

# **Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa**

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Africa is the only region of the world with most of its countries going backwards in terms of their socio-economic development. Africa's marginalization in the international system has also become depressingly total and has reached frightening proportions. It is apparent that the ideology of unplanned and uncontrolled market forces, foreign dictated and rushed privatisations as well as economic dependence on the West have all driven Africa to this catastrophic situation.

Most African countries continue to regress in terms of development indicators. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in its 2002 economic report on Africa stated that: "Africa will not achieve any of the Millennium Development goals set by the United Nations at its Millennium Summit. (Please visit: <http://www.uneca.org/era2002/kit>) In Africa, levels of poverty, endemic diseases and unemployment are continuously and rapidly worsening. The availability and quality of social services have been greatly reduced. Social conflicts, often leading to ethnic or national hostilities, are on the increase. Political direction is faltering. External manipulation and interference is at its highest level.

The West finds it easy to manipulate and dominate Africa because of Africa's political orientation and fragmentation into mini-states, many of which cannot even be viable as modern nation-states or in their present forms. After independence, the West created and has to this very day expanded and maintained a deadly network of puppets and collaborators among the African leaders through whom the West implements its exploitative schemes in Africa. Apart from the West, this network is a beneficiary of such schemes and that is part of the essence of neo-colonialism.

This situation must be reversed if Africa is to survive and prosper. The only real way to reverse this situation properly and thoroughly is through what may best be called the second liberation of Africa based on the principles of Pan-Africanism and economic egalitarianism which will bring about Africa's second re-awakening, unification, anti-neo-colonialism, independence, self-reliance, democratisation and sustainable development. This second liberation struggle has already started as the only process, which can defeat the forces of neo-colonialism and stop the re-colonisation of Africa.

The origin and impetus of the second liberation of Africa is both local and international. Progressive internal and external forces combined are now spearheading this second liberation, which is bound to take Africa deep into the twenty-first century. It must be recognised that liberation itself is not an event, but a permanent process which moves in stages or phases. The first stage was therefore the African independence struggle, and the

second stage is the second liberation struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism, and for the unification of Africa, its democratisation and development.

The first liberation struggle led to the independence of most African countries mainly, in the 1960s and 1970s. During these two decades, the ideas of Pan-Africanism and hope had gained ascendancy. This new historical epoch was aimed at the achievement and consolidation of Africa's independence and for its development. The first liberation struggle of Africa against European colonialism was highly successful in terms of its objectives.

But the most incisive and the greatest Pan-Africanist of that time, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, also warned of the dangers of internal and external negative forces combining their efforts to reverse the gains and consolidation of African independence. He said that, in order to prevent this, Africa needed to be totally united, mass-oriented and fully committed to economic independence and a human-centred development process. He strongly advocated for a socialist, vigilant, totally united, and consistently and permanently anti-neo-colonialist Africa.

Without creating a strong, democratic, independent, anti-imperialist and self-reliant United New Africa, which is sometimes referred to as the United States of Africa, Africa will remain an easy victim of the western imperialist tactics of divide and rule, marginalisation, manipulation, exploitation, neo-colonialism and even re-colonisation. This, as we have seen, is largely responsible for Africa's continuous, sickening and worsening political crises, poverty and negative socio-economic development. It is true, therefore, that if united, Africa will stand; but if it continues to be divided, it will continue to fall.

Since the 1980s, the gains of African independence and the reality of independence itself have been seriously eroded in many African countries. The achievements of Africa's first liberation struggle have been found to be difficult to consolidate in many parts of the continent. Vigilance, unity, anti-neo-colonialism, commitment and vision have been more than lacking on the part of some African leaders. Such leaders have turned out to be oppressors and/or western collaborators against their own people for their own benefit, and that of the West which helps to keep them in power. In countries under such leadership, there is massive corruption, economic mismanagement and naked abuse of power which became rampant just after independence and still continue today.

Right from the beginning, there have always been a collaborationist, moderate, unclear, inconsistent, vacillating, unprincipled and cunning elements in the leadership of the nationalist movement. Such elements were and are still not motivated by principles of socio-economic democracy, justice, anti-imperialism and development. It is also not unusual that some genuine and committed nationalists can degenerate to despicable proportions. This is proved by their post-independence practice as government leaders. It is now one of the major tasks of the second liberation of Africa to wipe out such leaders and to defeat their horribly selfish, decadent and evil ideas and policies. The proposed

United New Africa, by its very nature, will have no place for such oppressive, dictatorial, corrupt and pro-West leaders.

After independence, the contradictions between such reactionary leaders and imperialists quickly vanished. Their contradictions had been temporary anyway. The two sides became allies and partners politically and financially after independence. It is true that the nationalism of the oppressed is progressive and liberationist, and the nationalism of the oppressor is retrogressive, oppressive and also racist. Nationalism of the oppressed on its own has a basic, limited but positive role in the liberation of a people.

But if it can incorporate ideals of socio-economic democracy, human rights which are both economic and social, Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism; and, if it can be clearly open and amenable to being developed into being an integral part of the progressive and democratic internationalism, then in such a case nationalism becomes dynamic, relevant and revolutionary. Otherwise mere nationalism on its own, after its initial success and in the long run automatically becomes a negative and reactionary force. It is not a consistent, reliable, lasting and guiding philosophy for running the affairs of any country. A progressive country needs a national guiding and democratic philosophy or ideology which is higher than mere nationalism and capitalism.

