

The new scramble for Africa's resources: implications for its development



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ABSTRACT

The scramble for the natural resources of one of the richest continent of the world – Africa – is an ongoing phenomenon, however, the intensity and the protagonists of the scramble have increased multifold. Initially the scramblers were essentially after only the agricultural and mineral resources of the continent, however, in the present era, they are also after the human resources and the soul – land – of the continent. The scramblers are not only Europeans or American nations, but the Asians and others have also joined the scramblers' club. The main aim of this paper is to explain the new forms and dimensions of the scramble and its impact. The paper concludes that the new scramble for Africa's resources will not end so soon, because the need for major natural resources like crude oil, uranium and brains (learned Africans) is increasing geometrically, as the developed nations improve their conditions of living and enhances their use of science and technology. Therefore, two of the main feasible solutions for the Africans now are, inward-oriented, legally backed and continent-wide internal trading among themselves and other forms of systematic protectionism of their material and human resources.

Keywords: resources, scramble, Africa, natural, development

1. INTRODUCTION

It was expected that political independence would usher in economic development and growth for most of the African nations. However, according to Claude Ake (1996a:66) in his book, *Democracy and development in Africa*:

African economies have been stagnating or regressing. For most Africans real incomes are lower than they were [two] decades ago, health prospects are poorer, malnourishment is widespread and infrastructure is breaking down, so also are some social institutions.

According to Ake (1996a) many factors have been used by scholars to explain the continuous unacceptable underdevelopment of Africa. These factors are: the colonial legacy, social pluralism and its centrifugal tendencies, the corruption of [past and present] African leaders, poor labour discipline, the lack of entrepreneurial skills, poor planning and incompetent management, unfavourable terms of trade and others (Ake 1996a).

The old and the modern scramble for Africa's natural and other resources, which are integral parts of colonial and neocolonial legacies, have also been offered by mostly non-liberal scholars like Walter Rodney (1972), Kwame Nkrumah (1980), Frantz Fanon (2004) and Daniel Offiong (1980) as the cause of Africa's shameful underdevelopment. The first major scramble for Africa and her wealth essentially started between the official end of the slave trade, which cost the continent more than 20 million mostly able-bodied young men and women, and the beginning of the colonisation of the continent. While the slave trade lasted for more than 300 years, the continent was colonised for about a century (Stelios & Elias 2011). The scramble for Africa's resources is actually an ongoing phenomenon and it has taken on many modern dimensions. For instance, human resources exploitation in form of commercial *child sex tourism (CST) and trafficking in children for sexual exploitation in Africa is an area that is now actively attracting virtually all our former colonial masters and new ones like China and others*. The following countries are most affected by one of the newest scrambles (ie child sex tourism): Benin, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, The Gambia and Tanzania (Zanzibar). Of these, Kenya, South Africa, The Gambia, Morocco and Ghana are considered more popular CST destinations. Nigeria was identified as a source of CST in other African countries rather than a destination for CST (ECPAT International 2007).

Similarly, qualified human resources sapping migration avenues such as the United States of America's (USA's) Diversified Visa Lottery programme, which encourages brain drain, among other things, is being used to circuitously scramble for the well-educated and able-bodied human resources of Africa. As has been variously established, programmes like the Visa Lottery also tremendously help to underdevelop the African continent, for instance, in 2012 only Ghana and Nigeria lost 14 000 mostly well-qualified, able-bodied people through this means to the United States (Ezekiel 2011).

Therefore, the objective of this paper is to explain the new scramble for all types of Africa's resources vis-à-vis its implications for the development of the continent. This, however, cannot be satisfactorily done if the old, that is, the official pre-colonial scramble for the continent's natural resources is not put in its proper perspective. Consequently, the paper will be divided into four major parts and these are the:

- old (preindependence) scrambles for Africa's resources;
- new (postindependence) scrambles for Africa's resources;
- effects of the new scramble; and
- scramble's implications for development.

The paper also has a conclusion that proffers a three-pronged approach that will, for now, assist the continent to manage the present scramble in positive ways that can help her kick-start her own development.

