (Haroz, 2011: 5-10). Concerns have

been raised as to what has driven China to Africa, and in this section, I will try to capture some of the views.

4.3.2.1 Neo –Colonial & Hegemonic arguments.

The arguments forwarded by this camp tend to focus more on the risks Africa may/is facing by engaging with the Chinese. They point out that China merely seeks to take advantage of the vulnerable situation African countries are in (desperately looking for money to put develop social and economic infrastructure) to exploit their natural resources as well as destabilize the existing status quo in the geopolitical system and threatening the West (Harris, 2005: 7-25). They add that since African countries are not equal partners, they are most likely unable to promote their interest on the bargaining table (Alden, 2005). The comparison made with the colonial era drivers is that they are both as a result of industrial revolution within these specific countries.

According to Kenneth Schortgen Jr, the agreement to set up a Chinese military base in Zimbabwe is part of a US-China proxy war as the two world powers scramble for the resources available in the continent and the political loyalty that can be generated with African countries. For Elizabeth Pond, China is on the verge of revenge after over 200 years of humiliation by the Europeans, Africa thus provides a better ground for revenge (Pound, 2013). The argument is that China is trying to push back the United States which it sees as trying to restrict her expansion as a regional power. The African strategy may be seen as trying to divert the attention of the US or project its strength by winning the loyalty and resources from areas traditionally considered US domain (Gertz, 2002: 1-15).

Critics of China such as the former Governor of the Nigerian Central Bank Lamido Sanusi described China-Africa relations as “China takes our primary goods and sells us manufactured ones... this was also the essence of colonialism” he added (Financial Times, March 11, 2013). Closely related, reports from Zambia in 2013 showed that the natives were increasingly complaining about the lack of transparency about the amount of minerals (copper) being generated by Chinese investors. This is despite a recently passed law that required ‘electronic monitoring

and reporting system' to be put in place to provide information on the taxes and royalties the government collects from foreign investors.

An article by Okeowo published by the *New Yorker* in 2013 reveals that despite Zambia being the third largest beneficiary of Chinese investment in the continent the country was still facing high levels of unemployment and corruption emanating from deals made between China and Zambian government (Okeowo, 2013). In fact, the election of President Michael Sata in 2011 was attributed partly to his anti-Chinese sentiments since he compared the Chinese company's treatment of the local labor force to slavery.

According to the Human Rights Watch report, workers employed by Chinese companies in Zambia worked under deplorable conditions (particularly those working in the mines working below the minimum wage standard). Also, when the workers rose up to demand better working conditions as was the case of Collum Coal Mine company strike, the Chinese officials injured 13 people by firing gunshots at them (Okeowo, 2013).

The issue of labor right is not unique to Africa but also similar abuses are experienced by Chinese works in Africa and back in China. Using Lenin's conceptualisation of imperialism, proponents of the China new colonialist arguments state that imperialism involves the export of capital across the world (Lenin, 2015: 256-275). To understand this argument one needs to look at the patterns of Chinese investment which appear to be concentrated largely on natural resource sector such as oil, agriculture as well as copper (Taylor, 1998: 443-460).

This argument has been criticized for being simplistic and over- exaggerated. Critics point out that although Chinese investment in Africa is growing rapidly, it is still not the largest. According to Matina Stevens' report on the Wall Street Journal of 19th May 2014, The US, France, and UK are the leading investors in Africa. The trio has a combined \$178.2 billion; they are followed closely by members of the BRICS among them a combined investment of \$67.7 billion with Chinese contribution being \$27 billion (Stevis, 19 May 2014).

This approach also assumes that the engagement between Africa and China is a one-way scenario where African states passively respond to Chinese advances. They do not put into consideration that African countries have been proactive in these relations sometimes making the first move to invite China to their respective countries. This leads us to the second school that argues contrary to the above approach.

4.3.2.2 Win –Win Arguments

The notion of a win-win relationship between China and African countries is one that continues to elicit joy and controversy. Proponents of the win-win narrative in China-Africa relations point out the impact China has had on Africa's development in the recent past. Indeed China has been able to offer African countries with the much-needed alternative finance away from the Bretton Wood institutions. Also, there is no doubt that over the last two decades, China has overtaken traditional trading partners of Africa including the United States to become the largest trading partner and foreign direct investment with Africa (BBC, 30 January 2015). According to Deborah Bräutigam, China's engagement with Africa through zero-interest loans, concessional loans, grants, debt relief, preferential export credits and other subsidies will certainly help the continent find its path to development (Brautigam, 2011b: 760).

China's involvement in Africa is visible through rapidly increasing mega infrastructure projects include inter-state rail and highway networks, ports, stadiums, skyscrapers as well as electricity projects (OECD 2008a). There has been a significant investment in agricultural research and production as well as fishing industries. African scholars have got an opportunity to study at different Chinese Universities through the Chinese government scholarship that provides over 5000 scholarships to Africans annually. Also related to the above more Africans continue to receive training in technical courses such as railway and bridge construction and mechanics which are seen as an attempt to technology transfer- though not to a massive or advanced scale.

Research by Wenjie Chen, David Dollar, and Heiwai Tang concludes that China's support to countries with both weak and strong governance institutions without discrimination will eventually lead to a more uniform growth in the continent (Chen, Dollar & Tang, 2016: 7-22). This is because conditions set by Western donor countries and institutions made it difficult for countries with weak democratic values to access funds for development.

China has also been praised by some African leaders for its policy of non-interference on domestic affairs of African countries but rather the focus on the so-called development agenda. China presents herself as a mutual friend for Africa with an objective of promoting cooperation as well as showing respect to African countries at the international arena and this date back to President Hu Jintao era (Jiechi, 7 July 2012: China Daily).

The concept of transfer of technology and know-how is brought up in the win-win narrative. Amidst criticisms that China imports workers to work on projects in Africa, there are those who point out that Beijing has been at the forefront in enabling Africans to acquire knowledge and skills through the Chinese government scholarship which supports the highest number of Africans studying in China (Hannane, 2012: 27). An example of technology transfer is the giant electronic manufacturer Hisense that opened a plant in South Africa in 2013. This company that deals with the production of refrigerators and televisions does not just assemble parts from China, but the local employees are totaling to about 500 have been trained to make these products from scratch (Kim, 2014: 2).

Also, through the support of the Chinese government as well as Chinese firms, Africans continue to benefit from technical training in fields such as agricultural research, railway construction and maintenance, civil engineering and natural sciences.

As part of the win-win argument, proponent's state that since China does not interfere with African countries decisions on how to spend the finances provided to them by the Chinese government, more and more African countries are becoming more empowered regarding decision-making processes. The 2006 China-Africa

Development Fund (CADFund) plan that was announced by Hu Jintao promises to invest more in projects that will help industrialize African countries (Zhou, 28 May 2010).

In addition to financial support, China has been participating in several peacekeeping, security and conflict resolution operations in Africa. In January 2001, 37 Chinese security personnel were deployed to the continent as observers. By 2012, the number of Chinese police, military, and civilian officers had increased up to 1200 which is 70% of the total number of Chinese military personnel deployed all over the world (Dietz et. al, 2011: 214).

China has used her veto powers on some occasions in support of African leaders at the Security Council as was the case of Zimbabwe. An arms embargo by the EU (2002) and US (2003) was not sufficient since China became a primary source of arms for Zimbabwe whose regime was accused of abuse of human rights (Jeuck, 2011: 1-2, 7). China even vetoed a proposed UN arms embargo over Zimbabwe in 2008 (Spiegel et. al, 2009) raising the question whose interest China seeks to serve in the continent.

The win-win narrative has nevertheless come under heavy criticisms. There is a sense of concern that China's financial support to authoritarian regimes such as the one in Angola, Equatorial Guinea, and Zimbabwe may further slow the continent's quest for reforms in governance sector. The win –win narrative has also been criticized because Chinese contractors bring with them both labor and building materials such as cement from China. This is so despite their abundant availability in the continent, for example, the main finance provider Exim Bank of China states that 'no less than 50% of total procurement shall be made in China ' (Brautigam, 2011b: 760). I will now examine some of the possible drivers responsible for China's presence in Africa.