But since independence, there were always some progressive nationalist African leaders and governments that managed to keep on fighting against neo-colonialism and re-colonisation, and for African unity based on self-reliance and Pan-Africanism. These progressive African leaders were and are still engaged in this struggle in different ways, at different levels and their pace is also not the same. Such forward-looking governments and leaders must be supported and encouraged to continue, widen and intensify the fight for a United New Africa through the African Union (AU). The African Union was launched by African Heads of State as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on July 9, 2002 in Durban, South Africa. (The website address of the African Union is: <http://www.Africa-union.org>).

The present situation of the post-colonial period should now be made to be a fast passing phase of African history. It is a period in which Africa has been trying to consolidate its independence and push for its own socio-economic advancement in the form of separate, divided and pro-West small states according to the continent's balkanisation, which was carried out by the West at the beginning of the colonial period. This balkanisation was meant to be for the benefit of western Europe and still serves that purpose. But post-colonial Africa, has failed to reverse it for its own good. Without the total unification of Africa, the continent will remain permanently weak and vulnerable to western machinations and exploitation. The creation of a vast African common market and the opening up of African economies to each other is a prerequisite for Africa's development and survival. It must, therefore, be re-emphasised here that Africa either unites or perishes, and there is no other choice.

The establishment of the African Union is part of the second liberation process. At the same time, the African Union will need to effectively lead this process with the strong

support of Pan-Africanist non-governmental organisations working for a United New Africa. The second liberation proponents and fighters are and must be inspired by the ideas, principles and strategies which were well articulated and/or applied by Africa's liberation heroes who, among others include: Kwame Nkrumah, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Gamal Abdul Nasser, William E B Du Bois, Patrice Lumumba, Franz Fanon, Julius Nyerere, Ahmed Ben Bella, Bob Marley, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Samora Machel, Walter Rodney, Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) Martin Luther King JR, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Louis Troissant. The views, objectives and strategies of these heroes are still as valid as ever. Without such ideas, the second liberation of Africa would be meaningless.

Like the first liberation, the second liberation of Africa is fully backed by the African Diaspora and the anti-racist progressive forces world-wide. Their contribution was highly crucial and commendable in the first liberation struggle. It must also be unequivocally stated that the freedom, dignity and security of the African Diaspora is essentially linked-up with the condition of the African continent itself. Africa is their base in this world of white racism and imperialism.

African Diaspora means all Africans including African descendents permanently or temporarily living outside Africa. Their relationship with the African Union and the United New Africa is inseparably intertwined. Their maximum involvement in all the programmes and activities of the AU is essential. During the past few decades, their capacity to contribute has also increased tremendously. A high level of co-ordination and inter-dependency between them and the progressive forces of Africa is essential for the speedy success of the second liberation struggle. The African Diaspora should therefore be directly represented in all the organs of the AU especially the Pan-African parliament and they should be given citizenship on request.

This second phase, or second liberation struggle of Africa, is emerging with a better vision, more experience and deeper determination than ever before. The aim of the second liberation is a United New Africa which will be engaged effectively and systematically in a movement for the speedy reduction, and eventually elimination of mass poverty, squalor, HIV/AIDS and other endemic diseases, illiteracy, unemployment, injustice, corruption, ethnic wars, rural neglect and all other problems of under-development.

The United New Africa that is envisaged here would be based on the principles of Pan-Africanism: Afro-Arab unity, Third world Solidarity; South-South co-operation; the democratisation of international relations including its institutions and the international trading regime; progressive and democratic internationalism; socio-economic democracy; open debate on all public issues; and, maximum mass participation in the decision-making processes. This kind of Africa would also be based on people-oriented and environmentally sustainable development; collective self-reliance; economic and social human rights; women's rights; children's rights; minority rights; responsible and accountable freedom of the press and association; probity and accountability; transparency in both the public and private sectors; pluralism in matters of politics and

religion; a permanent liberation process; and, checks and balances in the socio-economic system.

The satisfaction of basic human needs for all would be given a priority in such a United New Africa. Production and development would be based mainly on domestic demand. Growth models that are exclusively designed by the indigenous people would for a change, be given a chance. Orienting the continent to living within its own means would be taken as a starting point. In a United New Africa, the movement against corruption, nepotism, regionalism, ethnic chauvinism and the foreign domination of African economies, cultures and values, together with the struggle for socio-economic democracy and human-centred development, would be recognised, promoted and led by the state as a permanent process. United New Africa would, at both local and continental levels, have a permanent and effective mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution.

As a genuinely independent entity, United New Africa would, by its very nature, have the capability to make a decisive contribution to world peace and to the re-structuring and democratisation of the current and unjust international relations system, including its institutions and the international trading regime. Another major task of the second liberation struggle is to make the Western former colonial powers pay massive reparations to Africa and black people internationally for slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. United New Africa's solidarity with the poor, oppressed, discriminated against and all other disadvantaged peoples internationally would also be unwavering and uncompromising.

## **The African Condition**

Much has been written on what has gone wrong with the post-colonial period in Africa. This period has resulted in the present African condition which has been a major disappointment in terms of Africa's economic development and the progress of its democratisation process. Both the pace and the results have been dismal in many countries. The post-colonial period has been dominated by serious myths and illusions. Some essential elements have clearly been either weak or missing. The achievement of independence has often been seen as the end of history. Liberation has not been seen as a continuous process which has no end. The independence leaders, structures and state procedures have also often been treated as permanent and sacrosanct.

