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Sovereignty Becoming Pulvereignty:
Unpacking the Dark Side of Slave 4.0 Within Industry 4.0 in Twenty-First Century Africa

Editors

Artwell Nhemachena, Oliver Mtapuri & Munyaradzi Mawere

Notes on the Authors

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Preface

In a world where African states are consistently denied their rights to economic sovereignty, environmental sovereignty, political sovereignty as well as sovereignty over their natural resources, it is cause for wonder how the African states can be expected to deliver anticipated services to their citizens. Of course, when Africans mimic Western discourses about African state failure, state collapse, state weakness and so on, they fail to see that Western corporations, institutions and states are still riding on African states in the logics of global horse and rider relationships. Although African states are often condemned for supposedly failing, for being too weak and for collapsing agape, the Westerners who are riding on the African states, regarded as horses, are seldom critiqued for pulverizing African sovereignty by 'sitting' on African states that are supposed to be helping African citizens. When someone is sitting on a horse, one would not merely blame the horse for supposed failures and weaknesses, but one would also blame the rider who exerts weight on the horse that is seen to be failing, weakening, and collapsing. If a horse does not have sovereignty, how can it be blamed for straying? If a horse does not have sovereignty, how can it be blamed for failing to feed its family or even for being too weak? The twists and turns in the world emanate from the agendas of the riders; the riders directly or indirectly, covertly or overtly tell the horses what to do and what not to do; when to go straight and when to turn; when to walk and when to run; when to fight and when to seek peace; when to work and when to rest. In any case, the 'riders' have historically told the enslaved when to eat and when to fast; when to work and when to rest; when to marry and when not to marry; when to have children and when not to have children; what medicines to use and what not to use; what is safe for them and what is unsafe; what is civilisation and what is not civilisation; what is modern and what is primitive; what is development and what is not development; what is legal and what is not legal; what is rule of law and what is not rule of law; what is democracy and what is not democracy; what is human rights and what is not human rights; what is freedom and what is not freedom; what is liberty and what is not liberty. But one day, the horse will resist the commands in limbo.

Put in other words, the global horse and rider relationships are at the centre of contemporary Eurocentric scholars' glorifications of

animism, simianisation of Africans, postanthropocentrism, posthumanism and transhumanism, all of which deny African humans their speciesism and exceptionalism. By glorifying animism, postanthropocentrism, posthumanism, transhumanism, and the simianisation of Africans, Eurocentric scholars are by extension glorifying global horse and rider relationality in the world where Africans have been reduced to horses and Westerners retain their positions as riders. As horses, Africans are denied opportunities to set global agendas – theirs is simply to follow agendas set elsewhere in the Western part of the world. But will this scenario stand forever?

Of course, the problem of a horse is that it suffers the weight of the rider, but the situation can be worse when akin to an act of witchcraft, the horse feels a weight of a rider that it does not see – an invisible rider whose weight is heavily felt but whose form escapes the ocular senses of the horse. When Africans celebrated independence, many of them did not notice that the rider simply decided to go invisible without necessarily undoing his/her weight on Africans. The rider continued to deny Africans their economic sovereignty, their environmental sovereignty, their political sovereignty and sovereignty over their natural resources perhaps worse than before when s/he was visible. When a rider becomes invisible even as his/her weight is heavily felt, the risk is that the faults of the rider can easily be attributed to the horse alone such that the horse begins to bear the weight of the rider as well as the faults of the rider. Put simply, the horse is misdefined as free simply because the rider has decided to become invisible while still exerting weight on the horse. The horse is misdefined as sovereign and independent when in fact the rider has simply become invisible and even more ruthless while still exerting weight on the horse. The danger is that when the riders become invisible, the horses may begin to increasingly fight among themselves because they cannot see where the weights that they are still feeling are coming from. Sometimes they even fight to carry riders' weights which they mistake for their own.

Meanwhile, the invisible riders continue to use proxies, logics and technologies of remote control to deconstruct the sovereignty and autonomy of the horses. To avoid competition over human essence, the riders tell the horses that humanism is now old-fashioned and dangerous for the environment; to avoid competition for human essence, the riders tell the horses that they should embrace the more fashionable posthumanism, transhumanism and

postanthropocentrism which are supposedly less dangerous to the environment, including climate change; to void competition over human essence, the riders tell the horses that it is now fashionable to support animism, ecocentrism, earthcentrism, biocentrism and naturecentrism. To avoid competition over sovereignty, the riders tell the horses that sovereignty is now old-fashioned – and that it is now fashionable to push for postsovereignty, for heterarchy, for flat ontologies, for desovereignisation, for heteronomy and for shared sovereignty. To avoid competition for human essence, the riders tell the horses that they are indistinct from nonhumans and that they must therefore cease struggling for ownership and control over resources – that they must not fight for permanent sovereignty over their resources for they are also deemed to be resources themselves; to avoid competition for sovereignty, the riders tell the horses that there is no sovereign Heavenly God and that they must now worship Gaia who is more earthly, supposedly more realistic, more powerful and more caring than the sovereign "distant" Heavenly God. And, to avoid competition for development and growth, the riders tell the horses that development and growth are no longer fashionable and that it is now time to promote postdevelopment, degrowth and postgrowth in the interest of the environment.

When, in the 1960s, African states that were gaining independence demanded permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, which would allow them to ensure growth and development for their citizens, at the United Nations, Eurocentrists wrote books, in the 1970s, including one entitled "The Limits to Growth" to counter the foundations of African states permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. Whereas African states envisaged that they could use their natural resources to ensure development and growth, Westerners countered such African claims through publications on the "limits to growth". Using environmental escapism, the Eurocentrists argued that growth and development were inimical to nature and to the environment that would be resultantly damaged; of course, Westerners had exploited African environments for centuries already – what they really feared was not the effects of growth and development on the environment but they feared the African states' assertions of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources which they would use for growth and development, this time in the interest of independent Africans. In this vein, the contemporary discourses on climate change, on the Fourth Industrial Revolution, on the imperatives of supranational organisations that are taking over

sovereignty from African states; the discourses about open societies; the discourses that deny Africans ecological sovereignty, the discourses on relational ontologies; discourses on postsovereignty; discourses on animism; and discourses on flat ontologies are all founded on the logics of the "limits to growth" – and therefore all of them deny Africans their sovereignty. Enslavement is as much about physically capturing fellow human beings as it is about ideologically capturing fellow human beings. This is the new form of invisible slavery that Africans are facing today. While the Fourth Industrial Revolution may not be about physically capturing fellow human beings, it is about ideologically capturing fellow human beings who become slave 4.0. But one day, the horse will rise!

Artwell Nhemachena, Munyaradzi Mawere & Oliver Mtapuri

Chapter 1

Revolutions that Enslave Others: Exposing the Dark Side of Slave 4.0 in "Postsovereignty" Twenty-First Century Africa

Artwell Nhemachena, Munyaradzi Mawere & Oliver Mtapuri

Introduction

Taught to revere the French Revolution for having supposedly brought liberty, equality and fraternity to humanity, some Africans have forgotten that the missionaries of the French Revolution actually came to dispossess and exploit Africans rather than to fight for real African equality, fraternity and liberty. In any case, precolonial Africans already had their freedom and liberty premised on ownership and control of their land and other natural resources; besides, Africans already had their fraternity premised on their humanistic Ubuntu principles; and Africans already had their liberty to worship a Heavenly God whom they had the freedom to ask and would be verbally responded to in the oracular shrines dedicated to the Supreme Being. Sadly the "liberty" that originated from the French Revolution did not include human freedom to listen to God's voice or God's freedom to verbally speak to humanity. In fact, in so far as the French Revolution was against the Divine Rights of Kings, it was, by extension, a revolution against the sovereignty of God who made the Kings divine in the first place.

Sadly, the liberty and fraternity of the colonialists amounted to enslavement and colonisation of Africans many of whom were dispossessed and exploited physically, materially and spiritually even as the colonialists were commending themselves for having brought liberty, equality, civilisation and fraternity to Africa. The point here is that, if revolutions served everybody, then even slave owners should have celebrated slave revolutions including the Haitian Revolution where the enslaved people revolted in a fight to establish their freedoms – from exploitation and oppression (Knight, 2000). Put differently, it is cause for wonder why African academics and

students are taught by Westerners to revere the French Revolution and not the Haitian Revolution, which Haitian Revolution is more relevant and closer to African circumstances marked by colonial dispossession, exploitation and oppression. The point here is that African students and academics should ask themselves why disciplines, such as Sociology for instance, begin from the French Revolution instead of beginning from the Haitian Revolution against enslavement or even from Africans' revolutions against colonialism. The question they should ask is why freedom, equality and fraternity are considered in mainstream Western scholarship to emanate from the French Revolution instead of from the Haitian Revolution against the enslavement of Africans. In this regard, and sadly, African students are taught about the French Revolution and the currents of ideas and values that arose from it but they are hardly taught much about the Haitian Revolution and the currents of ideas and values that arose from it. The Haitian Revolution is well captured by Knight (2000, p. 103-105) thus:

> The Haitian Revolution represents the most thorough case study of revolutionary change anywhere in the history of the modern world. In ten years of sustained internal and international warfare, a colony populated predominantly by plantation slaves overthrew both its colonial status and its economic system and established a new political state of entirely free individuals – with some ex-slaves constituting the new political authority […] It was a unique case in the history of the Americas: a thorough revolution that resulted in a complete metamorphosis in the social, political, intellectual, and economic life of the colony.

The question in the foregoing is why some revolutions such as the French Revolution are granted preeminence over other revolutions such as the Haitian Revolution which freed enslaved peoples. The problem is that Westerners often assume that their own revolutions are good for everybody and that revolutions staged by other peoples in the world are not good revolutions or even worth the name revolution. This is why Westerners addressed Africans who revolted against the colonisers as "guerrilla" even as they, conversely, addressed the French who revolted in the French Revolution as "Enlightened thinkers". In fact, the French, who had enslaved the Haitians, militarily opposed the Haitian Revolution and they

punished the Haitians for staging the successful revolution against France. Meanwhile the French were celebrating their own French Revolution as supposedly ushering universal freedom, liberty and equality. If all revolutions, indeed, served everybody, then even the apartheid regime in South Africa should have celebrated uprisings and revolutions by the colonised South Africans who were anxious to establish their freedoms, including their autonomy and sovereignty. Similarly, if all revolutions served everybody, then the workers during the First Industrial Revolution would have celebrated that revolution as bringing freedom to them as well; and we would not have witnessed the Luddite or machine-smashing worker-uprisings (Linton, 2007; Donnelly, 1986); if all revolutions served everybody, then even the Western capitalists should have celebrated the socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe as generating freedom for citizens of the former Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and others. Put differently, the fact that some revolutions are celebrated by others while they are opposed by some underscores the contested and controversial nature of revolutions which free some sections of humanity while enslaving others in the world. In fact, the Cold War was a result of opposing revolutions, one a socialist revolution in the former Soviet Union which was opposed to the capitalist revolution in Western Europe.

Slave 4.0: Twenty-first century Africans stepping onto the point of no return

Although literature on the Fourth Industrial Revolution or Industry 4.0 is awash, there is hardly any literature on its underside, or on the dark side of the revolutions. Much as some historically enslaved Africans may not have bothered to seriously consider the underside of the transactions even as they stepped onto the door of no return opening into the Atlantic Ocean, some contemporary Africans may not be adequately thinking through their arrival at the point of no return in contemporary developments; marking a point at which it would be impossible to turn back. Thus, coining the analytic term 'Slave 4.0' to assist in analysing the underside of revolutions, this book argues that since the First Industrial Revolution, there has been neglect of the fact that revolutions are good for some but bad for others who become victims of the

associated revolutionary changes. While the First Industrial Revolution freed some sections of humanity, it also enslaved other sections of humanity who lost their livelihoods as a result of the revolution. We call this **Slave 1.0 or the First Enslavement Revolution.** While the Second Industrial Revolution (use of Steam Energy) freed some sections of humanity, it also enslaved other sections of humanity who lost their livelihoods and freedoms as a result of the revolution. We call this **Slave 2.0 or the Second Enslavement Revolution**. Similarly, while the Third Industrial Revolution (use of Electricity, Nuclear energy) freed some sections of humanity, it also enslaved other sections of humanity who lost their livelihoods and freedoms as a result of the revolution. We call this **Slave 3.0 or the Third Enslavement Revolution**; and while the Fourth Industrial Revolution (use of information technology, biotechnology and nanotechnology) generated freedom for some sections of humanity, it enslaved other sections of humanity who lost their livelihood and freedoms as a result of the revolution. We call this **Slave 4.0 or the Fourth Enslavement Revolution.** Even the anticipated Fifth Industrial Revolution promises to free sections of humanity while enslaving other sections of humanity – in this sense it is **Slave 5.0 or the Fifth Enslavement Revolution**.

To argue that the industrial revolutions have successively freed humanity and created better lives for human beings is to forget that these revolutions resulted in massive dispossession and exploitation of other sections of humanity in the world. It is to forget that the First Industrial Revolution, for instance, resulted in massive profits for Western imperialists who participated in the ghoulish act of enslaving other sections of humanity in the form of the slave "trade" or kidnappings across the Atlantic. Numerous universities in Europe and America were built on the proceeds of enslaving Africans (Nhemachena, 2021), a direct gain of the First Industrial Revolution for some (Westerners in this case) and direct infringement of others' freedoms (Africans in this case); Similarly, numerous European and American banks were established from proceeds of enslaving Africans who were commodified like material objects and forced to work on plantations from which profits flowed into the education and banking sectors of Europe and the Americas. Similarly, from the proceeds of enslaving Africans, industries were established in Europe and America. Dispossession and exploitation of colonised peoples in

Africa have continued unabated with transnational corporations continuing to loot African resources and to dispossess Africans of their land, minerals, labour, power, livestock and other resources. If industrial revolutions have been beneficial to everybody, the question is why Western imperialists who enjoyed the benefits of the supposedly wonderful industrial revolutions came to Africa to dispossess and exploit Africans, even after the inception of the industrial revolutions back in Europe and America? The point here is that if industrial revolutions were really beneficial to all humanity, then Western imperialists would not have come to Africa to dispossess and exploit the Africans in the manner they did. The fact that Westerners thrived on dispossessing and exploiting Africans means that Europe and America did not develop because of industrial revolutions – if the industrial revolutions were really adequate to their task, it would have been unnecessary for Westerners to dispossess and exploit Africans. Furthermore, if industrial revolutions have really benefited everybody, then we should no longer have the majority of the world population surviving in squalid conditions marked by abject poverty. In other words, if industrial revolutions were really beneficial to all, then we should no longer be seeing and experiencing poverty and hunger around us in this twenty-first century.

The point in the foregoing is that industrial revolutions are exploitative in nature, and in fact, the hand-side tool of imperialism. Other than enriching the minority, the industrial revolutions have failed over the centuries to guarantee good life for the majority of the world's citizens. While there is a lot of literature on state failure, state weakness, state collapse and so on, there is no literature on the failures of Western industrial revolutions which, in spite of much pomp about their benefits, have actually seen the growth of poverty and insecurity among the majority of citizens as evident in massive homelessness, joblessness and hopelessness. In fact, Shiva & Shiva (2019) note that the global one percent monopolises the resources, including riches, in the world. As a matter of fact, the contemporary robotization of work is creativing massive unemployment in the world (Nhemachena & Dhakwa, this volume). Trapped in discourses about economic growth even where there is nothing to show in African everyday lives, many African thinkers have consistently ignored the fact that the increasing levels of poverty and insecurity

on the continent of Africa are in fact evidence of the failure of Western industrial revolutions. In spite of such failure, many Africans continue to be lured and some are converted to become disciples of industrial revolutions. If industrial revolutions were really worth celebrating, the world would by now, centuries after the First Industrial Revolution, be saturated with progress, growth, development and riches – but alas, what we have are increasing levels of insecurity, destitution, poverty, penury and exploitation.

In the exploitation of African labour power, in the late 1800s, in King Leopold II's Belgian Congo, millions of Africans were killed, amputated, tortured and harassed for refusing or for collecting insufficient quantities of rubber in the forests (Soriano, 2017; Dunn, 2003; Ala, 2005; Verbeeck, 2020). In the Belgian Congo, many Africans had their breasts cut off, their genitals cut off, their legs, hands and heads cut off as the Belgian King Leopold II forced Africans to slave for him in the rubber plantations. Similarly, in the, more recent, Marikana Massacre of the poorly paid mine workers in South Africa (Soifer, 2012; Krasner, 2004), we witness the failure of industrial revolutions that have tended to free and enrich sections of humanity while enslaving other sections of humanity. From the colonial forced labour regimes, where Africans were dispossessed and then exploited as cheap labour, to the Marikana Massacre, we witness the erosion of African socio-economic security and sovereignty even as Africans are encouraged to celebrate industrial revolutions which have seen them retrogressing from being proud owners of land, livestock, minerals etc to becoming beggars of humanitarian aid, ironically, from those that have enslaved and dispossessed them for centuries. The argument here is that the European industrial revolutions have been detrimental to the economic sovereignty of Africans who were, subsequent to the industrial revolutions and the inception of colonialism, dispossessed and exploited by the very same Europeans who considered Western industrial revolutions to be great feats, which nonetheless could not guarantee the Europeans prosperity without colonising and exploiting Africans. If the industrial revolutions in Europe and America were as deterministic as to warrant the term revolutions, one would not be far from truth to argue that the industrial revolutions in Europe and the Americas account for the colonial dispossession

and exploitation on Africans. Therefore, industrial revolutions are anathema to African liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Much as it would not make sense to tell victims of dispossession that the economies of those that dispossessed them grew due to the benefits of their supposedly great industrial revolutions, Africans need not believe that economies in Europe and America grew because of industrial revolutions. Attributing economic prosperity, in a world that continues to shamelessly dispossess and exploit Africans, to industrial revolutions should be understood as a cover up for the dispossession and destruction of Africans' economic and environmental sovereignty (Nhemachena et al., 2019). Prior to colonisation Africans had sovereignty over their economies, natural resources and environments: precolonial African economies included mining, trade, agriculture, jewellery, textiles, education, smelting and refining of minerals, and so on (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020). Because they had economic sovereignty, precolonial Africans did not depend on "humanitarian aid" from anywhere in the world. The precolonial Africans were self-sufficient such that they were not even tempted to colonise Europe, America or Asia. Because Africans were not tempted to colonise Europe, America and Asia, European colonialists who regarded colonising other people as a sign of civilization, rationality and cleverness considered Africans to be backward, irrational and savage simply because they did not colonise other people elsewhere in the world. If, as was the case, Africans had their economic sovereignty including sovereignty over their natural resources, it baffles the mind why colonialists considered people with economic sovereignty, self-sufficiency and sovereignty over their natural resources to be backward and savage. Put succinctly, the ironic colonial assumption was that precolonial African self-sufficiency was a sign of backwardness on the part of precolonial Africans; similarly, colonialists assumed that sovereignty over one's natural resources was a sign of backwardness on the part of Africans who exercised sovereignty over their natural resources; equally, the colonialists assumed that economic sovereignty was a sign of backwardness on the part of Africans who exercised economic sovereignty in their nation states. In this regard, the terms backward and savage, as applied to Africans during the colonial era, were simply meant to

cajole Africans to unwittingly devolve their sovereignty to the colonialists.

Of course, when Africans fought liberation struggles on their respective territories, they intended to reclaim their economic sovereignty, including sovereignty over their natural resources, but then Western institutions including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have continued to dictate economic and even political affairs for Africans (Nhemachena & Warikandwa, 2019). Transnational corporations belonging to Westerners have also retained ownership and control of the economies in Africa such that Africans continue to be deprived of their economic sovereignty; similarly, Western states, transnational institutions and individuals continue to grab land away from African peasants in the ongoing transnational land grabs on the continent of Africa (Nhemachena, Warikandwa & Mtapuri, 2017). Of course, in the so-called 'land deals', African leaders are promised that the transnational corporations that are grabbing land from Africans will help generate employment through their "investments" – but of course colonialists have similarly historically promised many things, including civilization which actually turned out to be dispossession and exploitation on Africans; and these have been happening since the beginning of the colonial era. Apart from the fact that the "land deals" do not guarantee African economic sovereignty but continued theft of African land, the arguments about generating employment for Africans are neither here nor there because agriculture is being automated with the inception of the Fourth Industrial Revolution such that humans are already losing jobs that are now being given to industrial robots (Ford, 2 October 2021; Wood, 1 December 2021; Pethokoukis, 6 September 2021).

