

Discourses on Development and the Realities of Exploitation: From Aid and Humanitarianism to Solidarity

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Despite the reputed 'clash of civilizations', the international dialogue is far too collegial, at least where African development is concerned. The African state of affairs, neither to be pitied nor deplored, is nonetheless in need of a lengthy and meaningful debate. Questions that discussants should ask – what constitutes development, to whom do Africa's resources really belong, and when, if ever, would the 'West' suspend its project of managing Africa with only the thought of extracting its resources? This article offers a radical critique of the World Bank-led 'development' paradigm. It is a call not to bear arms against development agencies, but to reach into the minds as well as the hearts of those who would be preparing to work in such organisations. The main argument here is that Africa cannot cultivate its resources, its people and its environment, if it must contend with another century of imperialism dressed up as 'development'.

INTRODUCTION

January 2011 marked fifty years since Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) was assassinated. This assassination represented one of the many examples of efforts to destroy the African self-determination project. In his book on *The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba*, Ludo de Witte noted that,

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*“The murder has affected the history of Africa. The overthrow of Congo’s first government, the elimination of Lumumba, the bloody repression of the second resistance to the neocolonial regime of Joseph Kasavubu, Mobutu and Moïse Tshombe and finally the creation of the Second Republic in this vast strategic country: the repercussions of all these events had disastrous consequences throughout Africa as a whole. If Africa was a revolver and the Congo its trigger, to borrow Frantz Fanon’s analogy, the assassination of Lumumba and tens of thousands of other Congolese nationalists, from 1960-1965, was the West’s ultimate attempt to destroy the continent’s authentic independent development.”*¹

Fanon wrote on the continued efforts to destroy transformations from colonialism, and in June 2011, fifty years after this assassination, and the murder of numerous genuine freedom fighters in Africa, it is now possible to fully chronicle all of the efforts to pre-empt Africa’s reconstruction. Ludo de Witte used the metaphor of the revolver with the trigger to connect the militarism that is linked to the plunder going on for the past fifty years with the massive propaganda campaign asserting “development” and “progress” to cover up the role of the international mining houses and pharmaceuticals in Africa.

As a scholar, I have been very cautious in using the formulations of progress and development. I am conscious of the genocidal activities that have been carried out in the name of progress and am always aware of the extermination of the First Nation peoples of the Americas in the name of progress. When writers and those who suffered from slavery and genocide draw attention to this history, then we are told that such events as the genocide of Native Americans and the enslavement of Africans are unfortunate by-products of progress and development.

Throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America the forces of international capitalism plundered the resources of the planet as the imperial reach of capital covered the globe. Today, these international plunderers work with local African allies and in the particular case of the DRC, they work in collaboration with the Rwandan government’s looting the DRC. Rwanda is presented as a serious development partner for Western companies, while the role of the Rwandese leadership in looting the DRC is overlooked.

Since that assassination of Lumumba, there have been numerous wars and peoples of Africa have contended with the centrality the role of force plays in production. In many respects the unique history of the

¹ Ludo de Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, New York: Verso Books, 2003, p.xxiii

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) formerly known as Zaire is a microcosm of the historical and contemporary political, economic and social forces that relate to exploitation on a world scale. The forms of economic organization that have been imposed on African societies since the partitioning of Africa in 1885 reproduce iterations of plunder, war, militarism and genocidal violence. The DRC, in the heart of Africa, is one with seemingly endless natural resources. Yet the forms of economic management that were established by Belgium perpetuated militarism as a mode of politics and economic conditions conducive to warfare. Liberal ideas of modernisation, development and capital accumulation have consistently been deployed to legitimise forms of wealth extraction that impoverished the African peoples.

