



Research Article

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The Second Scramble for Africa: A Cause for Afro-Pessimism

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Abstract

This paper argued that although the second scramble for Africa could be located within the broader neo-imperialist global strategy, nevertheless, it is quite different from the classic race for Africa in the 19th century, in terms of its approach, mechanism, timing and new participants. It is also new in some ways. Firstly, it has enlisted the rampageous United States of America, Russia and the ravenous new Asian entrants such as China and India, plus the Oil-rich Sheikdoms, while retaining a number of the European imperial powers in the affray. Secondly, it has created a local bourgeoisie that sees itself as the overseer of foreign interests on the continent. Thirdly, the ideology of the new scramble is based on quick-loot-fast-plunder and is derived from modern globalization imperatives. This study which adopted as its approach, a combination of descriptive, analytical, evaluative as well as historical perspectives insists that unless the second scramble is checked, it would consolidate Africa's relegation to marginality, cultural irrelevance, and eventual recolonization. Through the test of series of hypotheses, the work exposed the major forces at work as it answered some basic questions of the research. It concludes that Africa needs a super power to provide it with a nuclear umbrella, and draw a marshal plan – the type America did for the war devastated Europe at the end of the Second World War, to assert itself.

Keywords: First Scrambler, Second Scramble, Afro Pessimism, Neo-imperialism, State Failure

1. Introduction

One of the most stupendous, all-be –it unsavory, episodes in world history is the undignified manner by which the European powers imposed their will on Africa at a gun point during the colonial epoch. That classic scramble was a straight-jacket ‘fight’ among Germany, Italy, Portugal, France, and Great Britain on the one hand, and the minors- Spain and King of the Belgians, Leopold II, on the other (Pakenham, 1991: xxiii.) After the first ‘scramble’, the subsequent balkanization of the continent, centuries of military occupation and subjugation, and concomitant plunder of its vast human and material resources, Africa had to pick up its pieces at independence, the 1960s being the *annus mirabilis* of Africa's independence. Africa was able to gather itself due to the fire of nationalism ignited by the nascent elite of the yore. The nationalists themselves were the product of a devastating and brutal colonial hegemony. Eurocentric explanations of the motivations for European conquest of

Africa exist in the work of Hobson titled *Imperialism: a Study*, and published in 1902. While acknowledging the psychological factors of national pride, prestige, spirit of adventurism, etc, he did not think that these factors fully accounted for the 19th Century scramble for Africa. According to him, industrialized Europe lacked sufficient market to warrant profitable investment of all the excess capital generated there. Consequently, the European capitalist class had to persuade their various national governments to embark on imperial project which forcibly created domains of power in the weaker regions of the globe that automatically meant market expansion and access to raw materials and cheap labor (Henslin, 1991:244). Though not without its own critics, Hobsonian thesis about “imperialism” as a by-product of the glut of capital in search of new market and fresh fields of investment was to be elaborated by Lenin’s *Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism*, (1964) and to find further expressions in the explanation of related phenomena such as neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism and underdevelopment by Williams (1972), Nkrumah (1974), and Rodney (1972).

Previously, the colonialists came, conquered and occupied Africa permanently as their heritage. Thus, in parts of the continent such as Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Guinea Bissau, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola, the Africans had to wage war of liberation to regain their land from the white settler regimes. In Zimbabwe, and Guinea Bissau for example, the political parties that fought for self-rule had to form military wings that helped to defeat colonialism (Tordoff, 2002:63-64). Lastly, despite the modicum of socio-economic progress made by African countries since independence, there had been a persistence of pessimistic views about the continent. These views brand the vast majority of African countries as underdeveloped, failed or progressively failing states, crushed by debt burden, corruption, poverty, violence, war and death. Africa, according to this view, therefore, is not a participant in the global strategy but a spectator. In view of the foregoing, this paper represents “the devil’s tattoo” to save Africa’s bacon lest this new scramble consolidates Africa’s relegation to marginality, cultural irrelevance, and eventual recolonization.

2. Statement of the Problem

Africa could not heave a sigh of relief from colonial encumbrances before it entered into yet another shameful and despicable form of domination reminiscent of colonialism. The erstwhile colonialists had granted African countries political independence before ‘departure’. But the latter could not bar its gates against continued predation of her economic resources by their erstwhile colonial masters. The consequences of this are staring the world in the face. In the 21st century, African continent has become a no-man’s-land in which neo-colonial forces are surging back and forth in relentless fury in search of fresh water, arable lands for grabs, and strategic minerals to renew their economies suffering from capitalist’s contradictions, corruption, and stagnation. Worst still, this new scramble for Africa’s resources has enlisted non-state actors such as multinational companies, banks, and all kinds of business and investment outfits from across the globe.