If we are to define a slave as someone who is deprived of autonomy and sovereignty, then colonised Africans were in fact enslaved through being deprived of their autonomy and sovereignty; they could not even exercise their autonomy and sovereignty when they were dispossessed and exploited as cheap labour in colonial industries. Similarly, Africans that are now being retrenched from the jobs which are being given to robots are also enslaved in the sense that they are deprived of their autonomy and sovereignty to retain the jobs. The point is that much as one can be enslaved through being forced to work, one can also be enslaved and dispossessed through

being deprived of the opportunity to exercise autonomy and sovereignty in terms of whether or not to continue to work. Put differently, when one has economic sovereignty, one decides where, when, whether or not to work and how to work, but when one is deprived of economic sovereignty, one loses the right to decide when, where, whether or not to work and how to work. If industrial revolutions deprive citizens of room for autonomous and sovereign decision-making about whether or not to work, how, when, and where to work, such revolutions are in fact enslaving rather than freeing those that are so deprived of the autonomy and sovereignty to decide and craft their destiny.

Whereas enslaved Africans were physically forced to work in plantations and factories belonging to the slave owners, with the Fourth Industrial Revolution Africans are forced not to work because robots are increasingly replacing them as workers. Whereas during the colonial era, Africans were directly and indirectly forced to work, as colonial cheap labour, with the Fourth Industrial Revolution, Africans are forced not to work as robots increasingly replace them. Whereas during the other industrial revolutions Africans were forced to work, with the Fourth Industrial Revolution, Africans and other peoples in the world are forced not to work because robots are increasingly replacing them. In other words, the Fourth Industrial Revolution is nullifying the earlier promises about "investors" coming to create employment for Africans – instead "investors" are set to create employment for robots which are already replacing human workers in the industries around the world. The point is that Africans are enslaved as much through being forced to work as cheap labour or unpaid labour as through being forced out of work when they are chained to postwork milieu. Bearing in mind the fact that Africans have already been dispossessed of their natural resources, to now force them out of work would be to effectively enslave them. We are hinting at what can be considered enslavement by commission, through forced labour, and enslavement by omission to provide the promised employment. In this regard enslavement can be understood as amenability to the caprices of those that consider themselves the masters of the world, or the masters of industry. Whether in the First Industrial Revolution, the Second Industrial Revolution, the Third Industrial Revolution or the Fourth Industrial Revolution, humanity is still amenable to the caprices of those that

consider themselves to be the masters of the universe. This has consequences for questions of African sovereignty.

In a world where Europe and America have industrialised by investing the proceeds of enslaving Africans, and in a world where Europe and America have industrialised by investing the proceeds of dispossessing and exploiting Africans in the colonial era, it is cause for wonder why the "owners" of such industries continue to believe that they privately own the industries that have been created out of dispossessing and exploiting other people. It is cause for wonder why they continue to believe that they retain the power to decide the fates of those that they have historically and consistently dispossessed and exploited or even the descendants of those that they have dispossessed and exploited. Put in other words, industrial revolutions must be premised on consensus in the world, including with those who have suffered enslavement and colonisation for centuries. The problem is that industries that have been set up using proceeds of enslaving and colonising other people have been defined as "private industries" when in fact the capital and labour that formed the bases of such industries are not private in the sense of originating from those that are deemed to be the private owners of such industries. In other words, the so-called private industries do not necessarily evidence the excellence of those that are deemed to be the owners of the private industries but they evidence the depravity and wickedness of the so-called owners of the private industries built on the basis of enslaving, dispossessing and exploiting Africans. In this regard, many of the so-called private industries are in fact criminal industries in the sense of them having originated from dispossessing and exploiting Africans for centuries, without even a farthing for reparations being received by the African victims. In this regard, the term private industry becomes a cover-up for the theft and exploitation, perpetrated on Africans, that have been going on for centuries now.

Given the importance of economic sovereignty, sovereignty over natural resources, environmental sovereignty and political sovereignty, it is not surprising that African post-independence leaders, of the 1960s, lobbied the United Nations for the recognition of African states' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources (Pereira & Gough, 2013; Tyagi, 2015). Of course, fearful of Africans' assertions of sovereignty over their natural resources, Western states and institutions have launched opposition to African states'

permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. In fact, while African states were demanding sovereignty over their natural resources which resources they said they would use to enhance economic growth, Western scholars published a counternarrative entitled "Limits to Growth" (Meadows et al., 1972). As a counter to African states' demands for permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, Meadows et al. (1972, p.18) wrote thus:

> There can be disappointments and dangers in limiting one's view to an area that is too small. There are many examples of a person striving with all his might to solve some immediate, local problem, only to find his efforts defeated by events occurring in the larger context.

For this reason, twenty-first century Eurocentric scholars are now postulating postsovereignty, shared sovereignty and heteronomy which have the effect of subverting African permanent sovereignty over natural resources; Western discourses on postsovereignty, shared sovereignty etc have the effect of diluting African states' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources (Nhemachena & Warikandwa, 2019). Besides, sovereignty is being redefined, in Western and Eurocentric scholarship, in terms of state violence rather than its original meaning of sovereignty over natural resources. The issue here is that in order to generate in Africans phobia for exercising sovereignty over their natural resources, Eurocentric scholars have redefined sovereignty not in terms of Africans' ownership and control of their natural resources but in terms of African state violence or necropolitics on the bodies of the citizens (Gumplova, 2019; Pereira & Gough, 2013; Tyagi, 2015; Mbembe, 2003). Similarly, instead of describing African leaders as guardians of African natural resources over which African states have permanent sovereignty, Eurocentric scholars are redefining African leaders in terms of dictatorship, authoritarianism and despotism – and, in all this, the more an African leader enforces state sovereignty over African natural resources, the more a dictator or authoritarian persona is seen in him or her by Eurocentrists. Democratic African leaders, from a Eurocentric point of view, are those who do not enforce African state sovereignty over African natural resources. Democratic African leaders are the ones that are open and keep the African states open to neoimperial dispossession and exploitation

without caring about African autonomy and sovereignty over African resources. To the generality of Africans, the so-called democratic African leaders are complicit in its dispossession and exploitation. To the extent that Eurocentric democracy stifles African sovereignty over natural resources on the continent, such democracy is in fact a tool for enslaving Africans.

Enslaved through discourses on efficiency: The Fourth Industrial Revolution

Given Western fears of African autonomy and sovereignty, it is not surprising that the Fourth Industrial Revolution has ushered in technologies to destroy such African autonomy and sovereignty. Such technologies are however touted, by Eurocentric scholars, as increasing efficiency – sadly, including efficiency at depriving Africans of their autonomy and sovereignty. Firstly, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, like all preceding industrial revolutions, is not owned and controlled by Africans – in this way, the Fourth Industrial Revolution does not enable Africans to reclaim autonomy and sovereignty over their economies and over their natural resources. In this regard, while Africans are being advised by Western and American pro-Fourth Industrial Revolutionists that the Fourth Industrial Revolution, as indeed the envisaged Fifth Industrial Revolution, enhances efficiency and productivity, it is necessary to note that Africa was historically colonised through discourses on efficiency. Indeed, discourses about efficiency and productivity legitimise colonisation and deprivation of the autonomy and sovereignty of Africans. Those that are depicted as inefficient and unproductive are denied their autonomy and sovereignty in the process. With the Fourth Industrial Revolution, African workers are being replaced with "efficient" docile industrial robots, which are already taking away the jobs. Also, with the Fourth Industrial Revolution, African spouses are being replaced with humanoid sex robots which are depicted in Eurocentric scholarship as more efficient, docile and non-quarrelsome sexual partners (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020; Nhemachena, 2021). In the same vein, descendants of colonialists in Africa are retaining the stolen land on the excuse that they are more efficient than indigenous African farmers from whom the land was stolen centuries ago. The point here is that

discourses about efficiency have become apologies for enslaving Africans who are thus chained to the supposedly "efficient" descendants of colonialists and to the supposedly "efficient" economies and technologies belonging to the colonialists and their descendants. In this regard, from slave 1.0 to slave 4.0, there is the connecting thread of the legitimising grammar of "efficiency" even as the systems of enslavement are actually ironically dispossessing, exploiting and then disposing of some sections of humanity – particularly the Africans. Similarly, at a global level, there are unfortunate assumptions that imperial sovereigns are efficient, even when they are actually dispossessing and exploiting Africans, and that African sovereigns are inefficient, and hence worth deposing.

When Africans were enslaved and transported to America, the underlying idea was that economies that relied on slaves were efficient; also, when Africans were enslaved in the industrial revolutions that ensued, the underlying idea was that industrial revolutions that employed enslaved people were efficient; similarly, when Africans are disposed of in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which is replacing human workers with robots, the underlying idea is that industries that dispose of human workers are more efficient. Indeed, the underlying idea for global elites in the twenty-first century is that the world is better-off without African humans – and so, there are discourses in Western circles about the Malthusian Anticipatory Regime for Africa (MARA) which craves and anticipates the extinction of Africans in the so-called Anthropocene era (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2019). The point here is that, like other preceding revolutions, the Fourth Industrial Revolution thrives on logics of sacrifice – sacrificing sections of humanity for the interest of global elites who stand to benefit from the revolutions. Of course, global capitalism and the global elites behind it always seek to conceal the sacrificial logics within their so-called revolutions – otherwise they would not be able to find sacrificial victims for their projects in the world. Naturally, those that are sacrificed for the sake of global capital and global elites lose their autonomy and sovereignty. Worse still, they are currently being advised by global elites that they will lose their autonomy and sovereignty and be happy – humanity is being advised by global elites that in the New World Order borne from the Fourth Industrial Revolution, they will own nothing and be happy (Davis, 2010; Ireland & Meng, 2017; Junnila et al., 2018; Mihail et al.,

2018). They are advised that they will lose their states, whose sovereignty is already being deconstructed, and they would be happy without their states; they are told that they will lose their state leaders and be happy without their state leaders; in a similar sense, they are told that they will lose their cultures, marriages and families – which have been deconstructed since the colonial era - and be happy without them. And, the global elites cunningly manage to convince the targets of their sacrifice by promising them more "efficient" replacements once they have given up their autonomy, sovereignty, states, marriages, families, cultures, ownership, control and resources. The point here is that Africans should not forget that the world has been built on the bases of sacrifices since the enslavement and colonization era, and that such sacrifices have not disappeared – sacrifices, including sacrifices of the sovereignty of others, become more insidious without necessarily disappearing.

Predatory sovereignty and global patriarchs of the Global North

In the world today, one witnesses hypocrisy wherein the Global North values its autonomy and sovereignty yet scholars, NGOs, CSOs and institutions from the Global North advise the peoples of the Global South that they do not need similar autonomy and sovereignty. The Global North advises the Global South that all they need is democracy and human rights without autonomy and sovereignty over their natural resources. Even as human rights and democracy in the Global North are based on ownership and control of natural resources, including resources stolen from Africans, the African victims of colonisation and enslavement are sadly advised that democracy and human rights, for Africans, do not have to be premised on ownership and control of their resources. Instead of correctly advising Africans that democracy and human rights are failing on the continent because the citizens of Africa are denied restoration of ownership and control over their natural resources, Western-funded NGOs and CSOs tell Africans that democracy and human rights are failing simply because of the ineptitude by African states leaders. If Western imperialists managed to forestall revolutionary violence, during the 1700 and 1800, in Europe by dispossessing Africans in order to cushion those Europeans who had fallen through the cracks of the enclosure systems, it boggles the

mind how Africans can forestall and defuse violent revolutions on the continent without reclaiming their stolen resources. Put differently, Europe and America did not prevent violence and barbarity in their midst through democracy and human rights; rather, they prevented violence and barbarity among their citizens through stealing resources from Africans and other people in the Global South – and then they used the stolen resources to cushion their own potentially riotous citizens. In this sense, Western democracy and human rights are ironically based on theft and other forms of barbarism, including the enslavement and colonisation of other people. In fact, Western sovereignty is predatory sovereignty in the sense that it is premised on destruction of the sovereignties of other people in the Global South, including Africans.

What we call predatory sovereignty is a form of sovereignty that thrives by destroying all other sovereignties in the way imperial sovereignty destroyed the polities and states of the colonised peoples. Predatory sovereignty is a form of sovereignty that is intolerant to other forms of sovereignty: it repels and in fact, destroys all other forms of democracy including human rights. In other words, predatory sovereignty is imperial sovereignty that pulverises alternative sovereignties. Predatory sovereignty delights in pulverising African sovereignties such that African sovereignties effectively become **pulvereignties.** What we call pulvereignties are pulverized sovereignties where state leaders run empty-shell states, emptied of sovereignty. Pulveregnties are states that operate on the bases of sham sovereignty, which has in fact been pulverized. In this regard, colonialists pulverized precolonial African sovereignties, including Kingdoms and Chiefdoms that existed prior to colonialism. With pulvereignty, Africans were robbed of their political state sovereignty; Africans were robbed of their economic sovereignty, Africans were robbed of their environmental sovereignty and Africans were robbed of sovereignty over their natural resources. In this regard, the violence that we witness in Africa is not emanating from sovereignty, rather the violence emerges from pulvereignty. Pulvereignties become violent because they are resisting pulverization; they are violent not because they are sovereign but because they are pulvereigns being pulverized.

Predatory sovereignty is in this regard sovereignty that thrives on plundering, dispossessing and exploiting other peoples and states.

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Predatory sovereignty sugarcoats its depredations of other sovereignties using decoys, including decoys of human rights, democracy, rule of law, globalisation, universalism and so on. In other words, predatory sovereignty evangelizes democracy, human rights, good governance, universalism and so on to its victims that it has ironically robbed of sovereignty over their natural resources. Predatory sovereignty is sovereignty that does not respect borders – it is a transgressive form of sovereignty that presupposes that the world does not have borders and boundaries. This is to say predatory sovereignty seeks to destroy all other sovereignties even as it protects its own sovereignty, including borders and boundaries – all the while it will be taking the liberty to expand beyond its own borders and boundaries. To distract challenges and discontent from within itself, predatory sovereignty solves its internal problems by cannibalising other sovereignties whose borders it readily transgresses as it pleases, often using decoys and pretexts. Predatory sovereignty deems itself to be the custodian of the universal, global, world values, and international regalia – predatory sovereignty assumes stewardship of the world even without having been elected to become a steward of global values. In other words, predatory sovereignty is a form of sovereignty that patronises everyone else in the world even as it ironically demonises everyone else who exercises patron-client relationships or patrimonialism (Nhemachena, 2021). Predatory sovereigns demonise patriarchy even as they ironically assume the roles of unelected global patriarchs of the world. Also, predatory sovereignty strives for self-preservation at all costs even as it destroys other sovereignties. They can only be, if the other sovereignty is stifled and defeated.

The upshot of the foregoing is that predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide what constitute good economics and good economies for everyone in the world; predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide what constitutes good governance, democracy, human rights and rule of law for everyone in the world; similarly, predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide what constitutes safe medicines for everyone in the world. Thus, predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide what constitutes good vaccines for everyone in the world. In the same vein, predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide what constitutes security for everyone in the world; besides, predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide economic,

political and sociocultural policies for everyone in the world. In this regard, predatory sovereigns as global patriarchs decide the agenda of the world. The global patriarchs decide which revolutions are worthy of praise and adoption – conversely, they decide which revolutions warrant condemnation in the world. Similarly, the global patriarchs decide which wars are worth of praise and which wars deserve condemnation in the world. Like patriarchs of the old, global patriarchs are not elected by anyone except themselves and therefore are undemocratic. In fact, global patriarchs exercise the old Roman law power as fathers of the world in the logics of *patria potestas* (power of a father); and *vitae necisque potestas* (power of life and death) (Breij, 2012; Johnson, 2007; Benke, 2012; Saller, 1986; Crook, 1967) in the world today.

Just like fathers and grandfathers in Roman law had power over children and grandchildren (Crook, 1967; Johnson, 2007), global patriarchs are exercising power over everyone else in the world and particularly over Africans who are not even allowed to define and redefine democracy, human rights, rule of law in ways that allow the Africans to demand restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation. Just like fathers and grandfathers in Roman law had power over children and grandchildren, global patriarchs exercise power over everyone else in the world, particularly over Africans who are not even allowed to assume ownership and control over their own natural resources. Just as fathers and grandfathers in Roman law had power over children and grandchildren, global patriarchs exercise power over everyone else in the world particularly over Africans who are not allowed to assume power over their own economies, land and culture, media and religions. Just like fathers and grandfathers in Roman law had power over their children and grandchildren and could kill them for adultery in *lex lulia de adulteriis coercendis* (Benke, 2012; Saller, 1986), global patriarchs exercise power over Africans such that Africans are readily killed for supposedly adulterating democracy, human rights and rule of law as strictly and meanly defined and enforced by the global patriarchs who have become self-appointed guardians of everyone in the world.

As supposed heirs of the world, including of the imperial world order, global patriarchs have vested interests in retaining colonial status quos in property relations that define autonomy and sovereignty in the world. As supposed patricians of the world, global

patriarchs have vested interests in keeping the colonised under control and thus plebeianised Africans are kept as underdogs in the world order where the supposed patricians exercise sovereignty over the perpetually colonised and plebeianised Africans. What we call plebeianised Africans are those that have given up on asserting sovereignty over their natural resources – all they now do is to worry about how to conserve African natural resources on behalf, and in the interest, of the global patriarchs who have become the patricians of the world. Plebeianised Africans are those that have given up on asserting economic sovereignty over their economies – all that they now crave for is to be afforded employment, in the order of slaves, by the global patriarchs who have become patricians of the world. Of course, even in the schools and universities, Africans are hardly taught to assert sovereignty, rather they are taught and prepared to become educated slaves serving the global patriarchs in the so-called world of work. The point is that instead of preparing African students for the so-called world of work, schools and universities must prepare the students for the world of sovereignty where they cease to be plebeians of the world.

To manage the emotions and resentments of Africans who seek to break away from plebeian status and reclaim sovereignty, the global patriarchs often grant sham sovereignty and sham autonomy to the discontented – as a means of containment. When Africans were granted political independence without economic independence, this is clear evidence of sham autonomy and sham sovereignty granted as a means to contain the discontented Africans. And of course, in a world where the global patriarchs retain the *patria potestas* and *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, even the political independence that was granted to Africans did not amount to sovereignty because the Africans were granted political independence even as the global patriarchs retained the *patria potestas,* and hence, the power to punish Africans at a global level. In other words, Africans were granted sham political power and they were denied economic power which remained with the global patriarchs who inherited the world even as they deconstructed African heritages including the African form of patriarchy. It is important to underline that economic power which the global patriarchs retained is superior to political power as the former controls the latter. The point here is that deconstructing African patriarchy has, since the colonial era,

served to enhance global patriarchy: this is why global patriarchs through their NGOs and CSOs have not hesitated to fund projects that deconstruct African patriarchy: their intentions have never been to destroy patriarchy in its entirety but to destroy African patriarchy while enhancing global patriarchy (Nhemachena, 2021). In other words, the intention was to destroy African sovereignty, premised on African heritages, while enhancing imperial predatory sovereignty of which the global patriarchs are the guardians and heirs.

