

AFRICA'S GEO-STRATEGIC FUTURE

POLITICO-SECURITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC UNITY IN A COMPETITIVE WORLD

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Today's competition for African resources is as astounding as never before witnessed and/or appreciated. Africa is situated at the centre of the globe. It is, therefore, geographically and strategically important. Second, Africa's political and security needs, broadly speaking, are increasing, if not worsening. Third, other parts of the world, which constituted 'harvest gardens' for global powers, are now either hotly contested or completely inaccessible. Finally, socioeconomic conditions upon which a reliable political and security architecture for Africa would be built, upon which unity and togetherness would be anchored, remain undesirable despite the increasing siphoning out of Africa's critical resources and imposition of sometimes unworthy practices to divert us and to indirectly protract our dependence on some societies. What is Africa to do with this duality of uncertainty – politico-security and socio-economic – when the globe faces competing relations between two ends of the globe: the West and the East? I briefly address this question here.

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INTRODUCTION

The notion of “Africa’s Geostrategic Future” raises concerns over the strategic survival of Africa as a geographical and political (hence geopolitical) continent in a highly competitive world. It alludes to conventional (military) and non-conventional (non-military) security concerns facing Africa now and in the future. It is a question both of sovereign existence and independence, as well as of racial-human survival. Thus, it touches issues of Africa as a geographical and political space rich in natural and human resources now being competed for, as well as Africans as a racial category and socio-political constituent of humanity who face threats from both conventional insecurities (such as military invasions) and non-conventional threats (such as food insecurities and environmental destruction). It is a curtain raiser as well as a challenge. It combines geographical and strategic concerns and fears. The geological riches of Africa and the struggles for them are serious security threats facing Africans. Africa is increasingly becoming insecure because of its wealth. Its future is something to think deeply about, to insure against invaders of various kinds using various methods. This is the logic behind the notion of Africa’s geostrategic future. What is written here may read more pessimistic than the authors believes or thinks. Thus, this think-piece is not a promotion of Afro-pessimism, or a prognostication of forthcoming doom, but a challenge to us to think deeper, wider, and act more strategically.

Africa’s resources are important for the world. Africa needs them. America needs them. Asia needs them. Europe is refusing to lose grip over them since British-led slave trade. Today’s struggles, over and for Africa, are more astounding than has been ordinarily appreciated. Africa’s strategic location at the centre of the globe makes it geographically and strategically important. Second, Africa’s political and security needs, broadly speaking, have been increasing because of development despondency, ideological bankruptcy, and [sometimes deliberate] marginalisation in today’s global economy. Third, other parts of the world, which constituted ‘harvest gardens’ for global powers, are now either hotly contested or completely inaccessible. This makes Africa the only accessible garden in the struggle for natural resources. Finally, socioeconomic conditions upon which a reliable political, ideological, epistemic, and security architecture for Africa would be built, upon which unity and togetherness would be anchored, remain undesirable. This is so, despite the increasing siphoning out of our resources and imposition of sometimes unworthy practices meant to divert us and to prolong our dependence on some societies. Africa is therefore under siege – tactfully and strategically. What is Africa to do, with this duality of uncertainty – of politico-security and socioeconomic – when the globe faces competing relations between two ends of the globe: the West and the East? I briefly address this question here.

I argue that Africa needs three serious interventions – both on its own and in cooperation with whoever shares the conviction that Africa needs to develop and sustain itself. First is an emphasis on, and realisation of, *united efforts in socioeconomic transformation*. Second is *unity of purpose in politico-security strategic planning*. And the third is *united efforts in ideological and Pan-African conscientisation* of Africans. The third applies more so to the youth. These are now held hostage by forces they have not yet appreciated. These intellectual, ideational, consumerist, and accusative forces are meant to keep our youth dependant on other societies – mentally and practically. To elaborate this, I briefly outline contemporary struggles for Africa, and over Africa, by the pre-existing and emerging global powers. Then I summarily show Africa’s politico-

security and socioeconomic needs following from this struggle for Africa. I then briefly show how other parts of the world, their markets and resources are also being hotly contested and increasingly difficult to exploit as Africa is being suckled. I outline the view that socioeconomic transformation is the basis of the struggle for self-reliance in Africa. I conclude by reiterating the emphasis that politico-strategic and socio-economic unity is paramount for Africa to salvage its future, and that this unity requires undertaking meaningful interventions “now”.

STRUGGLES FOR AND OVER AFRICA

Before slave trade, Africa was almost virgin in culture and other respects if one traces the cultural roots of Africans' behaviour. Human-ness was valued. The true African was receptive, accommodative, hospitable, receiving visitors with open hands and treating them as “come as a visitor and leave as a friend”. In fact, it is intelligible to argue that when foreigners came Africans never treated them with suspicion: they would have been prevented from encroaching on the African hinterland. This existential mistake Africans made has plunged us into ceaseless problems for the past five centuries. Thus started slave trade which bereft Africa of more than 15 million people: it has been argued that at the height of Slave Trade, present-day United States of America alone had more than 6 million African slaves, while the rest of the Americas were filled with Africans. No compensation has ever been made, or can even be made, for the siphoning out of productive human resources, their exploitation, and marginalisation in their new lands and the resulting disruption of productive engagements as people ran away from slave traders and collaborating Africans. As people ran into forests escaping slave hunters and left their families some were devoured by wild animals, others died there of complicated diseases and vector-bites, while some developed new villages and carried on with life. Walter Rodney has written about this. Then those who had workers to work for them in America - and who continued to hold them as we know American presidents owned slaves who even worked in the White House - had time to sit down, think, reflect, and develop some of the technological, epistemological and ideological impositions we are now imbibing².

They stopped slave trade when they had had hundreds of years of productive work by slaves and had been able with time to think and develop techno-scientifically. It was after the industrial revolution, when they needed no more manual labour and were using slaves, that they claimed to stop slave trade. Instead, they wanted to colonise us from our lands, as they had had enough underdogs in Americas: indeed, during colonial rule we produced for their industries. They later came and divided Africa under colonial rule (colonisation of Africa was fully implemented after American independence), ruled us and pitted us against one another in a process of colonial reality construction that has left us in more problems than we were. They hide these realities under the guise of ‘modernity’³. Today, the same people, who claim they are more hard working and better suited to advise us on socioeconomic development, are giving us unworkable advice – IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Problems (SAPS)-style!, and foreign aid which Dambisa Moyo has stripped naked. They know the unworkability of these prescriptions, but also their role in keeping us dependent, agape waiting for donations. This creates a donor-mania and donor-phobia that keep us

² Elizabeth Dowling Taylor, 2012, *A Slave in the White House: Paul Jennings and the Madisons*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Hugh Thomas, 1997, *The Slave Trade: The Story Of The Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440 – 1870*, New York: Touchstone Rockefeller Centre; Douglas A. Blackmon, 2009, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*, New York: Anchor Books

³ For the consequences of slave trade and colonialism on Africa, see: Walter Rodney, 1973 (6th reprint, 1983), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dar es Salaam; Tanzania Publishing

unprepared to take the hard task of thinking for ourselves and doing our best for our societies. They keep us colonised – mentally, resource-wise, and politico-ideologically - at arm's-length⁴. But now, the struggles have been reborn, intensified, when other parts of the globe came for Africa's resources. Note that these people were not doing these things because they were inhuman. It is because they badly needed resources. That is why they came and settled here, killed indigenous peoples wherever they migrated to – the Aztecs, aborigines, Red Indians and more – in various parts of the globe. They or others will do the same – or may be doing it in a more subtly – unless other peoples defend their existence.