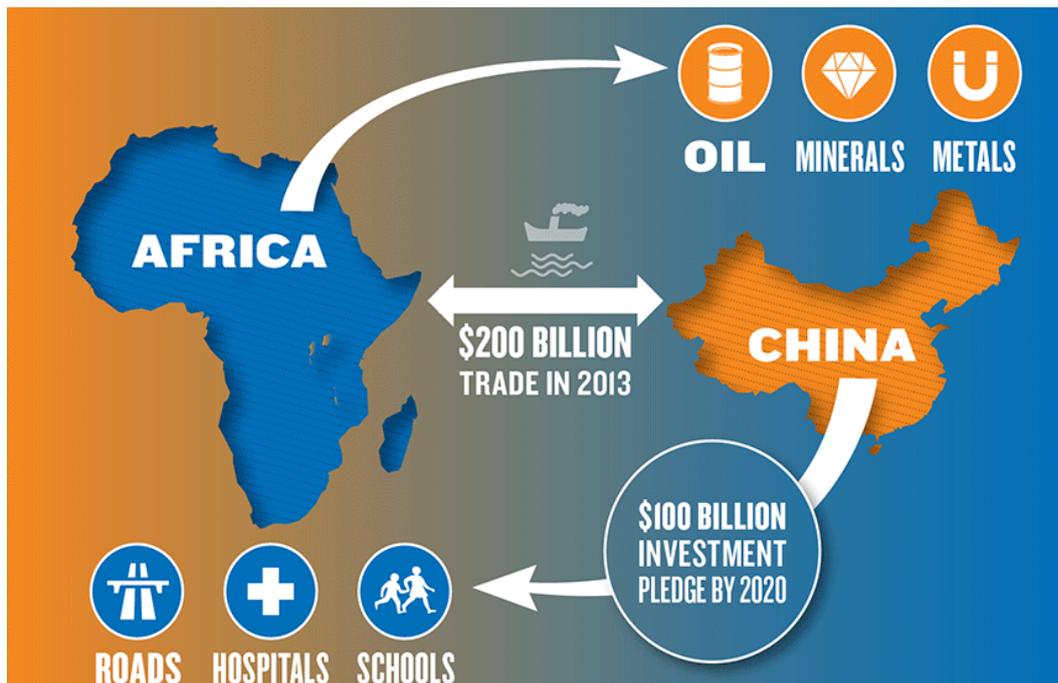


Figure 9: Trade and Investment relations between China and Africa

Source: The International Monetary Fund

There are some reasons trying to explain why China is in Africa and key among them are the domestic drivers as shown below;

4.3.2.3 Need for Energy Resources

Two decades ago, the streets of Beijing and other major cities in China were largely filled with pedestrians and cyclists, however, today; there is a unique image of these cities. Photographs and videos of vehicles stuck for hours or even days make headlines both on social and mainstream media now and then. Projections indicate that over 120 million privately owned cars will be driven on Chinese roads by 2020. This translates to a huge demand for oil and petroleum products that gets even higher with the increasing industrial and domestic demand for these commodities. With the level of oil production on the decline in China, it is expected that the increased demand will force the country to import over 60% of its petroleum products by 2025 indicating an increase of 2% to 3.1% of its total GDP (Hanson, 6 June 2008).

Initially, the Middle East region covered 60% of the total oil import in China. However, the ongoing conflict in the region is forcing China to look for a new source

of sustainable energy and Africa with its vast untapped resources stands out as a better alternative for China. Indeed to understand how much valuable energy resources are for China, one needs to look at how its investments are distributed; which is 28% of its total investment in the continent go to the energy sector (Reisen & Ndoye, 2008: 37). Today Africa accounts for one-third of the total oil exports in China, and the figures are expected to increase in the coming years.

4.3.2.4 Investment Environment

China's rapid economic growth has led to massive wealth accumulation domestically, and after massive investment in the domestic market, the government through the State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) have given an indication that there is need to invest the capital overseas. Africa for a long time was not a top destination for foreign direct investments following years of conflict and instability, but as the continent transforms, capital owners are becoming attracted to putting their money in the continent.

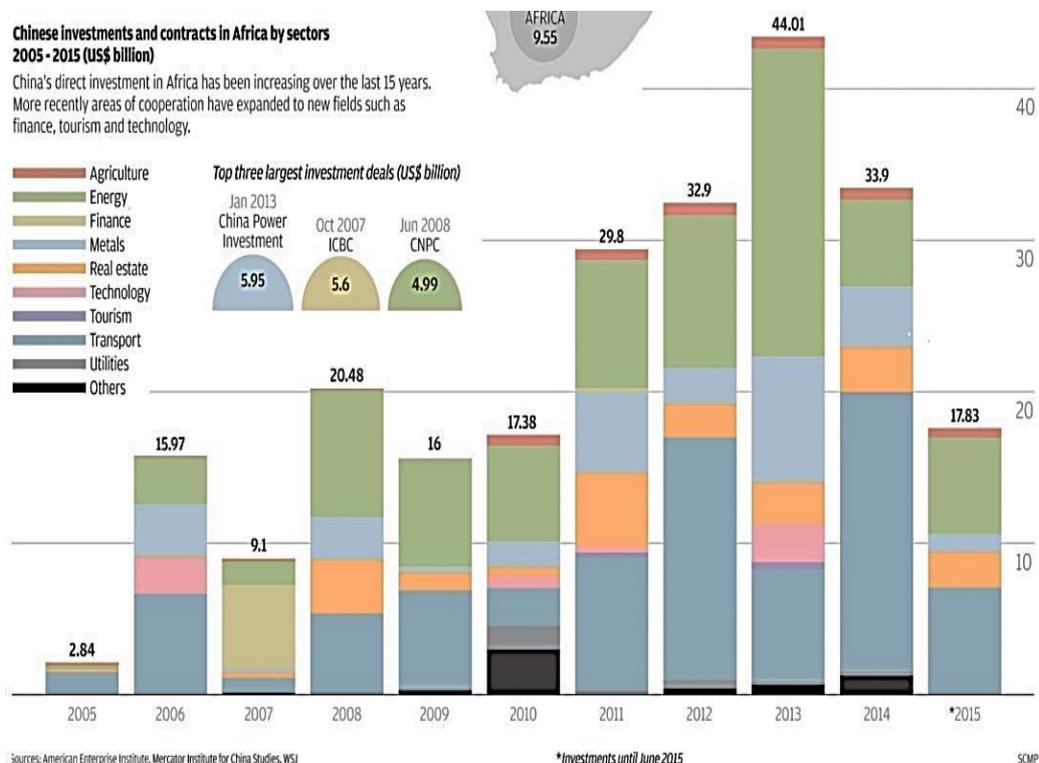
According to the China Exim Bank chief country risk analyst Zhao Changhui, the Chinese government through its SoE was ready to invest over US\$ 1 trillion in Africa until 2025, adding that Exim Bank will provide approximately 70% of the money saying that "... China has US\$ 3.5 trillion of reserves; we cannot just buy US bonds, we need to use part of it for overseas investment and Africa will be the single most important destination ..." (Changhui, 2013).

Apart from state-controlled enterprises, over 2000 firms from China have been set up in Africa (Chen, Dollar & Tang, 2016: 3). These companies invest mainly on construction, mining, telecommunications, agriculture, entertainment energy, leisure, and entertainment. Africa is seen as a good destination for China's domestic capital because of its government ability to secure better deals with the African governments such as tax waivers, easy and faster.

Also, corruption is providing a haven for foreign investors to get away with economic crimes making Africa an easier choice for the excess capital accumulated domestically in China. Noteworthy, China's investment in Africa is not the highest with the US, EU and other Asian countries such as Japan investing heavily in the

region, it is the pace at which China is increasing its investment in Africa that makes it stand out.

Table 5: China’s investment in Africa by sector between 2005 and 2015



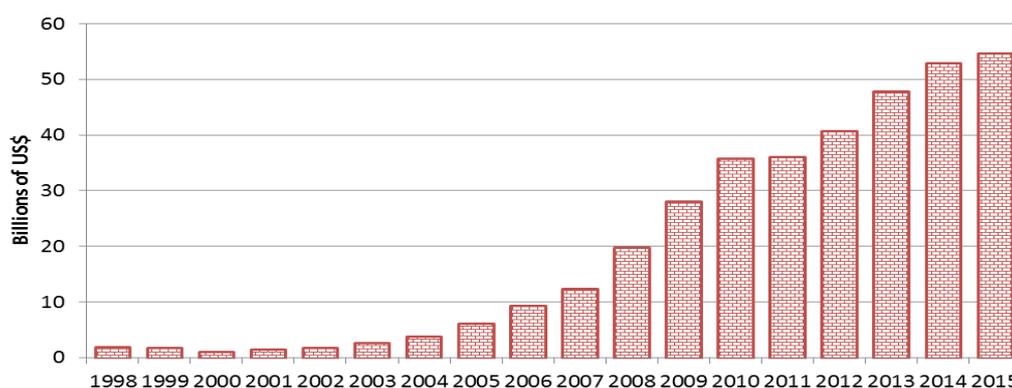
Source: American Enterprise Institute,

4.3.2.5 Employment Tenders and Contracts

On the one hand China’s fast-growing population needs employment opportunities, and on the contrary, Africa needs both financial assistance and infrastructure development to be undertaken in the continent. The Chinese government can provide the capital to African countries and secure in exchange deals that will guarantee employment opportunities for the Chinese people. Evidently, people working in projects being done by Chinese companies are majority Chinese people. This sometimes includes even the casual labor. The good relations between the Chinese and the African government have seen over one million Chinese workers move to Africa over the last decade some include hawkers and street vendors. One million may not sound a big number about China’s population, but it is very much significant given the pace at which it is growing.

Chinese companies are also enjoying a big number of contracts, particularly in the construction sector. While some of the companies get the contracts due to the government's loan condition with a particular African country, according to Vinci, the world's largest contractor, Chinese companies place tender bids that are three times cheaper than western companies. This makes them more attractive to most of the African countries that may wish to save on their financial resources. Some of the companies awarded tenders in the continent include; China Railway Construction Corp. (USD\$ 1.5 Billion railway contract in Nigeria), China South Locomotive and Rolling Stock Corp., China Wu Yi, and many others. Chinese companies seem to be getting good returns as indicated in the table below.