Africa as a whole has long been the epitome of the wealth-poverty dilemma in economic development policy circles. The literature on the politics of plunder and looting is quite extensive even though this material is dominated by the view that the Western capitalist states intervened in the period of the Cold War to prevent chaos and Communism. Numerous Western writers provided books and tracts on Mobutu or chaos.² After which, development experts then compared the DRC to Malaysia and Ghana to South Korea to indicate the inability of Africans to initiate development

Hence, the support for the militarisation and destruction in Africa from 1960 until present is glossed over. This trend is especially apparent in the West's past engagement with Mobutu Sese Seko and the South African apartheid government, which marked one of the key aspects of international politics during the period 1965-1996. Military support for Mobutu and other numerous dictators, supported by imperial overlords were always based on models of development, which promised globalised liberalism. The same supporters of Mobutu that financed his repression and brutality are the ones now promoting the orthodoxy of stabilisation, privatisation and liberalisation. This current push for neo-liberal capitalism comes against the background of the voluminous writings by African scholars who have documented the reality that the African continent has been one of the areas of the world where the impact of the structural adjustment policies of the international financial institutions have been most devastating. After decades of structural adjustment, insiders from 'the bank' are now joining the forces that identified the fact that in many cases the policies of the World Bank, and the IMF, condemned the poor to early death.

² Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo*, New York: Harper Collins, 2001.

Professor Adebayo Adedeji (former head of the UN Economic Commission For Africa) noted that all of the home grown plans of the Africans from the period of the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980, through to the Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990, including the African Alternative Framework For Structural Adjustment (1989), the African Charter for Participation and Development, as well as the African Union were opposed. In many instances sabotaged directly by the International Financial Institutions, and to a great extent by the leaders of the USA and the European Union. Adedeji drew attention to the fact that "all of the plans for self-reliant development in Africa had been opposed, undermined, and dismissed by the Breton Woods Institutions and Africans were thus impeded from exercising the basic and fundamental right to making decisions about their future."

After the Lagos Plan of Action, Elliot Berg, one of the principal functionaries of the World Bank authored the famous report on *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action*. In the period after Apartheid and in the face of the devastation unleashed by structural adjustment, Africans came together to form the African Union. International capital has responded by creating a military command, the US Africa Command, to divert African energies from economic integration and structural transformation. This new military command has been justified on the grounds of fighting terrorism, safeguarding African resources, protect civilians and providing security for Africans. Occasionally, the real objective of the US Africa Command in relationship to the strategic importance of African petroleum resources, and the long term plans to challenge Chinese influence in Africa, are exposed. Behind and beside this remilitarisation of Africa are the conservative Christian fundamentalists who want to embark on a new 'crusade' against Islam.

As we speak today, NATO and the US Africa Command are involved in the bombing of the people of Libya. The leaders of Britain, France and the United States are rather cynical and as such do not expect a challenge their military attacks on Libya, especially in the face of the reality that these same countries support the government of Algeria, which supported the erstwhile Gaddafi regime, with whom it shares a border. This is cynicism of Western leaders who on the one hand support the Gaddafi family, holding billions of dollars in foreign accounts, stands in stark contrast to a new and intensified racist campaign against Africans in Europe. Decent citizens who followed the close relationship between the Gaddafi family, and leaders such as Nicholas Sarkozy and Tony Blair, marvel at the latter's crude advocacy on behalf of oil companies. The same Sarkozy who is the

cheerleader of the bombing campaign in Libya enjoyed financial support by none other than Gaddafi himself. There is naked and desperate attempt by Nicholas Sarkozy to regain his own glory, and the glory of France, by implementing military interventions that will prop up France, and make it a key player in the changed world economy. French writers will probably justify these actions in the name of ‘development.’

Tony Blair, former Prime Minister of Britain, is another politician from Europe who sought to present himself as a friend of the African people. His Commission for Africa had been trumpeted with a lot of fanfare about increased aid to Africa. It is important for activists from the World Development Movement to make an assessment of this Commission and its numerous plans to “make poverty history” in Africa. Today, this same Tony Blair is now calling for a more united Europe with a European President to meet the challenges of a changed global system. Blair specifically mentioned the rise of China, India and Brazil and the need for Europeans to unite in the face of these emerging powers. It is noteworthy that Blair called on the EU to forge closer links to “make us more powerful as a unit” included tax policy, creating a single market, better energy and defence policies, as well as a single immigration and organised crime policy. Africans are paying close attention to the debates on immigration in Europe and intensified climate of racial hatred that is being stoked by European leaders. In the USA, politicians often use the code words “organised crime” to indict the behaviour of entire ‘ethnic’ communities, in the hopes that voters can read between the lines.