2 THE OLD (PREINDEPENDENCE) SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA'S RESOURCES

The scrambling (to struggle or contend frantically in order to get something) for resources of the 'weak' by the 'strong' is not an entirely new phenomenon. History is full of anecdotes of how weak or poor nations, communities or ethnic groups' resources were plundered by the strong or the more or most intelligent and brutal ones. The natural resources of the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand; the people of South America; the blacks in India, Indonesia, Philippines, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Andaman/Nicobar Islands, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and others have been plundered by foreign elements, especially Europeans (Tudu 2007).

The resources of the nations of Africa have been at the mercy of two major actors – the East and the West. Because the scramble for the resources of Africa by the Arabs was neither organised nor state/empire sponsored when compared to that of the West, the effects of the Arab scramble was consequently not very severe.

The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 is also called the Congo Conference or the West Africa Conference (Harlow & Carter 2003). The first major organised scramble for Africa and her resources was, according to Harlow and Carter (2003) sanctioned by the statutory Act called the Berlin Conference General Act. Africa, together with her resources, in the (in)famous Berlin Conference was broadly and without consultations with the victims, the Africans, divided between: Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and King Leopold 11 of Belgium.

Germany's Prince Bismarck presided over the first major European scramble for the soul and wealth of the continent (Harlow & Carter 2003). The British Empire, 'where the sun does not set', by 1900 covered a fifth of the earth's landmass and comprised a quarter of its population, mostly courtesy of the plunders from the Berlin Conference (Cohen 1973). According to Stelios and Elias (2011:24):

Europeans partitioned Africa into spheres of influence, protectorates, colonies, and *free-trade-areas* [emphasis mine]. The borders designed in European capitals at a time when Europeans had barely settled in Africa and had little knowledge of the geography and ethnic compositions of the areas and whose borders they were designing. These borders endured after the African independence in the 1960s leading to the partitioning of numerous ethnic groups across the newly created African states.

That the main motive of the first scramble for the continent was purely for natural resource accumulation for the development of Europe was echoed by King Leopold of Belgium, who opined: 'I do not want to miss a good chance of getting us a slice of the magnificent African cake' (Dowden 2011; Chamberlain 1999). Therefore, besides the allocation from the Berlin Conference, the king and his henchmen, at gunpoint, forced some African traditional rulers to sign (actually to thumb print) away vast choice lands for him to exploit and sate his primitive

urge for prime accumulation of wealth and for the development of his almost natural resource-barren country, Belgium. The organiser(s) of the Berlin Conference gave King Leopold an area 77 times the size of his European kingdom which he proceeded to ruthlessly exploit (Dowden 2011; Chamberlain 1999).

The scramble for Africa, however, was resisted by the natives in most parts of the continent. The Anglo-Zulu wars of 1879, the Arab nationalist uprising of Egypt (1882) and the Mahdi War of Sudan (1881) were some attempts to resist the pre-Berlin Conference scrambles for the continent's resources (Dowden 2011). As indicated earlier, the quest to exploit the natural wealth of the continent was the main reason behind the scramble. The systematic commercialisation and internationalisation of the economies of the Africans, the organised exploitative Christianisation and the phony civilizations of the continent were aided and abetted like the scramble for resources by the European countries' military and political powers (Koponen 1999).

The major non-official scramble for black Africa began in the 1860s to the 1870s when the French and the British started systematically to explore Western Africa and sign individual bilateral agreements that gave them control and spheres of influence in the continent. The Berlin Conference-authorized scramble came to an official end with the Franco-Spanish partition of Morocco and the annexation of Libya by Italy in 1912 (Stelios & Elias 2011).

Hegel's (1899) *The Philosophy of History* set the pace for the Christianisation and the civilization missions (in French, *la mission civilisatrice*) of the scramble for Africa. In his book, the German philosopher posits that Africa is a dark continent without a sense of concrete history and civilization. According to him:

In Negro life the characteristic point is the fact that consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence – as for example, God, or Law – in which the interest of man's volition is involved and in which he realizes his being.... the negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thoughts of reverence and morality – all we called feelings – if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character (Hegel 1899:88).

During the era of the old scramble and partition of Africa, her resources were also plundered through well-managed European commercial firms like the Royal Niger Company and the East Indian Company owned by the spearheads of the Berlin Conference actors. The plundering of the continent's natural resources during the first scramble had a tremendous effect on the development of the continent then and even now.