Table 6: Revenue of Chinese construction firms between 1998 and 2015



Source: China-Africa Initiative, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

4.3.2.6 Market

China's production sector has been popular (or in some cases unpopular) for the production of cheap products. This combined with the positive economic trends in Africa that have seen over 200 million people elevated to the middle class has attracted Chinese firms to market their products in the continent. Although trade between Africa and China began a long time ago, it was until 2014 that China became the largest trading partner with the continent (USD \$ 119 billion) overtaking the US. The market for the finished product will forever remain a top agenda for Chinese domestic companies who may influence their government to maintain good relations with the continent.

4.3.2.7 Food

Any rapidly growing population comes with its challenges, with the lifting of the one-child policy, Chinese policy makers are trying to find a source for food supply. Africa, on the other hand, occupies 40% of the world's arable land most of which remain unexploited. Although the figures over how much land China has acquired in Africa for agricultural purposes, Africa is indeed a region China is contemplating to secure for its food supply. Brautigam's Book "will Africa feed China" provides an excellent insight into this concept.

4.3.3 Turkey in Africa

As part of the ongoing new scramble for Africa, Turkey like other emerging powers such as India, Brazil and China is in the race with a charm offensive characterized by strengthening of political, social and economic ties since 2002. In this part, I will examine the domestic and external drivers of for Turkey's involvement in Africa and perhaps the implications of Ankara's involvement in the new scramble.

The shift towards Africa was signaled by the publication of *Opening Up to Africa Policy* in 1998 and later an action plan in 1999. However, a combination of financial crisis and a devastating earthquake delayed Ankara's entry into the scramble for Africa and end decades' long isolation of the continent in her foreign policy (Wheeler, 2015: 44-45). Nevertheless, the early years of the new millennium witnessed significant trends and events in relations between Turkey and Africa.

The year 2005, in particular, became an important turning point as it saw Turkey obtaining an observer status to the African Union (AU) and the same year was also declared "the year of Africa" in Turkey. In August 2008 an African summit was held in Istanbul with 49 African countries participating (Meral & Paris, 2010: 85). The same year, during the 10th African Union summit, Turkey was declared a strategic partner to the continent. Around 20 new Turkish embassies have been opened in Africa over the last decade bringing the number to 39 a period that also saw over 17 African embassies opened in Ankara bringing the number to 32 in 2017. The second

Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit has held Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, on 19-21 November 2014 and attended by the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Some factors among them Africa's promising economic, strained relations with Middle East countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Iran as well as the delayed European Union membership are making Africa a potential partner for Turkey. This does not mean that Africa is acting as a substitute to the Middle East, but African countries seem to provide a better alternative given the challenges of the ongoing conflict in Syria and Iraq which are among the largest destinations for Turkey's exports.

The above sentiment could perhaps have informed former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's announcement that Ankara was looking at Africa as an important region (Daily Sabah, 5th January 2015). So what is the nature of Turkey's approach to Africa and what are the drivers? I will explore these fundamental questions below starting with the nature of relations between Ankara and the continent.

4.3.3.1 Economic Relations

Economic ties between Africa and Turkey remained significantly low (approximately \$742 million) until the year 2000 when Ankara showed intentions to match her growing political influence in the continent with commercial and economic relations. According to the Turkish MFA website, Trade between the two is estimated to have reached \$9.3 billion in 2013 an increase from \$ 5.3 billion in 2005. Between 2007 and 2013, Sub-Saharan Africa's trade with Turkey maintained an average of 2.7% of the country's total trade as shown in the table below.

Though this figure appears to be low if compared with Turkey's trade with the rest of the world which stood at \$ 300billion in the same year (Gunay speech at Chatham House, 2011), there seems to have been a steady growth in trade and investment from Turkey to Africa. Some Turkish firms have also entered into the competitive construction sector with a number winning tenders to construct roads, commercial and residential buildings, bridges and educational facilities.

Table 7: Trade between Africa and Turkey (Amounts in US\$)

Region	Export	Import	Total	Export	Import	Total		
SSA	1,946	2,821	4,767	4,103	2,522	6,625		
World	107,271	170,062	277,333	151,802	251,661	403,463		
SSA (%)	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.7	1.0	1.6		
NorthAfrica	4,029	2,285	6,314	10,041	3,508	13,549		
North Africa (%)			3.8	1.3	2.3	6.6	1.4	3.4

Source: Turkey's Statistical Institute

Investment by Turkish firms totaling a hundred operating in the continent is estimated to be worth \$ 1 billion in 2007 (Yildiz 2007) and so far have benefited from contracts estimated to be worth \$18 billion. The primary drivers of this trade are found in the construction and transport sectors. Indeed iron and steel have remained the highest export products to Africa since 2012 and valued at \$ 1 billion (MoE, 2013). Africa exports natural resources such as flowers, pearls, and jewelry to Turkey totaling around (\$813 million). Turkey's national carrier Turkish Airlines increased its destination to 41 in 2015 thus becoming among the largest international airlines operating across the continent (Shinn, 2015a: 13).

4.3.3.2 Donor and Humanitarian Activities

Turkey's capacity building oriented aid to Africa combined with the construction of hospitals and schools complement the trade and political relations with the continent. The state is represented by public institutions like the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet). Turkish non-governmental business organizations Human Right and Freedoms Humanitarian Aid Foundation (IHH) play significant roles in strengthening relations between Turkey and Africa. Compared to other emerging countries in Africa the activities of these NGOs take a big share of Turkey's involvement in Africa, yet they are not necessarily a consequence of Ankara's policies. For example, business organizations organized different trade and investment fairs to connect Turkish business persons with investment opportunities in the continent (Guny, 2011).

Turkey until recently was not considered as a donor country (Kulaklikaya & Nurdun, 2010: 131-145). However, through TIKA a government development agency, Middle East, and Africa continue to benefit from sponsored projects which increased from 45 to 140 between the year 2005 and 2006 (Fidan & Nurdun, 2008: 93-111). Up until 2009, Africa and the Middle East got 24% of the US\$ 956 billion channeled through TIKA by Official Development Assistance (TIKA, 2009: 52)

Turkey also channels support to Africa through various international organizations to help spark development in the continent. In 2008, Turkey donated US\$ 7.1 billion to various African countries through the World Food Program, Red Crescent and World Health Organization. In 2009 US\$ 3.1 billion was donated to Africa through the World Food Program (Özkan and Akgün, 2010: 537–538) and the same year the African Union received US\$ 0.5 million to boost its budget (Özkan, 2014). According to the Turkey's Ministry of Economy, in 2011 Exim Bank of Turkey signed a US\$ 100 million and US\$ 50 million with Ethiopia and Tanzania respectively.

In 2014, Africa was allocated a big fraction of TIKA's donations according to a local newspaper (Daily Sabah, 7 November 2014). IHH another humanitarian organization has been running different projects which by the end of 2012 were providing an average of \$17.5 million to 43 African countries (Kimse Yok Mu 2013 report.) Financial and technical support is provided by TIKA to medical practitioners, who wish to carry out check-ups in Africa (Tokyay, 27 December 2011). Apart from state institutions, non-governmental organizations and civil societies have been on the forefront in promoting different activities in Africa.

4.3.3.3 Religious Diplomacy

Since coming to power in 2002, the AK party has developed a rather proactive foreign policy that has seen Turkey expanding her influence from Africa to Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. In this process one salient feature that has been used by Ankara to try and appeal for relations with many countries is Islam. Religious diplomacy is rather a new phenomenon in Turkish foreign policy since in the previous year's much emphasis was given to the constitutional requirement of a

secular state. Lack of political goodwill as was evident during the visit of North Africa by the president of Diyanet İbrahim Elmalı (Milliyet, 28 June 1966) who was recalled by the government after he engaged in religious activities (Milliyet, 29 June 1966).

However this has changed since the year 2000 whereby activities of the organization have increasingly expanded outside Turkey (Bardakoğlu 2008), and in Africa, this approach has become comprehensive and sophisticated and used as a legitimizing tool over the last decade. It is not only being implemented by the government but also other organizations such as civil societies and religious figures. Religious diplomacy has not attracted much attention and even underestimated at times (Aydın 2008), maybe because it is considered as part of the soft power. Nonetheless, its contribution in Africa's relations with Turkey is worth considering (Beng 2008; Kalın 2011).

In 2006, religious representatives from 21 African countries assembled in Istanbul for a meeting (Deniz & Orakci, 2006 in Özkan, 2014) giving an indication that Ankara was ready to revive the past Ottoman religious connection with the African countries to succeed in her Africa-opening policy (Presidency of Religious Affairs 2006). A second meeting was held November 2011, and since then mosques, schools, and Imam-Hatip colleges have been built on the continent (Ozgur, 2015: 24-40)

This approach seems to isolate other countries and give other new emerging actors such as Brazil, China, and India which do not use religion a better advantage to freely engage with all the 54 African countries. Memories of how religion was used to manipulate Africans is still vividly apparent among much African policy makers, and thus religion will only be a tool that facilitates physical interest rather than spiritual growth. For example Africans especially Muslims are using Islam as a bridge to penetrate the Turkish societies and for purposes of migration. This has however not been without challenges, Africans from North Africa who is considered to be Arabs and Muslims tend to get more favors than Africans from sub-Saharan Africans (Şenerdem, Hürriyet Daily News 13th, April 2011).