Thus far, the leaders of Africa who have been compromised by their “development partners” have been silent in the face of the intensified racism of current political trends. Many of these leaders hold millions of dollars in bank accounts in Switzerland, Britain, France and the USA while travelling constantly to seek aid. Yash Tandon has written extensively on fifteen ways to draw surpluses from Africa through Foreign Direct Investment on the themes of his book on *Ending Aid Dependence*. Other scholars such as Professor Patricia Daley of Oxford University have written on ‘humanitarian bondage.’ Scholars such as Samir Amin, Patrick Bond, Patricia Daley, Yash Tandon and numerous others have documented the ways in which the poverty and humanitarian discourses conceal a range of exploitation.

The World Bank and the IMF, as development partners in Africa, have been complicit in the chain of exploitation and plunder in Africa. In the example of the DRC, the record of the ways in which the so-called leaders were able to manipulate the IMF by plundering the country should have

been the basis for a fundamental departure from the policies and the ideas of the Bretton Woods institutions. Yet in the aftermath of the international financial crisis, the functionaries of the World Bank are busy seeking new ways to provide legitimacy for the Bank and Fund. Jimi Adesina and Bayo Olukoshi have written on the impoverishment of Africans in the period of structural adjustment. These authors have used empirical work to expose the experience of Africa with social development between the years 1981 and 2005, which indicate a direct increase in the rates of impoverishment.

The record has been grim. Using the World Bank line for severe poverty (US\$1.25 in 2005 PPP prices) Adesina pointed out that an additional 176.1 million people fell into severe poverty, even as the proportion of the population fell from 53.4% to 50.9%. In the wake of the global crisis, we are confronted with even more grim predictions. In its 2009 *World Development Indicators*, the bank estimated that an additional 46 million people will fall into severe poverty, and an additional 53 million people will fall into poverty as a result of the economic crisis. It estimated that between 200,000 and 400,000 children will die annually if the crisis persists. That means between 1.4 million to 2.8 million new cases of child mortality between 2009 and 2015.³

African scholars are also opposing the entire discourse of poverty alleviation and poverty reduction exercises. These scholars have drawn attention to the reality that no society has been able to transform social relations on the basis of fighting poverty. Transformation involves building up resources for wealth creation including the transformation of the knowledge, skills and well-being of human beings in society. Jimi Adesina rightly observed in his analysis of the Social Protection strategies:

“The dominant discourse results in a problematic treatment of the poor as a demographic category: largely unproductive, destitute, and in need of hand-outs; it inadvertently sets the poorest against the poor. It is a vision of society that is far from the successful ‘encompassing’ vision of mainstream society which builds on altruism, social cohesion, and equality. Further, in much of Africa, and South Asia, for instance, the proportion of the working poor within the total employment remains quite high.”

The opposition in Africa to this denigration of humans demands new action by those who stand in solidarity with the people of Africa. Articles in *Pambazuka* have pointed to the February 2011 launch of the World Bank’s ten-year Strategy document, “Africa’s Future and the World

³ World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, 2009, p. 11.

Bank's Support." Patrick Bond who has written an important book on *Looting Africa*, has drawn attention to the energetic efforts to dominate spaces of development by the International Monetary Fund's Regional Economic Outlook for sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, the Economic Commission on Africa's upbeat study, the African World Economic Forum's Competitiveness Report, and the African Development Bank's discovery of a vast new 'middle class, all blithely speak of development

Bond's clear critique draws from decades of writings by Africans in CODESRIA and other fora in Africa who have delegitimised and exposed the World Bank Development strategies of "poverty reduction and alleviation." Elsewhere, I have called for the abolition of the IMF and the establishment of an International Bank for Reparations and Reconstruction. While we campaign against the 'Bank' and the 'Fund,' we must motivate young scholars who do not want to be accomplices of the plunder of Africa under the guise of development, to write and to speak out.