Industrialized countries such as the USA, Japan, Sweden, etc. that were not part of the 19th century scramble, and growing developing nations of Asia like China and India, as well as oil rich Sheikdoms like Saudi Arabia, are participating in the present m  le   (Godoy, 2009). To ensure Africa remains on a perpetual state of coma as its exploitation goes on, its assailants have a grand design for dumping nuclear garbage, expired drugs, small arms, etc on the continent (Offiong, 2001: 122).Thus, the global geographic image of Africa exudes stereo typical images of a dark continent and the ‘dustbin’ of the planet where underdevelopment has imposed misery, injustice, unemployment, poverty, disease, illiteracy, war, violence, and death on its people (Schraeder, 2004:14).

From the short foregoing statement of the problem, our work seeks to expose the major forces, both exogenous and endogenous, at work in this second scramble for African natural resources. Sequel to the above, the study seeks to provide answers to some basic questions germane to the research.

3. Methodology

To varying degrees, this study could be said to have combined descriptive, analytical and historical perspectives. As (Toyo, 2007: 3) rightly averred, any student of society whose epistemology is fundamentally a-historical, is myopic. On the whole, the approach adopted for this study gives economic as well as political interpretation to history, and helps us to contemplate the past, understand the present, as well as forecast the future that is of particular relevance not only to Africa but to the globalizing world.

As earlier mentioned, we have adopted, as an approach, the historical cum analytical perspectives in so far as the work depends, to a large extent on existing data. Secondly, although we have employed the power of abstract thinking to gain knowledge as well as illumine the very substance of the on-going international economic transaction between Africa and the advancing predatory forces, nonetheless we have treated the problematic concretely by the use of **secondary sources** of data that are documentary in nature: they are library-based; computer based; media-based as well as historical-based information.

4. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

4.1 *The First Scramble*

The historiography of how the European colonial powers seized Africa and partitioned it among themselves in the second half of the 19th century can be found in various works such as Hobson(1902), Robinson and Gallagher(1961), Lenin (1964), Hargreaves (1966), Pakenham (1991), Oliver and Atmore(2004). Vast majority of these works represent Eurocentric explanations to colonialism. The term ‘scramble for Africa’, according to Pakenham (p. xxvii) was first used in 1844. Although historians are not agreed as to the exact period covered by this scramble, he dates it between 1876 and 1912. For Oliver and Atmore (p.118), the motives as well as the reasons why the Europeans sliced Africa like a cake, the time they did, are a part of European history rather than African history. Although Pakenham believes that “there is no general explanation acceptable to neither historians – nor even agreement whether they should be expected to find one”, the available European literature offers psychological explanation to Europe’s behavior to Africa in the 19th century. Thus, such factors as spirit of adventurism, national pride, prestige and bellicosity are highlighted. The radical point of departure from this common explanation is offered by Hobson (1902) and later by Lenin (1964) both of who see imperialism as a by-product of “capitalism”.

By the time the first scramble was over, about 10,000 African polities had been amalgamated into forty European protectorates and colonies that gave birth to the present neo-colonial states. And it is striking that after fifty-nine years of independence, African countries have suffered too many of the same misfortunes, the worst of which is the second scramble.

4.2 *The Second Scramble*

“Who owns Africa’s oil?” is a derisive caption of a dossier that appeared in the African Report issue of February-March 2010. In that article Nobrook (2010) indicated that African continent is sitting on a river of the black gold believed to be the most important product on the earth. While the major oil exporting nations like Nigeria, Angola, Algeria, are struggling to achieve resource nationalism, new discoveries of oil are being made in Africa according to him. These new kids on the block include Guinea, Sierra Leon, Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire, and Ghana in west African coast; Uganda, Tanzania, and Mozambique in east Africa; Democratic Republic of Congo (DCR), and Madagascar which drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009.

However, he paints a horrifying picture of competition that is akin to a war among foreign oil companies from China, EU, USA, and India in their bid to capture spheres of influence and oil wells

on the continent. Africa, and Nigeria in particular, had squandered her national wealth in the last fifty-nine years. The treacherous trio of corrupt politicians, international oil companies and the geopolitical agendas of foreign governments, are the culprits.

Ghazvinian (2008) buttresses the idea that the second great scramble for Africa is over its oil and gas resources. In his book “Untapped: The scramble for African Oil” (2007), he informs us that extractive industries i.e. Oil, gas, and mining accounts for more than 50 percent of African exports and 65 percent of foreign direct investment in Africa. In this huge extraction industry African peoples are at the mercy of voracious commercial investors from Malaysia, India, China, France, Australia, America, Japan, etc. jockeying for position, “trying to shape up exploration acreage in an undignified rush that seems to grow more ruthless by the day”.(p.15). He further laments that:

Oil, far from being a blessing to African countries, is a curse as little of the oil wealth ever makes its way to those who need it most. One of the great scandals of the African oil boom, for example, is that it has produced far more jobs in the United States and Europe than it will ever in Africa. Only about 5 percent of the billions and billions invested in the African petroleum project every year is spent in Africa (Ghazvinian 2007:14).