3 THE NEW (POSTINDEPENDENCE) SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA'S RESOURCES

The new scramble for Africa's resources was essentially launched after most of the nations in the continent had achieved their flagship political independence. The actors of the new scramble are still from the West and the East. However, new actors from the East like China, South Korea, India and Malaysia have joined. Brazil from South America, to a large extent, has also joined the

game (Kimenyi & Lewis 2011; Frynas & Paulo 2007). In their study 'The BRICs and the new scramble for Africa', Kimenyi and Lewis (2011:1) exposed that:

Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRICs) have literally invaded the African continent, but not with arms. Instead, they have invaded Africa with money, goods, ideas, and drilling and mining equipment. Largely absent just a few years ago, the BRICs are now slowly but surely edging out Western countries in Africa in the areas of trade and investment, and to some degree development aids.

The old core Arab actors, unfortunately, have also joined the new scramble for Africa's natural resources. Biyyaa (2009) reported that there is now a growing interest for Euro-Arab-Asia countries to acquire land in Africa for the food security of their home population. He further reported that heavy multibillion land grab ventures by rich Arab nations in the underdeveloped African nations of Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya are ongoing. The foreign countries are said to be lured by Africa's fertile land and cheap labour. The countries said to have bought vast land for agriculture for the feeding of their home populations are: Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain. Some of the land being purchased is acquired under controversial circumstances, for example the Ethiopian farmland owned by the Saudis was forcefully taken from the under-represented minority people of the Oromia region (Biyyaa 2009).

The new scramble for Africa, according to *The Economist* of 27 November 2004, refers to the Chinese business interest in Africa. To Pierre Abramovici cited in Biyyaa (2009), the new scramble refers to the expanding interest of the USA in Africa. All the controversies about the definitions of the new scramble for Africa's resources given above notwithstanding, the fact remains that, like the old scramble, the new scramble has its own developmental implications for the continent. Some of the resources triggering the new scramble are crude oil in Nigeria, Sudan, Angola, Algeria, etc; copper in Zambia; tobacco in Zimbabwe; and coal and gold in South Africa.

At present, the scramble is a big 'business', for instance only China has the following investments and dealings, skewed in her favour, in the continent:

Chinese foreign investment in Africa has grown spectacularly since the early 1990s. According to a recent study by the industrialized countries' Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), flows of Chinese direct investment into Africa in 2003 reached \$107 million, more than 100 times the annual level in 1991. Today, some 700 Chinese firms are estimated to hold a total investment stock of \$6.3 bn in Africa. The Beijing summit brought a dozen major new investment agreements totaling \$1.9 bn. They included deals to build expressways in Nigeria, a telephone network in rural Ghana and an aluminum smelter in Egypt (Ernest 2007:14).

European nations and the USA still dominate the timber industry in Liberia, Cameron, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Ghana. Diamonds and gold from African nations, mainly South Africa, are controlled by firms from foreign nations. *The Guardian* reports that:

Oil is perhaps the most important lure, with competition between foreign states and companies to secure resources so intense it attracts more than 50% of all foreign direct investment. Last year,

annual FDI rose to a historic high of \$38.8bn (£19.4bn), exceeding record levels of 2005 – a growth rate of 78% from 2004. According to the UN World Investment Report, FDI inflows were concentrated in a few industries, notably oil, gas and mining. And six oil-producing countries - Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria and Sudan - hogged around 48% of the continent's investment inflows (Mandy 2007:22).

All the dynamics of these so-called investments and deals by the West, the Arabs and the East amount to an intense appropriation of the natural resources of the African nations for the ultimate benefits of their home populations; this was also the main reason for the infamous first scramble for Africa in the late 1880s.

Therefore the assertion of *The Economist* and others that the new scramble for Africa is only an American or a Chinese incursion to Africa to appropriate in treacherous ways her natural resources is farfetched. The truth is that the new scramble for the continent is an all-comers affair. The old Berlin Conference actors, the so-called Asian Tigers and the crude oil-rich Arab nations are all largely involved.