The Scramble for Africa is worse today than it ever was in human history. Never has this Garden of Eden, the Cradle of Mankind, ever been as contested and sought-out for as it is today. Yet few of us have realised this. Africa is now a battleground. Japan has been a donor in Africa, and more. Russia had hegemonic patronage over some regimes, such as Somalia, and contested with the West over Angola during the Cold War. Indians claim historically-rooted links, with Indian diasporas in Africa. Canada has also been afoot in the Cradle of Mankind. Turkey is securing a footing, while weak Malaysia is itself now investing in Sudan. The US's AFRICOM is the most direct indication of US threat perceptions in Africa. Peter Pham argues that American national interests motivated the launch of AFRICOM. It appears as though there are military-security threats to such interests in a continent where Qaddafi's airforce could be destroyed with only unmanned drones in few days. Jamieson highlights the "growing focus of the United States on Africa in the US National Security Strategy, which appears to be continuing under new US President Barack Obama"; while Gerald Segal predicted US-China threat-suspicions over the Pacific following Chinese military modernisation, as many years ago in 1988: this seems to be extending beyond South China Sea and Asia to Africa. China has been present in Africa for long, of course, when one considers the Tanzam railway project, for instance. However, Jing Men and Barton believe "the world's largest development aid provider, has been feeling the heat of Beijing's closer ties with Africa, caused in part by the ineffectiveness of the EU's policy-orientation ... focused on political conditionality.... [The] EU's over-all policy-making toward Africa has suffered from a loss of credibility ... exposed both by the success of China's investments in Africa and by the favourable response that China's investment proposals have received from African leaders". Now the EU, a geopolitical amalgam of inherently different and conflicting socio-political spaces, is threatened by the Chinese influence in Africa too. Western concerns worsened when China's presence/influence coincided with its domestic economic transformation since 1970s. Now let us place them on a geopolitical regionality thesis and compare these worlds before proceeding⁵.

I use China here only to represent the global East (including its not-so-friendly co-demographic giant and upcoming economic panthers, India, as well as Vietnam and more). Europe and America represent the

⁴ For the failures and negative consequences of aid on Africa, see: Dambisa Moyo, 2009, *Dead Aid: Why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa*, London and New York: Penguin Books; William Easterly, 2007, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill And So Little Good*, Oxford: University of Oxford Press

⁵ For more of ideas in this paragraph, see: Peter Kragelund, No Date., *Knocking on a wide open door: Chinese investments in Africa*, Danish Institute for International Studies (Accessed from <http://gdex.kl/ofdi/24%20Kragelund%20Peter.pdf>, 4 Aug. 2011); Peter J Pham, 'AFRICOM from Bush to Obama', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18, 1(2011), pp 107-124; Peter J Pham, 'AFRICOM from Bush to Obama', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18, 1 (2011), pp107-124; Peter J Pham, *India in Africa: Implications of an Emerging Power for AFRICOM and U.S. Strategy*, UK: Amazon Media EU S.à r.l (2011); John J Mearsheimer, 'Can China Rise Peacefully?', <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0034b.pdf>, (2004) (accessed 16 Nov. 2011); Gerald Segal, 'As China Grows Strong', *International Affairs*, 64 2 (1988), pp 217-231; Jing Men and Benjamin Barton, eds., *China and the European Union in Africa: Partners or Competitors?* England and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing (2011)

global West (Europe and North America). One remembers there is more cooperation between the US, Canada and EU, than between China and the US. India is more of a US/UK-EU ally than of China or Vietnam. It is reasonable to imagine a Euro-American alliance against China in Africa as has always been visible in international resolutions, such as the UN Security Council resolution over Libya in 2011. It is also possible to consider the arrogance with which the West treats Africa as the disrespect of the African Union (AU)'s position on Libya and deployment of NATO – a non-UN force – showed, compared to China's 'silence'. It is less expected to witness significant politico-economic clashes, between the US and EU and Canada, in Africa: it is expected-worthy to envision clashes between the West and China in Africa.

The previous scramble existed among European powers. Now it is between Euro-American spaces on the one hand and Asian space on the other. Other Asian (such as upcoming Asian economies) and American (such as Brazilian) interests are swinging back and forth. Several are more aligned toward the West than to China-Vietnam. But the land of Mao seems to be determined to trudge on; Mao's ancestors still carry the Maoist determination. As more and more Chinese investors collude with dictatorial and democratic governments alike, it may become plausible to cause Walk-to-Works, Action-for-Changes and the like to dethrone these Chinese friends. It will not be whether Museveni has retired or stayed in power, not whether Senegal has voted out Wade or not, not whether Mali's Toumani Toure has been betrayed by a low-ranking military officer (Captain), not whether Robert Mugabe may be allowed to survive as a cover-up for more ongoing sinister dealings; it will be whether the leader's ear is contested between either of the contending powers.

AFRICA'S POLITICAL AND SECURITY WOES AND NEEDS

"Africa should mature; the days of coups are gone. It is highly regrettable and irresponsible for young excited soldiers to take guns and drive out an elected government ... The president they have overthrown was not even standing for elections. So to say he was holding on to power does not hold ground",
Moses Wetangula, Kenyan Foreign Minister, 25 March 2012⁶.

Africa's political and security needs, broadly speaking, have been increasing partly because of development despondency and ideological bankruptcy. The revival of Pan-African struggles, for the total emancipation of Africans, has never been more dire. It is even more astounding than Europe needed post-World War II. This is when European analysts like John Pinder had observed that American companies and products were swamping British/European markets and were threatening their economic future by making them dependant on Americans. It is when observers like Ernst Haas argued then that Europe needed a collective security framework in a world of uncertain security needs⁷. Now Africa needs its self-game.

China uses more of an economic than a politico-military approach, but may be defeated by shrewd western militarists, spies and NGO-human rights activists in a manner never before witnessed in a dynamic meant to besiege China. If China decides that enough is enough and pays with the same currency, Africa will be a heated battleground, and in a World War III, Africans will be the worst victims. The Scramble for Africa will

⁶ Catherine Karongo, 2012 (25 March), 'Wetangula Back in Country After Mali Ordeal', Nairobi: Capital FM (<http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/03/wetangula-back-in-kenya-after-mali-ordeal/>, accessed 25 March 2012)

⁷ John Pinder, 1965, 'The Case for Economic Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 3 (3): 246-259; David Mitrany, 1965, 'The Prospect of European Integration: Federal or Functional', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 4 (2): 119-149; and Ernst B Haas, 1958, 'The Challenge of Regionalism', *International Organization*, 12(4, Autumn, 1958): 440-458

be not the Christianity-opened and romanticised one of the 19th century. It is a serious geostrategic complication. It has potential to cause serious wars and deaths in a manner only visionary eyes can see. The Nile Valley is already defined as one of the strategic geo-spaces the US considers critical to its security interests. Africa has always been Europe's backyard (as Jing men argue). Kenya has joined Uganda and Sudan in discovering oil. This makes this whole Valley the Garden of Eden from which Creation Oil fruits must be harvested to a level never before witnessed; and ... Defending Africa is now a basic need.