How can an exploration of the conceptualisations, theories and models of political economy, of economic development, and their subsequent policy applications in Africa, be a source of new thinking about the relationships between conflict and development? Can there be a self-reliant strategy of economic transformation that breaks the traditions of brute force and imperial militarism as we are now witnessing in Libya? Are Africans considered human beings or simply a mass of inert energy similar to rocks? What is the nature of the continued colonial economic relations of extraction of raw materials and minerals? Do qualitative differences exist between the past and present approaches to development and what of the presence of war and continuous Western imperial intervention? Does the current era of imperial activity offer new opportunities or challenges? Could such an exploration be valuable in creating an alternative socio-economic paradigm, one that would foster the necessary conditions in African society conducive for sustainable peace and transformation?

These questions arise in the context of the search for reconstruction in an era when there are social movements in all parts of the global South, many of which are seeking a new social project that moves away from the priorities of the hegemony of international capital. The present revolutionary outpourings across North Africa and the Middle East call for new forms of solidarity and support for those resisting imperial exploitation in the name of development. In societies such as Greece, Portugal and Spain, the working peoples and the youth have been mobilised to defend their economic rights. The centralisation and concentration of capital

has reached a point where even the limited gains of social democracy for European workers are being challenged. At the same time, racist imagery and psychological war against European and US “white workers” are being waged to mobilise support for militarism and continuous ‘ethnic’ group warfare.

To further this psychological and information warfare, the high priests of development from the institutions of higher learning reproduce continuous reams of papers on the relationships between conflict and resources. What is most revealing in this discussion is the absence of analysis regarding the relationship between primary commodity extraction and warfare, is the extent to which questions of democratic participation on the one hand, and the global armaments culture on the other, are excluded from the policy alternatives offered for peace. More than ten years ago Paul Collier, then, the Director of the Research Group of the World Bank, argued that the most powerful risk factor is that countries which have a substantial share of their income (GDP) coming from the export of primary commodities are radically more at risk of conflict. The most dangerous level of primary commodity dependence is 26 % of GDP. At this level the otherwise ordinary country has a risk of conflict of 23 %. By contrast, if it has no primary commodity exports (but was otherwise the same) its risk would fall to one half of one per cent. Thus, without primary commodity exports, ordinary countries are pretty safe from internal conflict, while when such exports are substantial the society is highly dangerous. Primary commodities are thus a major part of the conflict story.⁴

The conflict paradigm is thus portrayed, without historical reference to the experiences of the Western mining companies and the role of foreign corporations under Mobutu. This a-historicity was represented with the full authority and name of the World Bank, which argued that countries “with Congo like geography” and reliance on primary exports are prone to “civil conflict.” What was also missing was clarity on the differences between wars of liberation or struggles against colonial domination, as contrasted with the militarism of Mobutu and elements such as Jonas Savimbi. In the World Bank development model, there is no room for the explanation of the anti-apartheid struggles in Africa and the wars against genocide and genocidal violence. Absent this kind of interrogation regarding the World Bank’s tendency to conflate the predations of dictators with the passions of social justice movements, the West will continue to promote the ‘Bank’ as an institution that can formulate Africa’s development plans. I do not support the Afro-pessimists who wax in theories of “failed states” in

⁴ Paul Collier, “Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy,” Department of Economics, Oxford University, p. 7.

Africa while writing as consultants for governments who are in the service of the banks and the oil companies.