Absolute power, lack of a system of checks and balances, the absence of democratic and practical possibilities for change and foreign machinations caused many leaders to lose touch with reality and the people. It made them insensitive, complacent and hence blunderous and dictatorial. At the same time the international dependency system has also maintained an almost unshakeable grip on most of Africa, through the machinations and neo-colonialist policies of western governments and international financial institutions like the World Bank, IMF and WTO, and the multi-national corporations. It has, therefore, been easy for the clock to be turned back by these retrogressive forces, which operate with the full connivance of the pro-West local forces.

It must be emphasised that there is an orientation and attitude problem with many African people in both Africa and the Diaspora especially the educated, which has to be reversed. This is the problem of mental colonisation and brainwashing by the West. It results in self-hate, inferiority complex, lack of confidence and conscious or unconscious pro-West puppetism among Africans. This problem must be addressed as one of the starting points in the development of the African Union, both in Africa and in the Diaspora. It must be reversed through a process of mental de-colonisation so that Africans can be positive about themselves both as individuals and a community. That process should make them committed and optimistic about Africa's future as a united continent, which would be fully in their hands and without Africa always having to beg for and to be dependent on external support and guidance.

The second liberation of Africa needs to be thoroughly decisive in taking care of mental de-colonisation once and for all. This process of mental de-colonisation requires massive re-education campaigns among black people and others globally through the educational systems, mass communications media, conferences, and other forms of encounter and inter-personal communication. The African Union must create its own powerful pro-African and patriotic mass communication system, which it should fully finance and control without western involvement. The Pan-African media should propagate and champion the views and interests of Pan-Africanism, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, the African Union and the United New Africa. More than 70% of people in Africa live on less than one US dollar a day, while a cow is subsidised to the tune of two and half US dollars per day.

It is important here to briefly show in figures and discuss how far the African condition has deteriorated into a political and economic catastrophe and how the present contradictions have grown to uncontrollable proportions. Africa has over 800 million people which is 13 per cent of the world's population, but its contribution to the world's GNP is one per cent and also produces one per cent of the world's manufactured goods.

Out of every three children, one goes without any primary school education. Out of every eight children, one is badly disabled. The number of malnourished children is over a third of the total child population. One child in every six dies before the age of five, that is, more than four million African children die every year before they reach the age of five. Africa has the highest infant mortality rate in the world, which is 108 per 1,000. The world's average is 63 per 1,000. The figure for the developed world is 12 per 1,000. Life expectancy in Africa has dropped to 47 years and is still dropping. It used to be well over 60 years. Only three per cent of students in Africa are able to go to university. The most frightening and distressing factor is that these figures are continuously getting worse and the process is being dramatically exacerbated by HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other poverty related and endemic diseases are increasing fast in Africa. Of the 3.1 million people who were estimated by UNAIDS and WHO to have died of AIDS in the world in 2002, 70 per cent of them were in Sub-Saharan Africa. Better treatment and prevention of HIV and AIDS related diseases should cost about US \$15 billion a year by 2007, which is not likely to come from

anywhere. In Africa, over 50 per cent of the population has no ready access to health services, and this figure is increasing. Over one third of Africa's high-powered experts and professionals have left the continent for greener pastures in the industrialized countries or because of repression or non-recognition.

Africa is losing more than three million hectares of fertile land every year because of desertification. Poverty leads to deforestation, land degradation, desertification and causes or promotes diseases. Three-quarters of all cultivatable land in Africa is now badly affected by soil erosion. Only a tenth of arable land is under cultivation. Many rural areas are over crowded because of unfair land distribution policies and practices. Real wages have dropped drastically. Unemployment in urban areas of many African countries is now between 40 and 80 per cent in many countries.

The West insists on the regular devaluation of Africa's currencies, which leads to more poverty. It even goes to the extent of bribing some leaders to devalue their currencies regularly. The main reason is for the West to be able to pay peanuts for African properties, commodities and services. It also insists on the continuous lowering of prices of Africa's raw materials while continuously raising prices of manufactured goods from the West. It also puts tariff barriers against manufactured goods from developing countries.

The West insists that there must be free trade; meaning goods from the West must be exported to developing countries without any barriers. But exports from developing countries must have limited quotas and face other tough restrictions to enter the West. The West achieves its goals, as stated earlier, with the co-operation of some African governments and through the machinations of the World Bank, IMF, WTO, and the structural adjustment programmes or the poverty strategic negotiating papers. All this is part of the re-colonisation process. The issue is: how can Africa achieve any real economic development under such neo-colonialist exploitation? It is therefore, not surprising that sub-Saharan Africa's share of total world trade has dropped from four to one per cent. Seventy percent of this is accounted for by South Africa and North Africa.

In order to pay for its imports and to service its debts, Africa is forced to sell more and more of its raw materials, and yet, the prices for these raw materials continue to fall. The volume of Africa's exports is therefore always increasing while their value is always dropping as determined by the West. Africa and the rest of the developing countries have hardly any say in the prices of their exports and imports. Clearly, Africa's trade relations with the West are based on naked exploitation. This is well supported by the nature of the globalisation system which is undemocratically controlled by the industrialised countries for their own benefit.