Global patriarchs are what other thinkers have politely called oligarchs or plutocrats; but then to address them as oligarchs or plutocrats would conceal the ways in which they have effectively inherited the world including the resources of the enslaved and colonised peoples in the world. Put simply, global patriarchs are not only plutocrats who rule the world using their wealth but they have stolen and inherited the wealth of enslaved and colonised peoples which they further use to build repressive global apparatuses to deny autonomy and sovereignty to the historically enslaved and colonized people. Just like in Althusser's (1971) postulations where the states have ideological apparatuses and repressive apparatuses, global patriarchs have ideological apparatuses including the various Foundations that fund education, research, teaching, curriculum reforms, global media, global laws, democracy, human rights, rule of law, and religion – which constitute the ideological apparatuses of the global patriarchs; and of course, just like the state has repressive state apparatuses, global patriarchs have repressive apparatuses in the form of the global militaries and military organisations which they fund generously to prepare for and engage in wars across the world. In essence, global militaries and military organisations are not necessarily set up and maintained in order to genuinely police democracy, human rights and the rule of law – which are mere ideological apparatuses - but they are set up and retained in order to safeguard the heritages that the global patriarchs got, including their inheritance over the ill-gotten natural resources of enslaved and colonised peoples of Africa. If global militaries cared about human rights, rule of law and democracy, the global patriarchs would have returned the properties including natural resources belonging to enslaved and colonised peoples in the world. If global militaries were really set up to protect human rights, rule of law and democracy, then they would have fought for the restitution of land, cultural artifacts,

minerals, ivory, and other resources that were stolen from Africans and other peoples of the Global South; and of course, if global militaries and military organisations were set up to fight for human rights, democracy and rule of law then they would have fought for the reparations to enslaved and colonised peoples in the world. The point here is that global patriarchs and their militaries, which they fund generously, have been set up and are maintained to safeguard what global patriarchs have inherited in the world. The question here is: why do global militaries and NGOs and CSOs fight for human rights, democracy and rule of law in Africa even as they are ignoring African struggles for restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation? If restitution and reparations will humanise Africans then why are the global militaries, CSOs and NGOs not assisting Africans fight for such restitution and reparations as well? The point is that global militaries, NGOs and CSOs are the foot-soldiers of global patriarchs and their posterity.

The upshot of the foregoing is that foregrounding human rights, democracy and rule of law minus restitution and reparations actually serves to retain the colonial status quo wherein global patriarchs retain the natural resources, including land which were stolen from Africans. Of necessity, the rule of law, human rights and democracy must include restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation. African states cannot possibly efficiently provide service delivery to their citizens without restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation. In other words, without economic sovereignty including ownership and control over their natural resources, African states are doomed to fail to provide service delivery to their citizens. The point here is that Western states are able to provide service delivery to their citizens not because they are better organised and led by wiser and less corrupt leaders; rather, the Western states are providing better service delivery because they own and control their economies, they have economic sovereignty and they own and control their resources, as well as those of people in the Global South from whom they have stolen the resources. They can provide better service delivery at the back of stolen resources which laid a strong foundation for their development.

The point in the foregoing is that democracy, human rights and rule of law have become facades for global patriarchs and for predatory sovereignty that seek to deny sovereignty to other states

while hiding behind democracy, human rights and rule of law. Put differently, human rights, democracy and rule of law have been militarised not necessarily so as to serve victims of human rights abuses, of breakdown of rule of law or of breaches of democracy but so as to help global patriarchs to prevent changes to the imperial and colonial status quo. In other words, global patriarchs, who refuse to service African victims of enslavement and colonization with restitution, ironically use their global media to demonise African states as failing to provide service delivery to their citizens. African states are similarly demonised for supposedly having failed to service and grow the economies which ironically are still owned by global patriarchs who consider Africans to be babysitters to babysit Western economies that are located on the continent of Africa. The point we are making here is that it does not make sense for African states to service and grow economies that are located in Africa but are not owned and controlled by Africans. For this reason, we argue in this book that the reason why economies are not growing in Africa is because they are not owned and controlled by Africans themselves – Africans do not want to continue babysitting imperial economies. The argument we are making is that in so far as the economies that are located in Africa are not owned and controlled by Africans, Africans are being treated by the global patriarchs, who own and control the economies, as babysitters who should service and grow the economies that do not belong to them. Of course, global patriarchs want to have African babysitters in the economies, in politics, in education, in media and in agriculture, who are prone to babysitting what does not belong to them. Babysitters cannot have or even claim sovereignty over what they are babysitting – yet, sadly, this is what Africans have been forced into since the colonial era when their sovereignty over politics, over their economies, over their natural resources and sovereignty over their environments were stolen.

Without sovereignty, Africans simply became babysitters with no ownership and control over their natural resources, with no ownership and control over their politics, with no ownership and control over their education, with no ownership and control over their environments, and, often, even with no ownership and control over their bodies. In politics, Africans witness Western states and the Americas interfering in the guise of promoting democracy, human

rights and rule of law; in the economic arenas, Africans witness the Global North institutions, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation dictating economic policies in Africa (Ozden, 2005); in the arena of food, Africans see Global North corporations including Monsanto and Syngenta dictating what seeds to plant (Mawere & Nhemachena, 2017), such as genetically modified seeds and synthetic biology that, sadly, decentre African food sovereignty; in the economic arenas, Africans witness Global North transnational corporations retaining ownership and control of economic resources on the continent; and in the field of media, Africans witness Global North transnational corporations exercising ownership and control such that Africans' ideas are often easily and readily dismissed as conspiracy theory ironically in a world where slave drivers and colonialists have actually conspired to enslave and colonise Africans. The Western media conspire to deny the veracity of conspiracy theories in a world where conspiracies are actually taking place at a global level (Nhemachena, Makamani & Mukesi, 2021). In all these environments, Africans are somehow expected to grow the economies which they neither own nor control; similarly, Africans are, sadly, expected to take care of the environments of which they are denied ownership and control; Equally, Africans are, sadly, expected to till productively the land of which they are denied ownership and control; and Africans are expected to yield freedom to the global media which they neither own nor control. Some Africans may well be benefiting even without exercising ownership and control but the point here is that the logic of what is happening in the world is akin to Africans being asked by global patriarchs to be herdsmen and herdswomen who tend what they do not own – indeed they may not even be allowed to milk the cows that they are tending, because they do not own them. In the vernacular Shona language, this is called *kufudziswa dzausingakami* (being tricked/forced to tend what you are not even allowed to milk). This problem explains why in spite of calls to 'modernise' Africa, and in spite of calls to 'develop' Africa, nothing significant has been achieved for centuries since colonisation. In the industrial revolutions, one notices logics of *kufudziswa dzausingakami* because Africans neither own nor control the industrial revolutions which they are being asked to celebrate and promote. The solution is

economic and environmental sovereignty plus political sovereignty for Africans.

Of course, to be enslaved is to be forced or tricked into tilling the land that does not belong to you; to be enslaved is to be tricked or forced to work in a factory that does not belong to you; to be enslaved is to be tricked or forced to take care of an environment that does not belong to you; to be enslaved is to be forced or tricked to work on the basis of ideas that do not belong to you; to be enslaved is to be tricked or forced to work for the betterment of a polity or state that does not belong to you; to be enslaved is to be forced or tricked into working for the betterment of global patriarchs whose families Africans do not even belong to; and of course their families do not belong to Africans many of whom toil and yet the proceeds go to the families of the global patriarchs who own and control the transnational and multinational corporations operating on the continent of Africa; and to be enslaved, for Africans, is to be denied ownership and control rights over what rightly belongs to them. The point is that what Africans need is sovereignty over their economies, sovereignty over their natural resources, sovereignty over their polities, sovereignty over their epistemologies: this is what would free them from being enslaved and from servicing global patriarchs who pretend to detest patriarchy even as they are ironically unleashing virulent forms of patriarchy at a global level. Africans have been fooled to normalize what is not normal and not question the causes of the asymmetries evident in resource ownership and control even within their territories.

Of course, global patriarchs sponsor ideologies about the necessity of postsovereignty and heteronomy (Morss, 2004; Loughlin, 2016; Karkkainen, 2004) which serve to deconstruct African struggles for sovereignty and autonomy. Global patriarchs sponsor ideologies about One World Order and globalisation which serve to oppose African struggles for sovereignty and autonomy (Nhemachena, 2021); global patriarchs sponsor ideologies about global problems which are meant to assist them in pulling the world together in ways that defeat African struggles for autonomy and sovereignty. Of course, in all this, they do not want Africans to know that problems in Africa are not in fact global problems, in the sense of having been created by everybody in the world, but they are neoimperial problems emanating from the direct and aftereffects of

enslavement and colonisation. As if they are not responsible for problems afflicting Africans, global patriarchs use their media, education, religions etc to evangelise about global problems. The point here is that climate change, for example, is not a global problem but it is a problem of global patriarchs who dispossessed Africans and other peoples of the Global South of their land in the highvelds free from floods and droughts; the problem of climate change is not a global problem but it is a problem of global patriarchs who destroyed African drought and flood coping mechanisms which have been used for time immemorial; the problem of climate change is not a global problem but it is a problem of global patriarchs who seek to use the so-called global problems to pull humanity into the envisaged One World Government which tramples on all other sovereignties (Nhemachena, 2021b). Put differently, the so-called global problems are only used to terrify and then stampede humanity into a postsovereign world where neither autonomy nor sovereignty will be available for humanity except the global patriarchs who consider themselves to be the stewards and watchdogs of the world that they have inherited as descendants of slave drivers and colonisers. What is happening in the world is akin to a rider who considers a journey so important that he/she regards the journey to be one for the horse as for the rider. What are often described as global problems are in fact the problems of the global patriarchs who then enrol everybody else as horses upon which to ride in the supposed journey to solve the supposed global problems. In other words, the horses do not journey as sovereigns even as the problem of the journey is described as one for the horse as for the rider.

The idea for the global patriarchs is for them to continue occupying the highveld in real and metaphorical senses while they push everyone else to the lowveld in real and metaphorical senses. Much as they dispossessed Africans of their land in highveld regions which were fertile and well-watered (Nhemachena, 2021b), global patriarchs displaced Africans from political highvelds that were fertile and well-endowed and they pushed African politicians to political lowvelds – dry and with poor soils in metaphorical senses. Much as colonialists displaced Africans from geographical highvelds to geographical lowvelds poorly endowed with soils and rain, global patriarchs displace Africans from economic highvelds to economic lowvelds – poorly endowed in real and metaphorical senses. For

these reasons, a close look at the world shows that just as Africans occupy geographically lowveld areas, they also occupy politically lowveld positions in the world; just as Africans occupy geographically lowveld regions, they also occupy economically lowveld positions in the world; just as Africans occupy geographically lowveld regions, they occupy socio-culturally lowveld positions in the world. The point we are driving at is that in a world where colonialists have historically decentred Africans from highveld areas to lowveld areas, it does not make sense to celebrate Western sponsored ideologies and practices of decentralisation in twenty-first century Africa. Similarly, in a word where colonialists have dispossessed Africans of their highveld positions, it does not make sense to celebrate the deconstruction of African sovereignty and autonomy in twenty-first century Africa. In a world where colonialists have historically destroyed Africans' sovereignty, it does not make sense to celebrate postsovereignty in twenty-first century Africa.

To deconstruct African states and other states in the Global South, global patriarchs use the excuse of democracy, human rights, and rule of law to descend on, attack and flatten the targeted states; to deconstruct African sovereignty, the global patriarchs rely on imposing sanctions on targeted states to flatten them and make them ready for the One World Government where everyone else is flattened except the global patriarchs who are set to rule the One World Government (see Nhemachena, 2021b). If sanctions were really an instrument of global justice, then they would have been evenly and justly applied to control all states in the world – the present problem is that sanctions are selectively applied on some states but not on others in the world. Besides, to deconstruct the African states, global patriarchs use global pandemics and epidemics as pretexts to pull the world together into a One World Government ruled by the global patriarchs that would have flattened everyone else. Of course, a One World Government is necessarily a postsovereign world order where some states would have gone under the guillotine of the global patriarchs, even if it means by hook and crook. To deconstruct African state sovereignty over their natural resources, global patriarchs rely on the ideology of climate change to argue that oil mining and use should stop – and this deconstructs the sovereignty of the states that rely on oil to run their economies and polities. Similarly, to deconstruct the sovereignty of some states in

the world, global patriarchs have already relied on Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes which resulted in massive retrenchments of workers in Africa. Citizens protest against their states in all countries of the Global South where such programmes and projects were instituted– and of course the states themselves lost revenue, and with it their sovereignty was attenuated as a result of the retrenchments and the attendant deindustrialisation. The same is happening with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. To deconstruct the sovereignty of some states in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, global patriarchs are using their pharmaceutical corporations or vaccine manufacturing companies to demand that the states use their sovereign assets as collateral for the purchase of the vaccines (Davies et al., 23 February 2021; Busby & Milhorance, 10 September 2021). The point is, if the states lose their sovereign assets then their sovereignty would also have disappeared and gone under the guillotine of the global patriarchs. The ultimate target in all these manoeuvrings is to undercut and subvert the sovereignties of African and other states in the Global South so as to make way for global patriarchs to begin to rule the world without supposed encumbrances from competing sovereignties.

In the same vein, to deconstruct the sovereignty of African states and others in the Global South, global patriarchs use ideologies that detour from the deserved preeminence of the states – they instead render preeminence to what they call Gaia as the supposed nourisher, caretaker, mother, and service provider for humanity (Lovelock, 2006). Of course, after having pronounced African states as failing at service provision, global patriarchs now want to promote Gaia as the supposed efficient, effective mother, service provider and nourisher for humanity – this has the effect of deconstructing African state sovereignty. In the discourses on Gaia or what is called "Mother Earth", Gaia supposedly becomes more efficient than the African states; Gaia becomes more effective than the African states; Gaia becomes more powerful than the African states; and Gaia becomes supposedly more deserving of honour and attention than the African states. Gaia becomes omnipotent. In these ways, African states' (and in fact, Global South) sovereignty over their natural resources disappears and the world becomes ready for the inception of the One World Government run by the global patriarchs. In the same vein, to deconstruct African states' sovereignty, global patriarchs use

disruptive technologies that place more emphasis on flattening the world through relational ontologies, through emphasis on networks, entanglements and connections (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020) than on African struggles for freedom, and sovereignty over their natural resources and other heritages. In these ways, Africa becomes deterritorialised in the sense of being opened up and flattened in preparation for the inception of the One World Government where global patriarchs become the only sovereigns and watchdogs enjoying the liberties, equality and fraternity usurped from others – the Africans.

Chapter outlines

In chapter two, Artwell Nhemachena argues that whereas historically the enslavement of Africans involved capturing their bodies, enchaining and shackling them physically, the twenty-first century enslavement involves nanotechnologically, virtually or digitally capturing the minds of Africans which are then migrated to the virtual world and away from the physical world of which resources are coveted by the Westerners. From capturing the bodies of enslaved Africans what we now see is the capturing of the minds, brains and bodies of the enslaved peoples using new technologies that transfer the mind from the physical brain to the cloud or to technological substrates. With minds being scanned using nanotechnology, and then transferred to the cloud and to technological substrates, I have argued that this constitutes slave 4.0 or the new form of enslavement – Fourth Enslavement Revolution. Of course, those that seek to virtually or technologically enslave Africans would describe what they are doing as liberating, as democracy, as good, as saving the earth and humanity and as humanitarian just as they have described the historical enslavement as freedom and liberation of the enslaved from their supposedly dictatorial, authoritarian and barbaric African kings and chiefs. Much as some enslaved Africans may have admired the slave chains, manacles, shackles and slave collars that were used to capture them and prevent their escape, some contemporary Africans may admire the technologies that are being used to enslave them in a virtual sense. While historically, enslaved Africans were transported across the Atlantic to the New World in American colonies, slave 4.0 involves

transporting enslaved peoples to the new virtual worlds and away from the physical natural resources that are being grabbed by transnational corporations in the ongoing twenty-first century second scramble for Africa. Put succinctly, dispossessed Africans will be forced to propertylessly roam the virtual world in the metaverse while Western transnational corporations exploit African natural resources in the real world from which the New World Order seeks to banish Africans who are demonised as causing environmental degradation and causing climate change in such a physical world.

Artwell Nhemachena & Esther Dhakwa's chapter three argues that because colonialists were afraid of hearing the voice of the sovereign God, colonial missionaries came to Africa to evangelise as if the sovereign God had become so dumb that He could not speak directly to Africans even though He had, according to the Bible, historically spoken to Israelites. The reason why the God that colonial missionaries presented could not speak directly with Africans, but through the missionaries, has never been explained. Arguing that colonial missionaries deliberately presented to Africans a disabled God whom they put on mute so as to challenge His sovereignty over Africans, this chapter similarly notes ways in which colonialists sought to mute the voices of the sovereign Africans whom they were colonizing. In this regard, the chapter argues that putting the sovereign voice of God on mute was part of colonial strategies to dispossess, enslave and exploit Africans without God's call to order. Much as other robbers would put their victims' voices on mute, colonialists also put African voices on mute by suppressing African autonomous organisations through which they could raise their grievances, often they even killed or assassinated those Africans whose voices resisted colonial efforts to mute them. Thus, African languages were dismissed as not languages at all; colonial missionaries who put the sovereign God on mute subsequently masqueraded as fathers (*mafata*) to Africans for whom they arrogated the right to speak. In this sense, the colonial missionaries subsequently spoke for both the sovereign God and for the Africans whom they colonised. The colonial missionaries enabled the voices of the colonialists while disabling the voices of the colonised Africans; they also put the voice of the sovereign God on mute. The point in this chapter is that colonialists did not bring sovereignty to Africa, rather they acquired sovereignty by dispossessing Africans of their material resources and

then by muting their voices. The chapter argues for attention to what the authors call mutology which includes ways in which colonialists muted the voices of sovereign Africans as well as the voice of the sovereign God.

Artwell Nhemachena, Munyaradzi Mawere & Oliver Mtapuri's chapter four contends that while the European Union member states are strengthening their unity, sacrificing the interests of their own citizens in order to assist the besieged Ukraine which is in war with Russia, Africans' unity is ever withering away as some Africans are busy killing one another in xenophobic violence. Mirroring the absence of real and solid unity at the level of the African Union, Africans' everyday lives speak to pathetic existence marked not merely by material poverty but also by the poverty of unity that causes xenophobia. Instead of exercising vigilantism so as to guard against loss of African unity, that in the first place made African independence possible, one witnesses forms of vigilantism that break the remaining shreds of African unity. If precolonial Africans were united and self-sufficient, one wonders why twenty-first century Africans think they can be self-sufficient and prosperous in the absence of unity among themselves. It is argued that if, as was the case, precolonial Africans were sovereigns that thrived on unity, one wonders why twenty-first century Africans think that they can guarantee their sovereignty and prosperity in isolation from one another. If even European countries like Ukraine have asked for fellow European guarantors of their sovereignty and prosperity, it boggles the mind why twenty-first century Africans think that they can have sovereignty and prosperity without guarantors from fellow Africans. The point is that the forms of vigilantism against fellow African immigrants, such as is happening in the ongoing operation Dudula are limited in that they ignore the reality that one cannot be a guarantor of one's own sovereignty and prosperity. The authors further argue that it is unwitty for some Africans to exercise vigilantism against the African guarantors of their sovereignty.

In chapter five, Shoko Angela-Billiet provides a critical analysis of the way in which Africans enjoyed economic sovereignty through the use of traditional and local knowledge known as the indigenous knowledge system. Sovereignty is a term that has been commonly used in political circles but it also covers economic and environmental sovereignty. Sovereignty refers to freedom or

independence of a nation state to own and control its resources without outside encumbrances. In Zimbabwe, sovereignty is referred to in the Shona language as *kuzvitonga kuzere*, implying that there should be non-interference by external forces for a state to enjoy sovereignty. Economic sovereignty involves the exercise of authority of the state over its resources, the tangible and intangible resources. Sovereignty is important as it is a form of identity. A state is identified by its ability to own, control and manage its resources. Whenever external forces interfere, a nation state ceases to have all the independence; that is what happened to Africa with the advent of colonialism. The colonialists deconstructed African economic sovereignty through dispossessing and exploiting Africans.