For the United States of America, the Gulf of Guinea has become the new Persian Gulf which has become a strategic National interest for it even to the point of requiring an expanded military presence, according to Ghazvinian (p. 275), China, which was the second largest exporter of crude oil in Asia became a net importer of oil that by 2005 it had overtaken Japan by becoming the world’s second- largest importer – closely following the United States. Furthermore, Chinese unconventional strategy of capturing oil fields – checkbook diplomacy, outbidding of its opponents and construction of infrastructure for friendly countries – is threatening to its competitors and has enabled it to snatch Angola from the USA as the biggest customer for crude oil. Also Angola has become the largest and most important source of oil for China overtaking Saudi Arabia. In 2006 China also overtook Britain as Africa’s third largest trading partner. Elaborating on the role of China as the “diplomatic Santa Claus” for Africa, Ghazvinian (p. 277) informs us that:

China has started construction on a new railway in Nigeria and a new port for Gabon, has paved most of the roads in Rwanda, and is building roads, bridges, power stations, schools, and cellular-phone networks in at least a dozen African nations. At any given time, the China road and bridge corporation alone is likely to be engaged in five hundred projects throughout Africa. In tiny Lesotho, nearly half the supermarkets are owned and run by Chinese, who also operate textile factories in the country. Mauritius, home to many Chinese-owned textile factories, added Chinese language to the national school curriculum in 2004.

Following the scenario painted above, Ghazvinian (2008) surmise that Chinese trade with Africa would hit \$100 billion by the end of 2010. Finally, he has biting words for Nigeria in particular:

As for Nigeria, it is simply the doomsday scenario, an amalgamation of all the worst oil has to offer Africa; corruption, ethnic-hatred, Dutch disease, and rentierism, organized crime, militant rebellion, hostage taking and sabotage of the industry activity, and a country held together by a political establishment whose leaders, in the words of a US government think-tank, “are locked in a bad marriage that all dislike but none dare leave.

While Ghazvinian (2008) sees the new scramble for Africa in terms of competition between the industrialized world and emerging nations over African oil, Godoy (2009) sees the development in terms of a crazy rush to grab large tracts of farm land across the continent. According to him, this land grab in Africa by Japan, south Korea, China, Libya (under Gaddafi), Sweden, India, and oil-rich nations especially from the Arab Gulf, is for cultivation of maize, rice, wheat, cassava, palm tree etc sequel to the recent drive for the so-called bio fuels, and looming global food insecurity.

To the list of land grabbers Hoering cited in Godoy (2009) adds NGOs such as Daewoo which

leased 1.3 million hectares in Madagascar in 2008, Blackstone Group, Deutsche Bank, Goldman and Sachs, and Dixon Capital. Unsurprisingly, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the commercial investment arm of the World Bank is also involved in this “new form of agrarian colonialism” as it had spent over 1.4 billion dollars in the agribusiness supply chain in 2008 alone. This massive land acquisition in Africa involving five hectares (19300 square miles) grabbed by European, Asian, and American companies is meant for the production of bio fuel crops. African governments that are already in this business of selling tracts of their land include Egypt, Sudan, Cameroon, Senegal, Mozambique, Kenya, Uganda, Angola, Benin, and Tanzania where rice farmers are already reported to have been forced off their land for a sugar cane project. The situation becomes more malignant as with Sudan, and Somalia where societies depend on the whims and caprices of the war lords.

The hassle over Africa’s resources is not limited to oil, gas, and farm land but includes the thirst for abundance of fresh water in the great lake region of east central Africa. As we are informed by Hoering (2005).

This abundance of fresh water lakes and the many rivers that crisscross east-central Africa, with rich volcanic soil in eastern Congo, Rwanda, and western Uganda, makes the region the most fertile and fresh water endowed in Africa.

Godoy (2009) adds the vast quantities of the traditional high-value minerals such as gold, bauxite, uranium, diamonds, and columbite tantalite as additional basis for great powers competition. According to him DRC controls 80 percent of world’s supply of coltan used in such high-value digital-era products as mobile phones, digital cameras, laptop computers and video cameras. Apart from resources, Africa has another value in terms of its geopolitical importance in counterterrorism.

Another dimension of the scramble that boggles the mind is that after despoliation of Africa, the detractors detoxicate their home environment by exporting nuclear garbage back to Africa. This in spite of the Basel Convention on the control of Trans boundary movement of hazardous waste and their disposal to which EU member’s states and 168 other nations have appended their signatories. According to Milmo (2010).

Tons of toxic waste collected from British municipal dumps is being sent illegally to Africa in flagrant breach of this countries obligation to ensure its rapidly growing mountain of defunct televisions, computers and gadget are disposed safely.

The normal destination of these ships laden with container of toxic waste are the same countries from where the minerals are extracted: Nigeria, Ghana, Benin, Cameroon, Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone etc (Punch Monday Nov.1, 2010:14).

Denouncing this dare devil practice of the EU member states, the United States of America, and their allies, Offiong (2001:123) averred that African poverty can explain why Africans have succumbed to pressure from the industrialized region to accept toxic waste. “Profit is the major catalyst in the waste. Disposal costs in developed countries run as high as \$2000 per metric ton but only \$3 or less per ton in Africa. This huge differential far exceeds shipping cost and dumping risks”.