4.3.3.4 Political engagement

The EU accession project is taking too long and seemingly will not be realized in the foreseeable future. Recently Turkey has been facing problems with neighbors has resulted to the uneasy relation between Turkey and most of her neighbors Europe and the Middle East. For example, in Syria-Turkey has fallen out with Bashar al-Assad regime, the shooting down of a Russian fighter Jet, opposition of the Houthis group in Yemen threaten to isolate Turkey in the region. These continuous shifts in alliance make the Middle East an unreliable region to have allies, and therefore Turkey appears to look for a more solid foundation, and sub-Saharan Africa seems to provide the answer.

Turkey has openly shown her interest to be a global player and the new relationship with Africa seems to fit well with this goal. Undoubtedly trade has been an important factor in these relations; Humanitarian aid and investments are benefiting African countries whose exports to Turkey are low. Turkey hopes to get the support of African nations on issues that will help her broaden her power and influence at the global stage. Turkey has been working closely with Sub-Saharan countries on the war against piracy, counterterrorism, issues within the World Trade Organization, and her election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council and hosting of the 2020 Expo.

In an ambitious program, Ankara has since the last decade engaged in setting up its embassies in different countries across the continent and urging African countries to reciprocate the same in Turkey. Embassies opened in Tanzania and Côte d'Ivoire 2009, in addition to the already existing missions in the Ethiopia, Sudan, Senegal, Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, and DRC. More embassies were established in 2010 (in Mali, Cameroon, Uganda, Madagascar, Angola, and Ghana), 2011 (Mozambique, Somalia, The Gambia, Zambia, Mauritania, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe). In 2012 (Namibia, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Gabon) and 2013 (Guinea, Chad, Eritrea, and Djibouti). Turkey became the first country in the world in 2013 after opening its embassy in Eritrea to establish embassies in all the Horn of African countries (Özkan

& Orakci, 2015). In those countries without an embassy, Turkey has used honorary consulates to represent it.

A total of 37 visits to Africa has been made by either the President, Speaker of the Grand National Assembly or the Prime Minister between 2009 and 2011. In the last 12 months leading up to February 2017, Turkish president has made up to three multi-state visit trips to Africa. In February-March of 2016, President Erdogan visited Nigeria-Ivory Coast-Guinea and Ghana, in June 2016 he made a visit to Uganda-Kenya and Somalia while in January 2017, he visited Tanzania-Madagascar and Mozambique a firm indication that despite the domestic troubles, Ankara's policy towards Africa is here to stay.

Eighty-nine visits by African leaders to Turkey have also been made over the last four years. A Turkey-Africa forum for media was held in Ankara in 2012 and was attended by over 300 African journalists. A total of 20 high-level trips between Africans and Turks were organized. This is added to the 2014 Turkey-Africa summit held in Equatorial Guinea and was attended by a powerful delegation of Turkey's President, the foreign minister, and over 200 Turkish Businessmen. Africa was represented by 30 heads of state (Özkan, 2014: 45-49).

Noticeably there have been frequent visits by Turkish Navy vessels to Sub-Saharan Africa. Most recent a Turkey's Navy humanitarian mission to Africa ("Beyond Horizons") departed from Kocaeli on the 27th March 2014 and planned to visit 29 ports in 27 countries. According to the Public coordinator under the Prime Minister's office, the mission was to display Turkey's hard power elements in a soft power mission (Tastekin, Al-Monitor 6th April 2014). What raises eyebrows is the composition of the task force which according to the Commander of the Turkish Navy Adm. Bulent Bostanoglu included four ships, three helicopters, four amphibious assault teams, four underwater mission teams and one underwater commando team with a total of 781 personnel.

Despite being on a humanitarian mission, the flotilla was to carry out real naval exercise in the open seas. This mission has been described as a test of capacity and capability of hard power by Turkey in Africa (Tastekin, Al-Monitor 6th April 2014).

Turkey's Navy continues to play an important role in the war against piracy of the coasts of Sub-Saharan African countries.



Figure 10: Above is a group photo taken by the crew members of the Turkish 'Beyond Horizons' crew when it docked in the port city of Mombasa, Kenya in 2014. Far left is the Turkish Ambassador to Kenya Deniz Eke and in gray suit the governor of Mombasa

Source: Turkish Embassy in Kenya website

Despite the fact that Turkey-Africa relations are not frequently studied under either North-South relations or South-South relations, Turkey's involvement in the continent is worth mentioning. Regarding the scramble, Turkey has performed well statistically, increasing her trade volumes with the continent three-fold from what it used to be US\$ 5 billion in 2003 to about US\$ 19 billion in 2015. The figures are however very limited compared to countries like China whose trade with the Continent stands more than US\$ 250 billion in 2016. With much focus on Somalia particularly on investment, many believe that Turkey needs to play another important role in mediating peace in the war-torn Horn of African country. There are those who believe that over emphasizing her energy and resources on majority Muslim countries and regions such as Somalia, Turkey risks being marginalized by other

countries on the continent. Potential opportunities elsewhere in the continent such as in the construction sector may go to other countries such as China and India which is unfortunate given the fact that Turkey's construction industry ranks among the top three in the world.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The nature of the interaction between Africa and external actors has largely been influenced by a series of domestic and international circumstances. Historical and contemporary eras coined into global events such as colonialism, the cold war, and the New Scramble has had a significant influence on the nature of how Africa has been engaging with external actors. The issues that characterize the nature of relations between Africa and external actors are important in determining the past, present, and future of the continent. Despite this significant role, there seems to be laxity inside the continent and among the external actors to examine the nature of their relations and more so the consequences. The familiar narrative, mostly Eurocentric, has been that external actors have been the only active partners in engaging with the continent since the arrival of Europeans in Africa in the late 1800s. This narrative has gained prominence because external actors not only documented their engagement with Africa but also possession of essential tools for spreading such information like the media a scenario that confined the voice of the locals within the perimeters of the villages. Such a one-sided narrative can be vulnerable to bias and inaccuracies especially if one ignores the rationale and perception of Africans in engaging with the external players. It is apparent from this research that there is need to challenge the whole idea that Africans have been passive actors in their engagements with the external actors.

Historically, Africans, particularly through their leaders, have been very active in engaging with external players. If I start with the infamous slave trade period that saw over 30 million Africans sold as slaves in the international market, external actors were the buyers while Africans were the sellers who provided slaves. In short, slaves were seen as commodities of trade, and it was the Africans who carried out raids, captured and sold the slaves. The same Africans engaged in the search for market in Europe, the Middle East and America as Miers and her colleagues point out in their book *Slavery in Africa* (Miers, Kopytoff & Watson: 111, 129, 271, 424-425)

Then came the colonial era, a period that has been variously analyzed by historians from the viewpoints of Marxists, neo-colonial and liberal theorists. Marxists are of the belief that the nature of the relationship between Africa and external actors during this time was that of a master –slave. They look at Africans as victims of European imperialism, and that colonialism was entirely a European affair. Postcolonial theorists argue that the misfortunes of the continent today are mainly attributed to the consequences of colonialism and as an extension the ‘evils’ of the West (Southall & Melber, 2009). Liberals, on the contrary, have pointed out the benefits of colonialism to the continent. For them (Liberals) the colonial era was a period when Europeans were keen on extending their civilization to the rest of the world. Liberals argue that abolition of slave trade and the advent of Christianity, Western education as well as the construction of hospitals and incorporation of the continent in the global economy as the benefits of the interaction of Africans with the Europeans during the colonial era. In fact, they point out that majority of the physical infrastructure such as roads, railways, hospitals, and schools were constructed during the colonial period.

The three schools present a contrary view of nature of relations between the continent and external players. To start with the weakness of the Marxist school, the representation of Africa as solely a victim of external powers seems to overlook the important role domestic actors have always played. African elites were very active in the slave trade and signing of agreements with the Europeans. Their motivation particularly in signing treaties with Europeans should not be taken for granted. By looking at the treaties signed between African leaders and emissaries of the colonial powers one can establish that African leaders were politically conscience and knew the political implication of signing the agreements more so about upholding their position in authority.

In some cases, it was by the invitation of the African leaders that the Europeans came to their territories. The popular belief at the time was that the presence of the ‘Whiteman’ would guarantee them protection. Another important thing to point out is that while others insist it is Europe that underdeveloped Africa, the demands by African leaders to the Europeans can offer an objective view on this matter. Rapid

industrialization across Europe characterized the years during which colonialism took place, yet decision makers in Africa never focused on the manufacturing potential of the continent. In fact, as seen in the first chapter of this thesis, most African leaders were satisfied with gifts such as bicycles, wine, mirrors, clothes, and firearms. There was no negotiation for technology transfer or construction of infrastructure that would benefit people in Africa. Also, foreign direct investment was never an important part of the negotiation agenda while proper taxation and regulation on mining did not exist. These were further worsened by the fact that individual African leaders held excess powers, which after signing agreements with Europeans, no one could audit the latter's' activities. Therefore contrary to the publicized notion by Marxists that the Africans were victims, it is clear that they were at the center of the whole process whose outcome was colonialism.

The liberals, who argue that the colonial era was about civilization and sharing European values with the rest of the world, have a legitimate basis for their argument. One is the controversial issue of language which Europeans are criticized for forcing Africans to learn Western languages. Nonetheless, this criticism is at times exaggerated; today an ordinary African speaks more than three languages two of which are traditional African languages. The value of speaking a foreign language in this in this era of globalization has proved to be invaluable. Despite the imposition of French, Portuguese, English, Italian, and Arabic on Africans, the people have been able to preserve not only their language but also vast aspects of their cultural beliefs alongside the foreign ones.