And, we live not in an idealist but a realist world as long as competition for our resources remains acute. Africa needs to develop its capacity for self-reliance and self-protection. It should stop contemporary reliance on borrowed fists and develop capacity for equal engagement with the rest of the world. If others are living with a serious competition dilemma – economic, political, ideological and techno-scientific – why do we pretend? In a security dilemma, John Hertz argues, struggles and counter-struggles intensify insecurity, but waiting to depend on someone struggling against you and for your house is utterly self-destructive thinking and practice. For Hertz, “Groups or individuals living in such a constellation must be, and usually are, concerned about their security from being attacked, subjected, dominated, or annihilated by other groups and individuals. Striving to attain security from such attack, they are driven to acquire more and more power in order to escape the impact of the power of others. This, in turn, renders the others more insecure and compels them to prepare for the worst. Since none can ever feel entirely secure in such a world of competing units, power competition ensues, and the vicious circle of security and power accumulation is on.”⁸ Ideally we should not struggle and create more problems for ourselves: as President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni once put it to a UN Summit on non-proliferation, “action leads to reaction; reaction leads to counter-reaction”⁹. But few important issues remain serious: how is Africa to remain aloof when others are swallowing it up? How are we to reconcile others' pursuit of power and economic well-being for themselves at our expense, and preventing the degeneration of the world into insecurity?

Africa faces a three-pronged security problem: politico-military security threats; food insecurity threats; and techno-scientific threats of various kinds. These threats are rooted in the conventional, productive and clandestine aspects of human existence in the international political economy. And unless Africa develops capacity in each of these, it faces a rough ride ahead. Let me outline each.

Africa is the only continent with a continent-wide institutional framework without an effective military and intelligence arrangement. Europe and America are relying on North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Americans have military bases in almost all corners of the world. They work closely with their NATO allies to effect whatever conventional security objective they have – both by keeping an eye on Europe and by ensuring global surveillance. They have developed alliances with countries in worldwide, and most of the non-western countries with nuclear weapons are close allies of the West. In fact apart from Pakistan, North Korea and China, one can hardly mention non-pro-western nuclear powers in other parts of the world.

On the issue of food security, Africa remains dependant on food aid: so good for those prescribing population reduction as if one person does not need food as do ten people. The irony of our time is that the potential food basket for the world is the food desert for the same world. Why? Because our comfort has made us think we can partake in a neoliberal lifestyle and forget our traditional food preservation technologies and systems without, at the same time, developing western-style food systems. Now, our

⁸ John H Herz, 1950, 'Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma', *World Politics* 2(2): 157-180

⁹ See his brief comments on: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNoWYh7Ail8> (accessed 10 May 2012)

youth, mesmerised by the neoliberal mantra of consumerism but unable to partake into it due to differential access, have resorted to self-destruction through sexualised commercials, internationalised human trafficking for sex slavery, and exploitation as one African observer writes:

Conditioned by global consumerism and the neo-liberal mantra of individualism, but largely unequipped to partake in it due to differential access to productive assets and gendered social, economic and political structures, female youths in Nigeria create their own means with the body utilised as a tool for acquiring consumer opportunities and membership. The trendy, alluring, sexy female is portrayed as the 'modern' lady where modernity celebrates the self. For the female then, the body is no longer the last frontier subjected to patriarchal control, but can now be self appropriated and disposed of as desired. Commercial sex work presents not only a viable means of circumventing poverty but also of satisfying the thirst for materialism. Employing opportunities provided by accelerated communication and information technology, new vistas of relationship have expanded the scope of utilisation of the female body for various forms of trade celebrating consanguinity over the traditionally acceptable conjugality. It has enabled the procurement of sexual services through the internet and enhanced the practice of transnational and secondary prostitution. According to a UNICEF Country report (2002), about 80 percent of African girls in the sex trade in Italy are Nigerians while countries like Belgium and the Netherlands are recording an upsurge in Nigerian prostitutes. Young women from Edo state predominate in the transnational trade in the West. Sokoto state in Northern Nigeria serves as a major source area of migrant sex workers in Saudi Arabia. Internally, female youths gravitate to the big cities in hopes of higher remuneration, exhibiting more clandestine forms of prostitution such as 'clubbing', and 'campus runs'... Amidst deepening poverty the youths try to carve out a niche in society prompting the creation of new identities and social alignment derived from shared values and expectation and capable only of being appropriated by those who belong¹⁰.

Consumerism then is supported by a westernised logic. This logic argues that freedoms come with the death of morality even when it may involve human trafficking and modern slavery as this analysis shows. Eventually, our youthful peoples are no more engaged in productive ventures than in drug abuse, sex slavery, internet addiction, and consumerism. These practices both addict them and reduce the human labour for food production. Yet, whether productive or not we all consume food. Instead of developing our cities and African economies so that whoever wants sex work can even come and find a developed people who can negotiate well for their sexualised services, if such is considered any meaningful constituent of development, our daughters and sisters have become victims of organised transnational sex-trafficking. Simultaneously, the economies whereto they go do not even produce food, but have access to good quality food. Thus, economies, which do not produce food, are more food secure than those, which produce it. Our efforts are misdirected. Intra-societal sabotage is common. Promotion of foreign interests in our midst, we do. searching for opportunities that make us more food reliant than food self-reliant, by producing and hoarding foods or ensuring that each household has food reserves all the time, elude us. Listening to and watching diversionary messages, such as open homosexualisation of society, freedom of public noises, open economies that have nothing to sell back in return, exchange of our raw materials for weapons against

¹⁰ Mfon Umoren Ekpootu, 2007, 'The Body as a Tool: Negotiating the New Global Order by Female Youths in Nigeria', presented to the Gender Symposium organised by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) on *Gender in the Dynamics of Slavery and Enslavement*, held at Cairo, Egypt (October). Ekpotu was from the Dept. of History/Diplomatic Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Rivers State, Nigeria, and can be contacted on: mekpootu@yahoo.co.uk

ourselves, and admittance of disease-causing lifestyles and practices without reflecting on their potential dangers inherent in, and behind, those who formulate them, are our common un-doings. This has made food insecurity even worse than conventional insecurities we now face as the world further shrinks. The need for food self-sustenance is more serious than meets the eye.

On our techno-scientific insecurity, Africa relies on outside technologies for as simple operations as telephony, and as complicated operations as satellite and aero-imaging. If Africa's air-space can be closed by some outside actor without our knowing about it, what have we done to understand these technologies? It is not even that financial resources are most important in undertaking these researches: those who developed them did at a time they had no financial muscle, which we are using as excuse today. Instead, we lack the conscious determination to do things, and instead have become ever-more dependent. It is surprising that African websites are least active, while most of our people spend time on social media not discussing meaningful developments and sharing knowledges and developmental ideas, but rumour-mongering and spreading anti-African propaganda. This is elusive to even keen eyes for we are not aware that in some ways these technologies are diverting us while others are thinking for and against us. For Africa to develop its technological and scientific capabilities, we must stop the siphoning out of our very resources which are allowing others to control us. We must dictate that technologies be transferred and made accessible to our people in exchange for these economic relations. We must retrieve our age-old knowledges and develop them: for instance our medical knowledge is superb and can be used to manage many of our ailments today. At the same time when others are made to transfer and make accessible their technology to us we are able to improve upon it and use it for further development. Instead of losing our most experienced peoples – Uganda, irresponsibly retires researchers, public/civil servants, and academics at 60 when they are still most productive – we tap them into national and Pan-African Think Tanks for policy research, strategic visions, and grooming young ones.