Peter Masvotore's chapter six discusses IKS in view of their significance for sovereignty and sustainable economic development in Africa, and Zimbabwe in particular. The chapter argues that IKS are indispensable in fostering environmental and economic sovereignty to humankind, in the Global South, who have historically been dispossessed of their environments and economic freedom. The main argument of this chapter is that Euro-modernity has entailed dispossessing and exploiting Africans, siphoning their natural resources which could have been harnessed, for the benefit of the Africans. In this regard, indigenous knowledge systems should not only be considered to be a solution for the management of African environments but they are also a solution for recovering environmental and economic sovereignty for Africans. However, Europeans have historically colonised the continent of Africa and they destroyed, denigrated and marginalised IKS. Based on an in-depth study targeting Nyaminyami Rural District Council in Mashonaland West Province, this chapter focuses on IKS that are aimed at recovering African ownership and control of natural environments.

In chapter seven, Elijah Chambiwa argues that African people have a belief in a Supreme Being who is part of their worldview and religious praxis. Africans believe that the Heavenly God works through different *mhondoro* spirits whose words are conveyed to Africans through spirit mediums. Further, the early inhabitants of Africa, like the Hottentots, believed in a powerful Supreme Being. These early people's beliefs included a Supreme Being who created all things and to whom prayers could be made. Belief in a Supreme

Being is common among Africans. The nature, character and attributes of the Supreme Being reflect indigenous religious orthodoxy prior to the introduction of Christianity. The chapter unpacks the African knowledge and belief systems in the Supreme and sovereign God who existed prior to the arrival of Europeans in Africa.

Wilson Zivave's chapter eight contends that Africans were aware of the existence of the Supreme Being before the coming of colonial missionaries. Africans had a cordial relationship with one Supreme Being known by various names on the continent. The concept of God in Africa should not be understood as an invention of colonial missionaries because Africans had their own means of communicating and worshipping the Supreme Being; as well as expressing their spirituality. This chapter contests discourses that colonial missionaries brought God to Africa: it examines religious beliefs and practices of the African people during the precolonial period. The chapter also argues that the God brought by colonial missionaries to Africa has created social, moral and spiritual conundrums for the Africans who got perplexed when the same colonial missionaries who preached about God participated in the colonisation of Africa. It recommends that indigenous religion should be demystified and should not be discarded. Zivave also argues that colonial missionaries lied to Africans for political reasons and they feared Africans for religious reasons.

In chapter nine, Peter Machenjera critically engages with colonial activities such as the colonial dispossession of Africans, and he argues that colonial mining, agriculture, urbanisation and industrialisation were more detrimental than beneficial to Africans whose land and environments were stolen by colonialists. The chapter explores the colonial degradation of Africans whose resources were stolen, the degradation of land and the attendant air pollution, and toxic depositions in the environment, destruction of vegetation, water pollution, and wildlife destruction. The chapter argues that the colonial activities never considered the sanctity and sacredness of African bodies and environments because the colonialists were too obsessed with dispossessing Africans of their land and other resources. The African bodies and environments were exploited in order for the colonialists to achieve their goals. Across the African continent, the African environments were decimated as the

colonialists syphoned the wealth from abundant African resources, including human resources. Examples are drawn from across the African continent to illustrate the effects of colonialism on the environments. It should, however, be noted that prior to the colonisation of Africa, Africans had ownership and control over their environments, and they took every possible step to keep it safe and sacred. The chapter also challenges neocolonial logics that would want Africans to only care for environments/resources without seeking to recover ownership and control from the [descendants] colonialists. Not much attention has been given to the necessity of restoring African environments back to the original African owners.

Lennon Mapuranga & John Majoni's chapter ten contends that the quest for economic and environmental sovereignty, by post-independent African states, is becoming increasingly difficult as neocolonial tendencies are gripping the African continent. In the twenty-first century, Africans are suffering land grabs by foreign companies which are dispossessing African peasants of their land. Transnational land grabs refer to a situation whereby foreign owned companies or individuals grab land in African countries, forcing indigenous people to relocate. The authors note that desperation by African statesmen has seen many of them mortgaging key national resources as collateral security for Western loans; this has been critiqued as surrendering the nations' economic and environmental sovereignty to aliens. This desperation is driven by the need to fix nonperforming economies through mega deals in the hope that they would inject huge sums of capital into national coffers. Mapuranga & Majoni note that in Zimbabwe, the government of President Emmerson Mnangagwa's quest to re-engage with the "international community" has resulted in the parcelling out of land to foreign owned companies: this resulted in the displacement of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe, had been operating without Western international partners for some time since the beginning of the Fast-Track Land Redistribution in the year 2000.

In chapter eleven, Mrisho Mbegu Malipula & Theobald Frank Theodory critically discuss ways in which environmental problems are being used internationally to deconstruct African state sovereignty, thereby challenging national borders. The authors argue that environmental problems are used to weaken national control and sovereignty over African environments. A multitude of actors has

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entered the discourses about how to solve environmental problems which are conveniently depicted as complex and intractable for a single state to solve. Chapter ten further argues that environmental problems are being used to challenge the traditional notion of state sovereignty such that more and more foreign institutions, organisations and states are increasingly getting stakes in African environments as African states are losing sovereignty over their environments. It is further argued in the chapter that such interference in the territorial integrity of African states disrupt African state sovereignty over their natural resources.

Ignatius Gutsa's chapter twelve contends that in many Zimbabwean rural areas, women exercise stewardship over different animal species either as managers of livestock or defenders against predator animals. This chapter connects stewardship over nonhumans within the debates on food sovereignty in Africa. The chapter examines the range of stewardship, by elderly female-headed households, over domestic animals, wild animals, birds and insects in Gutsa village, of Domboshava communal lands. It is argued that an assessment of such stewardship is important in the context of debates on food sovereignty.

In chapter thirteen, Elijah Chambiwa, John Majoni & Lennos Lennon Mapuranga discuss the role of the African Union in ensuring African economic and environmental sovereignty. The authors argue that Africa can achieve success if its economy is placed fully in the hands of the African owners who should decide the pace of development of the region. The chapter defines environmental sovereignty as the Africans' ownership and control over their environments, including the freedom to exploit their resources. Economic sovereignty is when a people have ownership and control over their economies, and they are free to participate in wealth generating activities without undue constraints, mainly from foreign groups that seek to dispossess Africans of sovereignty over their resources.

Artwell Nhemachena's chapter fourteen argues that to be remotely controlled, in the contemporary imperial networks, is to be treated like a skunk whose tail is held by the masters who deprive such skunks of autonomy and sovereignty. The chapter further argues that agency/action should be premised on exigencies of autonomy and sovereignty if they are to be meaningful and fruitful

for the agent or actor. Nhemachena contends that to be remotely controlled is to have one's agency/action hijacked and redirected to the service of the masters of the planet who supposedly own and control the world. This chapter argues that Africans need to ensure that they reclaim their autonomy and sovereignty if they are to effectively develop and modernise the African continent which has, sadly, suffered destruction and plunder since the eras of enslavement and colonialism. It is argued that relying on Western "humanitarian aid" alone is not sufficient to guarantee the sovereignty and autonomy of Africans. Besides, the chapter argues that when Africans spend time waiting for Western "humanitarian aid" they are in essence becoming dogs - in the sense of dogs that lie close to millstones, owned by others, in the hope of getting food. It is contended that what is needed is for Africans to assume sovereignty over their natural resources so that they are not forced to depend on the so-called humanitarian aid from the West. Humanitarian aid does not enhance African autonomy and sovereignty – in fact it does the oppose, which is to weaken autonomy and sovereignty as Africans waste time scouting the seas for shipments of "humanitarian aid".

In chapter fifteen, David Salinas Flores argues that the world plutocracy will use all their power to implant 4IR transhumanist technologies into humanity around the world. Flores further argues that African governments must resist this implantation of 4IR transhumanism into African citizens. Chapter fourteen further argues that, actually, the application of 4IR transhumanism technology, will *be the end of the humanity of Africans* who, thus, become cyborgs and are subjected to remote control by the mischievous global plutocracy who want to become gods remotely controlling everyone else in the world.

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Chapter 2

African Sovereignty at Stake: Technologies of Enslavement and Destruction in Twenty-First Century Africa

Artwell Nhemachena

Introduction

One lesson that Africans should have learnt from both the enslavement era and the colonial era is that hell often cunningly disguises itself as Heaven because hell knows that no one likes it and so, without subterfuges, hell will not find any suitors even among the so-called primitive people. As colonialists dispossessed and exploited the so-called primitive people, the colonialists used subterfuges of civilization because they knew that even the so-called primitive people would resist colonisation. Even as the slave drivers shipped millions of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean, they used subterfuges that involved calling some slave ships "Jesus" to make Africans believe that all was well as they entered "Jesus". Even the relatives, neighbours and friends of the enslaved Africans would have thought that the enslaved were off on a blessed journey as they boarded "Jesus". Colonialists urged precolonial Africans to give up their sovereignty for a supposedly more efficient new political system that would support the supposed civilization. Similarly, in the twenty-first century, Africans are being urged to give up their sovereignty for a supposedly more efficient new political system that would support the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the Fifth Industrial Revolution, the Society 4.0 and Society 5.0; humanity 4.0 and humanity 5.0. In the twenty-first century, technology is the new tool of "efficiency" and "civilization" such that Africans are being urged to give up their autonomy and sovereignty, including their land and other material resources, in the interest of ensuring technological efficiency. Africans are expected to give up their land so that Westerners take over in the name of efficiency; Africans are expected to give up their states so that Westerners take over in the name of efficiency; Africans

are expected to give up their jobs such that industrial robots take over in the name of efficiency; Africans are expected to give up their spouses such that more efficient humanoid sex robots take over servicing the Africans' spouses; Africans are expected to give up their state sovereignty such that the more efficient transnational institutions, organisations and corporations can take over in the name of efficiency; Africans are also expected to give up their land such that the supposedly more efficient transnational corporations and institutions can engage in efficient bioeconomy using African land; besides, Africans are expected to give up their state sovereignty such that the supposedly more humanitarian Western corporations, institutions and states can take over; equally, the twenty-first century Africans are expected to give up their autonomy, data and privacy such that the supposedly more efficient World Health Organisation can take over decision making processes on behalf of individual Africans. In fact, Africans are expected to become part of the Internet of Things wherein they lose autonomy, identity, subjectivity, sovereignty, privacy and other freedoms for the supposed sake of being connected and networked.

Written from the point of view of the sociology and anthropology of anticipation (Brown & Michael, 2003; Borup et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2003; Becket & Suckert, 2021; Wirzba, 2021; Minardi, 16 October 2020; Gladden, 2018), this chapter also draws from the sociology and anthropology of science and technology studies. The sociology and anthropology of anticipation is growing in significance particularly in a world that is witnessing innovations in digital humanities, digital anthropology, digital sociology, humanity 4.0, humanity 5.0, society 4.0, society 5.0, digital health and, more generally, the necessity of anticipating sociotechnological futures and technoscientific futures. In a world where the human biological bodies are becoming cyborgs or biology-technology hybrids, it is necessary to anticipate the future of humanity and human institutions in Africa. Innovations may and many not fulfil promises, innovations may and may not disappoint; societies have expectations about innovations but innovations may create uncertainties and so it is sociologically and anthropologically necessary to anticipate sociotechnological futures in the world. Put differently, it is necessary to abstract futures, to be future-oriented; to anticipate futures, to imagine futures, to develop visions about the future which may or

may not be in accordance with initial expectations (Brown & Michael, 2003; Borup et al., 2006). Because policymakers, investors and consumers have all experienced disparities between present expectations and eventual realities; and because they have experienced promise disappointment 'cycles' (Brown et al., 2003), it is necessary to sociologically and anthropologically analyse expectations or anticipations of the future. For this reason, Becket & Suckert (2021) note that:

> A small but growing share of sociological research recognizes the importance of perceptions of the future for explaining social outcomes…The future is increasingly a realm of sociological analysis…Sociology could benefit from more systematically integrating perceptions of the future – as they are reflected in actor expectations, aspirations, and future beliefs – into the discipline's empirical investigations and explanatory models and from integrating the existing knowledge on these issues better.

In the light of the foregoing, some scientists and politicians have expressed concern about the power that owners of artificial intelligence would have over those people that do not have ownership of the same; in fact, some scholars have conceptualised the emerging world as a "world in chains" because malevolent groups that own and control the artificial intelligence would use it to enslave and control other human beings; the emergent world is pictured as one where some sections of humanity will have robot bosses – a world in which humans engage as avatars within virtual environments, a world in which humans work with humans as well as with robots, a world in which humans are genetically engineered to possess radically nonhuman types of minds and bodies; a world where some human beings will no longer have intellectual property over their brains, thoughts, dreams and memories which will have been technologically "enhanced" through neuroimplants or cognitive "enhancements" provided by the employers (Wirzba, 2021; Minardi, 16 October 2020; Gladden, 2018). It is also noted that the emergent world is one where human beings will be unable to quit their jobs because they will be relying a lot on their employers for lifetime supply of antivirus updates for the technological software that will have been implanted into human brains and bodies by way of human

"enhancements"; the humans will not be able to leave their jobs because they will rely a lot on employers for the maintenance of their cyborg bodies; in the emergent world, human workers lose their personal identity as they merge into the hive whose members share collective sensations, emotions and volitions; it is a world where there will be synthetic human beings linked through the "Internet of Beings" populated by biotechnologically reengineered humans whose biological and physical structures will have been intentionally modified through genetic engineering - human beings will dwell in virtual worlds; human beings become virtualized entities resulting from processes of 'mind uploading; besides, there will be software guided cognitive processes and human beings themselves will become technological instruments (Gladden, 2018).

The emergent world is one which is dominated by biotechnology, nanotechnology, information technology, synthetic human biology, synthesis of novel enhanced substances and organisms such as synthetic viruses, synthetic bacteria and synthetic human beings and synthetic nanoweapons; it is a world where nanotechnology will potentially deliver toxic agents; the emergent world is a world that is marked by the "Internet of Medical Things" with sensors and devices that allow new kinds of patient monitoring, a world with advanced synthetic biology and tele-care workers; human beings will be mediated digital agents or interdigital agents and drones will enhance surveillance and delivery of medical equipment; the emergent world will be a world of tele-justice where courts will handle cases remotely and there will also be cryptocurrency to enable peer-to-peer collaboration; in such a world, employers may outsource labour to the lowest bidder globally and employees will ask to work for far less as they may be forced to shift to the gig or contract work – gig and contract work mean that the employees supply their own equipment and they may even be surveilled at home by employers (Galatas, 2017; Anderson, Rainie & Vogels, 18 February 2021).

Although dispossessed and retrenched Africans are promised a Universal Basic Income in the emergent workless society where robots are taking over jobs, it is important to note that the Western corporations are mean. They have enslaved, colonized, dispossessed and exploited Africans; they refused to return stolen land to Africans and they refused to pay compensation to African victims of enslavement and colonisation; they are grabbing African land in the

ongoing second scramble for Africa; they have refused to share knowledge of making COVID-19 vaccines with Africans; they are pitilessly profiting, making tens of billions of US dollars, from COVID-19 vaccines; they are demanding immunity from legal suits from those that are sadly harmed by their vaccines; and they are profiting from the military-industrial complex, making trillions of US dollars, in Ukraine. It would be extremely unwitty for Africans to believe that such corporations will give them Universal Basic Income when robots take over the jobs in the Fourth Industrial Revolution and Fifth Industrial Revolution.

Technologies of capture and the risk of disappointment cycles in Africa

In the anticipated world, humans become software extensions because humans extend their computational systems by offering their bodies, their senses and their cognition – their bodies and minds can be easily plugged in and later easily discarded and the bodies and minds will be algorithmically managed and under permanent pressure of constant availability, efficiency and perpetual self-optimization (Schmieg, 28 December 2017). Once humans become software extensions and human biology is integrated with technology, the human minds will access information directly from the cloud but the problem is that such humans will regularly need software updates or upgrades for the brain chip implants -the brain chips would be able to communicate wirelessly with computers at outside locations (Winfrey, 9 March 2016). Put in other words, the anticipated world is one where, using the pretext of climate change, the global elites will force some human beings to transition into the virtual world or the metaverse where no actual physical resources will be used up; human beings will leave their biological bodies, to atrophy, behind in order to populate the virtual world or the metaverse in a postcarbon world; and the brain will be connected to the cloud such that the global elites can tinker with the human minds, emotions, beliefs, behaviour and thoughts so transferred to the cloud (Mercola, 23 June 2022). In fact, the new technologies are also noted to be dual-use in the sense of them being possibly used for beneficial and harmful purposes – and sadly, African countries have not put in place measures to manage

dual-use research of concern (Gillium & Moritz, 21 June 2021; Maruta, 31 August 2020).

African governments rely on communication completely located in the cloud of foreign data centres under foreign applicable laws; such cloud services are faced with arbitrary suspension of services, there is dependency on foreign providers and there is absence of policies to address these issues (Pinto, 2018). So, while some scholars celebrate connectivity (De Kalaf, 3 August 2021, there are dangers that Africans are losing their data sovereignty with cloud computing that also allows for digital surveillance by the transnational tech companies like Google, Amazon, Facebook and Apple (Gstrein, Kochenov & Zwitter, 2021; Calzada, 2019; Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). While Latin American countries took steps towards digital sovereignty in the early 2000s, because they could at least domestically produce the software needed (Pinto, 2018); African states are behind in ensuring data sovereignty. While the EU has put in place laws to ensure digital and data sovereignty (Aaronson, 2021), African countries are still lagging behind in ensuring digital and data sovereignty. While the USA's Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) allows the USA to access and process personal data of foreign citizens via the cloud servers of USA companies operating abroad (Akhgar, Stanforth & Bosso, 2014; Bowden, 2013), African states are still lagging behind in ensuring digital sovereignty and data sovereignty for their citizens who remain exposed to exploitation.

The point in the above is that Africa remains an open territory while USA, Latin America, China, Europe, Russia and other countries are ensuring digital sovereignty and data sovereignty for their citizens who become protected from transnational data merchants. Data sovereignty refers to specific data sovereignty laws limiting cross-border data transfer; information in cloud environment can be subject to more than one nation's laws and so depending on where the data is being hosted or controlled different legal obligations regarding privacy, data security and breach of notification may apply; for these reason, the European Data Protection Directive obligates entities to maintain security of certain categories of the EU citizens' personal data and permit the transfer of such information outside the EU only to those countries considered to have satisfactory data protection laws (Vaile, 2014). EU

data sovereignty entails keeping all European data in Europe under the control of European regulation, and subject to storage and processing by European IT companies; in essence EU sovereign cloud would be architected and built to comply with local laws on data privacy, access and control; the EU strives for data sovereignty, digital sovereignty, innovation sovereignty and technological sovereignty which are linked to economic sovereignty and political sovereignty as well; and EU member states strive to reduce their technological dependence on the USA and China (Waters, 24 February 2022; Stobart, 23 May 2022; Crespi et al., 2021; Kelly, 3 September 2020; Gabriel et al, 2013).