As a result, more than 20 sub-Saharan countries had debts in excess of their GNP since the early 1990's. Out of the world's 20 poorest nations, 16 are in Africa. It is also the only region in the world where it is almost certain that poverty will increase during the next ten years unless circumstances change. Essentially, Africa is undergoing a period of rapid negative development and de-industrialisation with no end in sight. The financial

outflow from Africa to the West is astronomical. For every one US dollar put into Africa, the West receives back ten. That is how the West designed and controls the nature of its relationship with Africa and other areas of the developing of the world.

During the last 30 years, the gap between the richest and the poorest in Africa has dramatically increased. The richest fifth now gets 180 times more income than the poorest fifth. These depressing statistics and facts, which are expected to continue, getting worse, are far from being exhausted here. Africa is actually being destroyed! The West, through the IMF and World Bank, insists that Africa should cut down expenditure on social services and welfare programmes. This has been their policy for the past 30 years. They have now been trying to revise this policy after having caused so much untold misery in Africa. The ruling elite in most African countries have always been ready to co-operate with this because it does not affect them. They have their own private transport, schools, hospitals, etc. Cutting down on public expenditure for the poorest majority has been easy because they are politically powerless. The situation is more than pathetic: It is, in fact, explosive!

This African condition – that is, mainly mass poverty and the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor – has become worse than a catastrophe. The West even owns most of the processing plants and other resources of Africa. In some African countries, all that Africans own are their parliaments and the power to legalise and facilitate the exploitation of their own people and their resources for the benefit of the West and a handful of some well-placed and powerful local Africans. This is why it is important to emphasise the need to indigenise African economies far beyond this elite, and the economic empowerment of the poor, including women and the youth.

It is also, therefore, not difficult to find out why the economies of many African countries are in shambles. As has been stated earlier, economic mismanagement and corruption have reached unimaginable proportions and there is a fast deepening leadership and direction crisis in most African states. Some African countries have been put in a situation where they are almost at a point of no return. They can only borrow more and more, and yet get poorer and poorer. The state machinery is collapsing or has totally collapsed in some countries.

Most of the African leaders have lost vision and no longer talk about the type of society for which they are supposed to be striving. They now only talk about the survival of their countries as they are, and their administrative politics. They are just hopelessly trying to manage the crises. The number of civil wars and other political upheavals is increasing. Africa has more countries in a state of war or near war situation than any other region in the world. The reasons are as much internally as they are externally caused. Such crises and conflicts can only be resolved through the second liberation of Africa and the establishment of a United New Africa. This is why the establishment of the African Union must be fully supported as an important first step towards this direction.

## **Re-colonisation of Africa**

The re-colonisation of Africa means the extreme political and economic control of Africa by the West for the benefit of the West. In this case, the West does not have to put in place its own colonial administration like in the olden days. Re-colonisation takes place through either forced or willing co-operation of certain sections of the African leadership. It is more extreme than neo-colonialism.

Africa's internal and external progressive forces are no longer in the ascendancy in African politics. Negative and exploitative forces have clearly become dominant and they call the shots. Africa has emerged, in socio-economic terms, as the most backward, divided and foreign-dominated continent in the world today. In fact, Africa is now being re-colonised through privatisations, structural adjustment programmes, the international trading regime and globalisation which are all unfairly controlled by the West and for its own benefit and not that of Africa.

Africa is even losing its sovereignty which it had gained at independence. Re-colonisation is taking place through the nature of Africa's relations with the West and western-controlled multi-national corporations and international agencies like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation. These international agencies especially the IMF and the World Bank are there to control and supervise the economies of Third World countries. They ensure that Third World countries have no choice but to adopt and follow policies which facilitate the smooth exploitation of their economies by and for the West. Africa is moving from neo-colonialism to re-colonisation. This is being spearheaded by western financial interests who also finance and indirectly control western governments.

Re-colonisation is being done in the name of freedom and democracy, which is a complete distortion of these concepts because, in reality, it does not mean the socio-economic advancement and the true freedom of Africa and its peoples. It means the continued control and robbery of Africa's resources by and for the West. The West also describes such a state of affairs as inter-dependence or globalisation or partnership or international co-operation which, in this case, are mere euphemisms for the dependency, westernisation, de-humanisation and re-colonisation of Africa and its peoples, both in Africa and the Diaspora. The West hypocritically insists on democracy, human rights, free trade and competition in developing countries because it knows that it is the only way its supporters and companies will get an unfair advantage. Their financial clout puts them in that advantageous position if their definition is adopted as policy.

They define democracy, human rights and free competition in a way that promotes and protects their interests and those of the local rich people. Their definition of human rights does not include economic rights for the poor or the right to free education, health services and employment. Their definition of course favours the local rich which is in alliance with the western rich classes. This local rich is a junior partner in this alliance. They have a puppet-master relationship. The type of democracy which the West wants to

see in developing countries is that which provides a conducive environment and policies which will help the West to achieve its goals.

This is why the West has supported pro-West military and/or dictatorships like those of Joseph Mobutu in Zaire, Daniel arap Moi in Kenya and numerous others all over the world while at the same time preaching democracy and good governance. In fact the West is well-known for blocking many genuine democratic developments in developing countries by supporting pro-West dictatorships and oppressive regimes. The liberal elements in the ruling classes of the West believe that while there should be continued democratisation in the West for their people, there should be some form of democracy in developing countries which will, at the same time, allow the West to derive maximum profits.