REDUCTIONISM AND DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES

The continued plunder of resources by oil companies and others have intensified in this period and some prescient Westerners have pointed to the connections between wars, violence and economics. This is one of the enduring aspects of Africa's integration into the global economy but past discussions on development has obscured this reality. Similarly, as Africans move into the twenty first century there is increased interest in the genetic resources and fresh water of Africa, especially the water resources of the Congo River and its tributaries. These resources are all important in the context of what is now called the biotech century. Jeremy Rifkin devoted a great deal of his study of the *Biotech Century* to outlining how the patenting of life forms, impressive new tools being developed by scientists for manipulating the biological world, will impact of life in general. Thus far there is no research regarding how this work will impact the lives of Africans, especially where eugenic thinking seems to inform the international response to AIDS pandemic.

Genetic engineering is the application of engineering standards to the manipulation of genes. In many ways we are still in the embryonic stages, not fully grasping the implications of these new technologies for the emerging bio-economy. The long-term impact of the new biotechnologies will profoundly transform the relations between humans and nature. These changes at the technological level are taking place in a period when the consciousness of scientists is still governed by the mechanical notions of the scientific method elaborated by Isaac Newton, Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, and numerous scientists, many of whom wrote in the era and tradition of the European enlightenment. The enlightenment also embraced the idea of triumphant liberal ideology that reduced society to a collection of individuals. This notion, or philosophical reduction, asserted that the equilibrium produced by the market constitutes the social optimum and guarantees, by the same token, stability and democracy.

This reductionism was elaborated by Adam Smith and the promises of the liberal free market became the standard recipe for all societies. In this rendition of social reality, Africans were poor because they were irrational and were in fact from a lower breed of the human species. It is not an accident that these enduring ideas rendered most successfully in the *Wealth of Nations* were written at the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Numerous European scholars conveniently internalised the view that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was necessary to lift Africans from savagery. It is a consciousness that renders Africans as second-class human beings, which continues to be the basic orientation of many of those who work on development and progress.

The history of the treatment of Africans as second class citizens is long and linked to the ideas of inferiority and superiority of humans. Adam Smith, a major thinker of the Western economic of markets, continues to be the paradigmatic reference point for economic development thought. The economics of warfare is inextricably linked to the Western paradigms of economic development, especially the neo-liberalist paradigm. The social project of neo-liberalism is predicated on the requirements of the short-term profits of the dominant segments of transnational capital society. At the most basic level, the inequalities between nations and regions are intensified by geometric proportions as the monopolies from the capitalist centres organise economic, social and political exploitation to ensure the plunder of the earth's natural resources. It is this same neo-liberalism that justified plunder and war as pacification and bringing civilisation to Africans.

Aid, development and humanitarian industries are components of the armaments culture. Western Non-Governmental Organisations and private military corporations are as important to Western interests in Africa as the guns wielded by NATO, or their African clients. Sustainable peace in Africa will require radical departures from the 19th century concepts of peace that required the pacification of the African continent in the furtherance of the free movement of capital. The DRC was at the epicentre of this conceptualisation of the peoples of Africa. The plunder of this society and the destructive modes of economics unleashed by King Leopold are now legendary.

One of the major challenges for the activists and scholars of the twenty first century is to be able to think through concepts of economic planning in a period that is now driven by the knowledge economy. This is an economy where knowledge and scientific inquiry will be a major basis for wealth creation.

I begin from the premise that Africa is a region, not mere geography. It is above all, peopled by human beings who live on the African continent with a long history and an ideation system that protected the biological resources, presently coveted by bio-prospectors. Recent scholarship on the fact that indigenous African knowledge systems promoted preservation of the

natural environment. That indigenous norm of conservation, considered backward by European industrialist who subscribed to the principal of human domination over nature that is now the platform for appropriation by trans-nationals who believe in privatizing nature as, among other things, intellectual property.⁵

African reconstruction and renewal will not be possible without a fundamental break with the economics of warfare and the reductionist ideas of neo-liberalism. These two forces, the economics of war and the mechanical thinking of the enlightenment have led to genocide and massacres and numerous wars since independence.