4.3 Afro-Pessimism

Afro-pessimism is “the belief that grinding poverty, outbreaks of devastating diseases, and intensifying conflicts will remain the staples of the Africa landscape for the foreseeable future. Extreme adherents of this view suggest that Africans cannot reverse the continent’s slide to anarchy” (Schraeder, 2004:14).

Based on the above view, Schraeder continued, “The U.S. public maintains what can be called a National Geographic image of Africa”. These images and stereotypes of Africa are the creation of the

Western theorists of order, and sustained by the Western media that have a penchant to publish negative aspects of African continent while ignoring the positive. For example, (Schraeder and Brian, 1995:35) reveal that the New York Times coverage of Africa between 1955 and 1995 showed that 73 percent of the news items incorporated bad aspects of African politics, governance and society.

Furthermore, Huntington (1968), and others like him established a paradigm shift in the modernization literature from the optimistic belief in political development to an unfortunate pessimistic hope of political decay in developing areas. This led to their postulation of a series of six development crises. For Rothchild and Curry (1979), two new crises of development have been added to the six crises identified by the theorists of order. They, according to him, include crisis of national survival and crisis of foreign control. While the former has to do with the effort to ensure that the political boundaries inherited at independence survived, the later deals with concern for securing freedom from external control of socio-economic, political and cultural infrastructures. Ihonvbere on his part argues:

that a neo-colonial state, underdeveloped, dependent, foreign – dominated, disarticulated, politically unstable, debt-ridden and crisis-ridden, social formation cannot provide credible leadership or operate a viable, credible, respectable... it is characterized by mindless corruption, mass-poverty, gross inequality, mismanagement, waste, and social, political, and economic tensions, contradictions and conflicts (Ihonvbere, 1994:36)

Any wonder then that African social formations have succumbed to Western pressure in all facets of world affairs? Africa, according to (Onimode, 2000:86-95) had been marginalized since the 1980's, and the Africanists like Rodney (1972), Nkurumah (1974) and Adedeji, (1993), had protested it.

5. Theoretical Framework

There are so many contending approaches to the study and understanding of the on-going socio-political processes that relate to the contemporary African political economy. These include theories of imperialism and colonialism, world system, dependency, etc. In the belly of these theories, one discovers the concept and praxis of modern globalization which produces inclusion as well as marginalization and or outright exclusion from the world economy for some countries. However, "the absence of a theoretical framework in most of the discourses on globalization in Africa is a bane" (Omoweh, 2000:45).

Also in the precincts of these theories mentioned above are another set of concepts. They are neocolonialism, and transnational corporations. These serve to maintain the global stratification of countries into polar-opposites-the global rich North and poverty stricken South (Henslin, 1995:246). The Modern World System (MWS) analysis affords us the theoretic content of this work. The parent paradigm or world view of the modern world system theory is idealism, a 'theoretical perspective, in contrast to realism, that focuses on the importance of morality and values in international relations' (Kaarbo and Ray 2011:13). Some of the assumptions include that a global cooperation to build a better world is possible and that it is also possible to restructure flawed institutions in order to create good. Therefore the theory derivatives from these assumptions include Marxism, imperialism, dependency etc (Duncan et al 2004:23).

Modern world system (MWS) is essentially a theory of economic development based on Marxist-Leninist ideologies. According to Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, (2004:136), Balaam and Veseth (2008:72), the tenets of this theory that are germane to Africa had been articulated by Emmanuel Wallenstein (1988). This theory delineates the gradual evolution and development of the global system since the middle of the 15th century. From that time, the theorists, posit, that the capitalist core states of Northwest Europe (Britain, France, Holland, and later Germany) had to leap beyond agribusiness to high-tech industrialization and modes of production that made it possible for it not only to absorb but also integrate other regions into capitalist world economy. By this process, Eastern

Europe assumed the status of a **periphery** that continued to till the land to export agricultural products that fed industries of the Northwest. The Mediterranean Europe on its part, owing to its labor intensive industries became the **semi-periphery** i.e. the intermediary between the core and the periphery. The fourth group indentified by Wallenstein is dubbed *the external areas* which consist of most of Africa and Asia. According to the proponents, these nations had a little if any economic connection with the **core** state as they had been left out of the development capitalism (Henslin 1995: 244). The world system perspective insists that the world division of labour enables the core nations to dominate and exploit the periphery—a domination which was midwived by centuries of colonial domination and control over foreign lands (Kegley, Jr. and Blanton, 2011:108). The corollary of the foregoing is the reality of contemporary international economic relations of domination and exploitation of the poor nations by the powerful ones. However, as of today, capitalism has engulfed the globe with a relentless fury creating a capitalist world economy dominated by the rich North. This domination is made possible because the World System perspective connotes a level of concentration of economic, political and military power that shapes the entire structure of the system (Dougherty and Pfactzgraff, 2004:139).