Africa and the world should not be fooled by the emotional and irrational opposition to President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe by the West. The history and current practice of the West teaches us that the West will not seriously oppose a government if that government is friendly to the West, that is, if that government is prepared and able to support the interests of the West in its own country and internationally. It has nothing to do with the lack of the real issues good governance and human rights abuses. If this was the case, for instance, the West would not have been friendly or accommodative to dictatorships or governments like that of Pakistan under Pervez Musharraf, a coup leader against a democratically elected government.

After-all, President George W Bush himself was not democratically elected. The world knows that the US elections were highly flawed. In fact they were rigged. 10 000 votes from the black community which the Republicans suspected were for the Democratic candidate, Al Gore, were never counted and Bush won by 500 votes! The disputed matter had to be resolved through the courts whose judges had previously been appointed by his farther, George Bush, when the latter was President of the US. Predictably, his new right-wing Republican administration has moved on with speed to curtail civil liberties in America itself at a most alarming rate. Fighting terrorism has been used as a perfect excuse.

The real reason for such bitterness against President Mugabe is the land resettlement issue in Zimbabwe which meant taking over land from the colonial white minority and re-distributing it to the landless and poor majority. In the first place, this land was taken away from the blacks by force and without compensation by the white colonialists who had the support of their Government in UK. After independence, 75% of the best land in Zimbabwe remained in the hands of 4 000 whites in a country of over 12 million Africans. It is therefore logical and justified that Africans should want to re-possess their land. But the former colonial powers and their forces do not even accept this principle which must be unconditionally accepted by all true democrats internationally.

The method of taking over of course largely depends on the level of resistance by the whites and their western backers. This is why the Zimbabweans had to wage armed struggle instead of just negotiating for their independence. The level of resistance from

whites had been too high to allow any other method for change, other than armed struggle. The whites only accepted to hold negotiations for the terms of their surrender when they found that they were going to lose the military war and also would finally lose everything, if no negotiations took place. The western governments as usual were on the side of the white minority.

The West does not care about poor majorities even in the West itself, but it cares for the interests of the rich minorities both at home and abroad, and especially if they are white. In fact the West itself is ruled by such minorities who are sometimes called the bourgeoisie or the ruling class. It is this ruling class which controls the economy and manipulates the socialisation and the political processes in the West, and that is what they call democracy! The West, by the very nature of its history and its current socio-economic set-up, is totally opposed to the correction of colonial imbalances or injustices in society, especially if that will erode white privileges, and this is what the land resettlement programme in Zimbabwe is all about. The democratisation of land ownership in Zimbabwe is therefore the aim of this exercise.

Land ownership is one of the most undemocratic aspects of many countries in the world today including in the West. It is therefore not peculiar to Zimbabwe or Africa alone. It is one of the world-wide sources of conflict. In fact what President Mugabe has done is to launch what should be a very powerful global movement for the democratisation of the land ownership internationally which all true democrats should support. The West fully understands this possibility. It fears that this struggle may spread to other countries and other means of production, and the consequences would be too disastrous for western capitalism.

During colonialism, western governments, as colonizers were openly opposed to human rights and democracy in the colonies. They did not bring democracy to Africa but racist oppression, injustice and exploitation. The colonial peoples had to fight for the basic right to vote. But now they insist on democracy which they really do not mean. It is just a change of tactics while the main objectives remain the same, that is, the exploitation of African resources. This is why at the international level, they unequivocally and consistently oppose democracy. Their attitude to the democratisation of the UN and other international institutions is a good example of this. America and its allies, for instance, can also defy the UN but will not allow other countries which are not its allies to defy the UN. They strongly oppose the democratisation of the international relations system because they want to keep controlling it for their own benefit at the expense of the developing countries. They are hypocrites and not genuine about real democracy anywhere in the world especially in the developing countries.

Contrary to what the West would like the world to believe, western imperialism and neo-colonialism still exist. What prevails in the world today is a temporary defeat of the progressive forces, which has resulted in a temporary and false global unity and consensus led by the US for the benefit of the global (western) capitalism. This is why when one talks of the international community one means the West, that is, North America and Europe. The developing countries are not regarded as part of this so-called

international community. The old international division of labour, based on western imperial interests, is now being crudely intensified. This also automatically and strongly brings back the old struggle and the language of left versus right, and progressives versus reactionaries. But this false pro-West consensus is now being and must be fiercely exposed and opposed for what it is.

The invasion and occupation of Iraq by the US and British forces clearly proves that the imperialist West has not changed its colours. Its objective was to weaken the Arab countries, strengthen its ally Israel, and to politically and economically control and exploit Iraq. Were Iraq and Afghanistan immediately democratised after their so-called liberation by the US led forces? Why not? Were any weapons of mass destruction found in Iraq by the occupying forces? The US and its allies are now busy trying to secretly bring the weapons of mass destruction into Iraq so that they can say they found them there and thus justify their invasion.