These are just few of the myriad insecurities Africa faces. They are rooted in two major sources: socioeconomic underdevelopment and disunity. And these are also linked to our historical relations with the outside world as well as our failure presently to re-constitute our conscious realisation that we are part of a global struggle for abundant but selfishly contested resources. Thus, a son is bribed with a paltry \$ 1,000 to murder his relative in a process that is dehumanising our children as child soldiers in areas controlled by western mineral companies, scientific research teams and geophysicists, psycho-anthropological strategists and analysts studying our behavioural patterns for future use, and strategic intelligence prognostics.

CONTESTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

The West consumes more than the rest of the world combined, even when it has about one-fourth of the World's population. They depended on spices from India, minerals of various kinds from Africa, utilised slave production for centuries in America, cheap labour from African and Asian migrants, and information resources from unsuspecting information-revealers from all corners of the globe. In a word, they acquired enough, cheaply. Now, it is no longer cheap: Indians need their spices for home consumption. Chinese need their products for their own industrial development. They also want resources from within the Region, as seen in the developments on the Mekong River and contests in South China Sea. In Latin America, Brazilians and Chileans are expanding market for products that were cheaply exportable to the North (Europe and North America). This has led to contests of two kinds: first is the contest between the West and the Rest for some of these spaces and resources; second, are contestations within these regions for the same spaces and resources. These contestations are creating new dynamics and threats for Africa.

Consider struggles in Asia and the suspicious relations there-emerging. Now China is like a stand-alone power in the globe for three reasons: first, the West is demonising it on grounds of the western ideals of politico-ideological existence, such as neoliberal consumerism, democratic ideals and more. Second, the US has military presence in all parts of the world, including in China's neighbouring countries like Philippines, while it continues to court India on geostrategic issues in Asia, including support for India's military-technological transformation. This makes Asia a highly nucleated region: India, Israel, Pakistan, Russia (to the North of Asia and neighbouring these countries), and China, all have nuclear weapons, while Iran is being prevented from developing them owing to its non-western stance. Third, China is isolated to small allies like Vietnam, Iran, and North Korea, and has not-so-good relations with the neighbouring and powerful western ally, Japan. Yet some countries like Iran may be attacked and destroyed any time soon. Neighbouring Russia is not as friendly to China. And, Russia no longer commands the economic and military prowess it once commanded compared to individual European countries like Germany, Britain, France. Russia, apart from nuclear weapons, is not as militarily sophisticated as Germany, while its economy leaves a lot to be desired. China is riddled with conflicts with neighbours in South China Sea (Spratly Islands) and other places (where Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Taiwan, Vietnam remain embroiled in a serious issue of international law) and thus threatening the Asian space¹¹: this makes it even more insecure within its own region where the West has a strong presence.

Now that the Middle East is being "de-democratised", hence controlled by the West, China is geopolitically besieged, isolated. The West can penetrate her backyard via India, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, Southeast Asian states - all of which are known Western allies and are strongly suspicious and fearful of China's rise in addition to these conflicts. Divide and rule can best work in Asia now against China. In fact because of this geostrategic complication some scholars in America, like John Mearsheimer have pessimistically argued, if not prognosticated, that China cannot rise peacefully¹². These are prognosticating a Huntington-like 'clash of civilisations'. We are witnessing this today in the Middle East. It is also seen in European anti-Islamic sentiments. (Someone has called *Islamophobia*, Europe's new political disease – I wonder which the old diseases were)¹³. This is especially among the European Far-Right: a recent demonstration in Aarhus, Denmark, showed and reminds us of the so-called psychopath, Anders Behring Breivik, who killed innocent young Norwegians after publishing a more-than-1,500-page manifesto prognosticating European "Independence" from the expanding Islamic influence in the sub-continent¹⁴. Looking at these realities, and especially contextualising them in East-West struggles, I feel the Scramble for Africa has been reborn given the intensity with which both the West and the Rest are hurrying into Africa, a continent that had a little been neglected since World War II.

¹¹ See: Jörn Dosch, 2011, 'The Spratly Islands Dispute: Order-Building on China's terms?', *Harvard International Review*, (<http://hir.harvard.edu/the-spratly-islands-dispute-order-building-on-china-s-terms>, 12 May 2012); <http://www1.american.edu/ted/SPRATLY.htm> (12 May 2012); Sopheada Phy, 2009, 'The management of the Spratly Islands conflict: Success or failure?', *Peace and Conflict monitor*, 2009, (http://www.monitor.upeace.org/innerpg.cfm?id_article=623); and

¹² John J Mearsheimer, 'Can China Rise Peacefully?', <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0034b.pdf>, (2004) (16 Nov. 2011); Mearsheimer, 2002, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, WW Norton & Co.

¹³ See: Muhammad Abdul Bari, 2012, 'Islamophobia: Europe's new political disease', Al Jazeera (<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/05/201255112042394786.html>, 10 May 2012)

¹⁴ Anders Behring Breivik, 2011, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence* (online: http://www.fas.org/programs/tap/_docs/2083_-_A_European_Declaration_of_Independence.pdf)

Competition between the West and the Rest for developing world resources and spaces can be seen in the struggle for natural resources, land, and allegiance, in Africa and elsewhere. These struggles exist in South China Sea between China and her neighbours over contested islands; between the West and the East over market share of the huge Asian economies; and between emerging and old powers over developing-world resources, such as minerals, land and more. Take the example of land struggles: Despite land being a vital asset and means of livelihood for smallholders and other agrarian communities, 227 million hectares of land in developing countries – an area about the size of Western Europe (the whole of Europe, including Russia, is 3,930,000 Sq miles) – has been sold or leased to international investors, since 2001. The bulk of these land acquisitions have taken place in recent years. It is possible that since 2010 more and more has been leased and/or expropriated (see Oxfam)¹⁵. China has had a share of these African lands, for instance. Now the West can no longer freely access spices from Asia (viz India) as it used to do. No more as easy and free access to copper from Africa as was the case – even in the Congo forests where illegal mining may be taking place. Even freely-acquired land in places like Zimbabwe is being highly contested and sometimes redistributed from Caucasians to indigenous peoples. Struggles are intensifying every coming day.

Intra-regional struggles are especially worse in Asia, where almost all economies are developing and others are merging. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is soon declaring a common market both to compete with China and India, and to increase its bargaining power. ASEAN has in its membership strong economies like Singapore, high GDP economies like Brunei, as well as sleeping lions like Malaysia, Indonesia, and Philippines: when these economies embark on an unstoppable road to socioeconomic transformation – which they have already started – the bloc is going to be so powerful that one will ignore it a one's own peril. With 12 member countries and huge populations, ASEAN is capable of standing alone in the globally competitive world, as well as to prevent the West from siphoning out its resources. Simultaneously, the bloc will surely be able to diplomatically and politico-militarily defend itself in case of another threat, like was the case when the Japanese almost colonised the whole Region during World War II. Moreover, ASEAN has developed close security and economic ties with the West, China, and Australia, and is being courted by India: this dynamic engagement makes ASEAN an old Bandung-like non-aligned region¹⁶. This balancing of international forces places ASEAN in a better position, both to dictate to whomsoever wants to deal with them (as they did oppose a NATO-like arrangement during the Cold War and dominated the ASEAN Regional Forum, ARF)¹⁷, and to defend its regional interest in face of competitive developments in and from outside the region. It also makes ASEAN able to balance these forces and powers without threatening its very own regional development, survival, and continuity, given the astounding levels of socioeconomic development envisioned in the region in the near future.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASIS OF SELF-RELIANCE

¹⁵ See Oxfam 2010, *The Growing Scandal facing the new Wave of investments in land*, (<http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp151-land-power-rights-acquisitions-220911-en.pdf>, accessed 7 May 2012). I owe thanks to a friend, Joy Bongyereire, for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁶ For more on what ASEAN is doing, visit their website: <http://www.asean.org/index2008.html>. There is a lot of literature on ASEAN and one need not go into lots of these details in this summary.