4 THE EFFECTS OF THE NEW SCRAMBLES

Like the old scramble and partitioning of the continent of Africa, the new scramble for the resources of the continent has extremely negative (and some say 'positive') effects on all spheres/sectors of the nations involved. The new scramble is basically driven by imperialistic selfishness and a continuing lack of respect for the sensibilities of Africans. As Biyyaa (2009:34) points out:

The current Euro-Arab interest in Africa, as was centuries back, is driven by global economic depression. Foreign companies claim that they are in Africa to boost local livelihood. *However, the fact is that they are in Africa for monetary colonization and shipping resources for their own troubled economy* [emphasis mine]. In the process, Euro-Arab companies are found complicit in the ongoing conflicts and environmental degradations.

Politically, most of the actors in the new scramble, like the old one, do not care much about the governance and leadership conditions of the African countries. For instance:

Chinese firms – as well as Indian ones – moved into Sudan after American investors left (the United States enforced sanctions on Sudan, which it now accuses of genocide). Other Westerners also hold back, fearing the bad publicity that forced Talisman, a Canadian oil firm, to quit a few years ago. However, a Chinese trade spokesperson said of Sudan in September, 'We import from every source we can get oil from' (*The Economist* 2004:3).

Environmentally, the main Asian actors also do not respect the delicate and largely virgin ecology of the continent. Most of the Chinese, Korean and Indian companies operating in the continent as a result of the new scramble do not have any regard for the fragile environment of their host countries. Even reserved forests are not spared. The environmental degradation of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria was caused and is still being done by multinationals owned mostly by Europeans and Americans who came to sap the natural resources of the continent.

The new scramble is also destroying Africa's human resources. Most of the companies deliberately ignored indigenous experts and this has helped in no small measure to underdevelop the human resource base of the continent. The non-employment of qualified Africans (actually triggered by the abuse of the expatriate quotas assigned to the foreign firms) by the new scramblers' companies is also fuelling the unemployment and discontent rates in the continent. The new scramblers and their firms have also made the continent a dumping ground for cheap and substandard goods, which is making the manufacturing base of the indigenous companies unviable and unproductive.

The new scramble for Africa's resources has made the present economies of the continent export driven too and this systematically destroys local small and medium-size producers in an unprecedented manner. In Weintstein's (2008) article, 'The new scramble for Africa' he describes the dicey conditions of the African countries vis-à-vis the shenanigans of the new scramblers thus:

Because their economies are narrowly tied to exports, many African nations are compelled to import oil for their own use, and so higher oil prices actually hurt them. Free-trade agreements also force developing regions such as Africa to import other Western goods including food, which, according to Oxfam, destroys the 'livelihood for many small producers ... [and] the adverse impact on poverty [is] substantial. Driven off their land, small farmers have flooded urban areas, producing the massive slums and unemployment documented in Mike Davis's book, *Planet of Slums*. The world's highest percentages of slum-dwellers are found in the African nations of Ethiopia and Chad (99.4 percent each) (Weintstein 2008:18).

The new scramble has also further polarised and antagonised the economic and social class stratifications in the continent. Besides the high number of poor people in the continent, it has also sharply divided the people of the continent to the extreme and rebellious have-nots and the callous super-rich. For instance, in Nigeria, 80 percent of the crude oil wealth is controlled by just one percent of the population (Weintstein 2008). This dynamic has a very negative influence in the development of democratic culture in the country because democracy cannot grow and be sustained amidst abject poverty and misery. This explains why vote-buying (stomach infrastructure) during elections and other forms of anti and undemocratic practices like *godfatherism* and voter's apathy are widespread in the country.

On the other hand, the new scramble for Africa has brought and is still bringing, according to some pro-Western commentators and neoliberal scholars, a lot of 'positive' contributions to the continent. The following Chinese pledges during one of the last China-Africa summits are examples of the 'positive' aspect of the new scramble for Africa's resources as the Chinese promised to:

- Double aid to Africa (to about \$1 bn)
- Set up a \$5 bn China-Africa development fund to encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa
- Provide \$3 bn in preferential loans and \$2 bn in preferential buyer's credits to African countries

- Cancel all debt stemming from Chinese interest-free government loans that matured by the end of 2005, for the 31 highly indebted and least developed countries (LDCs) in Africa that have relations with China (an amount estimated at around \$1.4 bn)
- Further open China's markets to exports from African LDCs by increasing from 190 to 440 the number of products receiving zero-tariff treatment
- Train 15,000 African professionals, double the number of Chinese government scholarships given annually to Africans (to 4,000) and send 100 senior agricultural experts and 300 youth volunteers
- Build 30 hospitals, 30 malaria treatment centers and 100 rural schools (Ernest, 2007:33).