In the light of the above, it is noted that the cyberspace has evolved from a hardware internet networking infrastructure to the notion of a virtual environment transforming how people, business and people interact and operate; through the interactions and operations lots of data are captured depriving individuals of ownership and control of their private data; whereas it is important for the individual owners to have ownership, control, custody and utilization of their data, transnational tech firms are increasingly grabbing data from individual for purposes of data analytics; the transnational tech firms initiate the digitization and they own and control the online platforms, data registries like social and cloud platforms; digital transformation enables data to transcend geopolitics and nations states will find it increasingly difficult to assert their control of their citizens' data (Leong et al, 2022). For the above reasons, nation states have to have digital sovereignty and data sovereignty so that the data of their citizens are stored within the nation states and remain subject to the national laws; thus, the European Union has put in place General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) to protect its citizens by ensuring privacy rights for its citizens; nation states have to reassert control over the internet and protect their citizens by asserting authority over digital infrastructures on their territories; without digital sovereignty and data sovereignty, the data belonging citizens will be collected, stored and used by big tech companies like Google, Apple, Amazon and Microsoft which own and control the cloud systems and social media (Leong et al, 2022). In this regard, Gabriel et al. (2013, p. 2-4) state thus:

To take up the European point of view described by the German Chancellor, the requirement for technological sovereignty should always also be evaluated from the European perspective. Europe needs technological sovereignty, particularly in view of the current global political situation, with a need to ascertain the degree of sovereignty for the specific field of technology…Current discussions in Europe and the USA about the possibility of banning Huawei as a 5G network supplier show how important it is to be able to trust those who manufacture the systems for critical infrastructure….The transition from digital sovereignty to the more comprehensive technological sovereignty is therefore a fluid one…Germany and Europe must recognize and accept that the geopolitical setting in which our societies and economies are embedded is increasingly being shaped by a return to national…interests…Technological dependences are turned into political instruments: in some cases technological dominance is even declared to be a political and national objective.

In spite of the foregoing, other countries, outside the EU and America, which try to establish technological, digital and data sovereignty are often demonized as authoritarian and as seeking to avoid the "democratizing" effects of the "global" internet (Partlett, 3 October 2021). China and Russia are for instance being demonized for constructing sovereign internets – with China establishing its "great firewall" and Russia establishing its Runet. Russia and China are establishing state sovereignty in cyberspace by breaking off from the "global" internet which is monopolized by the West; China does not rely on YouTube, WhatsApp, Google or Facebook which store user data in many different servers around the world making it difficult to regulate; in this regard, China and Russia want to evade global cybergeopolitics such as situations where the West virtually sows discontent among the Russian or Chinese population (Epifanova, 2020; Seddon, 5 April 2021; Schulze, 2019; Kurowska, 2 April 2020; Wang, 9 January 2020). The argument here is that although it is often claimed that it is democratic for citizens to express discontentment against their governments, in a networked world, it is difficult to know whether the discontentment is coming from the citizens themselves or from foreign sources with which a particular nation state is networked or connected. In this case, citizens of a particular state become mere force-multipliers in a networked or connected world where subjects and objects can no

longer be separated. Effectively, when one becomes a mere force-multiplier, one becomes a slave of foreign forces that will be using the connected bodies of the citizens of a particular nation state – foreign forces extend themselves via networks and connections which they often use to remotely foment revolutions in targeted states.

In the absence of digital sovereignty, data sovereignty, technological sovereignty; and in the absence of sovereign internet in Africa, Africans risk becoming human pets of those that own and control the new technologies, including artificial intelligence (Solon, 15 February 2017; Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). Whereas Eurocentric scholars argue that those that want to be competitive in the Fourth Industrial Revolution will have to accept human "enhancements" where machine intelligence merges with human biological intelligence to create brain-computer interfaces (Solon, 15 February 2017), such mergers between artificial intelligence and human biological intelligence risk creating pets out of Africans. This argument notwithstanding, celebrating the merger of human biology and machines, Ray Kurzweil (15 March 2002) writes thus:

> The union of human and machine is well on its way. Almost every part of the body can already be enhanced or replaced, even some of our brain functions…Within the two to three decades, our brains will have been "reverse-engineered": nanobots will give us full-immersion virtual reality and direct brain connection with the Internet…Intelligent machines are already making their way into our bloodstream. There are dozens of projects underway to create bloodstream-based "biological microelectromechanical systems" (BioMems) to intelligently scout out pathogens and deliver medication in very precise ways…By 2030, electrons will utilize molecule-sized circuits, the reverse engineering of the human brain will have been completed…It will be routine to have billions of nanobots (i.e. nano-scale robots) coursing through the capillaries of our brain, communicating with each other (over a wireless local area network), as well as with our biological neurons and with the internet. One application will be to provide full immersion virtual reality that encompasses all of our senses…We will have a panoply of virtual environments to choose from, including Earthly worlds that we are familiar with, as well as those with no earthly counterpart. We will be able to go to these virtual places, and have any kind of interaction with other real (as well as simulated) people, ranging from business

negotiations to sensual encounters…it's important to note that once nonbiological intelligence gets a foothold in our brain…it will grow exponentially, as is the accelerating nature of information-based technologies. Note that a one-inch cube of nanotube circuitry…will be at least a million times more powerful than the human brain. By 2040, the nonbiological portion of our intelligence will be far more powerful than the biological portion.

While thinkers like Ray Kurzweil (15 March 2002) glorify the emergence of cyborgs, other scholars flag the dangers of becoming cyborgs. The cyborg's technological adaptations remove the ability of the cyborg to act humanely when technology merges with human biology; also, the cyborg is produced by removing human organic material and replacing or adding mechanical parts in ways that produce new techno-organic hybrids; cyborgs lose empathy and compassion associated with humans; cyborgs represent inhumaneness; besides, the hybridisation of technology and biology alters subjectivity; cyborgs become self-alienated when the technological devices are implanted - the implanted devices also produce shocks; the body owner loses control of the cyborg body; cyborgs have identity crises and the individuals will be less than 100 percent human when they are "augmented" or "enhanced" with technology (Haddow (2021; Torralba, 2017). While it is envisaged that nanorobots will swim in human blood to repair DNA, to fight pathogens and to biologically alter humans so that they can work more hours and increase profits (Torralba, 2017), it is also noted that some type of reverse engineering of the human brain will be done to allow human intelligence to exist in non-biological platforms (Pugh, 2017). For this reason, humans will be genetically reengineered to create "strong muscles", "harder bones" and "faster brains"; humans will also be reengineered to create people with gills or webbed hands and even with wings; humans will have chips implanted in to their brains "giving them direct access to digital information" – as if they have smartphones in their heads with the ability to call up massive amounts of data instantly without having to look at a computer screen (Pew Research Center, 26 July 2016).

However, it is seldom noted that human "enhancements" will also allow developers of the human "enhancements" to seek patent protection for protecting their technologies; because the patented

and implanted technologies will become part of human bodies, human beings who are implanted with such technologies will become subjects of property rights; they become the property of the transnational corporations that own and control the nanotechnologies, biotechnologies and software implanted into their bodies (Schlenkens & Vantsiouri, 2013). In spite of these dangers, organisations like the World Food Programme are working with some technology companies to push for the adoption of biometric identification; WFP is withdrawing food aid to those that refuse biometric identification; some of the companies that the WFP is working with, such as Palantir, have got strong ties to the USA security establishment; the countries that are resisting biometric identities argue that biometric identification compromises their own national security establishments and they argue that the WFP is collecting their citizens' data as part of intelligence operations (Martin et al., 2022). Such pressure by WFP compromise the individual nations' digital sovereignty and data sovereignty or sovereign control over the data of their citizens; justified through slogans like 'tech4good', digital technologies such as biometric recognition systems or blockchain-based digital identity wallets are increasingly used in refugee protection and in the provision of social services; these have seen the growth of "digital humanitarianism" of which digital technologies unfortunately are dual-use in the sense that they can be used for both good and harmful purposes (Martin et al., 2022).

In spite of the new technologies being dual-use research of concern, possibly used for both beneficial and harmful purposes (Whitman, 2013; Bartolucci & Dando, 2013; Kelle, 2013), the United Nations and states in the Global North are working hard to get marginalized, vulnerable and impoverished people to adopt dual-use technologies and to have digital identities in the project ID2020 which includes private sector technology companies, governments, international organisations, non-governmental organizations, policy analysts and thought leaders; ID2020 Alliance is a nonprofit organization that works towards the adoption of global digital identity systems; within the ID2020 are entities like the United Nations Organisation, Microsoft, Mercy Corps, Hyperledger, UN International Computer Centre; Accenture Plc, Rockefeller Foundation (United Nations Office for Partnerships, 2016; Thomas & Zhang, 2020; BBC News, 20 June 2017; Business Wire, 19 June

2017; Robinson, 24 January 2018). Digital identities are being marketed as assisting people with no official documents, vulnerable, marginalized and impoverished people including refugees who require official recognition – in this regard, the World Bank states that Africa is home to roughly half of the estimated one billion people in the world who are unable to prove their identities; the United Nations has a project to provide legal identification to 1.1 billion people worldwide with no official documents and the World Bank has mobilized US$1.2 bn to support ID projects in 45 countries or nearly every country with a stable government in Africa has active biometric ID programmes in place or underway; the United Nations has launched a multi-stakeholder ID2020 Alliance to ensure universal digital identity for all within the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (Irrera, 19 June 2017; Speed, 10 December 2020; Grech, Sood & Arino, 2021).

In line with the foregoing, in 2021, the World Health Organisation has announced plans for an International Pandemic Treaty that is tied to digital passports and digital ID systems which it plans to finalise by 2024; the International Pandemic Treaty will shift governing authority from sovereign states to the WHO during pandemics which will be governed through legally binding member states to the WHO revised International Health Regulations (Kheriaty, 24 May 2022). There are also proposals for digital certificates or human-implantable 'Quantum-Dot Tattoos which researchers at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Rice University are working on as a way of holding vaccination records implanted directly into the human bodies; the quantum-dot tattoos will supplement ID2020 to supposedly solve the problem of people without officially recognized identities (Agyemang, 2020). While it is argued that these are ways of keeping track of vaccination records in developing countries where people allegedly lose paper documents and hence the need to embed the record directly into the skin (Agyemang, 2020), it is important to note that digitalization of identities deprive Africans of their sovereignty in a world where transnational corporations own and control the digital data that gets stored in their servers and cloud systems across the world – Africans lose their data sovereignty, their digital sovereignty and they do not have the technological sovereignty necessary to protect themselves from the whims of the transnational corporations that are extracting Big Data from the Africans. Besides,

while Africans are struggling to recover their land which was stolen during the colonial era, and to get reparations for centuries of enslavement, Westerners only want to give the Africans digital IDs but not the land which has been stolen during the colonial era. Put differently, the argument here is that what is most important for Africans is not to be given digital IDs, biometric IDs, digital passports and digital certificates but to be given back their natural resources including the land and reparations. In other words, even as they deprived Africans of their land and African identities, slave owners and colonisers similarly gave the enslaved and colonized Africans identities some of which were forcibly written on the enslaved Africans' bodies using red hot iron.

Africans may be cunningly advised that blockchain technologies ensure that they directly own and control their personal information in what is called self-sovereign identity (Robinson, 24 January 2018; Leong et al., 2022; Allison, 13 April 2020; Shuaib et al., 2021) but then the individual Africans will not be able to defend themselves against the transnational corporations that hold the servers and cloud systems in which the data are stored. It is argued, by some scholars, that self-sovereign identity is a form of distributed digital identity that can provide immutable identity with full user control and interoperability features; it is also argued that individuals can exercise their fundamental rights through a blockchain-based self-sovereign identity; and the architecture provided by the blockchain-based self-sovereign identity project is said to be based on considering the individuals as sovereign agents as against their states (Shuaib et al., 2021). Also, it is argued that Electronic Visa Authorisation systems, cloud-based passports, secure credentials on mobile phones, digital identities, and bioelectronics can simplify international travel by eliminating the need to carry a physical passport or obtain paper-based visas (Thales, 20 March 2022). However, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that in so far as such new developments are not based on state records, they unhinge African sovereignty by transferring it to the transnational corporations that own and control the servers and cloud systems on which the data is held or stored. Besides, it is argued that refugees and migrants are not generally deemed visible by governments intending to provide them with identity and welfare services; and it is argued that lack of identity makes them more vulnerable (Shuaib et al., 2021); however, it is

important to note that what rendered Africans vulnerable was colonial dispossession and exploitation and not necessarily lack of digital identities – also what renders Africans vulnerable is lack of sovereignty in a world where transnational corporations including the tech companies are wrestling sovereignty away from the African states. In addition, it makes no sense to simply argue that Africans are rendered vulnerable due to lack of digital IDs when in fact the same Western transnational corporations are rendering Africans vulnerable by grabbing African land in the ongoing second scramble for Africa (Warikandwa, Nhemachena & Mtapuri, 2017). The point here is that simply forcing Africans to have digital IDs or biometric identification does not protect them from the vulnerability generated by the rapacious transnational land grabs which are ongoing on the continent of Africa. In this regard, the argument that biometric IDs or digital IDs, digital passports and digital certificates will protect Africans from vulnerability is in fact a ruse.

Even slaves were enhanced for the benefit of slave masters: Africans' new debt trap in the form of mind enhancement software traps

The point in the foregoing is that while Westerners assume that Africans need protection from their own governments and states, Africans are actually troubled by transnational corporations that trample on Africans' sovereignty even as they pretend to be serving Africans. For this reason, as long as the transnational corporations are in ownership and control of the servers and cloud systems for storing and holding African digital data, Africans will still be insecure because the transnational corporations will be siphoning the African Big Data to jurisdictions beyond the African continent (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). Also, it is necessary to note that corporate giants like Meta, Google and Apple have always framed themselves as neutral tech firms yet they are responsive to politics; for instance, these corporations are pulling out of Russia in response to the political situation and rivalry between the West and Russia (Wakefield, 9 March 2022). Because of their financial clout, multinational corporations are in many cases a law unto themselves and they often even avoid paying taxes and royalties to African governments where they do business (Britz, 28 November

2018; Nhemachena & Warikandwa, 2017). The point here is that the major problem for Africans is not lack of digital identity, including digital passports, biometric identities, quantum-dots etc. but the major problem for Africans is transnational corporations that are dispossessing and exploiting Africans; similarly, the problem is not lack of digital identities, digital passports or biometric identities but the major problem for Africans is that transnational corporations and foreign states continue to deny Africans their sovereignty – including economic sovereignty, environmental sovereignty, political sovereignty, technological sovereignty, digital sovereignty, data sovereignty and so on. In this regard, Africans would appreciate more the development of technologies that would make it possible for them to repossess their stolen land and other resources, and technologies that make it possible for them to get reparations for enslavement and colonization. It does not make sense for Westerners to force Africans to use digital identities, biometric identities, digital certificates, digital passports etc. on the premise that Africans are losing their paper identities – the irony is that Africans have lost and are losing their land to Western transnational corporations/ institutions and no one in the West bothers about that.

Instead of assisting Africans to recover their economic sovereignty and sovereignty over their natural resources, the World Bank and the IMF have tended to focus on forcing Africans to open up their economies for rapacious penetration by transnational corporations; for instance, the World Bank and the IMF have forced African governments to adopt structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which entailed cutting public spending, eliminating food subsidies, eliminating subsidies and assistance in medical care and education, raising interest rates, reducing access to credit, privatizing state enterprises etc; in these ways the World Bank and the IMF became instruments of U.S. foreign policy – integrating the Third World into the U.S. dominated global capitalist systems; but they integrated them in the subordinate position of raw material suppliers; they neocolonized the Third World through SAPs that ensured that 80% of humanity would remain servants of the West (Ismi, 2004; Nye, 2003).

As much as African states are victims of debt traps which have seen them becoming heavily dependent on the Western states, institutions and corporations (Havnevik, 1987), individual Africans

risk being trapped into indebtedness to Western transnational corporations when human "enhancement" microchips, nanobots/ nanorobots are implanted into their bodies. The bodies would become indistinct from computers, or from technology regularly requiring software updates/upgrades from the same transnational corporations that are currently encouraging Africans to become cyborgs or to adopt human "enhancements". Once Africans have fallen into the cyborg trap and they become indistinct from technology regularly requiring software upgrades, they will become slaves of the corporations that own and control the technologies; the point here is that much as African states have become extremely dependent on the IMF and World Bank that set them up into the debt traps (Loxley, 1987), Africans who become "enhanced" will become extremely dependent on tech transnational corporations that are setting them up into what I call "software traps". Of course, the tech transnational corporations will, just as the IMF and World Bank are doing to African states, dictate conditionalities for software updates or upgrades on the humans that will have fallen into the trap of human "enhancements" and the consequent software traps. The major problem is that human "enhancements" are touted as benefiting the humans when in fact they are meant to benefit the transnational tech corporations that own and control the technologies which will be implanted, inserted or injected into human bodies. Just as the economic structural adjustment programmes, which African states were forced to adopt, were not meant to ultimately benefit Africans but Europe and America that were pushing the Africans into the debt trap, the "software traps" are meant to benefit those that own and control the technologies. Similarly, when the World Bank and IMF provide development loans to build road, railways, agricultural sectors, energy sectors etc, they are in fact doing so to assist Western corporations which need such infrastructure in order to extract and exploit African resources on the continent (Cavanagh & Mander, 2003). In the same way, the implantation or adoption of human "enhancements" is meant to make it possible to extract Big Data from African bodies; for the Western transnational corporations, Big Data is the "new oil" that will run the emergent knowledge economy or the information economy in the Fourth Industrial Revolution and beyond. Human "enhancements" are just the infrastructure for the extraction of Big

Data which is needed by the transnational corporations that are resetting the "global" economy such that data becomes the new oil (Loi & Dehaye, 2017; Chandra & Goel, 29 September 2021; Birch, 5 November 2019). Writing about data as the new oil, Birch (5 November 2019) states thus:

> Treating personal data…seems to underscore the oft-used metaphor that it is the "new oil" …Even though people have criticized this metaphor, it has come to define public debate about the future of personal data and the expectation that it's the resource of our increasingly data-driven economies [ ] Personal data are valued primarily because data can be turned into a private asset. This assertization process, however, has significant implications for the political and societal choices and the future we get to make or even imagine.

The point in the foregoing is that, in the emergent information society or knowledge economy, Western transnational corporations are setting out to drill and extract Big Data from African bodies and so they need to first of all put the infrastructure for the drilling and extraction in place. As part of setting up the infrastructure, the corporations, through global institutions, are promoting digitalization of identities, digitalization of passports, digitalization of certificates, biometric identification, virtualization of life, implantation of microchips in human bodies and brains, injecting and inserting nanobots or nanorobots into human bodies, including brains. In essence, human "enhancements" amount to recolonization in so far as the Western transnational corporations are setting up the technological infrastructure including within the bodies of the "enhanced" human beings. Their aim is to extract Big Data which is crucial for the emergent information society or knowledge economy ushered in by the Fourth Industrial Revolution, society 4.0 and society 5.0. Already, some Westerners have stated that Africans should be recolonized; others have stated that colonialism in Africa should never have ended (BBC News, 26 November 2018; Stone, 13 June 2020; Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). In addition to inserting, implanting or injecting microchips, nanobots and nanorobots into the bodies of Africans, other Westerners are setting up their military bases on Africa, and even engaging in wars to protect their interests in Africa. In addition to grabbing African data, some Western

transnational corporations are grabbing African land; and Western militaries are establishing bases on Africa in the ongoing silent recolonization of the continent (Falola, 10 February 2022; Mafa, 2016; Campbell, 15 September 2011; Mwesigire, 28 March 2014; Rickman & Booker, 6 June 2018; Warikandwa, Nhemachena & Mtapuri, 2017). Even as they condemn Russian special military operation in Ukraine, some Western countries have deployed special military operation forces in Africa; there are even Western military bases, including command posts for Africa (Turse, 2006; Warikandwa, Nhemachena & Mtapuri, 2017). The point here is that Western countries are not only setting up military command posts, on the continent of Africa, in ways that deny Africans their sovereignty but they are also setting up digital command posts to assume ownership and control over digitalized Africans who would have accepted implantations of nanobots, nanorobots and microchips such that their brains or minds will be transferred to the clouds, or into technological substrates for remote control. Writing about how human minds will be scanned and captured, Kurzweil (2005, p. 198-9) states that:

> Uploading a human brain means scanning [using injected nanobots] all of its salient details and then reinstating those details into a suitably powerful computational substrate. This process would capture a person's entire personality, memory, skill, and history […] The human body version 2.0 will include virtual bodies in completely realistic virtual environments, nanotechnology-based physical bodies, and more.