It therefore follows that the reason for invading Iraq was neither the issue of democracy or weapons of mass destruction. But in any case, why should the right to possess the weapons of mass destruction be restricted to the US and countries that are approved by the US alone? What kind of democracy is that? The invaders of Iraq are now like any colonial power. They have appointed a US Administrator, Mr Paul Bremer, who in reality is the Governor of the colony of Iraq. The US will sooner or later after a period of nationalist resistance, yield and allow the natives to have a government to be voted into power through a one person one vote based election. But they will try to ensure that they leave behind a neo-colonialist government in charge as was done in Africa and other former colonies in the rest of the world.

## **New Partnership for Africa's Development**

The African Union certainly needs a socio-economic development programme. It is essential for Africa's development. There are many and important socio-economic projects that are required at regional and continental levels which should be planned, implemented and co-ordinated at continental level. This is why the idea of a New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) must be supported. But the current NEPAD basic document has an orientation problem. It needs to be re-designed and re-focused so that a largely self-reliant continental development programme can be fully and properly articulated with a clear anti-neo-colonialist orientation.

NEPAD should not be dependent on the West for its success as revealed in the present NEPAD basic document and by the regular meetings of African leaders and the G8 leaders where NEPAD is discussed. NEPAD should not seek to worsen Africa's dependency on the West. It should not have been designed in such a way that the West can easily take advantage of it and be able to use it for its own benefit and at Africa's expense, which is the case with the present NEPAD. In its present form, it is easy for the West to use it as another instrument for neo-colonialism or even re-colonisation. In a re-designed and re-focused NEPAD, the name of the programme would have to drop the word "partnership" and the role of the West would have to be de-emphasised. There can

never be a genuine partnership for development between Africa and its western racist exploiters.

What the West means by partnership with Africa has never changed. It was clearly stated in the late 1950s by Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, when he said that his new policy of “partnership” between black and white was the same kind of partnership one finds between “a rider and a horse”. This Federation was made up of countries which are now called Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi and it was dissolved in the early 1960s. Sir Roy Welensky could not understand how any sensible and modern person would fail to support his new policy which he thought was more modern and not cruel like the old colonial system. Indeed this is still the nature of the relationship or partnership between the industrialised West and the developing countries especially those in Africa.

The West, going by its history, current practice, strategies and objectives will not finance Africa to a point where Africa becomes a real competitor and therefore a threat to its interests or to a point where Africa will no longer be easy for the West to keep it down. The West knows that if Africa is united and also given a chance, it would become a dangerous economic giant which the West would no longer be able to control and exploit. The West prefers Africa to remain completely divided and dependent on it as its backyard. It only gives limited finances to Africa for the purpose of facilitating the exploitation and control of Africa by the West.

This is why the leaders of the G8 countries have qualified their support for NEPAD by insisting that their support should not be taken to mean a Marshall Plan for Africa. If the West was a real genuine partner, it would be interested in a Marshall Plan. The West is determined to continue taking more from Africa than it puts in, and that is the game plan. The West also wants the present NEPAD to guarantee this game plan.

Over-emphasising the role of the West in Africa’s development will be used by the West to further control, blackmail and divide Africa and this, as stated earlier, will also mean continued exploitation. The G8 Africa Action Plan which was adopted at its summit in 2002 at Kananaskis in Canada reveals clearly that the West has not changed its colours. The G8 Africa Action Plan clearly reveals that the West will continue to “partner” with countries whose leaders it likes and support the West’s global interests. It will pick and choose, divide and manipulate, as it has always done in the past. The West does not want developing countries to unite. In Africa, it does not want North, West, Eastern and Southern Africa to unite. That would be considered dangerous. This is why if anybody has a project which tries to show the differences or to highlight any problems among the regions and its peoples, the West would be more than delighted to finance it.

In reality, after its structural adjustment programmes at the individual country level had failed and were thoroughly exposed, the West now hopes that NEPAD will be another IMF and World Bank economic structural adjustment programme at the continental level. As stated earlier, Africa needs a self-reliant socio-economic development programme which would be an effective instrument against neo-colonialism and imperialism. Such a

programme must give maximum support to agricultural productivity, mining, tourism, industrialisation and women's emancipation and participation. It should not try to move Africa deeper into western dependency which is a well-known disaster. But the present NEPAD document does not take this approach. (The website address of NEPAD is: <http://www.nepad.org>)

## **United New Africa support organisation**

As history teaches us, whenever there is injustice or oppression, there will be, sooner or later, a resistance. This resistance almost always starts small and weak but inevitably grows, and in the end, it becomes unconquerable and victorious. As the saying goes: “ a long journey has to start with a single step”. Africa's internal and external progressive forces have already started re-grouping, networking and strategising for the second phase of the liberation process. This re-grouping and networking must surely grow into a victorious movement just like the first liberation struggle. What motivated the people of Africa to rise up against colonialism will motivate them to fight against neo-colonialism, re-colonisation and imperialism.

More and more organisations or structures are needed for the purpose of serving as instruments, voices and channels for research, mass communication work and action in support of the African Union and for a United New Africa. They are needed both locally and internationally, so that they can combine their efforts and hasten the victory of the liberation struggle in Africa.

Such instruments of action and channels of communication which have been or are being formed are necessary in order to make-up a solid and indomitable international mass movement for the second liberation of Africa. They must be as numerous as possible for tactical reasons. The task is too formidable and the geographical area is too vast for one or just a few organisations alone. The more the better. The more numerous they are, the more scope there would be for practically involving as many people as possible. This is also good for the purpose of making the maximum impact that is required. It also helps to strengthen the uncontrollability element, which is essential for such a world-wide movement in support of the African Union and for a United New Africa.