Secondly, no doubt that majority of the mega infrastructure projects in Africa were constructed during the colonial period. Moreover, as the liberals would say, these infrastructure projects had a positive impact on urbanization in the continent. An example is the Kenya- Uganda railway constructed between 1896 and 1907 connecting Kenya and Uganda. This project was so costly (£5.5m then, or approximately £650m in today's value) that the House of Commons dubbed it the '*Lunatic Express*.' It remained the biggest infrastructure project in the region until the construction of the Standard Gauge Railway (2014) in Kenya which upon completion will cost US\$ 12 billion. In a nutshell, the liberals' perception of the

nature of relations between Africa and external actors during the colonial era was geared towards improving the social welfare of the continents' inhabitants.

However, criticism of the liberals' view of the Colonial era has emerged with the role of external actors and the nature of their engagements with Africa being a question. First, the argument that the colonial era saw the introduction of Western education in Africa had been criticized because of the nature and quality of education that was being offered to the continent's inhabitants. African children were never given the same training as their European counterparts neither did they attend the same schools. Health services that were being offered by the Europeans were expensive and attached to conditions such as one having to convert to Christianity to access a hospital. Liberals have been criticized for overlooking at the nature of trade that existed between the Africans and Europeans. The continent did not get value for money on their exports, but again this does not mean that the resources were taken for free. Upon offering gifts to African leaders who had enormous powers, resources could be exploited without any restrictions. The argument that Europeans powers helped to abolish slave trade does not also address the fact that after forcefully losing their land to European settlers especially in Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, Africans became slaves in their land. Chapter one ends with the conclusion that the nature of relations between Africa and external actors is mostly misrepresented, but that said the consequences of the way Africa engaged with external actors at the time led to a disastrous outcome in the form of colonialism.

The Cold War era captured in Chapter two is a critical period in the history of the continent. It was taking place at a time when colonialism had reached its breaking point, and the majority of the colonial powers were being forced to exit from the continent. For the Africans, this was an era that was to mark the beginning of self – determination, prosperity and, development. To achieve these, the nature of engagement between Africa and the external actors would be very crucial. For countries which were still under colonization, external actors would provide resistance movement with the much needed political, financial, diplomatic and military support. Those countries which had attained their independence were still vulnerable from weak institutions, looted economies, unskilled populations / high

illiteracy levels, lack of experience in operating inside a complex global economy dominated by neoliberalism. Either way, by the start of the Cold War, almost all African countries needed support in one way or another from the external actors.

The Cold War ideological rivalry would then find its way into the continent where domestic players who were willing to achieve their goals at whatever cost readily accepted to take side with the superpower of their choice. This defined how the continent engaged with the East and the West as domestic actors were leaning on the side that showed the will and capacity to help them overcome their challenges. The domestic players included both states (heads of states), members of the opposition political parties, liberation movements and, sometimes military officers who overthrew several governments in the continent.

These various domestic actors had different interests while the two most prominent international actors the US and the USSR were keen on spreading and preserving their ideology across the world. The desire to spread ideological beliefs by the US and USSR resulted into supporting authoritarian leaders, military coups, colonial regimes and rival factions within various liberation movements in the continent. On a positive note, the two superpowers extended economic aid to different countries in Africa, offered scholarships to African students to study abroad and, used their position as key players at the United Nations Organization to support calls for independence. Despite the positive contributions, the Cold War era was very restrictive on which external actors Africans could interact with, and this denied the continent an opportunity to that interacting with more external actors.

Chapter three introduce and discusses the post-Cold War era and how it has transformed the nature of the interaction between Africa and external actors. The collapse of the Soviet Union gave the US a unipolar superpower status, and this facilitated the dominance of the US and US-affiliated institutions such as the World Bank and IMF in Africa. The 1990s were characterized by increased role of external non-state actors in Africa who became the principal source of funding and policy formulation. The rise of China and other non-traditional powers in the late 1990s seem to have restructured the international system. In extension, this has affected the

nature of engagement between Africa and external actors in the Post –Cold War Era prompting leading media houses such as the Times and Economists as well as scholars such as Péter Marton to term this era as a New Scramble for Africa.

The term New Scramble for Africa remains problematic since different scholars define it in different dimensions. There are those who consider it as a competition between the US and China to expand their influence; others consider it a contest between the traditional actors namely the US and European countries on one side versus non- traditional players mainly emerging powers like India, China, Turkey and others on the other. Some scholars even consider the new scramble to be competition among emerging countries in the continent. At the center of this problematic concept is Africa, a continent that is slowly gaining relevance beyond her natural resource potential and towards political, security, economic and cultural spheres.

The new scramble for Africa seems to have significantly changed the nature of the interaction between the continent and external actors. The recent approach by African countries to interact with external states and non-state actors in a unitary form has made the continent more attractive. The continent combined has the 7th largest economy in the world, and according to the World Bank, it may move to the fifth place by 2025. This coupled with an increasing consumer demand as a result of the widening middle class, and the enormous numbers of states the continent brings at the general assembly has made the many external actors recognize the continent's potential and even change the nature of their approach.

The characteristics of recent engagements with external actors include; increase foreign direct investment in the continent which according to UNCTAD has been rising at about 5% per annum. Financial loans and economic aid to the continent are today having few strings attached most with very low or no interest, sources of these finances come from different actors, unlike the previous eras where one either belong to the East or West. With the launch of national and continental plans (Africa Agenda 2063), external actors now have a better framework developed by Africans through which they can channel their support and investments. Institutions such as the World Bank and IMF no longer have the monopoly of dictating the kind of

economic policies African countries will adopt. International organizations such as the International Criminal Court have been forced to reconsider their approach to the continent after a majority of the countries threatened a mass exit from the court. Involvement of African states on issues affecting the continent is also an extraordinary transformation from previous eras if we take the example of the Berlin Conference (1884) where no single African representative was present.

The changes like the interaction between Africa and external actors since the colonial period up to the post-Cold War era have been as a result of variations in the domestic and international arena. Domestically, demand for accountability by the people is forcing governments to renegotiate their agreements on natural resources with external actors, improved. Literacy has enabled Africans to negotiate for better deals even though not all favor the continent, rising literacy levels have diversified the continent's output to include human resource and technology, most states have become stable, and civil wars that dominated the continent have significantly reduced. This stability combined with rapid investment in infrastructure is making the continent a destination for doing business. Diseases such as malaria, polio, cholera, smallpox are no longer a threat to the newly born. Internationally, the environment is becoming more and more accommodative while actors are becoming more disciplined and willing to offer more to the continent. According to the World Trade Organisation exports from Africa to the rest of the world have increased from US\$ 84 billion in 1950 to US\$ 950 billion in 2015 while this is still less than 8 % of the total global exports, what the continent has achieved since 1950 is commendable.

Apart from the changes seen in the nature of engagements with the continent, there are some similarities with previous eras. For example, natural resources remain the most attractive elements of the engagements. Also, external actors have continued to attempt to use corruption and bribery to access the resources in Africa; this explains why a 2015 publication by the Guardian newspaper estimated that \$50billion (£33bn) is lost every year through tax evasion and fraud by multinational corporations and governments. This has This raises serious questions as to why

Africa continues to depend on foreign aid which is far much less than the money lost through corruption.

Opaqueness in agreements entered between African countries and external actors, lack of capacity to discover mineral resources making the continent to depend on foreign players to discover, mine and control resources are also similarities to previous eras. Technology transfer is still a major deficiency in the engagements while brain drain and economic migration to European countries depict modern day slavery. Some actors, example Turkey have adopted religion as a tool of diplomacy in their approach to Africa. This may look unique in the recent years but not a new approach since religion was an important tool in the pre and post-Colonial period in Africa. In his works *Africa Historical Studies*, Professor Ayandele described the use of religion as ‘... the Europeans came with the Holy Bible in their left hand and a gun in their right hand. When they gave you the Bible with their left hand, and you refused, they killed you with the gun in their right hand...’ (Ayandele, 1979).

Solving the above will further strengthen the continents bargaining power with external actors, and also the following measures are necessary for building a stronger position for Africa in the global arena. First is to strengthen further the Pan-African concept that has already begun into a more firm entity perhaps an economic union at the continental level. Secondly revising mining agreements and investing more in research and development (R&D) so that the real value of the continent can be established and the profits used to develop individual countries. Security, peace and regional integration are other critical areas that need an urgent solution. This will not only reduce external actors’ emphasis on militarizing the continent but rather foreign direct investment, trade and cooperation will be the nature of the interaction. Strengthening governance structures and institutions to curb corruption and manipulation of domestic actors by external players will not only enhance the sovereignty of the continent but will also close avenues of capital loss and authoritarianism in Africa. Taking advantage of the booming young population by transforming them to become competent scientists, social scientists, architects, engineers, soldiers, and researchers will be a turning point for the continent. Countries such as South Korea, Japan, and Singapore are benefiting more from their

human resource than natural resources. A strong African conscience needs to be reawakened among the diaspora so that their contribution towards the continent can be higher. Already by 2014, the amount of money African diaspora repatriate back home is more than the total amount of foreign aid sent by all external actors combined.