Just like during SAPs where the Bretton Wood institutions, on behalf of Western governments, commercial banks, international business, embarked on one-sided structural adjustment programmes in Africa (Osabu-kle, n.d), the twenty-first century is witnessing one-sided structural adjustment of human biology as some humans are set to be turned into cyborgs; and also the twenty-first century is witnessing a one-sided structural adjustment of the human mind in which some human minds are being "enhanced" so that Western transnational corporations can extract Big Data from Africans who are thus denied their data sovereignty, digital sovereignty, cybersovereignty and technological sovereignty. While the European Union has set up GAIA-X to ensure a European data ecosystem that

is independent from the U.S. and Chinese giants (Ricart, 16 June 2020; Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020), Africa lacks its own data ecosystem. While Europe has set up GAIA-X with the assistance of European companies to provide cloud infrastructure services in Europe (Ricart, 16 June 2020), Africa does not have its own companies to assist it in setting up an African data ecosystem to guarantee African strategic autonomy in the digital arena. While the United States CLOUD Act allows American law enforcements to compel U.S. based companies to provide requested data stored on servers regardless of whether the data are stored in the U.S. or on foreign soil (Ricart, 16 June 2020), Africa has no companies to assist it in getting data stored on their own servers or cloud systems. In other words, while African countries were advised by the IMF and World Bank to privatize and sell off their state corporations, Europe and America retain control and power over their own corporations which are even assisting them with data stored on their servers or cloud systems across the world. The structural adjustment programme was a ruse to economically disempower African states, similarly the ongoing structural adjustment of African "enhanced" minds is a ruse to disempower Africans whose minds become subject to remote control and manipulation (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020).

When Western states propose digital identities, ID2020, digital passports, immunity certificates, green passes, vaccine passports, human "enhancements" and so on, they are in essence supporting their transnational corporations that produce these things; yet African states were advised in the IMF and World Bank sponsored ESAP to privatize or sell off their own companies which were depicted as loss-making burdens to the states; similarly, the discourses on climate change are used to convince Africans that they are a burden to the environment and that they need to be structurally adjusted, biologically and mentally, so that they are privatized, through mergers with software, and migrated to the virtual world where they are not a burden to the physical environment. Thus digital identity is already a multi-billion dollar industry projected to exceed US$30 billion by the year 2025; researchers predict that the number of digital identity apps in use will exceed 6.2 billion in 2025 – driven largely by the COVID-19 pandemic; equally, tech superpowers like Google, Amazon, Apple, Microsoft and Facebook have had revenue

of more than US$1.2 trillion as a result of COVID-19 shifts to online work, education and social interaction (Rinieris, 5 April 2021; Allison, 13 April 2020; The New York Times, 30 April 2021; Dearden, 16 March 2022). Underscoring the massive profits that Western corporations made as a result of COVID-19, Reuters (28 July 2021) note that:

> Pfizer has raised its full-year sales forecast for the COVID-19 vaccine it developed with Germany's BioNTech by 29 per cent to $33.5 billion… as nations stock up on doses for the rest of the year [ ] The company said it could apply for an emergency use authorization for a potential booster dose as early as August, saying that a third shot will likely be needed to enhance protection amid a resurgence in infections in many countries…J & J…estimated full-year COVID-19 vaccine sales of $US 2.5 billion… while Moderna has forecasted $US 19.2 billion…

To ensure African countries lose their sovereignty further, leaders of some European countries have proposed a binding Pandemic Treaty that will empower the WHO during pandemics (Maxmen, 2021) such that nation states will further lose their sovereignty; the worry that these Western leaders supposedly have is that during the COVID-19 pandemic, some presidents and prime ministers ignored WHO recommendations and have not been held accountable for their actions; also, sovereign nations will be required to fund and participate in a global surveillance program including the implementation of digital vaccine passports and vaccine certificates across nations and regions (Maxmen, 2021; Blankley, 24 May 2022; Payne, 24 February 2022). The point here is that Western institutions, states and international organisations are keen to support digital surveillance capitalism which is gaining traction in the twenty-first century – surveillance capitalism is defined by digital surveillance, digital health, digital humanitarianism, digital humanities, e-commerce, Big Data, wearable devices, human "enhancements", uberveillance, sousveillance, Artificial Intelligence, Internet of Things, Internet of Humans, Internet of Health, brain computer interfaces, brain cloud interfaces etc (Leekha, 15 January 2022; Nhemchena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). For the Western leaders to argue that the proposed WHO Pandemic Treaty is essential because some presidents and ministers ignored WHO COVID-19

recommendations is fallacious because the Western countries and their leaders are, for centuries now, ignoring Africans' calls for restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonization – the question is why should there not be a similar binding treaty to force the Western presidents and ministers who are ignoring the African concerns?

Surveillance capitalism is also marked by cognitive warfare or 6th generation warfare with the weaponization of the mind space (Leekha, 15 January 2022). In the new kind of capitalism, some humans are turned into cyborgs or hybrids of technology and biology; they are also turned into chimeras using the latest developments in genetic engineering so that they become hybrids of different species like human-animal hybrids or human-animal chimeras (Sanitos, 2013; Savulescu, 2003; Hinterberger, 2020). Of course, to transform humans into cyborgs and chimeras, global capital uses pretexts of global problems such as climate change to argue that humans should stop using artificial lights during the night but should be "enhanced" using the genes of cats, owls, hyenas and rabbits so that they will see during the night and prevent nightly accidents; such chimera of the postbiology era present new multispecies entanglements which result in ethical and legal challenges when pure humans disappear as a category (Savulescu, 2003; Hinterberger, 2012). Thus, when humans are merged with technology, the humans become patentable property (Hagglund, 2012) such that the transnational tech corporations assume ownership over the "enhanced" humans who would have become cyborgs or chimeras. Hagglund (2012, p. 57) write thus:

> …courts become more amenable to the patentability of living things and have held that manmade living things, such as microorganisms, plants, and animals, that do not appear in nature are patentable subject matter…As chimera research continues, the courts and Congress will have to determine whether they should encourage development of chimeras by permitting the creators of human-animal chimeras to obtain patents for them, thus allowing the creators to assert exclusive rights to make and use the chimeras.

The point in the foregoing is that while Westerners are encouraging Africans to become cyborgs and to become chimeras,

unwary Africans and their leaders may be unaware that once Africans have become cyborgs and chimeras they become patentable. Embodying technologies and software, including microchips, nanobots/nanorobots that will become part of their bodies or brains, such Africans will become indistinct from property: becoming the private property of Western tech corporations that own and control the cyborg technologies, the "enhanced" Africans will be patented. Once Africans become cyborgs and chimeras embodying the software and once their minds are networked or connected wirelessly, the Africans will cease to be individual authors because it will be assumed that creativity no longer belongs to the individual Africans but to the networked minds or technological enhancements; so other scholars have urged humanity to be cautious about the paths research takes humanity to as the world enters the neuropolitical future (Dunagan et al., 2020). As McCarthy-Jones (2019) argues, humanity needs freedom of thought (FoT) because to lose the freedom of thought is to lose dignity, democracy, selves; in this regard, mental autonomy can only be ensured by a prohibition on illegitimate manipulation of thought and prohibitions of breaches of the right to privacy; so, states need to prevent transnational corporations from violating people's right to freedom of thought. The argument here is that when artificial organs, including nanotechnological "enhancements", are transplanted into natural humans, the line between human and patentable property will become blurred (Goodman, 2017).

Parallels between the historical enslavement and new forms of enslavement

This chapter argues that African leaders need to be on guard so that they do not become complicit in the enslavement and recolonisation of Africans in the twenty-first century. While enslavement has historically been about capturing the bodies of the enslaved Africans and transporting such bodies to the Americas and to Europe, in the twenty-first century enslavement is about virtually or digitally or technologically capturing the minds and bodies of Africans and transferring such captured minds and bodies to virtual worlds. Much as some scholars argue that Africans themselves sold their enslaved kin to Europeans (French, 12 October 2021), African

leaders need to avoid selling the captured minds, bodies and data of Africans in the twenty-first century. Much as some scholars write that Africans who sold their fellow Africans into enslavement were seduced by sugarplums, addictive alcohol and other enticements (Harrison, 2009), it is essential that African leaders approach the glitterings of new technologies with caution and safeguards so that Africans do not get enslaved again; this time through having their minds and bodies captured and transferred to virtual worlds including to the extraterritorial clouds. Deception was used in the historical enslavement of Africans and it is necessary to be on guard to avoid falling into new deceptions in the twenty-first century. While in the old enslavement, Africans were physically chained, shackled and tied, in the contemporary forms of enslavement they are virtually chained, shackled and tied such that they can be subjected to geofencing in the metaverse for example and their captured minds become locked in the cloud systems of Western tech corporations.

Of course, to ease their own guilt consciences, Europeans have tended to throw the major responsibility to African chiefs and kings yet slaves were mainly kidnapped and captured through European raids inland (Ntloedibe, 2018). The enslaved Africans were tied, chained or even yoked to wooden poles and taken against their will to boats where they were herded together like cattle and transported across the sea (South African History Online, 5 April 2022; Beechener et al., 2004). Upon boarding, the enslaved Africans were physically stripped of their belongings, branded, chained and sent below decks where they would be forced to remain for most of the months-long journey – the African captives were shackled together lying down, side by side, head to foot, or even closer and the closeness, the filth and fear delivered many into madness and suicide attempts (Library of Congress, n.d). The long "deck chains" that ran the length of the deck had pairs of men chained whenever they were on the deck; the shackles were regularly inspected and chains were also inspected for signs of tempering; a crewman locked the pair of enslaved men on the deck chain which was securely locked on the side of the barricade and sentinels stood on a state with masquets and bayonets to watch over each side of the deck (Radburn, 2016). Describing how Africans were enslaved, Pitt (2008, p. 19) writes that:

Well-armed slave raiders marched far inland, surrounded a village at night, and set all the houses on fire. As people came out of their burning homes, they were seized. Those who resisted were killed immediately. In the morning the prisoners were sorted. The strongest captives were chained together to prevent escape attempt…When all the captives were secure, the long march to the sea began. The sick and the old were left behind to starve…Often other trade goods such as animal skins or ivory tusks were loaded onto the slaves to carry to the coast. Adults were chained together or even locked together like oxen with heavy wooden neck yokes. Those who fell behind were beaten with whips until they couldn't go any further and then they were killed or left behind for wild animals to eat. For months the captives were forced to live outside without shelter for the entire march. When they slept, they were still tied or chained together, which prevented the captives from getting a good night's sleep.

What we learn from the history of enslavement is that economic growth in the West is not just a result of industrial revolutions but it is a result of enslaving, colonizing, dispossessing and exploiting other people. The industrial revolutions in Britain would have been impossible without the wealth from enslaving Africans; the wealth from enslaving Africans was used to build canals, cities, universities, major ports, several banks, including Barclays Brothers, HSBC, Bank of England; all these trace their origins to financing the slave trade; also, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church became wealthy from the enslavement of other human beings (Gopal, 23 April 2014; Ferguson, 23 January 2022; Romei, Megaw & Ralph, 19 June 2020; Fauconbridge & Holton, 18 June 2020); Western companies produced the guns, manacles, chains and padlocks used in enslaving Africans; the slave trade was a massive highly sophisticated commercial enterprise which required a secure financial system that could extend credit and insurance to shippers and a physical infrastructure of docks, port facilities, a shipping industry and a transportation network (Ferguson, 23 January 2022; Oakes, 2016).

Much as enslaved Africans were not given any compensation when slavery was officially abolished, in the twenty-first century, Africans who get harmed by COVID-19 vaccines produced by Western pharmaceutical companies are denied compensation as the corporations demand immunity and impunity; the point here is that

while Western citizens get compensated for any harm ensuing from COVID-19 vaccines, Africans that get harmed are denied compensation (Nhemachena, 2021). In fact, Western pharmaceutical corporations that want to have immunity from legal suits for harm emanating from the administration of their vaccines are forcing African countries to use their sovereign assets as collateral to indemnify the corporations from possible lawsuits. Pfizer has been forcing Latin American states to use their sovereign assets as collateral to indemnify the corporation from lawsuits; Pfizer has been demanding that these developing countries including the South African government use their sovereign assets including embassy buildings, bank reserves and military bases; also the laws of the developing states are barred, in the contracts, such that they would not be applied against Pfizer (FDA News, 20 April 2021; Nawrat, 23 February 2021; Aljazeera, 11 March 2021; WION, 24 February 2021; Surowiecki, 27 October 2021). In addition, the pharmaceutical corporations have demanded that there be confidential clauses in the contracts to supply the vaccines; for instance, the government of Brazil has been prohibited, by Prifzer, from making "any public announcement concerning the existence, subject matter or terms of [the] agreement" or commenting about its relationship with Pfizer unless it had the company's prior written consent (Nawrat, 23 February 2021; Chau, 20 October 2021). The point here is that African sovereignty, as well as the sovereignty of other developing countries, is being trampled on by Western transnational corporations that continue to exploit former colonies with impunity.

In fact, Western states themselves continue to trample on the sovereignty of African countries even after the formal declarations of independence. France continues to dictate to Francophone African states in the twenty-first century. Direct French rule ended in the 1960s but through political, security, economic, and cultural connections, France maintains a hegemonic foothold in Francophone Africa to serve its own interests (Benneyworth, 2011; Rusare, 20 May 2021). Since 1961, countries like Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon have been forced to put US$500 billion every year into the French Treasury; France controls the economies of these countries and it has defence agreements that allow French

soldiers to maintain military bases on Francophone countries; often, French soldiers meddle in the choices of leaders of these Francophone African countries; France has maintained networks of formal and informal relations, addressed as "cooperation" agreements, that are neocolonial and that serve to preserve the colonial *status quo* (Rusare, 20 May 2021; Martin, 1985; Sylla et al., 26 April 2021; Sylla et al., 26 April 2021; Keita & Gladstein, 3 August 2021). Indeed, after France was rejected by Africans fighting for independence, France immediately pulled out civil servants, teachers, judges, doctors and technicians instructing them to sabotage everything their left behind – they burnt books, demolished buildings, destroyed agricultural equipment etc (Hundeyin, 21 November 2019). The Euro-American destruction of African sovereignty is summed up by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, vii-xi) thus:

On the one hand, the history is dominated by a climate of interventionist global neoliberal imperialism which increasingly manifests its violent character through the military invasion of Iraq, bombardment of Libya, imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe and military invasion of Afghanistan. Violent invasions of weaker countries by the United States of America (USA) and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners are often justified as humanitarian interventions to introduce democracy and human rights, dethrone dictators, eradicate terrorism and restore order within those states characterized by United States as outposts of tyranny and part of 'the axis of evil'. But the military interventions, rhetorically premised on the noble 'right to protect', seem to be selective and guided by the west's permanent strategic interests rather than genuine global humanitarian concerns…The term 'postcolonial neocolonized world' best captures the difficulties and unlikelihood of a fully decolonized African world that is free from the snares of the colonial matrix of power and the dictates of the rapacious global power. The current configuration of the world is symbolized by the figure of America at the apex and that of Africa at the bottom of the racialized and capitalist hierarchies, of a world order…In short, the term 'postcolonial neocolonized world' captures a normalized abnormality whereby issues of African identity formation, nation-building and state-construction, knowledge production, economic development and democratization remained unfinished projects mainly because of their entrapment within colonial matrices of modern global power. African leaders are also entrapped

within a disciplining colonial matrix of power and those who try to deviate and question the commandment from the powerful Euro-American world are subjected to severe punishments and in extreme cases even assassinations.

Whereas Africans are struggling for health sovereignty; permanent sovereignty over their natural resources; for economic sovereignty, for political sovereignty, for technological sovereignty, for digital sovereignty, for environmental sovereignty and for data sovereignty (Kassam et al., 2010; Gumplova, 2019; Pereira & Gough, 2013; Tyagi, 2015; Karamkhudoeva et al., 2021; Savanovic, 2014; Ngang & Kaniga, 2002; Barral, 2016; Oguamanam, 2018; International Institute for Environment and Development, 2009), Eurocentric scholars are arguing against sovereignty. Eurocentric scholars argue that sovereignty encumbers global efforts to address environmental pollution including greenhouse emissions and climate change. Whereas Eurocentric scholars argue against sovereignty (Schrijvers, 2021; Gardner, 2011), Europeans and Americans are busy promoting and strengthening their own sovereignty. For this reason, the European Commission is set to develop an economic sovereignty strategy for Europe including in matters of monetary and financial autonomy; the USA is strengthening its economic autonomy; and Europe is establishing its sovereignty on energy and environment (Leonard et al., 2019; Sarooshi, 2004; Moussu, 20 January 2022). While Europe and America are strengthening their sovereignty, The WHO proposed Pandemic Treaty (Jones & Lewis, 19 May 2022; Labonte et al., 2021; Wenham et al., 2022) takes away the little sovereignty that Africans remain with and cedes it to international organisations owned and controlled by Euro-Americans. In fact, the proposed Pandemic Treaty was proposed by the USA and the EU; 47 African states and Brazil have rejected it arguing that they cannot cede their national sovereignty to the WHO – the USA and EU argue that there is need for hard law or a binding treaty to force states to enforce WHO pandemic recommendations including surveillance, international exchanges of data and reporting (Van Pas., Patnaik & Dentico, 2021; Kickbusch & Holzscheiter, 2021; Salazar, 2 June 2022; Farge & Rigby, 25 May 2022; Taylor, 22 May 2022). In addition, while Africans are discovering oil and hoping to develop their economies using the newly found oil deposits (Ayuk, 19 January

2020; O'Dell, 31 January 2020; Mihalyi, 27 May 2022; Deepak, 22 July 2020; Ayuk, 31 January 2020; Centurion, 27 October 2020; BBC News, 15 October 2012), Eurocentric scholars and organisations are anxious to forestall African economic sovereignty by arguing that the use of oil is detrimental to the environment in the sense of causing climate change (VOA, 13 November 2019; Ziady, 4 August 2020; Farand, 10 February 2020).

The problem is that the so-called global pharmaceutical corporations are in fact corporations belonging to specific countries in the Global North and so they primarily serve their own interests and the interests of the countries from which they originate; similarly, the so-called international institutions are institutions that originated from particular countries and so they primarily serve their own interests and the interests of the countries from which they originated; the so-called international organisations also originated from particular countries and so they primarily serve their own interests and the interests of the countries from which they come. Even the so-called global tech corporations originate from particular countries and so they primarily serve their own interests and the interests of the particular countries from which they originate. The problem is that some Africans are so gullible that when they hear the terms "international", "global" and "world" they believe that Africans are the primary reference points. They forget that institutions, organisations and corporations can be global, world and international only in terms of their reach or spheres of influence but not in terms of their interests – their interests can remain particular even as they are operating on a global, world and international scale. Africans should learn from what is happening in Russia.

In Russia major Western financial players have pulled out; Apple, Google Pay and most credit card providers have pulled out; Microsoft banned sales to Russians; Cogent Communications has also left Russia as have Coca-Cola, McDonalds and Disney; also, some banks in Russia were disconnected from SWIFT; Japan's Honda Motor and Mazda suspended operations and exports to Russia; Ford, Airbus, Boeing, Hartley-Davidson, Mastercard, Netflix, Reddit and Visa also sanctioned Russia (Ahmed & Haskell-Dowland, 10 March 2022; Timberg et al., 4 March 2022; Subramanian, 25 February 2022; Human Rights Watch, 14 March 2022; Iyengar, 8 March 2022; Staff Reporter, 7 March 2022; Feiner, 17 March 2022;

Arab News, 2 March 2022; Evers-Hillstrom, 9 March 2022; Mark, 27 February 2022; Ashkenaz, 22 April 2022; Blenkinsop, 3 March 2022; Inman, 26 February 2022). The point here is that while connectivity, networks and relationality in the world are glorified by Westerners and Eurocentric scholars, there are dangers in being connected, networked or related to in a world that is not only whimsically trigger-happy but also sanctions-happy. Put in other words, in the world, there is weaponization of interdependence (Drezner, 2021) where some states in the Global North readily use their positions, resources and technology to exploit the vulnerability of interdependent states. In this respect, Inyenga (8 March 2022) observes that:

> Russia's dependence on outside technology has been on full display as foreign companies sever ties in response to western sanctions. Texas company Sabre and European counterpart Amadeus kicked Russia's biggest airline, Aeroflot, off their ticketing and reservation system…The country's central bank also announced that Apple Pay and Google Pay will no longer support cards of several Russian banks.