With a great quantity of natural resources like coal, cocoa, groundnut, palm, cotton, oil, gas, timber, diamonds, gold, coltan and bauxite, Africa is a Mecca for natural resources in the world. It is expected that revenues from these resources will provide funds for the all-encompassing needed development, but this has still not happened. In fact, the development of the continent is becoming a pipedream because the infinitesimal proceeds from the fraudulent table of the major scramblers (China, USA, Britain, Brazil, Arab countries, etc) is fuelling state corruption, environmental degradation, poverty and violence. Rather than being a blessing, Africa's natural resources have largely become a curse because of the heavy control from external forces through their casino economies (Mandy 2007).

The actual reason why the vast resources of Africa are a curse of monumental proportions as unexpected by most observers is, first, because the real worth/costs of the resources are not going to the leaders and the governments of these nations. The major scramblers, their transnational tentacles (firms) and most of the corporate leeches commonly called consultants, take more than 80 percent of the profits of the natural resources through spurious contracts, salaries, taxes and agreements such as joint ventures that are shrouded in mystery. To all intents and purposes therefore, the so-called Resource Curse theory should be thrown overboard; it is a contraption to mislead the masses of the people in Africa. Natural resources themselves are neutral entities; it is the lopsided global North-South engagement that is bringing about the so-called curse. And this is what needs to be addressed.

Secondly, the major scramblers are the custodians of foreign reserves and the determiners of the prices of the raw materials of Africa in the so-called international market. Thus, the few gains/profits made by African states are from time to time wiped out through the interplay of price-hike and inflation manipulation, mostly by the gurus of capitalism on Wall Street. Thirdly, because most of the crop of leaders in the continent are byproducts of electoral fraud supported by the scramblers, the leaders end up just satisfying the demands of their paymasters, which in most cases are the scramblers and their agents themselves.

The fate and international politics that have helped to kill the original inward-looking Nigerian Petroleum Industry Bill is a good example of how the *scramblers* decimate any move of an African government that is geared toward wresting natural wealth from the hands of the multinational firms mostly owned by scramblers (Adeniyi 2012).

Finally, any attempt by any of the leaders of Africa to be different, to tow the line of independent non-capitalist, *non-democratic* cum non-liberal paths to development like Cuba, Singapore and China would be branded as dictatorial, human rights abuser, a leftist and authoritarian, who is only fit to be changed. A regime change will be called by the scramblers and this will be done. This has happened several times on the African continent. Almost all the postindependence leaders of Africa were liquidated because of this reason. President Gaddafi of Libya to a large extent had just suffered this same fate.

The scramblers are here for life and death and the natural resources they need. These brought them fully back to Africa and are what is largely keeping the populations of their home countries peaceful. This explains why they always struggle to control the leaders of the African continent directly and indirectly. The truth is that the scramblers are ready to go to war if any African leader refuses them the opportunity to appropriate the natural resources of his or her country. They have gone to war several times purely to get the best out of other nations' natural resources. In a review of the book titled *Bin Laden, La Verite Interdite (Bin Laden, the Forbidden Truth)* Godoy (2011) states that the authors, Jean-Charles Brisard and Guillaume Dasquie, revealed that the Afghanistan War on Terror was fought 'to obtain access to the oil and gas reserves in Central Asia'.

5 THE SCRAMBLE'S IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

One of the most difficult words to define or explain is *development*; because the word is chameleonic in that it connotes diverse explanations and interpretations from sundry sources. Initially, development was only associated with structural or physical improvement, later it was associated with the growth of the economy and this aspect of its description lasted for decades. Development also recently came to be associated with both the development of the infrastructure and all the sectors of the economy (Sumner and Tribe 2008).