In conclusion, we acknowledge that Africa has had to put up with challenging relations with external actors as a result of global and domestic factors. However, the changing nature of engagement between Africa and international players is having a positive impact on the continent. That said, there are still a number issues that need to be addressed urgently both by the domestic and external actors if the continent is to realize her full potential.

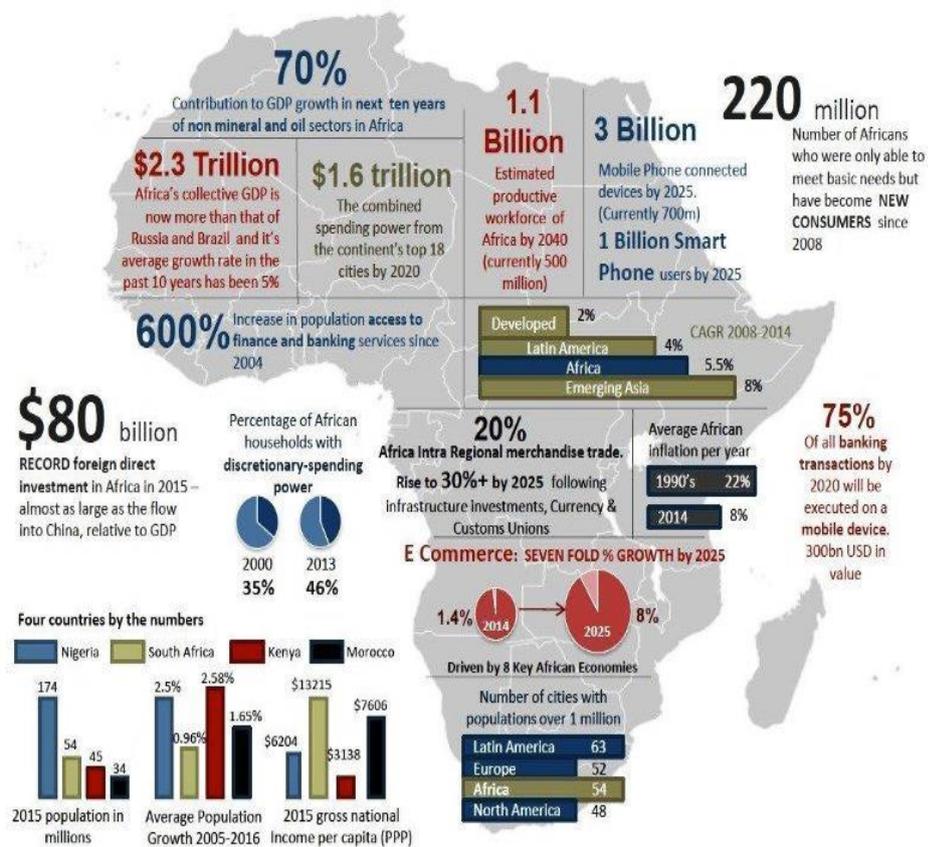


Figure 11: A map projecting the status of Africa between the year 2000 and 2025

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Dış güçler ve Afrika arasındaki etkileşimin doğası tarihsel ve günümüz bağlamında incelendiğinde karışıktır. Bu karmaşıklığı en iyi anlamak için, ilişkili dönemleri açıklamaya ihtiyaç duyuluyor. Bahsedilen ilişkili dönemler 1800'lü yılların sonlarında başlayan ve 1990'lı yılların başlarında sona eren sömürgeci dönemi ve 2.Dünya Savaşı'nın sonu ile başlayan ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasıyla sona eren Soğuk Savaş dönemini kapsar. Ayrıca 1990'lı yılların sonunda başlayan, kıtadaki geleneksel aktörler arasındaki abartılı rekabeti ve aralarında Hindistan ve Çin gibi yükselen güçlerin olduğu yeni aktörleri kapsayan çağdaş dönemi de kapsar.

Bu 3 dönemde, Afrika'nın dış aktörler'e karşı oynadığı rol farklı fikirlere sahip olan farklı düşünce okulları tarafından evrensel anlamda kabul görmedi. Bazı akademisyenler kıta'nın pasif bir aktör ve yabancı saldırganlığının ve manipülasyon'unun bir kurbanı olduğunu ve öyle de kalacağını iddia ediyor. Bir diğer taraftan, büyük güç diplomasisinin ötesinde, Afrikalı'ların veya en azından onların liderleri'nin dış güçlerle olan etkileşimlerinde daima aktif oyuncular olduğunu savunanlar da var. Bu önemli tartışma, tarihçi Stephen Ellis tarafından analiz edilen uluslararası ilişkiler'in eleştirel teorisinde yer bulmuştur. Ellis, Afrikalıların küresel emperyalizmin kurbanları olduğunu ve hatta tüm sürecin pasif aktörleri olduğuna Marksist teorisyenlerin ikna edildiğinin görüleceğini iddia ediyor. Onların odağı Kıta'nın yerlilerinin on yıllar boyunca yüzleştiği zorluklardır. Buna dayanarak, Marksist teorisyenler, Afrika'da gözlemlediğimiz zorlukların Batı'lı aktörler tarafından kıta'yı sömürme amacı güden sistematik bir şemanın bir parçası olduğunu savunuyor. Lakin, neoliberaler, bir diğer taraftan, yetersiz bir Afrika'yı vurgulayan açıklamalar geliştirdiler. Onlara göre, Afrika'daki badirenin sorumluları Afrikalı liderlerdir. Bu cenah sömürge sonrası Afrika'nın sivil savaşlar, etnik bölünmüşlük, yozlaşmış liderler, yönetilemeyen sömürge altyapısı, devlet teşebbüsü ve kurumları ile nitelendirildiğini vurguluyor.

Daha da ileri giderek, neoliberaler sömürge sonrası dönemde Afrika'nın problemlerinin tamamen eğitim reformlarını, bütçelendirme çözümlerini, araştırma ve geliştirmeyi, kamu hizmeti reformlarını ve etkili stratejik planlamayı içeren iç reformlar ile çözülebileceğini vurguluyor.

Diğer taraftan Marksistler ise çözüm olarak Afrika ülkelerindeki sanayileşmenin desteklenmesini ve daha da önemlisi kıta'daki Batı etkisi ve gücü ile mücadele edilmesini öneriyor. Marksist ve neoliberal cenah tarafından getirilen çözümler ve yapılan analizler kendi başlarına etno-merkezci ve sade olduğundan ne çözüm üretiyor ne de Afrika açmazını çözümlüyor. Neoliberaler argümanlarına önemli faktörler yerleştirme konusunda başarısız oldular. İlk olarak, kıta'yı çevreleyen tarihsel tecrübelerin sonuçlarını reddettiler. Örneğin, iki yüzyıl boyunca sömürgecilik, geride, bağımsızlığa kavuştuğunda küresel neoliberal ekonomiye başarılı bir şekilde entegre olabilecek gelişmiş yeteneklere sahip olmayan eğitimsiz bir nesil bıraktı. İkinci olarak, Afrika kıtası'nı karakterize eden sosyal ve kültürel karmaşıklık daima dikkate alınmadı. Kıta içerisindeki kırılğanlıkları açıklayan bu karışıklıkları çözebilmek yüzeyde görüldüğü kadar kolay değildir.

Marksist açıklama'nın taraftarlarının, Afrikalı elitlerin yabancı aktörlerle yaptığı kanuna aykırı ve kötü amaçlı anlaşma ve mutabakatlardaki ve kendi halkını sömürmesindeki tarihsel rolünü baltaladığı görülüyor. 300 yıllık köle ticaretine bakarsak, sömürge döneminde, Soğuk Savaş ve Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde, Afrikalı elitler, dış güçler ile yapılan pazarlıkların merkezinde olmuştur. Afrikalı liderlerin dış güçler ile anlaşma sürecindeyken aldıkları bazı kararların arkasındaki motivasyonu ve mantığı anlamamız gerekir. Sonuncu ama bir o kadar da önemli olan şey ise sadece Afrika'daki Batılı güçlerin varlığına ve rolüne odaklanan kıta'nın geçmişinin fazla basitleştirilmesidir.

Afrika'daki Batılı güçlerin vurgulanmasının ardında Afrika'nın uluslararası arena'daki rolü hakkındaki tartışmaları bulandırdığı görülen tam yeni sömürgecilik konsepti gelir. Bazı yeni sömürgeci teorisyenler dekolonizasyon ile sömürgeci güçlerin Afrika'da yenildiğini ve aşağılandığını görmeyi reddeder. Kıta'ya dönüşleri sessiz, daha şiddetsiz ve büyük Avrupalı üstünlüğü ile karakterize edilmek yerine

Afrika'daki zayıf kurumların ve yönetim sisteminin öne çıkartılmasıyla olmuştur. Bağımsızlığa kavuştuktan sonra, Afrika ülkeleri finansal, teknik ve diplomatik yönlerden destek almaya ihtiyaç duyuyorlardı ve belki de burada 'yeni sömürgecilik' olarak adlandırılan şeylerin izleri görülüyordu. Sovyetler Birliği tarafından yönetilen Doğu'dan ya da ABD tarafından yönetilen Batı'dan destek alma amacı güden Afrikalı liderler tarafından alınan kararlar, bazılarına göre Afrika'daki yeni sömürgeciliğin ilerleyişi olarak görülüyor. Afrikalı liderler ve dış güçler arasındaki etkileşimin yüzeyinin de ötesine bakılmalıdır. Afrika ve dünyanın geri kalanı arasındaki sömürge sonrası müzakerelere dahil olan menfaatlere bakmamız gerekiyor.