Propositions and Recommendations:

- (a) Western concepts of peace, development and pacification generated wars, genocide, militarism and violence in the Africa.
- (b) Liberal ideas of primacy of the short term profit demands conditions favourable to plunder. It was a model of economics that separated people from their natural environment and a model of crude resource extraction that marginalised investment in infrastructure.
- (c) Models of economic management since the 1960s deepened the traditions of warfare and violence. The World Bank and the IMF were active partners in this model of resource extraction as well as rent-seeking forms of economics.
- (d) The failure of the African educated to create alternative social projects deepened the traditions of warfare and culminated in decimation and in some cases, genocide.
- (e) Alternatives for reconstruction that rely on new modes of economic planning must be created to situate Africans as human beings capable of choosing their own definition of 'development.'

The elementary basis of the ideas for reconstruction in Africa for reclaiming the independence of Africa were spelt out by Cheik Anta Diop in the book, *Black Africa: the Basis for a Federated State*. In 2002, the African Union took a major legal step towards the project of African independence. In the short run, the African Union has been organised as an assembly of states and governments. However, there are numerous social movements in Africa that conceptualise African unity on the basis of health, dignity, prosperity and decency. These social movements exist

5 Ron Eglash, *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design*, Rutgers University Press, 1999.

at all levels and seek to repair the history of plunder by setting in motion institutions of transitional justice. The ultimate objective is to crystallise development alternatives that steer clear of predatory forms of economics that are dominant. This new direction calls for solidarity which breaks with the 20th century ideas of development, European cultural ascendancy and the failed logic of capitalist modes of production.

An alternative socioeconomic paradigm could produce transformation models based on the empowerment of Africans acquiring and accumulating skills, knowledge and the capacity to innovate to improve their standards of life in a sustainable manner. African music and art have been known for centuries for their richness and its depth. How can this spiritual and creative energy be mobilized for peace and reconstruction? It is this creativity that has kept the people alive and can become the foundation for African peoples to express their right to live in dignity. It is this same creative and spiritual energy that could become a catalyst for the development of African human capital, and knowledge-based competitive factor supporting wealth creation, growth and development in the 21st century.

WAR AND MODERNISATION

Space does not permit for me to draw many lessons of transformation in other societies, but I want to reinforce the argument of the linkages between war and development by citing the experiences of the peoples of Asia and Latin America. There are lessons that should be drawn from the experiences of the Vietnamese peoples. These peoples opposed US development strategies that were based on destruction. Robert McNamara, former executive at the Ford motor company, epitomised the intellectual moderniser whose leadership informed policy at the Pentagon during the war against the Vietnamese people. McNamara went on from the military war against the Vietnamese to supervising the intellectual war when he became head of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or World Bank. This institution, created in 1944 as one of the sister arms of the international financial institutions, supported US military and financial global dominance.

Throughout the post-World War II and into present times, the philosophies of economic planners who maintained the superiority of the capitalist mode of production, advised most, if not all, US military campaigns. In the present era, conservative scholars such as Andrew J. Bacevich write on the failures of the US military project. In Bacevich's book, *The Limits of*

Power: The End of American Exceptionalism, and works like his', conservative critics refuse to link the abuse of past expressions of unlimited imperial power to many of the failed strategies that attempted to derail economic transformation and self-determination in societies such as Malaysia and Vietnam.

The development propagated by the World Bank emanated from the ideas of political scientists such as Walt Rostow, who later became the Special Assistant on National Security Adviser for to President Lyndon Johnson. US cold war warriors were advocates for war and development. Rostow had written two anti-communist tracts on development, *The Process of Economic Growth* in 1952 and *The Stages of Economic Growth* in 1960. These books elaborated a vision of the 'development' model rooted in American history and national interest. In fact, the subtitle of the *Stages of Economic Growth* was 'a non-communist manifesto.' The book was written to oppose the kind of socialist ideas that had inspired the Vietnamese to oppose French and US imperialism.