One cannot imagine the amount of power the Western tech corporations will have on Africans once they are implanted, inserted or injected with microchips, nanobots or nanorobots, and once the software has become merged with the human biological bodies. The tech corporations can readily impose sanctions on the Africans that happen to act contrary to the wishes of the corporations that own and control the software or technologies: Africans would have lost ownership and control over their bodies and minds when software implants and nanorobots are injected and inserted in the bodies or brains – and the tech corporations would have gained ownership and control over African bodies and brains. If Africans do not obey the commandments of the Western tech corporations, the corporations would sanction them by withdrawing the software needed for updating the minds and bodies of the Africans; or if Africans do not obey the commandments of the Western tech corporations, the corporations would sanction the Africans by beaming warning voices directly into the brains or minds of the Africans; or the Western tech corporations can sanction the disobedient Africans by administering shocks directly into the microchipped bodies or brains of the Africans (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). The point

here is that "global" tech corporations, whose software, nanobots/nanorobots will be inserted, implanted or injected into the bodies and brains of Africans, have got their own interests and the interests of the countries from which they originate – in other words, there is politics in the future of technological implants into African bodies. In this regard, there are lessons that Africans can learn from the ways in which global tech corporations are playing politics against Russia by withdrawing their services even as Russians need them and have become dependent on them. The Human Rights Watch (14 March 2022) writes thus:

> Several leading foreign tech companies have withdrawn from Russia or suspended operations in the two weeks since Russia's full-scale invasion in Ukraine, exacerbating the risk of isolation from the global internet for the country's residents…Several foreign businesses, ranging from software developers to large backbone providers suspended their operations in Russia entirely, in some cases citing sanctions as a major or the main reason. Other companies suspended certain aspects of their operations under sanctions, but…announced they were leaving the Russian market, apparently on their own initiative.

If the Western tech corporations had the audacity to withdraw or to disconnect Russia, what would prevent them from disconnecting Africans who will have been connected in the emergent Internet of Things, Internet of Humans or Internet of Health when they have become dependent on such internet? Imagine an African, who has accepted and become so dependent on microchip implants or inserted/injected nanorobot in the brain, being cut off or disconnected when the Western tech corporations rule that the African is disobedient. Also, imagine what would happen when Africans are enrolled into the so-called human "enhancements", particularly cognitive "enhancement" of the mind, being disconnected by way of sanctions when the Western tech corporations rule that the Africans are disobedient to Western dictates. In other words, just as they are disconnecting Russia, Western tech corporations can arbitrarily disconnect Africans and they can also withdraw their software upgrades for those Africans that would have microchip implants, nanobots or nanorobots inserted or injected into their brains. Put differently, there are a lot of

lessons to learn, from what is going on in Russia, about the future of society and technology.

The Trump administration blocked US companies from business dealings with Chinese technology giant Huawei and US officials have cited security concerns alleging that Huawei has backdoor products built in to allow China to spy on users; America is also increasingly politicizing what has been presented as public good – there is politicization of SWIFT, the World Trade Organization, the internet, the International Monetary Fund and so on – dependence on these is being weaponized by the USA (Cuthbertson, 9 December 2019; Hackenbroich, October 2020). The point is that technology and institutions are being weaponized in a context where Africans are ironically advised to uncritically glorify the Fourth Industrial Revolution and associated disruptive technologies. Any critique of the new disruptive technologies is swiftly demonized, by Eurocentric thinkers and institutions, as conspiracy theory even as Africans know that these technologies are in fact dual-use research of concern (DURC) with both beneficial and harmful uses. In other words, demonizing Africans who are critical of the DURC has the effect of encouraging Africans to throw caution to the wind – this endangers African security.

Promises or expectations about emerging technologies cannot all be positive and, of course, Africans would be ill-advised to entirely rely on the promises of those that will benefit from the adoption of the disruptive technologies. If one is to draw lessons from the twenty-first century war in Ukraine – Russia claims that United States and NATO are breaching promises that they made when the former Soviet Union was bundling-up in the early 1990s; but the USA and NATO deny that they made any such promises; also, while Russia claims that the expansion of NATO is endangering its own security, NATO and the USA dismiss Russia's security concerns (Savage, 30 January 2022; Dettmer, 11 January 2022; Shipler, 14 February 2022; Wintour, 12 January 2022). Shipler (14 February 2022) explains the twenty-first century standoff between Russia and the West thus:

> The new Cold War, which now grips Europe and the United States, is not all Russia's fault. A seed was sown in the American assurances broken by Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush who reversed verbal pledges to refrain from expanding the Atlantic military alliance

towards Russia. The Russians didn't get it in writing, and some analysts doubt that commitments were made, but official records of conversations suggest American bad faith [ ] Declassified documents tell the story of how American officials led the Russians to believe that no expansion would be undertaken by NATO…Russian and American transcripts and summaries of high-level meetings, posted in recent years by the National Security Archive at George Washington University, record multiple assurances in the early 1990s [ ] Some were explicit, others implicit and subject to interpretation. They were given repeatedly in various forms to Gorbachev, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and other Russian officials by the highest American and European leaders, including George W. Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, CIA Director Robert Gates, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and John Major, French President Francois Mitterrand, and NATO Secretary General Manfred Worner.

The point in the foregoing is that promises have been made in history only to be broken or even denied and so Africans need to be careful about uncritically adopting foreign, political, economic, environmental, technological, digital, medical, health, religious, cultural and legal agendas. Africans have historically been promised civilization even as they were actually being colonised, dispossessed and exploited, Africans have been promised development even as they were actually being underdeveloped; Africans have been promised modernisation even as they were actually being barbarized through dispossession and exploitation; Africans have been promised human rights even as they were actually being turned into animals and beasts of burdens for the neoimperial order; now in the twenty-first century Africans are promised the Fourth Industrial Revolution and associated new technologies that promise to actually enslave and recolonize Africans who remain dispossessed and animalized since the colonial era; in the same way, Africans are promised transhumanism and posthumanism which in fact turn Africans into slaves for the Western tech corporations that are set to implant their technologies, microchips, nanobots, nanorobots and other software into African bodies and minds for purposes of wireless remote control and for purposes of generating Big Data which is crucial in the emergent knowledge economy or information society.

While Russia and China are establishing sovereign internets, with China using its Great Firewall and Russia developing its Runet (Smith, 9 March 2022; Marrow, 22 July 2021; Subramanian, 25 February 2022), Africa remains exposed to the vicissitudes and whims of the so-called global tech corporations. While Russia and China are disconnecting themselves from the so-called global tech firms (Marrow, 22 July 2021; Smith, 9 March 2022; Matsakis, 12 February 2019), Africa is sinking deeper into dependence on the so-called global tech corporations. While China is establishing its technological sovereignty by dispensing with Western computers in state departments due to security concerns particularly for sensitive departments (Hindustan News, 6 May 2022; Dangwal, 7 May 2022; Lyons, 9 December 2019), Africa is facing the risk of accepting the implantations, insertions or injections of Western technologies including software, nanobots, nanorobots, nanovaccines, nanomedicines, biotechnology and nanotechnology into sensitive parts of the African bodies, including the brains or minds. Indeed, Western tech corporations are marketing their technologies as cognitive "enhancements" to "enhance" the efficiency of African brains; Westerners are marketing their technologies as human "enhancements" to "enhance" efficiency of human bodies; they are glorifying those that accept the implants, insertions and injections of the technologies as humanity +, as smart transhumans and smart posthumans because they will have adopted the smart technological implants, insertions and injections. If the Russians and the Chinese have realized the dangers and are removing foreign technologies from their sensitive government departments, why must Africans accept such technologies being implanted, inserted or injected into their brains or bodies such that they would be subject to regular software updates; Africans would become indistinct from computers or pieces of technology; they would become cyborgs and lose their natural bodies, identities and natural attributes; why should Africans accept the insertion of such technologies that make them indistinct from property of the Western tech corporations which own and control the software implanted, inserted and injected into African bodies?

Even slave masters needed to monitor and surveil their human properties: Becoming shambolic with invasive technologies

In a world where the internet is defined in terms of democracy, and where Africans are defined as open, porous and without borders (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020), it will not be easy for Africans to resist infiltration through expansion of the Internet of Things, which like NATO expansion towards Russia, does not respect promises and agreements; even viruses, bacteria, synthetic organisms, nanorobots, nanoweapons, bioweapons and chemical weapons will seep into African bodies and societies that accept to be defined as open, porous and without borders. Of course, an open, porous and borderless body cannot claim autonomy and sovereignty – but unfortunately that is how Eurocentric scholars define Africans. Open bodies are shambolic bodies and open societies are shambolic societies – they are not necessarily democratic bodies or democratic societies because they are open, borderless and porous – rather they are shambolic bodies and shambolic societies if they accept to be defined as open, borderless and porous bodies/societies. Unfortunately, some scholars would tout openness, porosity and borderlessness as democracy. Thus, writing about the "oncoming democracy", Caputo (2003, pp. 24-25) argues that:

> To be sure, the very idea of the democracy to come is not just utopic but aporetic, for simply to submit national sovereignty to the higher authority of an international body would be once again to leave the place of sovereignty standing and to repopulate it, not with a king or nation state, but with a world state…We would have dissipated, disseminated or distributed sovereignty still more widely – from king to the nation, from the nation to the community of nations – but the end result would be a sovereign mega-state…The democracy to come calls for a new revolution, another and still more radically democratic revolution, a revolution in the name of the democracy to come, in which we will break more decisively still with the ancient regime of sovereignty itself…That revolution that is being called for will also cut deeply into our psyche and our psychology, because it will force us to reconceive the self…in terms of the other one who lays claims to me, even as it cut into our theology, because it will force us to reimagine God without sovereignty.

New disruptive technologies that dispossess Africans of their sovereignty, identities and autonomy are depicted as "enhancing" Africans; technologies in the Internet of Things are depicted as "enhancing" Africans even as they deprive them of their autonomy, individuality and sovereignty; new technologies that connect African bodies to the Internet of Battlefield Things are depicted as "enhancing" Africans even as such technologies threaten the security of the Africans who are connected to the Western militaries which own and control the Internet of Battlefield Things for remotely controlling those that are so connected. New technologies of tracking human beings and of surveillance, sousveillance and uberveillance are depicted as "enhancing" Africans even as such technologies are used by those that own and control them to deprive Africans of their autonomy, sovereignty, privacy, human dignity and integrity. Put differently, whereas Africans are fighting to recover sovereignty over their natural resources, Westerners are foregrounding connections, networks and entanglements that are meant to forestall African demands for permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

The point in the foregoing is that connectivity, networks and meshworks do not enhance African freedoms and liberty because enslaved Africans were similarly connected and tied together in networks as they were being driven onto slave ships (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). Similarly, colonized Africans were connected, networked and meshworked with those that colonized, dispossessed and exploited them for centuries. While Eurocentric scholars and thinkers portray connectivity, networks and entanglements as liberating and as "enhancing", this chapter argues that, for Africans, connectivity, networks and entanglements also do the opposite – they facilitated enslavement, colonisation, impoverishment, exploitation and denial of African autonomy and sovereignty. Enslaved Africans were tied and connected together and to the decks of slave ships. Put differently, connections, networks and entanglements do not necessarily speak to freedom or liberty; rather they speak to enslavement and deprivation of autonomy and sovereignty. Whereas, centuries ago, Africans who knew the difference between freedom and enslavement resisted the slave chains, shackles, slave collars and ropes; in twenty-first century Africa, some do not appear to know the difference between enslavement and freedom. In fact, Eurocentric scholars and thinkers are actively urging twenty-first century Africans

to forgo binaries and dichotomies, including between freedom and enslavement. The net effect of forgoing binaries and dichotomies is that Africans will begin to mistake enslavement for freedom.

Whereas Africans that were being enslaved knew that chains, shackles and ropes that were tied to their necks and waists deprived them of their autonomy and sovereignty, in the twenty-first century some Africans uncritically celebrate connections, networks and entanglements even if they rob them of their autonomy and sovereignty. In this regard, the Internet of Things (IoT) connects African human beings to everything else including to nonhuman things in ways that negate binaries between humans and nonhumans, freedom and enslavement; the Internet of Humans (IoH) similarly connect humans together in ways that negate autonomy and sovereignty; equally, the Internet of Battlefield Things (IoBT) connect Africans to Western militaries which own and control the Internet of Battlefield Things enhancing Western security at the expense of the unwary Africans that are so-connected. In the same vein, Brain Cloud Interfaces connect African brains to the cloud in ways that displace African brains from the biological bodies and transfer the brains to the cloud; Brain Computer Interfaces connect African brains to the computers in ways that scan and transfer the brains from the biological bodies to technological substrates. In all these instances, African autonomy and sovereignty are at stake. Of course, when Europeans and Americans enslaved Africans, they pretended to be philanthropic and humanitarian such that they even named their slave ship after Jesus so that they would appear harmless and the enslaved Africans would think that they are being connected to Jesus when in fact they were entering a slave ship (Nhemachena, 2022). Some slave drivers invited unwary Africans for meals onboard slave ships and once the Africans had been given food and intoxicating drinks that sent them to sleep, the slave drivers would then drive the slave ship off the coast very quickly taking the intoxicated Africans with them as slaves.

It is undeniable that technologies enhance efficiency but if uncritically adopted technologies can enhance the enslavement of Africans in the twenty-first century. Those that enslaved Africans needed efficient technologies to do so – indeed the enslaved Africans may even have been told that the chains and shackles that were being used to deprive them of their autonomy and sovereignty were

enhancing efficiency. Whereas other states including Russia, China, the European Union and the United States of America are ensuring that they have technological sovereignty including digital sovereignty, data sovereignty, internet sovereignty and so on, Africans are uncritically adopting technologies that belong to other states even as such technologies are eroding Africans' autonomy and sovereignty. Put differently, the history of enslavement and colonization show that in the absence of ownership and control, technologies can be enslaving rather than enhancing to the freedoms and liberties of those that do not own and control them.

Naturally, slave masters needed efficient technologies that would connect the slave and the master in ways that enhanced the masters' control over the enslaved. Such technologies necessarily had to rob the enslaved people of their autonomy and sovereignty because the autonomy and sovereignty of the enslaved were a risk to the slave master: the autonomy and sovereignty of the enslaved threatened the slave master's mastery over the enslaved. So, slave masters had to find technologies that robbed the enslaved of their autonomy and sovereignty in the same way new disruptive technologies deprive Africans of their autonomy and sovereignty. Of course, the masters' technologies had to appear mesmerizing to the enslaved such that the enslaved would think that the technologies were in fact enhancing his/her freedom, even if they took away their autonomy and sovereignty. In the same vein twenty-first century Africans are made to believe that all they need are efficient technologies minus ownership, autonomy, sovereignty and control. Twenty-first century Africans are made to believe that all they need are efficient technologies without technological sovereignty, digital sovereignty, cybersovereignty and data sovereignty. In fact, twenty-first century Africans are made to believe that their own African autonomy and sovereignty are risks to them. Thus, even as Europeans, Americans, Chinese and Russians are asserting their technological sovereignty, cybersovereignty, digital sovereignty and data sovereignty, Africans are made to believe that their own sovereignty amounts to dangerous violence and necropolitics.

Of course, during the enslavement era, the assertions of autonomy and sovereignty by the enslaved were deemed by the slave drivers to be dangerous and violent because such assertions threatened the very foundations of the business of enslaving other human beings. Slave

masters needed slaves that were physically and ideologically shackled such that they would not assert their autonomy and sovereignty in ways that threatened the interests of the slave masters. In a similar manner, if twenty-first century Africans assert their autonomy and sovereignty over their natural resources, this would constitute a threat to the interests of those that colonised Africans; if twenty-first century Africans asserted their state sovereignty, this would constitute a threat to the interests of those that colonized Africans; in the same vein, if twenty-first century Africans asserted their economic sovereignty, they would constitute threats to the interests of those that colonized them; if twenty-first century Africans asserted their technological sovereignty, digital sovereignty and data sovereignty, this would constitute a threat to the interests of those that colonized them; and if twenty-first century Africans asserted their bodily autonomy, this would constitute a threat to the interests of those that colonized them; if twenty-first century Africans asserted their environmental sovereignty, this would constitute threats to the interests of those that colonized them; and if twenty-first century Africans asserted their health or medical sovereignty, this would constitute threats to the interests of those that colonized them.

Africans have often been made to believe that all that is needed is to overcome digital divides through policies of inclusion but then even slave drivers had policies of inclusion in so far as they included the enslaved Africans on slave ships; on the slave ships the slave masters included men, women and children as well as ivory tusks, hides, gold and so on. In this regard, slave ships had diversity, inclusivity and plurality. Similarly, colonialists had policies of inclusion in so far as they assimilated some Africans as a way to overcome their resistance and to enhance ideological control of the colonized and assimilated. The point here is that contemporary Africans should think critically about Eurocentric promotions of policies of inclusion, diversity, plurality and assimilation particularly when such policies deny Africans their autonomy and sovereignty. Africans have been included in the global economy but they have been denied their economic sovereignty; Africans have been included in the global political terrain but they have been denied their national sovereignty; Africans have been included in global environmental policies but they have been denied their environmental sovereignty; Africans have been included in global technological terrains but they

have been denied their technological sovereignty; Africans have been included in the global health/medical terrains but they have been denied their health sovereignty; Africans have been included in the global food policies but they have been denied their food sovereignty. In a similar way, enslaved Africans were included on slave ships but they were denied their autonomy and sovereignty. In fact, enslaved Africans were included on the European and American plantations but they were denied the autonomy to think and engage freely. Similarly, twenty-first century Africans are set to witness their minds nanotechnologically scanned and transferred to the clouds, to technological substrates and out of their biological bodies such that they would be denied the freedom to think and engage autonomously.

The point is that much as the enslaved Africans were denied mental sovereignty or cognitive sovereignty, in the twenty-first century Africans are set to be denied their cognitive or mental sovereignty when their minds are scanned and transferred from the biological brain to the cloud or to technological substrates; put in other words, while Africans are made to believe that the new disruptive technologies are revolutionary and good, the technologies erode African cognitive or mental sovereignty. While twenty-first century Africans are made to believe that the new disruptive technologies are revolutionary and beneficial, the new technologies follow the logics of the old technologies that were used to enslave Africans and to deny such Africans their cognitive and mental sovereignty. If African minds are captured, scanned and then transferred from the biological brains to the cloud or technological substrates, the question is about the difference between such technologies and the old technologies that were used to capture, enslave and transfer Africans across the Atlantic? Whereas the old technologies were designed to capture the physical bodies of the enslaved Africans, the new technologies are designed to capture the minds of the enslaved Africans. In this regard, what this book calls slave 4.0 is a mode of enslavement that captures the African minds such that the enslaved no longer own and control their minds. In the so-called universal mind which Euro-America is creating by capturing minds, there are logics of cognitive or mental enslavement which this book has called slave 4.0.

Writing about the ways in which the contemporary developments will render humans shambolic, Poxon (2001, p. 48) notes that:

> If identity and the order of God are mutually constitutive constructs, and both are opposed to the affirmative, creative force of the body without organs…then, conversely the BwO not only undoes the divine order but also opens onto the order of the Antichrist, an order in which personal identity has no foundation because the self-identical nature of God and the divine judgement that expresses and authorizes it have been cancelled out. This anti-divine order, then, 'is characterized by the death of God', the destruction of the world, the dissolution of the person, the disintegration of bodies…It is an order in which the identity of the self has fractured beyond recognition, and the body as organism…gives way to the powerful nonorganic or machinic vitality of the body without organs…The order of the Antichrist, in other words, is the order of the 'affective, intensive, anarchist' body without organs.