Bazılarına göre yeni sömürgecilik, basitçe, dünyanın diğer bölgelerinde yolsuzluk ve ekonomik suç olarak kabul edilecek ve kanunlar tarafından cezalandırılacak markalaşma aktiviteleri olarak lanse ediliyor. Bu terim Afrika'daki aktörlerin ve Afrika'nın doğasının üzerinde durarak yeniden incelenme ihtiyacı duyuyor. Bazı durumlarda, yeni sömürgecilik, Afrika'da amaçlarına ulaşamayan aktörlerin derin uğraşları ve desteğini gözardı ederek Afrika'daki Batı'lı aktiviteleri ve aktörleri tarif eder. Örneğin, açıktır ki maden işletme hakkının verilmesi, vergi kaçakçılığı, bazı zamanlarda rüşvet ve ayrıcalık verilmesini ve alınmasını kapsayan kıta'daki kaynakların dağılımı ve ihale ödülleri gösteriyor ki yeni sömürgeci teorisyenler kıta'da neler olup bittiğine yeterli açıklama getiremiyor. Ayrıca, askeri darbelerin ve militan grupların yabancı güçler tarafından desteklenmesi gibi tartışmalı konular daima büyük güçlerin çıkarlarına hizmet etmiyor. Aksine, bazı durumlarda darbeciler bile meşru şikâyet ve çıkarlara sahip olduklarını kanıtladı. Afrika'daki bazı ülkelerdeki zayıf yasal kurumların sonucunda, iç ve dış aktörler yasalar tarafından cezalandırılmaktan paçayı kurtarabilmiş ve kıta'nın kaynaklarından fayda sağlayabilmiştir. Eğer şeffaflık sağlanır ve doğal kaynaklardan kazanılan karlar daha iyi yeniden bölüştürülürse, kıta dikkate değer bir dönüşüm geçirebilir.

Yeni sömürgecilik tarafındaki tartışmadan ayrı olarak, diğer bir soru ise Afrika'nın muazzam arazi alanı ile çevrili, geniş sosyo-kültürel çeşitliliği olan, birkaç ülkeden oluşan tek bir vücut olarak bakılabilecek bir kıta olup olamayacağıdır, ya da belki de neden olmasın? Afrika'yı bir bütün olarak araştırmaya girişirken ortaya çıkan ciddi

zorlukların doğruluğunun yanında, bu tarz arařtırmalara giriřmenin imkansız olmadığı da Avrupa Birlięi ve Asya kurumları gibi geniř bölgeler üzerine yürütölen arařtırmaların başarılı bir řekilde yürütölmesiyle görölüyor. Kıta'ya bir bütün olarak bakmanın zorlukları, çeřitlilięi baz alarak ekonomik, siyasi, kültürel alanlara odaklanan arařtırmaları da etkiliyor.

Bununla birlikte, bu önemli bir nokta, bu, yabancı aktörlerle olan iliřkileri incelerken kıta'ya tek bir vücut olarak bakmakla alakalı. İlk olarak, Afrika'nın dıř aktörlere olan ilgisi, kıtadaki tüm ölkeler olmasa da, çoęunluęun desteęini ve çoęunluk ile iliřkilerini geliřtirebilirse hissedilebilir. Örneęin, Afrika'daki tek bir öлке devasa satın alma gücüne sahip olmayabilir, ama daha çok öлке birleřtirilirse, satın alma güçleri artacaktır ve dıř aktörler için rekabetçi bir pazar yaratır. Ayrıca, Kıta'nın Birleřmiř Milletler Genel Kurulu'nda sunulan konular üzerinde önemli bir oy gücüne sahip olan 54 ölkesi yüzünden, bu avantaj dıř aktörleri bireysel devletler yerine Afrika'lı ölkelerle anlaşmak için motive ediyor. Bir dięer etki ise anakara'nın dıř aktörlere doęal kaynakların nicelięi ve nitelięi göz önüne alınarak sunduęu çeřitliliklerdir. Bu nedenle, kıtadaki kilit oyuncular tek bir varlık olarak Afrika ile ilgilenmeye heveslidir ve böylece Washington-Afrika Zirvesi, Türkiye-Afrika Zirvesi, Hindistan-Afrika Zirvesi gibi kavramlar ortaya çıkmasına vesile oldu. Ayrıca, dıř ölkelerdeki aktörleri tek bir varlık olarak ele almak Afrika ölkelerinin çıkarınadır ve politika yapıcılar bunun farkındadırlar. Son yıllarda Afrika ölkeleri, Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesinde Kenya davalarında göröldüęü gibi, uluslararası arenada tek bir sesle konuşuyorlar. Afrika ölkeleri tek bir vücut olarak çalışır, terörizm, yetersiz altyapı, ticaret, arařtırma ve hastalıklara karşı savař gibi Afrika ölkelerinin karşılařtıęı zorluklardan bazıları ile en iyi řekilde mücadele edilebilir.

Afrika'nın küresel sistem içindeki rolü ve konumu son birkaç on yıldır artmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, kıtaya dıř dünya arasındaki ekonomik iliřkiler, kıtanın kıyı řeritleri boyunca yařayan topluluklar tarafından tetiklenen köle ticareti ve doęal kaynaklar ticareti yoluyla 1500'lerde başladı. Dünya'nın geri kalanıyla sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik iliřkilerin boyutu ve yoęunluęu en düşük seviyede kalsa da bu topluluklar Batılı tüccarlar kadar Çin'li ve Arap tüccarlarla da ticaret yaptı. 1700'lü

yıllarda kâşiflerin Avrupa'dan gelişi kıtanın geleceği için önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuş ve onu günümüzde gördüğümüz şekle dönüştürmüştür.

Afrika'yı ziyaret eden erken kâşifler tarafından Avrupa hükümetlerine verilen raporlar ve hikayeler güçlü bir siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal çıkar sağladı. Bu çıkarlar 1884'de yapılan Berlin buluşmasında toplanılıp kıta'yı büyük Avrupalı güçler arasında bölecek kadar önemliydi. Ancak 16. ve 18. yüzyıl arasında Avrupa'ya egemen olan ekonomik bir felsefe olan merkantilizmin Avrupalıların Afrika'ya gelişi üzerinde daha büyük bir etkisi olduğunu savunanlar da var. Bu felsefenin temel ilkelerinden biri, dünyanın zenginliğinin durağanlığına ve bir ulusun siyasi ve ekonomik sağlığının bu zenginliğin ne kadar olduğuna dayandığına olan inançtı. Bu inanç, Avrupalıların kıtaya saldırmasını ve daha sonra politik, sosyal ve ekonomik modellerinin dayatılmasını tetikledi, çünkü ülkelerinin fayda sağlaması için refahlarını arttırmaya çalıştılar.

Siyasi açıdan bakıldığında, kıtanın uluslararası sistemde daha az önemi vardı ve sadece son zamanlarda Afrika'lı aktörler ön plana çıkmaya başladılar. Nitekim, iklim değişikliği, insani ve askeri müdahale ve uluslararası ticaret, sağlık ve göç konularındaki müzakereler gibi uluslararası konularda Afrika'daki devlet ve devlet dışı aktörlerin artan rolünü kolayca farkedebilirler. Tarihsel olarak, Afrika hükümetleri ve diğer devlet dışı aktörler uluslararası arenada yaşanan değişikliklerle birlikte kendilerini yeni duruma göre uyarlamaya çalıştılar. Çin'in yükselişi ve küresel aşamada giderek artan ekonomik ve sosyal entegrasyon gibi son olaylar kıtanın reaksiyon gösterdiğini gösteriyor.

Geleneksel aktörler ve Çin'in başını çektiği yeni yükselen güçler sebebiyle ortaya çıkan, bundan böyle Yeni Mücadele olarak bilinecek Afrika'daki günümüz mücadelesi önemli bir referans noktasıdır. Bu, Soğuk Savaşın bitiminden bu yana Afrika için önemli bir dönemdir ve hem kendi içinde hem de küresel alanda kıta'nın mevcut ve gelecekteki çıkarlarını saptamada çok önemli olacaktır. Dikkat çekici bir nokta da, Afrika ile dış aktörler arasındaki ilişkilerin doğası da yıllar içinde değişti. Bu tarz değişimler iç ve dış reformlara atfedilebilir. Uluslararası olarak, önceki dönemlerde şahit olunan dokunulmazlık bazı disiplin unsurları tarafından

aşılmış gibi görünüyor. İdeolojik rekabet kısıtlayıcı bir şekilde ele alınırken, ülkelerin yayılmacı ve bölgesel susuzluğu sönmüş görünüyor. Ekonomik güçler de yükseliyor. Böylece uluslararası sistemin yapısını da değiştiriyor. Çin, Hindistan, Brezilya, Türkiye ve diğer ülkelerdeki yükseliş, Afrika gibi bölgeler için sadece maddi olarak değil aynı zamanda ilham verici birçok alternatif sunuyor.