6. Hypotheses

Four factors which impinge on, facilitate, and sustain the second scramble for Africa—lack of capacity, the ideology of the scramble, role of the United States of America, problem of leadership inertia, and the entrance of new competitors—are analyzed through an assessment of four corresponding hypotheses. These hypotheses are stated as follows:

- I. Abundance of natural resources, coupled with lack of effective and efficient leadership as well as critical citizenry, make Africa potentially vulnerable to external exploitation by the super powers, and to conditions of continued underdevelopment.
- II. Without a regional power with enough industrial cum technological capacity, economic muscle and military power for protecting the continent against external predation and at the same time serve as an engine for driving development, African states are today even more vulnerable to the second scramble for its natural resources.
- III. The ideology of the second scramble is predicated on the principle of “quick-loot-fast-plunder”, and driven by the imperatives of globalization.
- IV. The new competition for Africa’s natural resources is made fiercer because of the larger number of competitors which include the former European colonial powers, the United States of America and the new entrants thrown up by the fast emergent economies like China and India from Asia, Brazil from Latin America, and Saudi Arabia from the Middle East, among others.

7. Discussion and Critical Examination of the Hypotheses

7.1 *The State of Inertia*

Here we are concerned with the endogenous factors that facilitate decapitalization of Africa.

First hypothesis: Abundance of natural resources, coupled with lack of effective and efficient leadership as well as critical citizenry, make Africa potentially vulnerable to external exploitation by the super powers, and to conditions of continued underdevelopment. The phenomenon of globalization constantly affects both national and global leadership positively or negatively:

it prescribes minimum national standards covering its three foci—politics, economic and information technology—to which countries and national leadership must conform for relevance. Its prescription of responsibility, accountability, transparency and responsiveness are standards to which political leaders have to meet (Okunade 2008: 5).

Unfortunately, African leaders could not meet up with this prescription and therefore lack relevance. The reasons are not far-fetched. Shaxon (2007: 223), believed that bad leaders are a curse since they corrupt a country and rise so easily to the top. Humphreys et. al (2007: 26-27) add that modern capitalism which the west bequeathed to Africa "is by and large, based on a simple calculus: each individual is concerned with how much he can get for himself. No wonder much of the public discourse on corruption in Africa has centered on government officials attempting to divert as much as possible for personal use.

Cultural irresponsibility, that is, wealth grabbing opportunism, corporate corruption and the anarchic behavior of political and industrial elites is a global phenomenon, though but it is at the same time a bane for Africa. What is new about corruption is that Africa is vegetating towards institutionalization of the phenomenon. We understand that one of the causes of the present global economic problem that started in the US since 2008 is financial corruption perpetrated by the "Captains of industry" who had been operating under the cover of "private investment" and "deregulatory" policy. Yet the Caucasians did not stash their loots in Lagos or Accra or Pretoria or Algiers. But their African counterparts who Fela described variously as International Thief Thief (ITT), Vagabonds in Power (VIP), etc stashed their loots in safer heavens abroad.

It appears that Nigeria is the worst of all African countries:

It is simply the doomsday scenario, an amalgamation of all the worst oil has to offer Africa: corruption, ethnic hatred, Dutch disease, and rentierism organized crime, militant rebellion, hostage taking, and sabotage of industrial activities, and a country held together tenuously by a political establishment whose leader, in the words of a US government think-tank, are locked in a bad marriage that all dislike but none dare leave (Ghazvinian 2007: 167).

From the late 1950s when the first barrel of oil was pumped in Nigeria to 1999, the managers according to Ghazvinian (2007), have stolen over \$400 billion of oil money, an amount that developed nations have given to Africa in development aid for the same period. Continuing with Nigeria Maier (2000) adds: "it is as if (Nigerians) live in a criminally mismanaged corporation where the bosses are armed and have barricaded themselves inside the company safe".

Lamenting on the same problem of leadership, Nwachukwu (2008:288) averred that:

The trouble with Nigeria is essentially its entanglement with unproductive, indifferent, callous, lousy-sum of elite class possessed by the evil spirit which specializes on greed and nepotism. This class lacks autonomy in so far as it depends on international capital, the police, and armed forces of Nigeria to maintain hegemony.

African nations have suffered from philosophical hollowness and ideological barrenness bequeathed to them by the founding fathers at independence. Hence:

neocolonial, underdeveloped, dependent, foreign-dominated disarticulated, politically unstable, debt-ridden social formations cannot provide credible leadership or operate a viable, credible, respectable foreign policy. They are characterized by mindless corruption, mass-poverty, gross inequality, mismanagement, waste, and social, political, and economic tension, contradictions, and conflicts (Ihonvbere 1994:36).