Rostow and a bevy of modernisation theorists supplied the working concepts through which the United States understood its obligations to combat the self-determination project of the Vietnamese people. Clothed in the language of development, modernisation became the anti-communist doctrine to motivate the US troops. Described as both an ideology and a discourse, modernisation comprised a changeable set of ideas and strategies that legitimised imperial policies disguised as foreign aid and trade, but revealed at its core the doctrines of counterinsurgency in Asia. Among the core precepts was the idea that the state of economic and political relations enjoyed by the United States, and the other former colonial powers in Western Europe was normative, and that it was in the US national interest, as well as the general interest of all people. As such steps must be taken to bring the other two-thirds of humanity up to a comparable level. Social science theories explained the causes of Asian, Latin American, and African "backwardness" and suggested appropriate remedies. Technocrats and theoreticians such as Rostow and McNamara redefined the Cold War as a contest fought on the terrain of development with military, ideological and economic components.

Guided by the ideas of modernisation and development, the US military mobilised the Western forces to crush Vietnamese independence. By 1975 the Vietnamese had successfully resisted modernisation, and the US bombs that came with 'development.' Since the consolidation of independence and attempt to build a new society, the Vietnamese nationalists have transformed the society from a poor underdeveloped state to an

integrated, self-reliant economy whose rapid transformation points to the positive possibilities from Socialist planning. The relevancy for Africa lies in the fact that the development discourse was based on the attempts to depoliticise the Vietnamese and if they could not be depoliticised, then their opponents would ‘bomb them back’ to the Stone Age.

LOOTING AFRICA

There is a need for solidarity among those in Europe, Africa and other parts of the world who grasp the full implications of the resource drain occurring in Africa. Third World repayments of \$340 billion each year flow northwards to service a \$2.2 trillion debt, more than five times the G8’s development aid budget. At more than \$10 billion/year since the early 1970s, collectively, the citizens of Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, the DRC, Angola and Zambia have been especially vulnerable to the overseas ‘drain’ of their national wealth. As Brussels-based anti-debt campaigner Eric Toussaint concludes, “Since 1980, over 50 Marshall Plans worth over \$4.6 trillion have been sent by the peoples of the Periphery to their creditors in the Centre.”⁶

Research by the Tax Justice Network estimated that a staggering \$11.5 trillion has been siphoned “offshore” by wealthy individuals, held in tax havens where they are shielded from contributing to government revenues. Further, “around 30% of sub-Saharan Africa’s GDP is moved offshore.” “As several studies have suggested, this rate of capital flight means that Africa – a continent we are continually told is irrevocably indebted – may actually be a net creditor to the rest of the world.”⁷

In reality, Africa is a net creditor that inspires a call for collective action to ensure for European repatriation of stolen African wealth. There are very few in representatives of the development agencies that support the UN Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative. Western non-governmental organisations and the sub-contracting institutions of development programming, study and aid work, divert attention from this Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative so that Western banks continue to work to create new ways for African predators, and their external allies, to drain resources from their own people, and the Africa continent, more broadly.

Michael Hudson, David Harvey, Samir Amin and numerous scholars have been writing on these forms by the lords of finance. While one understands

6 Patrick Bond, *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation*, London: Zed Press, 2004

7 Tax Justice Network for Africa, “Looting Africa: Some Facts and Figures, <http://www.liberationafrique.org/IMG/pdf/TJN4Africa.pdf>

the radical scholars and their critique, it is now so much clearer that mainstream writers such as Simon Johnson have written about the grab of power that he called a “quiet coup.” He later elaborated on the crisis of financial capital in the book, *13 Bankers: The Wall Street Takeover and the Next Financial Meltdown*.

Today, the notion that governments are in the service of the bankers and financiers has led to authorities such as the governor of the Bank of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury to challenge the government, opposing the austerity measures that promise the super exploitation of the working class. The Governor of the Bank of England has even called on the British people to demonstrate, rising-up against the banks.