Yerel seviyede, diyebilirim ki, değişikliklerin çoğunun gerçekleştiği yer burasıdır. Umutsuz, işlevsiz, yozlaşmış olarak lanse edilen Afrika kıtası, her şeyin ani bir şekilde olduğu yer haline geldi. Yabancı yatırımlar su gibi akıyordu. Okuma-yazma oranı %500 artarken altyapıya devasa yatırımlar yapıldı. Hükümetler halkın ihtiyaçlarına daha duyarlı hale geldi. Son 15 yılda sayısı 300 milyon'a yaklaşan gelişen bir orta sınıf ve iç savaşlar ile anılan, kolera, çocuk felci ve sıtma ile olan savaşlarından galip çıkan ülkeler olarak görülen ülkelerde görece olarak barış ve istikrar vardır.

Bu değişiklikler neo-liberalizmin İncil'i olan the Economist, Times Magazine ve China Daily'nin de aralarında bulunduğu küresel medya'nın ilgisini çekerken Yükselen Afrika'nın anlatımı da Dünya bankalarına göre dünyanın en hızlı büyüyen 10 ekonomisine hâkim olan 6 Afrika ülkesi'nin anlatıldığı Afrika aslanları'nın hikâyesinde yer buluyor. Afrika'nın hikayesi üzerine haftalık tartışmaların ve forum'ların olduğuna, Afrika üzerine çalışmalar yapan bölümlerin sayısının artmasına Avrupa, ABD ve Asya'daki büyük akademik kurumların koridorlarında şahit olunabilir. Charles Robertson'ın Fastest Billions adlı kitabı, Afrika'nın ekonomik devriminin ardındaki hikayeyi ve kıtadaki değişiklikleri anlatan birçok yayından sadece bir tanesi. Yukarıda Afrika'ya yapılan muazzam övgüye rağmen, kıta hala bazı zorluklarla karşı karşıya. Sosyal, siyasi, ekonomik ve yapısal alanlarda hala yapılması gereken bazı reformlar var.

Afrika'daki Soğuk Savaş sonrası ilişkilerin var olacak yapısal sonuçları kıtanın geleceğinin tam merkezindedir. Bunun sebebi ise, sömürgeciliği ve Soğuk Savaş tarihsel olarak büyük güçlerin uluslararası alanda üstünlük adına çekişmelerinin bir sonucu olarak gördüğümüzdür. Bu anlamda Küresel Mücadele ya da Yeni Mücadele terimleri, sömürgecilik ve yeni sömürgecilikle bir ilgisi olmamaları

dışında iki terim de Mücadelenin etkileri ve sonuçlarıdır. Bunun Afrika'ya etkileri büyük oranda olumsuz olmuşken, mücadelenin olumlu etkileri de olabilir. Örneğin, Çin'in kıtaya ayak basışı ve bölgedeki geleneksel oyuncuları yerinden etme girişimleri Doğu ile Batı arasında bir mücadele olarak düşünülmektedir. Ancak, bu mücadelenin sonuçları Afrika'ya Çin'den ve faizsiz borç teklif eden diğer ülkelerden alternatif mali, siyasi, teknik ve güvenlik anlamlarında destek arz etmektedir.

İkinci bölüm Mücadele ve Afrika'nın Bölünmesi olarak da bilinen Sömürge Dönemini kapsar. Kıta ile dışsal oyuncuların arasındaki etkileşimin yapısına çoğunlukla tarihin birçok devrini belgeleyen Batı perspektifinden bakılmaktadır. Fakat bu döneme daha yakından bir bakış kıtanın kargaşaya düştüğünü ve acılarla boğuştuğunu gösterir. Afrikalı liderler ve Batı ülkelerinin imzaladıkları antlaşmaların yeniden gözden geçirilmesi tarafların çıkarlarının olduğu ve bazılarının da elde edildiğine işaret eder. Örneğin, Afrikalı liderlerin sadakatlerine karşılık Avrupalılarla yapabildikleri antlaşmalar hiçbir zaman kıtayı endüstrileşme arzuları içermemiş ve buna karşılık antlaşmalarda daha çok bisiklet, ayna ve benzeri kişisel eşyalar istenmiştir. Bu yüzden bu, Afrikalıların sömürge döneminde neden Avrupalıların kötülüğünden ziyade kendi liderlerinin karşılığında ne istediklerinden dolayı haksızlığa uğradığını açıklar. Burada ilgili kişileri inceleyecek ve dünyanın geri kalanı ile kıta arasındaki etkileşimin yapısını açıklayan hikâyeyi ele alacağım.

Üçüncü bölümde başka önemli bir döneme, dış oyuncularla ilişkilerin yapısının oyuncular, güdüler ve hikâye bağlamında değiştiği Soğuk Savaş zamanına bakacağım. Ancak, Soğuk Savaş ve Sömürge Dönemi arasındaki benzerlik ikisinin de sonucunun kıtayı harap ettiğidir. Beşerî ve doğal kaynakların sömürülmesi sonucunda yoksulluk; sömürge ve Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemleri şekillendiren çeşitli muhalif grupların dış oyuncular tarafından desteklenmesi sonucunda ise dengesizlik meydana gelmiştir.

Dördüncü bölümde ise Afrika'nın dış dünya ilişkileri ile ilgili yeni bir çağ açacağım. Kıta'nın aslında ilk defa hangi oyuncularla ve nasıl etkileşim içinde olacağını kesin olarak dile getirmede ve karar vermede öne çıktığını göreceğiz. Kıtayı uluslararası

sahada etkileyen dıřsal oyuncular ile iliřki kurma özgürlüğü, daha iyi katılım ve karar verme gibi alanlarla ilgili önemli deęiřmeler olduđunu not edeceęiz. En son fakat yine önemli olan ise Afrika'nın problemlerine Afrika'dan çıkan çözümlerdir. Bu bölümde aynı zamanda Türkiye, Çin ve Hindistan'ın anakara ile iliřkilerini içeren üç örneęi de inceleyeceęim. Burada amaç, geliřmekte olan güçlerin etkileřim řekli vasıtasıyla Soęuk Savař sonrası küçük bir genel bakıř elde etmektir. Sonuç olarak, dıřsal oyuncuların Afrika ile iliřkilerini etkileyen içsel ve dıřsal faktörleri tartıřacaęız. Bu geliřmeler siyasi, ekonomik, uluslararası iliřkiler, yasal ve sosyal gibi bir takım önemli sektörlerin deęiřimine deęinir. Burada hipotezimiz řudur ki dıřsal oyuncular ile Afrika arasındaki iliřkilerin yapısı geçmiři, řimdiki zamanı ve geleceęi belirlemede önemli rol oynar.

Bu arařtırma, gözlemlene yöntemleri ve belgelerin analizi ile meydana getirilmiřtir. Hükümet dosyalarını, akademik makaleleri, gazeteleri ve anket sonuçlarını içeren belge analizini seçmenin arkasındaki gerekçe ise arařtırma konusunun en iyi řekilde yazılı kaynaklarla muhafaza edilmiř tarihi olaylara deęindięi sebebindendir. Bu yöntem özellikle arařtırmamız için çok önemli olan 1800'lere dayanan bilgilerin edinilmesi ihtiyacında kendini göstermiřtir. Bu arařtırma için gerekli bütün belgelerin hepsi kamuya açıktır ve bazılarının gizlilięi henüz kaldırılmıřtır. Çalışmamız karşılařtırmalı olduđundan ve bu karşılařtırma farklı zaman dilimlerine baęlı olduđundan, hükümetten, akademiden ve organizasyonlardan toplanan ikincil bilgiler kullanılmıřtır.

İkincil bilginin elde edilmesinden sonra, arařtırmacı bilgiden yararlanmak amacı ile her bir belgeyi dikkatlice yeniden gözden geçirmiřtir. Üç büyük olayı (Sömürgecilik, Soęuk Savař ve Yeni Mücadele) incelemek bunları mücadele olarak nitelendiren benzer yönleri belirlememize olanak vermiřtir. Bu nitelendirme için temel dayanak noktası ise o zamanın ilgili dıřsal oyuncularının karşılarında Afrika'da aynı çıkarlar için mücadele eden başka dıřsal oyuncuların olmuř olması gerektięidir. Soęuk Savař sırasında, Avrupalı güçler Afrika'daki bölgelerin kontrolü için kendi aralarında çekiřme içerisindediler. Soęuk Savař dönemi Amerika Birleřik Devletleri ve Sovyetler Birlięi'nin ideolojilerini Afrika'ya yayma arzuları gibi diđer geliřmelerle řekillenmiřtir. Son olarak fakat yine önem arz ederek, Yeni Mücadele kıtada hem

geleneksel güçlere karşı kaynaklar ve siyasi güç uğruna rekabet eden gelişmekte olan güçleri hem de bu güçlerin piyasa için kendi aralarında çekişmelerini içerir. Bu özelliklere göre üç olay mücadelesi olarak adlandırılır.

İkincil bilgilerin analizi aynı zamanda dış güçlerin kıtaya yaklaşım tarzı ve Afrikalıların bu gelişmelere nasıl yanıt verdiğini göstermiştir. Bu ise karşılığında ilişkilerde yaşanan değişikliklerde sorumlu faktörlere ve bu değişikliklerin kıtayı zaten devam eden yeni bir mücadeleye hazırlayıp hazırlamadığını ortaya çıkarmıştır.

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