¹⁷ For an understanding of how ASEAN resisted western preferences during the Cold War, see: Amitav Acharya, 2009, *Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press

Where will self-reliance come from? Three sources: socioeconomic development; joint strategies and programmatic undertakings; and techno-scientific domesticism. Nothing will be possible for Africa to stand its ground in today and tomorrow's highly competitive world unless it is socioeconomically developed. Development leads to self-reliance in three ways: first, it builds self-confidence amongst the people that they are able to do more and achieve more. Second, it avails to the people the necessary techno-scientific, financial, ideological consciousness, diplomatic respect, and epistemological resources and innovations that can be used to counter imposing forces from outside. Third, it allows the continent to develop its own politico-security architecture – where necessary military build-up with the requisite technological sophistry – to defend itself in case of threats from outside. I will, for reasons of brevity, and in order to emphasize the role of a free-thinking mind in this process, attend more to self-confidence than others.

Africans lack self-confidence owing to our development marginality: even the most confident might fear being told “What are you saying, from miserable Africa?” This is discouraging! “*K'ori Omujungu*” (“Eh, You are Caucasian”) is no irregular a village remark to someone who has done something good, excelled or appears capable. We are suffering from what Kaihura-Nkuba (Dr Nkamuhayo-Rwacumika) calls “*Jungu*” (caucasianism – if at all it can be called). This arose from years of mental colonisation: we have been made to believe that it is Caucasians who do best, who excel, who are proper. Yet they suffer even worse savagery than we do as their histories of war-mongering and self-obliteration and current times reveal. How did they come to acquire that which we think is a sign of their transformative capabilities? The answer is simple: the more effort you need to survive the more you think and act accordingly. These people, since the Ice Age, realised that they would be extinct unless they developed exceptional capabilities to tame nature, hence the scientific developments we admire of them today. Africans, on the other hand, had plenty: food – both domestic and wild – was not difficult to get. All you needed was basic energy to prepare food and eat. Thus, we lived in a comfort zone, in abundance, and did not need to over-think. This is the historical origin of differential development: the worse the conditions of living many years ago the higher the levels of development. No theory, whether it refers to institutions and/or technology or to some other factor (like Weber's puritan Protestantism), can ably explain differential socioeconomic transformation unless it attends to the differences in levels of endowment and the resulting abundance/depravity which lead to different levels of engagement with the environment to develop.

Take recent developments as an example. Most of the so-called miracle developments have occurred in countries facing serious external threats. Singapore was living under fear of potential external annihilation. South Korea was recovering from Japanese colonialism, which had broken down traditional land governance systems, and faced threats from the north. Taiwan has been struggling to secede from China and has been being supported by the West – The Kuomintang is a break-away from the Mainland Chinese ruling coalition of revolutionary China. Hong Kong, as part of China, was captured by the British following the Opium Wars of the 19th Century and have since *Englishised* it. The whole truth is that the role of the British in Hong Kong and Singapore's development cannot be denied. International pressures (composed of market pressures, i.e. price shocks, conflicts between trading partners; and political pressures, i.e. control of market access, military or colonial occupation, threats of invasion) are some of the most powerful forces that led to policy change in these so-called miracle economies. For instance, South Korea: declining foreign aid and increasing US pressure forced Korean elites to pursue export-led growth. In Brazil, balance of payment problems forced the nation to look inward, subscribing to Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) policies. These were dragged on by a huge domestic market compared to Asian counterparts, which were generally small. Singapore had no agriculture or a strong domestic business class, and so relied on foreign direct

investment (FDI) to engineer export-led industrialisation¹⁸. At the same time, western forces sabotaged development in Africa: they engineered coups in countries like Uganda, against Obote in 1971; assassinated Lumumba, and where is Nkrumah's development program? They are continuing to do so wherever independent-minded leaders seek to pursue meaningful developments that threaten their selfish interests here. Again, look at Israel: if Israel had not developed its economy to support its strong military, its existence as a state would have been long forgotten. Threatened, her existence depended on a strong military supported by a robust economy: the so-called Israel Lobby in the US and western support would have availed misused aid as any other aid is misused in Africa. The logic of survival implies that *Ku oitwa embeho ekiro, busheesha noigaza ekihengyere* (disturbed by coldness during your night sleep, you wake up early morning to close that inlet). Winter conditions alone would have led to human extinction in the temperate regions had appropriate technologies not been developed. Now, more than anyone else, Africa faces these threats: every country (industrialised or emerging) has a program for Africa, yet Africa has no program even for itself – as the failure of our countries to contribute meaningfully to ending crises in DRC, Sudan, Somalia, Mali, CAR (from the West to the East) etc, has shown.

Thus, *to see that Africa is underdeveloped and claim it is because Africans are least intelligent – as some western-based researchers are continuing to claim*¹⁹ – is utter nonsense! At best the claim of lack of intelligence on the part of Africans is intended to reproduce these same psychological colonial mindsets to keep original peoples as underdogs. Indeed, by reproducing the social Darwinist theorisations and proselytisms, other peoples were made to think of themselves as doomed to subordination, and hence unworthy. This is how the Indian Caste system was developed and has retarded that Great civilisation from taking off. That is how the Himatic theory was imputed in Rwanda and the consequences are memorable. John Stewart Mill and Immanuel Kant had guided these colonists that savage societies need external actors to civilise, and enlighten them²⁰. Thus came a people claiming to spread Christian civilisation, yet Christianity originates from Africa – worships the same African god (Amen) as we have been worshipping for eternity. Even if one took the Hebrew version of Christianity, it has been in Ethiopia far longer than in Europe. But this truth was downplayed for they had an objective. These proselytisers even downplay the undeniable fact that civilisation started from Africa, and that all the contemporary technologies pre-existed in Africa and then 'travelled' to other parts of the world – just as western technology and economic prowess are travelling to the East and South today. This is what we have been imbibing for centuries now. Thus, we have allowed our resources – human, material, intellectual, epistemological, and more - to be siphoned out.

¹⁸ For elaborate reference to some of these issues, see: Tianbao Zhu, 2001, 'Threat perception and developmental states in northeast Asia', *Working Paper 2001/3*, Canberra: Department of International Relations/Australian National University [available: http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ir/pubs/work_papers/01-3.pdf, 04 November 2011]; Stephen Haggard, 1990, *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

¹⁹ See, e.g.: Satoshi Kanazawa, 2008, 'Temperature and evolutionary novelty as forces behind the evolution of general intelligence', *Intelligence* 36: 99–108; Kanazawa, S. (2004). General intelligence as a domain-specific adaptation., *Psychological Review*, 111, 512–523; JP Rushton, 1995, *Race, evolution, and behavior: A life history perspective*, New Brunswick: Transaction; R Lynn, 1991, 'The Evolution of Race Differences in Intelligence', *Mankind Quarterly*, 32, 99–173; Lynn, 2006, *Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Enalysis*, Augusta: Washington Summit Publishers; and Lynn, & T Vanhanen, 2002, *IQ and the wealth of nations*, Westport: Praeger

²⁰ Kant, Immanuel, 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?', 1784, <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~mgamer/Etexts/kant.html> , 26 October 2011); Mill, John Stuart, *Considerations on Representative Government*, sections I, III and IV; A Penn State Electronic Classics Series Publication, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, [2004] (Available online: <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/jsmill/considerations.pdf>, accessed 05 October 2011)

These proselytisers are exploiting our underdevelopment to further mentally colonise us. With underdevelopment, we lack the necessary techno-scientific, financial, ideological consciousness, diplomatic respect, and epistemological resources and innovations to counter imposing forces from outside, to challenge those who make claims that are upside down. This lack of confidence also cannot allow the continent to develop its own politico-security architecture – where necessary military build-up with the requisite technological sophistry – to defend itself in case of threats from outside. *Change is caused not by resources but most important by human desire and determination to do so.* But our determined efforts are thwarted by the prevailing mental subjections we have suffered for centuries. Mental impositions and inferiority complexes are the rodent that gnaws at the marrow of Africinity, and hold at bay our very own self-development. This is the logic of continued domination.