Implicit in the above characterization of Africa is the manifestation of leadership deficit. The traits are: lack of strategic qualities of good leadership; habitual unholy alliance with international bourgeoisie; internally dependent on armed forces to maintain its hegemony over the system, and therefore self-servicing. The leadership lacks the ability to integrate rival and ethno-nationalities within the national borders. It feeds on the bread of corruption, nepotism, and windy inefficacy. Recall the state of anomie occurring in Ivory Coast, Sudan, DRC, Somalia, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya etc. as this report was been written.

Second Hypothesis: Without a regional power with enough industrial cum technological

capacity, economic muscle and military power for protecting the continent against external predation and at the same time serve as an engine for driving development, African states are today even more vulnerable to the second scramble for its natural resources. No African country has been listed among the class of newly industrializing countries (NICs). Although, South Africa has a fairly developed infrastructure with a steel industry that feeds its defense manufacture while Nigeria's Ajaokuta Steel Complex was aborted in the 4th republic (Adebaja 2006:12), these regional hegemony cannot fend for the continent in military, economic, industrial, and financial terms. In spite of the petrodollar accruing to many African countries, they still lack capital or development funds. Their currencies are inconvertible, so they go cap in hand looking for loans and aids from development agencies that are there to milk them. Africa, in the words of Chabal, cited in Tordoff (2002) is 'a Leviathan with feet of clay'. It therefore needs a champion to bail it up. The US did it for war-devastated Europe at the end of World War II through the Marshall plan.

For Africa to bridge the digital divide between it and the global rich North it needs a leadership committed to industrialization. Russia, Japan, China, India, Brazil, and South Korea offer examples of leadership dedicated to industrialization (Kemp 1989:18).

7.2 Ideation

It would be recalled that several ideas were floated to explain the motives behind Europe's colonial enterprise all over Africa when they did, in this section we attempt briefly to restate the *raison d'être* as well as the approach to the second scramble.

Third Hypothesis: The ideology of the second scramble is predicated on the principle of "quick-loot-fast-plunder", and driven by the imperatives of globalization. Due to the age of agrarian and industrial revolution in Europe and the US their resources are depleting. Japan which is also in the race cannot boast of much domestic mineral resources; and population superpowers like India and China need economic resources more than anyone else. Therefore Africa with its huge and vastly untapped minerals has been seen as a spare part from which other continents could rejuvenate resource-wise. At the risk of being tautological we re-emphasize that the present scramble is not over territorial acquisition, but it is about draining off fresh water, minerals and agricultural resources etc from the continent. It is happening at the time Africa enjoys political independence. In this tug-of-love over the guardianship of African resources, the competitors are in a hurry to cart and go. For although Africa has been described as a 'Leviathan with a clay feet' or a sleeping giant, it could wake up and spring surprises to its detractors.

7.3 The External Factors

Here we consider the exogenous factors which midwife the incarceration of the continent.

Fourth Hypothesis: The new competition for Africa's natural resources is made fiercer because of the larger number of competitors which include the former European colonial powers, the United States of America and the new entrants thrown up by the fast emergent economies like China and India from Asia, Brazil from Latin America, and Saudi Arabia from the Middle East, among others.

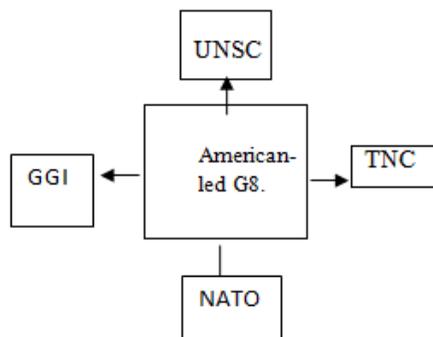
The USA which had adopted the principle of isolationism as foreign policy orientation up to 1945 had no record of colonial conquest barring for its deviant behavior in acquiring Spanish territories in Cuba and the Philippines in the 1890s according to Osuntokun (2005: 31). Nevertheless, in the past 65 years, America has become a roving gambler that gathers moss or better still a Leviathan with iron feet.

Both Odor (2002:17) and Toyo (2007) agree that the United States of America is the ultimate driving force as well as the leader of neo-imperialism and correspondingly, the architect and advocate of modern globalization as it emerged, at the end of World War II, as the principal exporter of new technologies, the strongest military power by far among the capitalist powers and the unbeaten exporter of arms. The United States government is actually the "architect of globalization, the first

cause and the unrelenting, increasingly vicious, resolute, callous and indefatigable ultimate driving force of globalization, lacking in moral conscience and compunction absolutely” (Odor, 2002).

They also agree that the emergence of a powerful concert of imperialist powers such as NATO, WTO, IMF, WB etc. formed around USA became the proximate driving force for modern globalization. One important achievement of globalization is the spread of communication epitomized by internet connectivity, and transportation which have turned the world into a global “pillage”. However this advantage offered by globalization has been cancelled off by two important facts:

- 1) The capitalist village and facilities its makes available are dominated by the Western settlement in the village, and
- 2) Outside the settlement, there is lack of easy access to the computers, skilled labor, and infrastructure (Viotti and Kauppi 2006: 280).