Besides the fact that development is a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and it is inherently both complex and ambiguous, recently, it has taken the limited meaning development agencies have ascribed to it, especially in their aim at reducing poverty through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The idea of the liberation of countries and peoples, which animated development practice in the 1950s and 1960s, has thus been replaced by a vision of the liberalisation of economies alone (Sumner & Tribe 2008)

However, according to Rodney (1972) development is a many-sided process in human society. This implies that development encompasses the continuous change in all aspect of human society. Therefore, development is said to have occurred if the economic, political, social, legal and institutional structures; technology in various forms (including the physical or natural sciences, engineering and communication); environment; religion; and arts and culture, have improved or are improving in a society. This newfangled definition/explanation of development perhaps informed the derivation of some of the major goals of the MDGs. The MDGs are to:

- eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
- achieve universal primary education;

- promote gender equality and empower women;
- reduce child mortality rates;
- improve maternal health;
- combat HIV/Aids, malaria, and other diseases;
- ensure environmental sustainability; and
- develop a global partnership for development.

Ake (1996b) has associated the development of any nation or continent with the growth of its economy, consequently, this paper focusses on how the new scramble for Africa’s resources has impacted on the development of the economies of the continent.

Rostow’s (1991, first published in 1960) *The stages of economic growth: a non-communist manifesto* spells out the stages and the conditions of economic growth. These stages are shown in figure 1.

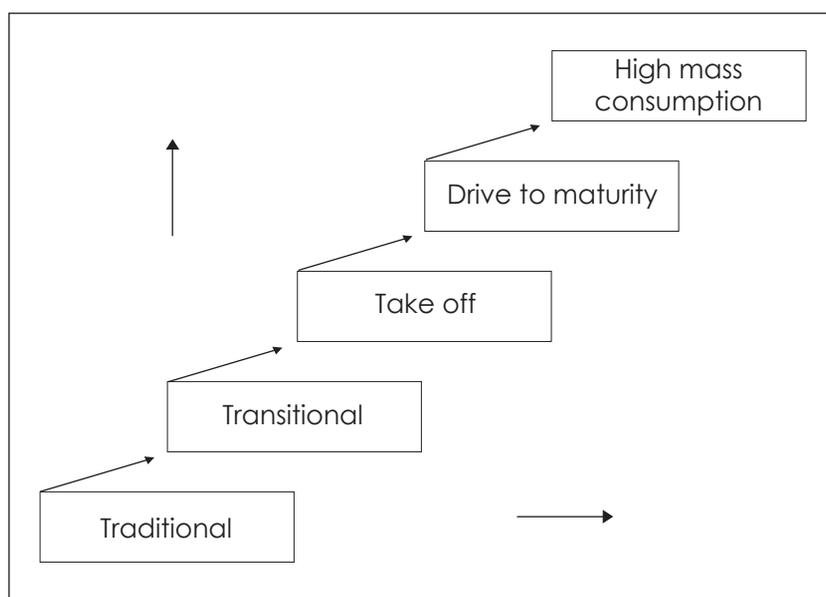


Figure 1: Stages of economic growth

Source: Niamot (2010:5)

It is a fact that some have faulted some of the points Rostow made about the stages and the conditions nations are to fulfill in the processes of their economic growths in his book. However, the truth still remains that scholars have generally agreed on the usefulness of his concept to explain the economic or other development of nations.

As at the time when the first scramble for Africa began, most of the nations in the continent had passed the *traditional stage* (in the traditional society, the primary activities were basically subsistence agriculture and the surpluses made by this society were lost because of the religious and military expenditures of that era) and were in the *transitional stage* of their economic growth. According to Rostow (1991:78), the transitional stage of economic growth is when:

The idea spreads that economic progress is possible and is a necessary condition for some other purpose, judged to be good; be it national dignity, private profit, the general welfare, or better life for the children. Education for some at least, broadens and changes to suit the needs of modern activity. New types of enterprising men come forward in the private economy, in government, or both, willing to mobilize savings and to take risks in pursuit of profit to modernization. Banks and other institutions for mobilizing capital appear. Investments increase, notably in transport, communications and in raw materials in which other nations may have an economic interest. The scope of commerce, internal and external, widens. And here and there, modern manufacturing enterprise appears, using the new methods.

Therefore, the first scramble for Africa and her resources really dislocated the development of the continent because African nations, unlike their counterparts elsewhere, were not allowed to graduate to the next stage, which is the take-off stage. Rather, the nations of the African continent were plundered forcefully, destroyed and in some cases burnt down by the actors of the first scramble (Weintstein 2008).