Joint strategies and programmatic undertakings will set us free from these mentalities. This calls for unity and shared visions – we need to outlive divisive messages and to resist those using us against ourselves in order to retard our self-realisation. At the same time, meaningful techno-scientific domesticism and innovation (within and for-Africa technological experimentation and development) will allow us to transform our resources into high-value added products: if technology has been available to everyone since the industrial revolution, how come Africa has not tapped into that technology? Either we were denied access to that technology, or we have lived in comfort. This must stop considering our worsening conditions today. Resources for self-reliance in Africa, which are still remaining, only exist in two places: in the soil; and in people's heads. They are not yet exploited. They need to be tapped, harnessed, and responsibly and sustainably developed. This is the core of our survival.

No one doubts Africa's natural resource endowments. Neither does one doubt the intellectual capabilities of Africans unless one is *jungu-ised*. What Africans now need, therefore, is to realise that the comfort zone is shrinking. Gone are days of entering the forest, picking fruits and animals and eating them without fear or prohibition. Our hitherto hunting grounds are Queen Elizabeth National Parks, or gazetted forests. Gone are the days of growing and eating one's own foods without planning for 1000 years ahead. Techno-scientific developments have been developed, others are being developed: soon people will be able to make and unmake rains (some are reported already doing this), earthquakes, other catastrophes, forcing Africans to die of hunger and so-called calamities unless we reduce our dependence on Mother Nature, and forge our very own sciences. We need to protect our existing resources, guard them jealously. A hospitable Africa has now discovered that those unto whom we extended our natural hospitality were not as humane as Africans of the time who perhaps still lived in comfort, for the foreigners were used to environs of uncertainty and unpredictability. Now the *Akiibo kaza owa Nyamugarura* (a good turn deserves another) logic must apply: protect our resources, develop our own reliable knowledges and technologies for self-reliance, and utilise our human resources and human capabilities in more fruitful ways than ever realised. Short of that, either we shall be extinct, or shall remain slaves of others for eternity. On extinction, those who migrate to Africa (other tropical regions) seem not to want to leave – they are never visitors but come as returnees. Instead of sharing with those who had remained in the cradle of mankind and co-exist as members of the human family, they come with their views, values, prejudices developed under conditions of uncertainty and environmental unfriendliness, and either want to dominate these indigenes or even exterminate them in a man-eat-man dynamic. This has not ended, and ever more demands that Africa prepares to defend herself or face extinction – it is possible to nuke Africa in a single day without Africa retaliating at all.

Were Africa to defend itself, only one country with few people, like Britain, is enough to destroy the whole of Africa. South Africa's nuclear weapons are not worth being called our own, for they were developed during

the apartheid era and we are not sure whether they are no longer in the hands of Europeans. Nigeria is a sickly lion unable to pounce in lead. Libya and Egypt are finished. Kenya is torn apart. Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) needs several decades of self-organisation to recover from its curable cancer and reclaim its place in Africa and the world! The Nile Valley is a highly insecure Region. Africa's self-defence remains far from real – in fact our survival seems to be so because people want us to: they know without us they will have the trouble to directly come and pick our resources themselves instead of us taking them (our resources) to them under unfavourable trade terms and as cheap labour. Now Africa needs its socioeconomic capabilities. These capabilities will help in the development of the necessary defence systems, for keeping off those who might want to forcefully exploit us. Today, when a power wants to acquire Uganda's oil and Museveni refuses, it will sponsor the ADF, overthrow Museveni and acquire the necessary oil. It will stage a bombardment campaign in Libya (Syria is facing serious problems as well) and assassinate Qaddafi, the rest will be history. This is the very extent of defencelessness of Africa: because of underdevelopment our people can be instrumentalised to destroy themselves; because of military-security incapacities our capability to resist remains dismal. Thus, our survival in future given the worsening global competition, lies in our defence capabilities: we are not sure who will be our friend or foe.

WAY OUT? AFRICAN UNITY, HUMAN RESOURCE STRATEGY, FOCUSED DEVELOPMENT

Note that these people were not doing these things – enslavement, murders on the high seas during slave transportation, development and popularisation of racial theories for justifying their control over us, racial genocide as was undertaken in Namibia, dividing us against one another as they did everywhere in Africa, colonial subjugation, forceful acquisition and control over our lands, extraction of our minerals, forcing us to produce crops for their industries, engineering wars and coups and other conflicts, standing by as we kill ourselves using their very means as we did in Rwanda²¹, developing diseases and bringing them here and infecting us (as some conspiracy theorists have hypothesised), using us for their scientific researches for strategic planning, and more - because they were any more inhuman. No. They were not doing these things because they were any more inhuman than we potentially can be. I believe all humans can potentially be dangerous. It is because they badly needed resources, land, knowledge on how to keep us worshipping them, foundation for strategic planning, and more. Yet one of their own has discovered the truth: human happiness never stays in one place for eternity. Empires and strong economies can rise and fall. Hitherto peripheral societies emerge as most powerful²². But the strategists and survivalists do not appreciate this. The search for resources and better living conditions pushed them historically to other parts of the world whereupon they subjugated peoples there. That is why they came and settled here. That is the reason they tried to exterminate indigenous peoples wherever they migrated to – the Aztecs, aborigines, Red Indians, other Native Americans, and more – in various parts of the globe. They or others may do the same – or they may be doing it in a more subtle way – unless other peoples defend their very existence in various ways.

²¹ For some details on how they have used us to kill ourselves as they watch (maybe they are also using this to control our population growth), see: Melvern, Linda, 2006, *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*. Verso Books (Revised Ed.); Melvern, Linda, 2009, *A People Betrayed: The role of the West in Rwanda's genocide*, London and New York: Zed Books, 2nd Edition (July); Meredith, Martin, 2006, *The State of Africa: A History of 50 Years of Independence*, New York: The Free Press

²² Mancur Olson, 1982, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities* New Haven: Yale University Press

I have been astounded by the near-genocidal process going on in India with sterilisation: instead of improving people's living conditions, through education which delays marriages and thus slowing down birth rates, they are sterilising people against their will. They are killing pregnant women through miscarriages. And, this is what they are doing: "Money from the Department for International Development [DFID] has helped pay for a controversial programme that has led to miscarriages and even deaths after botched operations"²³. This is the Millian civilisation; the Kantian enlightenment. Now aid is not targeted to development. Instead, "UK's foreign aid strategy puts focus on safe abortion and contraception", and "Government commits extra £2.1bn for maternal and child health schemes and targets halving malaria deaths in 10 hotspots"²⁴. Development aid now is synonymous with stopping human reproduction. We know that education and health, for instance, provide the time lag that elongates the time of girl-child marriage, gives confidence regarding the number of children to produce, and leads to a more productive citizenry. Yet these people are aware of these realities but seem to choose to target other races and peoples not to develop them but to exterminate them slowly by preventing their reproductivity. And Africa may be just the target as well. If they can do it against Asians whom they now strongly depend on for markets, what about underdeveloped Africa which still has an insignificant market for their products? In fact access to Africa's resources may be more valuable than selling to Africa today!