Key to Figure 1

UNSC- United Nations Security Council

GGI- Global Governance Institutions

TNCs- Trans National Corporations

NATO- North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Fig 1.The Strategic Instruments for Implementing Global Strategy

Source: Nwachukwu (2009) “Globalization and the Incidence of State Failure in Africa”. *International Journal of Program on Policy, Conflict and Strategic Studies*. Vol.1 No.1 p.75.

At the epicenter of figure 1 are the pre-eminent actors and the driving force in world affairs. Many international organizations are touted as the panaceas for the world’s problems. However, powerful states(such as the US and Britain) not international organizations are the ones responsible for producing real results, such as uprooting al-Qaeda from Afghanistan and forcing regime changes in Iraq (Goldstein & Pevehous, 2009). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the military wing for the ruthless global strategy.

Transnational co-operations (TNCs) are very huge foreign-owned enterprises or companies with vast and versatile subsidiaries in different regions of the world, controlled by the parent companies usually situated in the metropolis. They represent the organizational embodiment of industrial imperialism, and are responsible for the so-called Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).They, and other state-owned companies from the West, and Asia are the ones extracting raw materials, manufacturing goods, distributing goods and buying off tracts of lands in Africa. In general, prominent among them include Wal-mart stores, General Electric, Exxon Mobile, General Motors, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Microsoft (Softwares), Ispat Steel, Citigroup, etc (Stopford 2000; Xiaohong etal 2004). Their power derives from the commercial technology, capital, technical know-how and initiative at their disposal. Advocacy groups portray TNCs as globe-trotting sweatshop operators,

indifferent polluters and systematic-tax evaders that –are beyond the control of their host governments especially the weak ones (Xiaohong *ibid*). The TNCs have succeeded in producing a single, dominant world economy that pervades socialist as well as underdeveloped countries, all of which are coalescing in continual enlarged and intensified sphere of action that absorbs, subordinates or liquidates all other systems of production and accumulation. Thus as these companies that originated from the triad of EU, the USA, and Japan (and China since 1990s) have become “world engine of growth” interlocking directorates and financial ties, coupled with market interpenetration, result in extensive co-operation and promise to change the national rivalries that inevitably produced two world wars.

We can see that:

The power of the MNCs cannot be underestimated not only because of the scale of operations and amount of resources at their command, but because the MNCs are the driving point of the capitalist development. They represent the forces that have created the world market system. It is the bourgeoisie of the African countries that must fit itself into the MNCs framework. The role of the ITT in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, bribery and extortion by Lockheed and oil companies of political notables in Italy, Japan and Netherland, indicates the magnitude of extra-legal means these businesses have at their command. Assassination attempts by the CIA and poisoned needles, darts, guns, and gases directed at the political foes of the MNCs are only the most dramatic evidence of how the government of industrialized world can support their business and enterprises (Markowitz 1977: 95).

Finally, the Group of G8 has been trying to govern the world by the employment of Global Governance Institutions (GGI) or the so-called multi-lateral agencies such as the United Nation Security Council (UNSC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), among many others. Mother Africa has to contend with these institutions which make rules pertaining to World trade, investment, finance and politico-military decisions. These institutions are accountable to those who created them rather than those their policies affect (Aremu 2006).

7.4 Competition with Europe over Africa

The US competition with European countries, and Asiatics over Africa’s economic resources is cut throat. Washington has since abandoned its policy of support for Europe’s privileged economic and political role in its former colonies in favor of more aggressive step in favor of US trade and investment. France on its part has denounced this in strong terms as an “intrusion” or “at worst an aggression” into France’s *chasse gardee* (Schraeder *op cit* 280). France-US competition over highly lucrative petroleum industry has been played out in Congo-Brazzaville among the latter, Elf-Aquitaine-the French oil corporation, and Occidental petroleum Corporation Oxy, a US-based oil company.

Again in Benin;

*The alternation of power from president Nic`e Phore Sogolo (1991-96) to Mathieu Kerekou (who was elected in 1996 coincided with rising US-French competition over the right to explore for off-shore oil resources) (Schraeder *ibid* 280).*

The US-China competition is not limited to Benin but includes Chad, Gabon, Angola, Equatorial Guinea and Sudan especially has proven to be a graveyard for Western oil companies.

a Chinese company built the existing 900 mile pipeline and was accused of complicity with aerial bombardment campaigns clearly designed to eliminate Southern villages in order to make room for it. Between 1998 and 2000, thousands of people were displaced, and the pattern was always the same.

Sudanese Air Force Antonov would first bombard the villages, and, according to locals, the “Chinese people” would come with bulldozers, followed by government soldiers burning huts. Now as many as 4000 plain clothes Chinese soldiers are believed to be stationed along the pipelines to protect it from raiders and Saboteurs (Ghazvinian : 287).