The strategy should be: one struggle, many fronts and different levels. There has to be a combination of efforts. The organisations and groups for a United New Africa should avoid sectarianism and not be factionalist or splittist. There is always an unhealthy tendency by some revolutionaries to want to specialise on attacking other revolutionaries whom they regard as not quite good enough and therefore classify such people as part of the enemy. This is sectarianism and makes the real enemy more than delighted. True and advanced revolutionaries do not insist on ideological purity, but on the defeat of the main enemy. The concept of the 'United Front' is once again most appropriate in the second liberation struggle of Africa. What is needed initially is a broad-based movement. Wrong ideas can always be effectively corrected without personally antagonizing the holders of such ideas.

The strategy of such instruments or organizations should be based on a clear understanding and the ability to distinguish primary from secondary contradictions and primary from secondary enemies. They should re-define from time to time and at every stage, who the main enemy is and then unite with all those who can be united with, against the main enemy and isolate, divide, neutralise or destroy Africa's enemies one by one. Both temporary and long-term alliances are essential. It is tactically fatal for the movement for the second liberation to put all its enemies on one side; and itself, on the other.

The United New Africa support organisations, groups and centres should carry out research, disseminate information, maximally use the mass media, network, campaign, mobilise and take action in support of a United New Africa. Such United Africa support organisations should effectively, systematically and in a highly co-ordinated manner support and popularize the Africa Union. The New Africa International Network (NAIN) is meant to be one of such organisations. It links up with and helps to co-ordinate organisations, centres, groups or individuals with similar objectives and concerns internationally.

NAIN was established as a Pan-Africanist, non-governmental, independent and international organisation for research, mass dissemination of information, networking, campaigning, mobilising, and for social action for the purpose of consolidation and developing the African Union into a strong, anti-neo-colonialist, independent, self-reliant and democratic United New Africa. NAIN therefore aims at vigorously promoting the speedy growth of the African Union.

In order to consolidate and develop the African Union, NAIN works, as a priority, for South-South co-operation, third world solidarity and the re-structuring and democratisation of the current system of international relations including its institutions and the international trading regime. NAIN believes that as a system, this so-called New World Order (or globalisation), which is controlled by the West and for the benefit of the West, is undemocratic and exploitative of the developing countries mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The real solution which is democratic, is the New International Economic Order and the New World Information and Communication Order as advocated by countries known as the Group of 77 and as opposed to the current system which is undemocratically controlled by the western countries led by the G8 countries which now includes Russia.

The aims and objectives of NAIN, if it can be used as one of the models for the United New Africa support organisations, are as follows:-

1. To promote, publicise, defend, network and campaign for a strong, democratic, independent and self-reliant African Union leading to a United New Africa as the base for all Africa's peoples including the African Diaspora.

2. To re-educate the peoples of Africa in order for them to wipe out the neo-colonial mentality which helps to perpetuate neo-colonialism, racist domination and the manipulation of Africa and its peoples globally.
3. To articulate, defend and champion the cause of Pan-Africanism and the interests, aspirations, rights and image of Africa and its peoples both in Africa and the Diaspora; and, to mobilise Pan-Africanist support internationally for the African Union.
4. To communicate with the people of Africa the benefits of a strong, democratic, independent and self-reliant African union; and, to promote unity and maximum mass involvement in the development of the African Union which must lead to a United New Africa.
5. To disseminate locally and internationally, popular and technical/scientific information, publications and electronic programmes originating from NAIN or any other sources which promote the speedy development of the African Union.
6. To establish and/or support any programmes and projects for Pan-Africanist education and mass mobilisation of the African people in Africa, in the African Diaspora and of any other friends of Africa internationally; and, in support of the African Union and a United New Africa.
7. To counteract, in both the local and the international media of mass communications, any anti-African propaganda and misrepresentation of facts on Africa and the movement for Pan Africanist unity and sustainable development.
8. To campaign for the democratisation of the international relations system including institutions and the international trading regime. This also means to continuously expose and act on any iniquitous aspects of North-South relations.
9. To defend, give solidarity and champion the rights of media practitioners, writers and intellectuals committed to Pan-Africanism, anti-neo-colonialist and democratic change in Africa and globally.
10. To conduct research and to carry out advocacy work on African and international conflict issues affecting African countries and the peoples of Africa internationally, with the objective of bringing about just and durable peace in Africa and internationally.

To establish Associate Branches of NAIN and or to support and work with similar of supportive organizations in Africa and internationally, as a way of building a strong global mass movement for the African Union. This also means the resuscitation and maintenance of strong linkages and thus facilitating the continuous re-definition of common objectives among Pan-Africanists and revolutionary internationalists all over the world, which is essential in such a struggle.

To operate not only as a Pan-African and global think-tank on the future of Africa and that of its peoples globally; but, also to serve as an organisation of activists implementing ideas, programmes, projects; and, for undertaking campaigns and any other appropriate actions for the consolidation of the African Union.