The whole global economy on reducing population growth, I believe, is a political project. If one intelligently joins today's concerns from various issue-areas one will find these links. For instance, we exhibit various forms of xenophobia. These are, also, now common in western societies. There is the dire need for raw materials in a competitive world where their true claimants are increasing in numbers and capabilities. There are concerns that some races are quickly outnumbering others and tilting the demographic balance of power in some societies. The declining populations of some races and nationals are alarming – I have been to societies where the demographic issue is now defined as a strategic threat. The continued resistance of some people against certain diseases, such as AIDS, implies that biochemical weapons may have to be reinvented – if Boyd Graves is correct. And the continued side-stepping of important issues and focusing on population is communicative. Family planning neither means *not producing* nor implies *producing few*: it means planning for what one's family shall best be materially and socio-economically; providing for one's needs at the same time for one's descendants; laying the foundation for a prosperous family. There is hardly any relationship between family size and prosperity – even if misleading statistical regressions relating developing-world and industrial world populations may mislead us to believe. Yet, as our numbers increase, and give us more power, we will not allow them more free access to our resources. Mearsheimer has indicated that economic plus demographic prowess translates into *potential power: it is quickly convertible to military power*. Even if I was the one, I would not want my dependant to be so powerful economically and demographically if such power can be used against my interests.

Africa needs united efforts in socioeconomic transformation. These must transcend the now unworthy boundaries and political units called States. It requires unity of purpose and common efforts in politico-

²³ Gethin Chamberlain, 2012, 'UK aid helps to fund forced sterilisation of India's poor', *The Observer*, Sunday 15 April 2012 [The Guardian] shows that "Money from the Department for International Development has helped pay for a controversial programme that has led to miscarriages and even deaths after botched operations" (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/15/uk-aid-forced-sterilisation-india>, 12 May 2012)

²⁴ Sarah Bosley, 2010 (Dec. 31), 'UK's foreign aid strategy puts focus on safe abortion and contraception', *The Guardian*, UK (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2010/dec/31/foreign-aid-safe-abortion-contraception?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>, 12 May 2012)

security strategic planning. We need united, continental efforts in ideological and Pan-African conscientisation of Africans, especially the youth. Our youth are now held hostage by forces they have not yet appreciated and which are meant to keep them dependant on other societies – mental colonisation. Whoever controls and directs your way of thinking and intellectuality controls your present and future.

By sustaining divisive political and economic units, we are preventing the self-realisations and joint developments that would help us fully develop. If one argued against African unity, unless we are intellectually colonised and politico-ideologically unconscientised, we should ask why Europeans rushed to unify themselves after World War II. They would now have experienced another round of self-obliteration, but realised they needed one another in response to extra-European threats and opportunities. Even in Soudanne, at Fashoda during colonisation, the French and the British did not fight for they knew they were one people. Germany now needs France as much as France needs Britain, and all need their respective small European economies. Wonder why the EU is negotiating Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with almost every part of the globe? Wonder why the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) was formed and cooperates with the Organisation of American States (OAS)? Or why the Common southern Market (MERCOSUR) was used as a counter-hegemonic attempt to prevent US control over South America? These are important developments the whole world is undertaking. In fact, the logic of EPAs has faced as much difficulties and been reduced to bilateral relations between the EU and individual states/economies in ASEAN as is likely to be the case in Africa where EPA negotiations hit a deadlock²⁵. This is what has made them survive to-date, and they will come out of the 2008-2012 economic crisis even stronger.

To ensure meaningful and effective unity, Africa and Africans need to do the following:

1. Develop a critical mass of human resources in the rightful Pan-African ethos. The current work of the Pan-African University is commendable. More is needed: in addition to critical science and technology studies and training, we need young, vibrant Africans who will be allowed the opportunity to sit down, think, rethink, reflect, and innovate not from others' copy-pastes, but from within their minds. Groundbreaking scientific breakthroughs arise not from copying but from the innermost of human imagination. And, this comes from thinking. These young Africans must be joined by a team of highly experienced and exposed eminent Africans. These senior Africans task is – and these should be mobilised and assigned this noble role – to enlighten, challenge, and encourage these young Africans not to give up. The challenge will be selection and unification of such young peoples, but the beginning is more important than cries over modalities.

²⁵ On EPAs in Africa, see: Nkululeko Khumalo & Fantu Mullela, 2010, 'Economic partnership agreements: African EU negotiations continue', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 17 (2):209-220; Patrick Burnett and Firoze Manji, 2005, 'Economic Partnership Agreements: Territorial Conquest by Economic Means?', *Pambazuka News* 216, pp. 3-4; Economic Partnership Agreements: Territorial Conquest by Economic Means? Oxford: Fahamu; European Commission/East African Community (EC/EAC), 2007, *Agreement Establishing a Framework for Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Community and its Member States, on the one part, and the East African Community Partner States, on the other part*, CE/EAC/Protocol 2/en 19 (Accessed from http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2010/Feb./tradoc_145792.pdf, 7 Feb. 2011); and African Union (AU), 2007, *EPA Negotiations: African Countries Continental Review, Review Report*, 19 Feb. 2007, Addis-Ababa: AU, UN ECA and ACP (available: [http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/TI/EPA/DOC/Comprehensive Review of EPAs Negotiations in Africa ACP Final Report.pdf](http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/TI/EPA/DOC/Comprehensive%20Review%20of%20EPAs%20Negotiations%20in%20Africa%20ACP%20Final%20Report.pdf), 9 Aug. 2011)

2. Undertake a serious Pan-African ideological conscientisation program for young Africans. The media is key here. African leadership has lacked one important thing: effective, meaningful, focused, and strategic control over the media. All Africans need to be taught that they are *one*, that they can transcend these artificial differences, and that no one should, ever again, use them against themselves in these ongoing conspiracies against Africa. The logic of self-obliteration and of Pan-African co-existence are diametrically opposed.
3. Ensure that African unity and its pursuit is not elitist, but societal. Now this may seem to contradict the first one. The role of elites is to provide the necessary leadership, guidance, encouragement, and where necessary important information. All Africans need to see themselves as brothers and sisters in a newly-formed Pan-African socio-existential dynamic. And the elites are key in promoting this, using all forms of media and other approaches. Africa is not about mortal leaders but about socio-human and existential continuity of Africans. Thus, all sections of society should be engaged in meaningful ways in this program.
4. Continuously monitor the receptivity and imbibing of these Pan-African ideas among young Africans and see areas of improvement and adjustment. Note that anti-African forces will be working against this program, as they have always done, and will be using all sorts of covert and overt coercion against forces of African unity. The rate at which, and effectiveness with which, this message sinks into Africans' minds is critical for this programmatic continuity. Relate this with a form of African Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, called *Africanity*. This is a process of mental decolonisation and self-rediscovery among Africans. It requires tracing the pre-modern strengths of Africa and availing them to our young leaders, mobilisers, educators, conscientisers.
5. Erase travel restrictions and ban visas within Africa for Africans to freely cross borders and realise the logic of African Unity. Restricted travel does not necessarily imply prevention of illegal migration and crime. The existence of visa restrictions has not stopped negative elements from travelling. Thus, the logic of visas within Africa against Africans is a logic of self-disunity. To erase this disunity one way is to open our societies to give people greater freedoms and for them to realise that they are one people. Small changes can make big differences especially among the versatile and mobile few Africans who will experience it with great pleasure.
6. Undertake focused, highly prioritised, joint development programs and projects where individual RECs/ROs or states cannot do so: for instance, if the trade between Uganda and South Sudan since 2005 had started in 1950s, how far would we be? If there had been the same trade with Zaire/DRC since 1960, how far would our people have been integrated? If the current bus services travelling from Uganda into DRC had started in 1960, where would the two countries be? Roads would have been developed, railways would have been planned and implemented, societal linkages among peoples across borders would have become strong. Thus, we need railways and road projects that know no boundaries, education exchanges that transcend frontiers, and services that know no intra-African citizenship differences.
7. Strengthen Pan-African institutions, such as AU institutions, regional institutions, and agencies. Ensure that every country has a Pan-African chapter, well funded, with diplomatic status, and operating under the supervision of the AU. The work of the chapter, among others, should be to conscientise young people about Africa and African unity and destiny. I have always heard of the African Peace and Security Architecture and seen its founding and operational documents: but where is security minus on-the-ground institutions promoting the same? We should make sure that Africans grow with the spirit of Africa and as Pan-Africans: Pan-Africans are not, they become; they are not just spirits, but beings with spirits.