In view of the above, the United States is profoundly wary of China’s expanding role in Africa describing the latter as aggressive and pernicious economic competitor with no morals. Consequently, United States of America is seriously watching with eagle eye if China’s intrusion into Africa would lead to training of armies, military base agreements, as well as the development of intelligence operations (www. Wikileaks.com). These kinds of development are frightful. The European colonial powers of the past managed to avoid war among themselves as they balkanized the continent. Therefore we surmise that the present onslaught over Africa and its resources may lead to war among the competitors; a war that would be fought on African soil. Meanwhile many African states have either failed or about to fail. We attribute this incessant state failure in the continent to the second scramble.

The new entrants to the scramble- The USA, China, India, Saudi Arabia- and the other emerging economies exacerbate Africa’s socio-economic problems. China, the most daring among the new entrants has straddled across Africa like a roving gambler that gathers moss. Table 1 below shows how it is courting Nigeria the biggest market on African continent.

Table 1. Showing Infrastructural Project Agreement Signed Between China and Buhari Administration

S/N	Amount	Project
1.	\$1.231	Lagos-Kano modernization projects, Lagos-Ibadan segment
2.	\$1.146 billion	Lagos-Kano railway modernization project, Kano-Kaduna segment
3.	\$3.474 billion	Lagos-Calabar Coastal Rail project
4.	\$6.1 billion	Ibadan-Ilorin-Mina-Kaduna-Kano line
5.	\$1.4 billion	Lagos to Ibadan Rail Project
6.	\$15 billion	Agricultural Development
7.	\$2billion	Dangote Group Cement Project
8.	\$478 million	Construction of 300 Mega Watts sola power in Shiroro, Niger State
9.	\$55 million	Construction and equipping of granite mining plant
10.	\$1 billion	Greenfield expressway for Abuja-Ibadan-Lagos
11.	\$250 million	Ultra-modern 27-storey high rise complex
12.	\$1 billion	Hi-tech industrial park in Ogun-Guangdong Free Trade Zone
13.	\$200 million	Construction of two 500MT/day float gas facilities
14.	\$363 million	Comprehensive farm and downstream industrial park
15.	\$500 million	Project for the provision of television broadcast equipment
16.	\$25 million	Facility for production of pre-paid smart meters

Source: Tanimu 2016.

Table 2: A Roll Call of the Invading Forces.

The U.S.A	China	Norway	Oil rich Sheikdoms
Canada	Japan	Sweden	Libya
Brazil	India	Russia	Saudi Arabia
Mexico	Pakistan	Australia	
Argentina	Malaysia		
	South Korea		

Source: Arranged by the author from existing raw data.

The list on Table 1 above, is not exhaustive. It represents the countries who could not participate in the colonial jamboree of the 19th century as it affected Africa. However, all of them want to get something out of Africa primarily for themselves now. Also, the list of the invading forces in Box 1 does not include non-state actors in this business. While the intra-regional trade in Africa remains at extremely low level-an-average of 5 percent in 2008, Africa shipped US \$406 billion in commodities overseas.

Table 3: Africa's Share of World's Major Mineral Resources (1960 to date)

Bauxite (36%)	Copper (14%)	Coal (5%)	Cobalt (68%)	Tin (7%)
Tantalite (80%)	Diamond (70%)	Fish ±	Gold (54%)	Iron-ore (3%)
Ivory ±	Forestry ±	Fresh water ±	Platinum (85%)	Bauxite (36%)
Farmland ±	Uranium (25%)	Petroleum (9%)	Natural Gas (10%)	Lithium (11%)
Zinc (9%)	Chromium (90%)	Coffee ±	Phosphate (66%)	Geranium (50%)

± Data not available

Sources: 1. Humphreys M.S. and Stiglitz, J.E.(2007) *Escaping the Resource Curse*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2. Ghazvinian J. (2007) *Untapped: The Scramble for Africa's Oil*. Orlando: Harcourt, Inc. 3. Shaxon, N. (2007) *Poisoned Wells: The Dirty Politics of African Oil*. New York: Plgrave Macmillan.

In addition to arable land, animal, water and forestry resources, Africa possesses vast quantities of the traditional high-value minerals. Her very large shares of the world's mineral resources are shown in Table 2 above. Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is reputed for commanding 80% of the world's reserves of columbite-tantalite used in such high value digital-era products as mobile phones, digital cameras, laptops computers, and video cameras. Africa also commands 90% of world supply of chromium, and 85% of platinum (see table 2). Again Africa is sitting on a sea of oil reputed as the most-sought-after product on the planet. All African countries having these important minerals within their borders have at one time or the other or are perpetually undergoing serious socio-economic crisis witness Nigeria, DRC, Sudan, Angola, Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire etc.,

8. Conclusion

Our strongly held view is that the first scramble laid the foundation for the second. Political independence for Africa could not translate to economic independence because the colonial powers did not plan that, and the African leadership and citizens that took over the mantle of leadership at independence could not empower the continent economically decades after independence. Therefore the modern globalization caught-up with Africa, marginalized and consolidated its status in the modern world system. Africa needs urgent action to de-marginalize before it becomes irrelevant altogether in the new international division of labour.

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