The Governor of the Bank and England and the Archbishop of Canterbury, which are not just men but institutions of British governance, are taking on the ideology which animated both the financial melt-down, and the failed policies of African ‘development.’ Yet, instead of dealing with looting, many academics are lining up to be consultants, beholden to enterprises that are no better than looters. This intervention on the discourses on development is one more effort to move from ‘pseudo-humanitarianism’ to real solidarity. During the Spanish Civil War which spanned the years 1936-9 several international brigades supported those fighting for social justice against the Fascists. Similarly, during the struggles against Apartheid, international solidarity isolated those supporting the mining houses and the racist South African government. Today, the revolutionary forces of North Africa and the Middle East are calling for solidarity to confront their dynastic, monarchical presidents – the legacies of Western militarism and international ‘development.’

I will conclude by calling on young people of the West to retreat from becoming cannon fodder for their nations’ militarists. As a member of the global Pan-African movement working to educate Western NGOs regarding their place in the imperial chain of command, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem established publication called *The NGO Monitor*. The purpose of this journal was to educate those who did not want to be accomplices to imperial crimes. One of the efforts was to popularise a code of conduct for international non-governmental organisations.

The following were some of the ideas that the Pan African movement have established as a possible Code of Conduct. It asks non-governmental and aid agencies to engage in soul searching and ask themselves, does their behaviour reflect the following Code:

1. Do they respect the laws of the host country that they work in?
2. Are they involved in bribery and corruption?
3. What percentage of their operating budget is spent on administration?
4. Do they submit annual reports to the host government and are they accountable?
5. How do they procure their goods?
6. At what exchange rate do they operate?
7. And, if they operate in a parallel market, do they report to their headquarters?
8. What is their attitude towards racism? If they believe it exists, do they have a history of belonging to anti-racist organisations?
9. Are the workers sensitive to issues of the rights of women and young girls and the rights of persons of different or numerous sexual orientations?
10. Are they involved in child prostitution or pedophilia?
11. What kind of political or social training do they maintain for local personnel?
12. Do they work to facilitate the deployment of foreign military mercenary organisations and private military corporations, which undermine the sovereignty of African states and societies?
13. Do they knowingly, or unwittingly, undermine the health and welfare of the people?
14. Do they collect information that could be used for warfare and violence; specifically do they knowingly work for Western intelligence organisations?
15. Does their employment constitute essential work that could be carried out by local personnel?

I started this article with reference to the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the sustained efforts to destroy and undermine efforts to transform colonial relations in Africa. Western development agencies have supported the military and military dictator's effort to reverse the self-determination project in Africa. African people fought against all forms of domination and call for a world development movement that recognises the dignity of

Africans and recognizes Africans as human beings, with basic (inalienable) rights. This resistance has now reached a point of revolutionary proportions where African youths across the continent are standing up for their rights. The activism of youths of Egypt and Tunisia has inspired us to reflect on exploitation and resistance. They are calling on the World Development Movement to move from charity and pseudo-humanitarianism to solidarity in the worldwide fight for peace, social justice and transformation. I wish them well in their effort to build a new social system.

ANNEX

WORLD BANK PARADIGM	PEOPLE'S CONCEPTION
1) Mainstreaming Gender	1) Women's Rights
2) Poverty Eradication	2) Ending Exploitation and Wealth Creation
3) Conflict Resolution	3) Building Peace and Justice; Peace as a Process
4) Accountable Governance	4) Democratic Participation
5) Intellectual Property Rights	5) Defending Indigenous Knowledge
6) Structural Adjustment	6) Second Slavery
7) Debt Crisis	7) Odious Debt
8) Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC)	8) New Slavery
9) Liberalisation	9) Freedom of Capital
10) Privatisation	10) Minimum Requirements for Workers, Health and Environment
11) Sustainable Development	11) Structural Transformation
12) Environmental Degradation	12) Challenging Toxic Imperialism, Toxic Racism and Domination Over Nature
13) Capacity Building	13) Training for Transformation
14) Free Market	14) Providing Spaces for Traders, Especially Women
15) Aid and Development Assistance	15) Reparations
16) Development Partners	16) Imperialism