8. Ensure that all African countries include a course on Pan-Africanism in their education systems from secondary, through high schools and colleges, to Universities. Young Africans should be taught what it means to be African. The histo-political dynamics of Africa's underdevelopment should be uncovered. The current history of Africa is flawed, incomplete, colonial and misleading. It creates a defeatist mentality, a mentality of subordination and self-worthless among young Africans. Imagine University graduates of history, architecture, astronomy, politics, who know nothing about Khemetian/Egyptian wonders, Ethiopia, Timbuktu, Fez, Alexandria, and many of the other places recently discovered in Tanzania, Sahara desert (west of Giza), Northeast Kenya, and more! What are studying, what are we teaching? The techno-scientific dynamics of human and African existence should be subjected to rigorous debate among young Africans. Real truths, which have been discovered, and more are being discovered, should be used to enlighten our peoples. The role of visionary leadership in Africa's transformation should be the ringing bell of eternity in Africans' minds, and this also starts at the school level. These efforts the National Chapters can improve upon, by tapping post- and out-of-school Africans for further ideological strengthening and education.
9. Develop and strengthen Africa's economic and political integration. As social integration at societal and epistemic level goes on, the policy level engagement should be strengthened. Governments should work toward ensuring that there is one mission for Africa embodies in: Unity, Development and Self-reliance. I have heard of so-called sovereigns in Africa, and wondered: if we really were sovereign, why are we copying the logic of self-obliteration from pre-War Europe and similar societies? Of course this sounds politically unbecoming, but at the end of the day, if Africa were one country of 800 million people, it would be stronger than Britain with its less than 300 million at least. And now? Even if our sovereigns retained their leadership positions, there are critical aspects of integration they must consider, like a single security framework, environment program, and economic oneness. A note on the environment, an important issue which ironically may not come strongly into the security minds of out experts and political leaders: Guard and protect Africa's environment jealously, against irresponsible exploitation, mismanagement, developments, encroachments, and misuse. African societies must guard against the destruction of our fauna and flora and protect or biodiversity onto which our medical and other future techno-scientific developments will surely depend.
10. Prioritise Africa's Security Needs: techno-scientific; politico-military; and food. Efforts must be made to develop our technological and scientific systems that will allow us to achieve wondrously in a highly competitive world and to reclaim our place as the Cradle of Man. This is dual-pronged: utilise and apply existing techno-scientific systems and technologies; and think and develop new ones from scratch – where did these so-called developed ones get theirs from? They sat, thought, experimented their thoughts, and got a lot from that process. where did the builders of pyramids across the world copy from? They sat, observed their environs, thought about them, experimented and implemented their thoughts. We need to make it costly for whosoever wants to risk aiming their conventional security systems against us, for whoever seeks to aim one's nonconventional systems against us, for whoever wants to overlook our mental capabilities. This is possible through joint efforts, development of a highly capable military and intelligence system supported by robust economies, ideological straightforwardness and unity of purpose. I am sure few African countries carry out strategic intelligence or have the institutional infrastructure to do so. Most rely on traditional spies and intelligence officers trained to spy on the enemy, subversionary activities, civil recalcitrance, crime and the like, or counter a purported enemy's spying as counter-intelligence. Yet

strategic intelligence is far broad and deeper than that – in fact it is the work of highly committed and well-motivated intellectuals linking several observations, history, multifarious disciplinary traces of evidence, and the future, into a blend of policy framework to guide many years ahead – strategic planning: you can call them prognostics. We need to work hard to stop our food dependence, to ensure that food comes from, not to, Africa. The future world must depend on Africa as it does today in many respects (this dependence can be historically and contemporarily proven).

CONCLUSION

The future of Africa lies in its unity, prioritised development, security endeavours of various kinds, Pan-Africanism. Africa's geostrategic future is at stake. In a highly competitive world we now live in, the strategic importance of Africa makes it imperative for all forces to compete for it. This geographical and strategic importance also makes Africa vulnerable. In case of conventional struggles for/over Africa, the Cradle of Man may be a fighting ground where innocent Africans will die amidst contestations they know little about. Geologically, Africa is rich in minerals and natural resources. It is also a spring to many life-supporting natural springs like the Nile and Congo Rivers, as well as shared mountains, lakes and oil valleys. These resources are contested as well as contentious. It appears efforts are needed to avoid even intra-Africa struggles over some of these resources. Otherwise, those bent on containing Africa's population, development, independent control over its destiny, and more, will be smiling when Africans are obliterating themselves over these riches, and may find it worthwhile supporting contending sides in an indirect population control measure, in measures meant to sabotage Africa's self-aggrandisement.

To ensure Africa's future, unity is needed in politico-security as well as socio-economic spheres. Politico-militarily, Africa cannot defend its resources and very existence today. How much an un-sovereign! As the Libyan example and ongoing conflicts reveal, unless Africans develop their own defence system, involving various strands transcending the traditional military approach, the continent is doomed to another round of subjugation: note that it may not be directly subdued as long as it continues dancing to the tunes of those exploiting it. But whoever resists imperial impositions will be destroyed and there will be no means of defending such an independent struggle. This irony implies that no one is safe in Africa: for when leaders dance to imperial tunes their societies remain under misery or are 'obliterated' through their very leaders through sustained underdevelopment and disease. At the same time when leaders resist without the means and people's capability to defend themselves, societies will be conventionally destroyed, Libya-style. Yet the politico-security measure requires a supporting economic base. Thus, socio-economic development, undertaken through united priority efforts continent-wide, is important in ensuring defence for Africa and her peoples. This multi-sectoral and intersectional relationship between development and defence does not necessarily mean doing everything at the same time. We may identify not more than four (4) priority areas and focus on those. The strategy best works when Africans realise our shared Pan-African destiny. Only through politico-security and socio-economic unity shall we ably insure Africa's geostrategic future.

This is a mere Think-Piece
There need not be uncontested truths – there must be sensible ideas
This is not an academic piece of work, but a work of intellectual Pan-African concern