The headquarters of NAIN are in Harare, Zimbabwe, where it is registered as an international, non-profit-making and non-governmental organisation. It has a 50-member Board of Governors and two Patrons. These are all outstanding Pan-Africanists from different parts of Africa and the African Diaspora. NAIN aims at becoming a very powerful and truly global network for Pan-Africanist unity and the progress of Africa and its peoples globally. NAIN runs a website, which is meant to be a powerful forum for Pan-Africanists internationally in support of the African Union and the United New Africa. It will be interactive in due course in order to further promote debate internationally on how to swiftly develop the African Union leading to a United New Africa. (The website address of NAIN is: <http://www.nain.unitednewafrica.com>)

It must be re-emphasised that the organisations that carry out such tasks like NAIN need to co-ordinate their activities closely as a way of building a powerful and effective global Pan-Africanist movement. In the development of any such struggle or process as the second liberation of Africa, the mass dissemination of agitational information and the spread of ideas, at both popular and scientific levels, are crucial. Research, publishing broadcasting and any other mass communication work have an essential role to play in the conscientisation and mobilisation of the people.

United New Africa support organisations and activists need to realise that mass communications media can be very effective in the following roles: raising consciousness and aspirations, focusing attention, widening mental horizons, giving legitimacy to values and institutions, conferring status and validity, encouraging informed debate, helping to set the national and international agendas, exposing injustice, unfairness and corruption, attacking retrogressive forces and tendencies, and counteracting the enemy's propaganda and misinformation.

United New Africa support organisations and activists will, therefore, need to be fully engaged in mass communication work utilising the relevant media techniques and strategies at both the local and the international levels in the struggle for a United New Africa.

The Pan-Africanist global movement, which includes all the United New Africa support organisations like NAIN, should be part of the international movement against imperialism and for socio-economic democracy. This movement should continuously define what egalitarianism and socio-economic democracy means in the present day-world of western controlled globalisation. The result should be a rejuvenated, dynamic and undogmatic socialism, and thus making socialism the only valid alternative force for the true liberation of Africa and the world.

During the national independence struggle, there was a strong, ever-growing, broad-based international and anti-imperialist movement which achieved great results but unfortunately became passive after the Cold War. This solidarity movement had managed to fully mobilize the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the justice-loving and left-wing forces in industrialized countries.

The current international relations system and the globalisation process which are undemocratically controlled by the western capitalist forces, demand that this movement must be urgently and fully resuscitated. For it to be a decisive answer to this current and unjust World Order, this movement must be developed to a highly sophisticated and co-ordinated level.

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## About the Author

Honourable Chen Chimutengwende was born on 28 August, 1943 in Zimbabwe and is a Pan-Africanist writer and activist. He is the President of New Africa International Network (NAIN) and is also a Member of Parliament of Zimbabwe since 1985. He was a Government Minister for ten years, from 1990 to the year 2000. From 1979 to 1982 he was a Senior Lecturer in Mass Communications and International Affairs at the International Press Institute, City University, London for one year; served as Mass Communications Consultant of UNESCO for a year; and at the University of Nairobi, he was Senior Lecturer in Journalism and Mass Communications and he also served as the Director of its School of Journalism for two years.

After 19 years in exile, when he returned to Zimbabwe in 1982, he became a Senior Lecturer in Journalism and Mass Communications in the Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communications and at the same time served as Part-time Lecturer for the Masters Degree course on Social Development and Political Change in the Adult Education Department of the University of Zimbabwe and also as the Chief Correspondent in Southern Africa of the Rome-based Inter-Press Service. He left most of these activities to become a Member of Parliament in 1985. But what really served as his first major post and training ground was when for five years, that is, from 1969 to 1974 he worked as Executive Director of the Europe-Third World Research Centre in London which was church-funded. This was a research and information centre on the social, political and economic relations between Europe and the Third World. It served as an international educational programme aimed at exposing injustice and any other iniquitous aspects of the North-South relations.

He holds a Masters Degree in Peace Studies from Bradford University, UK (1976) where he specialised in mass communications in peace and conflict situations. After this, and as a Ph.D. student, his uncompleted Ph.D. thesis for the School of Social and Economic Studies in the same University was on “Mass Media and the State in the Socio-economic Development Process”. He started working as a mass communications practitioner since 1964 in Ghana during President Kwame Nkrumah’s time, where he also did his military and ideological training in the Ghanaian Army under instructors from the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army.

He has published extensively on mass communications, politics and international relations. His publications include a book which was his dissertation for his Masters Degree on South Africa: The Press and the Politics of Liberation, published in London in 1978. He is currently working on another book on the subject of this article which is: “Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa” which will consist of six sections as follows: 1. Africa in the International Relations System; 2. The African Condition; 3. The Case for a United New Africa; 4. The Need for a Second Liberation in Africa; 5. The relevance of Pan-Africanism to the Second Liberation and Development of Africa; and, 6. The Role of the African Union in the Realisation of a United New Africa.

During and after this book project, Chen will carry on writing for the media, speaking out at conferences and meetings, networking and organising mainly on the issues covered in this book project. As a Pan-Africanist writer and activist, he will carry on all these activities at the Pan-African and international level mainly through the New Africa International Network (NAIN). He runs NAIN as its President and also its website ([www.nain.unitednewafrica.com](http://www.nain.unitednewafrica.com)), for which he is the Editor.

So far most of the funds for NAIN and all these activities come mainly from Africa Star Holdings Ltd which runs his family businesses and these are principally in agriculture, mining, telecommunications, trade and business communications consultancy. He is the Chairman of this company. These funds are provided to NAIN as a family contribution to Pan-Africanism and the realisation of a United New Africa.

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