The collapse of colonialism again brought a little respite. As at the time colonialism began to give way to independence most of the African countries were in the Rostowian stage of take-off, this is because colonialism somehow helped most of the nations to satisfy the conditions of this stage. To Rostow (1994:90), the take-off stage requires a:

massive set of pre-conditions, going to the heart of a society's economic organization, its politics and its effective scale of values.... It usually witnesses a definitive social, political and cultural victory of those who would modernize the economy over those who would either cling to the traditional society or seek other goals. By and large, it persuades the society to persist and to concentrate its efforts on extending the tricks of modern technology beyond the sectors modernized during the take-off.

Immediately after independence, Africa once again was ready to take-off on her path to economic growth (development) with her version of visionary leaders when the new scramble for her resources ushered in neocolonialism. From Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana to Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt, Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya down to Obafemi Awolowo's Western Nigeria, industrialisation of various kinds and in most sectors of the nations were gathering momentum when the new scramble started with its military cum political might. Since then, Africa's resources and governments are no more in the control of her right and authentic sons and daughters in the true sense of the word *control*.

6 CONCLUSION

The new scramble for Africa is the latest version of colonialism. It is also, thus far, the most impious form of the plundering of the resources of the continent, because according to Weintstein (1998) 'the new scramble for Africa is not only about profits, but also control of strategic resources, chiefly oil'. The USA in particular is concerned about threats to its hegemony in the region. Therefore, the control of the resources of the continent also entails the controlling and the directing of the political and military spheres of the natural resources-rich nations of Africa.

Soludo's (2012) article, 'From Berlin to Brussels: will Europe underdevelop Africa again?' graphically exposed the negative consequences of the new economic partnership agreements the European Union is forcing down the throats of African nations through the old divide-and-rule tactics. He argued that economic partnership agreements are the new forms of slavery that are worse than the old scramble of 1884 to 1885. He urged all Africans to stand up against these so-called partnership agreements against the wishes of the European Union and the neo-Washington Consensus and their agents in our midst.

The new scramble for Africa's resources will not end so soon, because the need for important natural resources like crude oil and uranium is increasing. As the developed nations improve their conditions of living and enhance their use of science and technology so their need for the resources of Africa increases. For instance, it is estimated that 90 percent of new crude oil supplies to the USA and other nations will come from the developing countries in the next 40 years (Soludo 2012).

This means that like the slave trade and colonialism, the new scramble for Africa's resources is going to last for centuries. To Rodney (1972:46), the only way out of the current form of exploitation 'is to have a radical break with the International capital system'. While to Fanon (2004:80), the way out of the newest imperialism is to 'turn a new leaf ... work out new concepts, ... completely leave Europe alone and stop mimicking her in all ways and ... set afoot a new man'.

The above prescriptions appear to be the best solutions, however, if African nations consider them too radical because of the prevailing international lack of accommodating and economic freedom that encourages only fiefdom, African nations should as a matter of necessity begin to, first, look inward and trade among themselves intensely. Secondly, they should institute local continental development-oriented laws like the first and original version of the Nigerian Petroleum Industrial Bill that was drafted under late President Yar'Adua. Finally, African nations can help themselves out of this quagmire by resisting all new offers for 'partnership' with any foreign nations that involve any of her core natural resources. African nations should not be fooled, no foreigner can help them to be free and developed, and they must stand up and face present realities. Cuba, India and Singapore are examples of former third-world nations that took their destinies in their own hands and have succeeded.

NOTES

- 1 Some authorities dispute this figure. They claim that the figure is three times the official figure Europeans put out to downplay the crime against humanity that slavery actually is (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_slave_trade).
- 2 Foreign direct investment in sub-Saharan Africa fell from 25 percent of the world's total at its peak during the 1970s to less than 5 percent by the late 1990s, according to data from the UN Conference on Trade and Development. The average rate of growth in Africa in the 1970s was about 3.5 percent; by the 1980s it had fallen to 2.5 percent, and to 2.2 percent by 1998. Fifty manufacturing output per head in sub-Saharan Africa actually fell 14.3 percent from 1990 to 1996.

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