Of course, the introduction of the dual-use nanotechnologies, nanorobots, nanobots, nanomedicines and nanovaccines which are implanted, injected, or inserted into human bodies is described as solving universal or global challenges. However, one has to bear in mind that when Euro-Americans speak of the universal they are in fact often referring to themselves, because they consider everyone else to be local and particular while elevating themselves to the universal; we need to understand that the so-called universal mind is a mind that is owned and controlled by Euro-Americans. The universal mind is created out of the minds of other people that are nanotechnologically scanned and captured. Bearing in mind that when Euro-Americans speak of the global, they are in fact referring to themselves because they consider everyone else to be local and particular while elevating themselves to the global; we need to understand that what are addressed as global revolutions are in fact Euro-American changes to the world order. Also, bearing in mind that when Euro-Americans speak of the world, they are in fact referring to themselves because they consider everyone else to be local and particular while elevating themselves to the world; we need to understand that world revolutions are in fact Euro-American revolutions foisted on everybody else. Lastly, bearing in mind that when Euro-Americans speak of the global, they are in fact referring to themselves as the global, we need to understand that global

pandemics/epidemics are in fact Euro-American pandemics/ epidemics that are foisted on everyone else; and bearing in mind that when Euro-Americans speak of the international, they are in fact referring to themselves, we need to understand that international treaties and international laws are in fact Euro-American treaties and laws foisted on everybody else who is deemed to be local and particular. And of course, what is called global poverty is in fact Euro-American poverty foisted on everybody else. And, the so-called global health is the health of Euro-Americans in a world where everybody else has been reduced to the local and particular.

The upshot of the foregoing is that just like the slave ships that transported Africans across the Atlantic, the global has been constituted into a global spaceship or global slave-ship that conveys the rest of humanity who are denied the chances to become stewards of events around and about themselves. Western states that enslaved and colonized Africans continue to be stewards of what is called the global, the world, the international – just as they were stewards and sailors of slave-ships centuries ago. As stewards of slave-ships, they had the liberty to jettison any enslaved Africans who were rebellious while on the slave-ship. As stewards of slave-ships they would set the agenda and determine the destinations of the slave-ships much as today Western states and corporations determine the agendas and directions of global events and programmes; as stewards of slave-ships, they would try to convince the enslaved Africans that the slave-ship was a universal and inclusive space for which the enslaved Africans had to be grateful for having been included. Thus, often the Euro-Americans who captured Africans made the enslaved Africans to believe that they had been saved from their supposedly brutal, savage, dictatorial, authoritarian and primitive chiefs and kings. In other words, even as they transported captured Africans across the Atlantic Ocean, slave drivers made efforts to convince the groaning, shackled and enslaved Africans that they were saviours freeing and liberating Africans from supposedly primitive, barbaric, savage, dictatorial and authoritarian chiefs and kings back in Africa.

Much as slave masters and slave drivers deprived enslaved Africans of their statehood, the global spaceship denies Africans their statehood through ongoing deterritorialization processes; much as slave masters deprived enslaved Africans of sovereignty, the contemporary global spaceship denies Africans their sovereignty as

African states are migrated from sovereignty to "postsovereignty", to "shared sovereignty" and "desovereignisation". Much as slave masters and slave drivers deprived Africans of their sovereignty, transnational corporations and Western states are depriving Africans of sovereignty over their natural resources – African land is still being grabbed by transnational corporations and foreign states that are involved in the contemporary twenty-first century scramble for Africa. The point here is that the ongoing twenty-first century scramble for Africa is in fact a scramble to reenslave and recolonize Africans. However, this time the enslavement is technological and such enslavement is less about shipping African bodies across the Atlantic than it is about nanotechnologically scanning, capturing and shipping African minds from biological bodies to the cloud, and into technological substrates (Kurzweil, 2005).

African states are being flattened and desovereignised through technologies that deterritorialise Africa – technologies such as blockchains, cryptocurrency, digital currency and Bitcoins which effectively decentre and deconstruct the African states. When African states cease to own their own currencies, such states vanish because they would have lost sovereignty over their own currencies; when African states cease to own and control their land, minerals and environments, such states vanish because they would have lost sovereignty over their natural resources; when African states cease to own and control the data on their citizens, such states vanish because they would have lost sovereignty over the data about their citizens; when, with the preponderance of transnational corporations, African states cease to own and control their economies, such states vanish because they would have lost sovereignty over their economies. Put differently, the problem is that Africans have been made to believe that decolonization is simply about decentralization when in fact decolonization should be about recovering sovereignty and autonomy which Africans have been denied since the enslavement era. Decentring and deconstructing African institutions and states cannot decolonize Africa because enslaved and colonized Africans were similarly decentred and deconstructed for centuries (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). The challenges that Africans face result from being dispossessed, exploited, decentred and deconstructed for centuries since the enslavement era. In other words, decentring and deconstructing African institutions and

peoples are consistent, not with freedom and liberty but, with enslavement and colonization. When Africans are decentred and deconstructed, naturally things will fall apart in Chinua Achebe's (1958) sense, and so technologies that decentre and deconstruct Africans cause things to fall apart on the continent of Africa.

Africans may be made to believe that they need to transfer their sovereignty to international institution, transnational institutions, global institutions, world institutions and so on but then they must also remember that giving one's sovereignty to Euro-American institutions on a silver platter amounts to enslavement and recolonization. If Africans who were transported to Europe and America were enslaved and exploited in history, what guarantee is there that Africans will be safe after transferring their sovereignty to the same states and peoples who have enslaved them in the past? The question is why Africans should uncritically accept the stewardship of those that have, for centuries, been stewards of slave ships that transported Africans across the Atlantic? Africans may be encouraged to pool their sovereignty and autonomy in the so-called international institutions or global institutions or world institutions which are driven by those that have been stewards of slave ships – but then the question is what assurance they have that enslavement and recolonization are not returning through another gate? If the same so-called international institutions, global institutions or world institutions have enslaved, colonized, dispossessed and exploited Africans with impunity and they continue to deny restitution and reparations, why should Africans devolve their autonomy and sovereignty to such international institutions, global institutions or world institutions that resiliently deny accountability for enslaving, colonizing, dispossessing and exploiting the Africans for centuries? If African women are being advised to leave abusive relationships with partners and husbands, why must Africans continue to live in abusive and violent international relationships where their grievances are not even recognized, properly addressed and compensated for? In other words, why must African men and women continue to trust those that have abused them for centuries without restitution and reparations? The point is that Africans need to put the present in historical contexts if they are to avoid the pitfalls of yesterday. The Shona people of Zimbabwe say *chakachenjedza ndechakatanga* (human beings must derive wisdom from past experiences).

Chakachenjedza ndechakatanga means that Africans must understand the present in connection with the past; the proverb urges Africans not to get so engrossed in presentism that they forget lessons from past experiences. Contrary to Eurocentric thinkers who portrayed Africans as irrational, illogical, as mystical, mythical and as devoid of experiential learning, *chakachenjedza ndechakatanga* underlines the need for Africans to appraise the present and the future in relation to past experiences. Without lessons from the past, Africans will be reenslaved and recolonized very easily because they fail to draw connections between what is happening in the present with what happened in the past during centuries of enslavement and colonization. Of course, those that enslaved Africans have always wanted Africans to lose memory of past experiences – and in fact the African past has for long been dismissed in what Jack Goody (2006) called the "theft of history". It is much easier to reenslave and recolonize those that have short memory than it is for those with long term memory. Similarly, women and men with short term memory risk entering abusive relationships many times over; and of course, Africans with short term memories risk losing their material resources, properties, relationships, autonomy and sovereignty many times over. If one has short term memory, one would pool one's autonomy and sovereignty with those that have stolen the autonomy and sovereignty of others in the past. If one has short term memory, one would fail to see the connections between technologies of enslavement and recolonization and the new disruptive technologies which similarly deny Africans their autonomy and sovereignty. In other words, *chakachenjedza ndechakatanga* helps Africans avoid falling into cycles of enslavement and colonization in a world that still treats Africans as indistinct from animals that have no sovereignty.

Conclusion

Whereas historically the enslavement of Africans involved capturing their bodies, enchaining and shackling them physically, the twenty-first century enslavement involves nanotechnologically, virtually or digitally capturing the minds of Africans which are then migrated to the virtual world and away from the physical world of which resources are coveted by the Westerners. From capturing the bodies of enslaved Africans what we now see is the capturing of the

minds, brains and bodies of the enslaved peoples using new technologies that transfer the mind from the physical brain to the cloud or to technological substrates. With minds being scanned using nanotechnology, and then transferred to the cloud and to technological substrates, I have argued that this constitutes slave 4.0 or the new form of enslavement – Fourth Enslavement Revolution. Of course, those that seek to virtually or technologically enslave Africans would describe what they are doing as liberating, as democracy, as good, as saving the earth and humanity and as humanitarian just as they have described the historical enslavement as freedom and liberation of the enslaved from their supposedly dictatorial, authoritarian and barbaric African kings and chiefs. Much as some enslaved Africans may have admired the slave chains, manacles, shackles and slave collars that were used to capture them and prevent their escape, some contemporary Africans may admire the technologies that are being used to enslave them in a virtual sense. While historically, enslaved Africans were transported across the Atlantic to the New World in American colonies, slave 4.0 involves transporting enslaved peoples to the new virtual worlds and away from the physical natural resources that are being grabbed by transnational corporations in the ongoing twenty-first century second scramble for Africa. Put succinctly, dispossessed Africans will be forced to roam the virtual world while Western transnational corporations exploit African natural resources in the real world from which the New World Order seeks to banish Africans who are demonised as causing environmental degradation and causing climate change in such a physical world. Africans can only migrate into the virtual world or metaverse once their bodies are plugged in, implanted, inserted or injected with microchip implants, nanobots and nanorobots such that they become cyborgs embodying appropriate software for complete and full virtual existence. A virtual world is a postsovereignty world where Africans will not be able to bother empire with demands for permanent sovereignty over African natural resources. Of course, to try and trick Africans to agree to be nanotechnologically and biotechnologically re-engineered, transformed and migrated fully into the metaverse or the virtual world, rather than to the Godly Heaven, the global supermen have to convince Africans that Heaven and God do not exist, except as immanent in earthly matter or in the metaverse itself.

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Chapter 3

Missionaries that "Muted" God: Gagging the Voices of African Sovereigns While Enslaving and Colonising Africans

Artwell Nhemachena & Esther Dhakwa

Introduction

Because colonialists were afraid of hearing the voice of the sovereign God in Africa, colonial missionaries came to Africa to evangelise as if the sovereign God had become so dumb that He could not speak to Africans directly even though He had, according to the Bible, spoken to Israelites centuries before the colonization of Africa. To colonise Africans, colonialists had to deconstruct God's sovereignty over Africans – and to deconstruct God and the morals emanating from Him, they had to depict Him as mute or dump such that Africans were forced to listen only to the stories that colonial missionaries had to tell about God. The colonial missionaries could possibly have argued that God left precolonial Africa because Africans were sinful but then the colonialists who purported to be bringing the word of God were sinful in that they had enslaved Africans for centuries before colonization, and then, with colonization, they dispossessed and exploited Africans, killing millions of Africans in the process. Also, the colonial missionaries could have possibly argued that they were colonizing Africans in the name of the sovereign God but then the question is why the God that was presented by the colonial missionaries could not speak for Himself to the Africans, whose cultures were, in any case, depicted by colonialists as suitably oral cultures. If the sovereign God is omnipotent and omnipresent, he would not have worked through the colonial missionaries and their churches many of which were, in any case, already tainted with the sins of enslaving millions of Africans some of whom were "owned" by churches including the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England. Put differently, colonial missionaries put the God on mute because they wanted to

enslave and colonise Africans without reprisals and admonitions from the sovereign God. Of course, the colonialists could only mute God by effectively deafening the ears of Africans to ensure that they would not listen to or hear God's voice even when God spoke to them. In this sense, colonialists did not bring sovereignty to Africa but they deconstructed sovereignty, in Africa, including the sovereignty of God. Just like God had various names – Dieu in French, Gott in German and Dio in Italian, He also had different names in Africa.

Arguing that colonial missionaries deliberately presented, to Africans, a disabled God whom they put on mute so as to challenge His sovereignty over Africans, this chapter similarly notes ways in which colonialists sought to mute the voices of the sovereign Africans whom they were colonizing. Much as they muted God by ensuring that Africans would not listen to God's voice even when God spoke to them, the colonialists also muted the African sovereign chiefs and kings by brewing discontent among their subjects such that the African subjects would not listen to their chiefs and kings even when they spoke. In this regard, the chapter argues that putting the sovereign voice of God on mute was part of colonial strategies to dispossess, enslave and exploit Africans without attracting admonitions from God. Much as other robbers would put their victims' voices on mute, colonialists also put African voices on mute by suppressing African autonomous organisations through which they could raise their grievances; often, they even killed or assassinated those Africans whose voices resisted colonial efforts to mute them. Thus, African languages were dismissed as not languages at all; besides, colonial missionaries who put the sovereign God on mute subsequently masqueraded as fathers (*mafata*) to Africans for whom they arrogated the right to speak. In this sense, the colonial missionaries ended up speaking for both the sovereign God and for the Africans whom they colonized. The point is that colonialists did not bring sovereignty to Africa, rather they arrogated African sovereignty and God's sovereignty to themselves. In this chapter, we argue for more attention to what we call **mutology** which includes ways in which colonialists muted the voices of sovereign Africans as well as the voice of the sovereign God.

Guerrilla missionaries who challenged God's sovereignty

To dispossess God of sovereignty, the colonialists' trick was to first of all depict God as having failed to assist humans and to solve problems affecting humanity; similarly, the colonial trick to dispossess God of sovereignty was to first of all depict God as having become so dumb that He could no longer speak directly to human beings; in the same way, to dispossess Africans of their sovereignty, the colonialists' trick was to first of all depict Africa sovereigns as having failed to develop Africa, to civilize Africa, to modernize Africa, to ensure the health of Africans, to properly run African economies and so on. Put differently, the trick by colonialists has been to first of all depict those that they targeted for colonisation as having failed, of being weak, of having collapsed and so on before usurping the sovereignty of such people targeted for colonisation. Thus, even as it was the colonialists themselves who were failing to exercise moral restraint from dispossessing and exploiting Africans, the colonialists ironically presupposed that God was failing to speak directly to Africans. Much as colonialists retrenched African chiefs and kings by depicting them as having failed to help their citizens, colonial missionaries also assumed that God had failed to remain in Africa after creating the continent of Africa. As will be explained below, in the twenty-first century, posthumanists and transhumanists are depicting God as having failed to create perfect human beings - and so the supposedly imperfect human beings are now targeted for Euro-American transhumanist and posthumanist technological enhancement projects (see also Nhemachena, 2021a; Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). Put succinctly, colonial missionaries assumed that humans are better than God because, supposedly, only humans could travel between Europe and Africa to evangelize; similarly, Euro-American transhumanists assume that humans are better creators than God, who has supposedly created imperfect human beings that can be corrected through transhumanist technological enhancements.

While precolonial Africans considered the Heavenly God to be the omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient Creator of the universe, colonial missionaries that came to Africa sadly assumed that God was disabled in the sense of being dump and mute. Thus, whereas Africans from Botswana, Zambia, South Africa and

Mozambique made pilgrimages to Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe (McGonagle, 2007; Nhemachena, 2017), and to Great Zimbabwe to hear God's voice at the shrines dedicated to Him (Fontein, 2006; 2009; 2015), missionaries assumed that God had become dumb and mute such that He needed agents bearing only the written word in the Bible. By assuming that God is dumb and mute, the colonial missionaries were in fact contradicting the theological maxim that God is omnipotent – because, if God is omnipotent then God cannot be dumb; the colonial missionaries also contradicted the theological maxim that God is omnipresent – because, if God is omnipresent then God could not have depended so much on the plunderous colonial missionaries to carry the gospel to Africans. The point here is that in their efforts to present God as dumb and mute, colonial missionaries inadvertently contradicted theological postulations that God is omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient – the missionaries assumed that God had become too dumb and mute to speak to [African] humanity directly; the missionaries assumed that God had become so immobilised by disability that He could not travel between Europe and Africa to speak to Africans directly as He had been known to do in the Old Testament. In fact, precolonial Africans did not need testament of the existence of God because, in the ordinary course of things, God would speak to the precolonial Africans particularly when they were in trouble. Of course, the idea of testament erroneously assumes that God is dead such that He is survived only by testament – just like a deadman would be survived only by testament. Such revolting assumptions in the colonial missionaries' teaching about God are not surprising given the fact that, in the 1800s, Friedrich Nietzsche (Grimwood, 2011; Nhemachena, 2021b) pronounced what he called the "death of God" and the "birth of the supermen" who thrived in the absence of the transcendental morals which had historically ensured from God. Put in other words, for Nietzsche, the "death" of the sovereign God was followed by the sovereignty of the "supermen" who after killing God ironically provided, to the world, the testament of God.

Thus, although the colonial missionaries assumed that God could travel between Heaven and Earth to save humanity, they paradoxically assumed that God was so disabled that He could not travel between Europe and Africa without the help of the colonial missionaries. Colonial missionaries presupposed that God was

dependent on their services (colonial missionaries) because they assumed that they were better able than God to travel between Europe and Africa, *albeit* as unfaithful messengers of God. Put in other words, the colonial missionaries were idolatry in the sense that they presented themselves as more able to talk than the God whom they encouraged Africans to worship; the colonial missionaries were idolatry in the sense that they presented themselves as more able to travel between Europe and Africa than the God whom they encouraged Africans to worship; similarly, the colonial missionaries practiced idolatry in the sense that they assumed that they were more powerful than the God whom they encouraged Africans to worship. In fact, through their crusades and travels to Africa, colonial missionaries assumed that God was not omnipresent in the sense of already existing everywhere in the world, including in Africa. If God was, as He is, omnipresent, then it was unnecessary for colonial missionaries to come to Africa.

The point in the foregoing is that, if, as is the case, God is omnipresent then it means God already existed and was already present in precolonial Africa even before the colonial missionaries arrived. If God is, as is the case, supreme, then it follows that God cannot be so disabled to be incapable of speaking directly to humanity and to travel between continents on earth as He travels between Heaven and earth. The argument we are making here is that colonial missionaries had their own sinister motives for assuming that God is dumb and mute and unable to travel between continents. This chapter argues that the colonial missionaries presented God as dumb, mute and incapable of planetary omnipresence because such missionaries intended to challenge the sovereignty of God even as they wanted to use God's name to colonise Africans. Put in other words, the colonial missionaries sought to colonise God first before they could proceed to colonise Africans – and they sought to colonise God by presenting Him as disabled and as dependent on the self-appointed missionaries who became unfaithful mediators between Africans and the God whom the missionaries presented as mute and dumb. If colonial missionaries allowed Africans to continue to value God's direct voice that spoke in African shrines dedicated to God, then the colonial missionaries would not have been able to colonise Africans because God would have admonished the colonisers directly.

In order to challenge God as the sovereign prime mover (Gower, 2014), colonial missionaries presented God as disabled and as no longer able to speak directly to humanity – they needed to present God as trapped in the Bible and hence unable to speak directly to humans. And in order to prevent Africans from seeking to speak directly to God, and from hearing the voice of God, the colonial missionaries taught Africans that God resided very far away in Heaven from where His voice could no longer be heard directly. Once the colonial missionaries had succeeded in presenting God as too distant for His voice to be heard anymore, the colonial missionaries and their ilk then became the prime movers in colonial Africa – dispossessing and exploiting Africans, stealing African land, stealing Africans' livestock, raping Africans women and girls, killing Africans and so forth. Presenting God as far away or as too far away for His voice to be heard anymore by humans, was not a complement but it was meant to alienate Africans from God so that the colonial project would not be hampered by direct admonitions from God: Africans and other colonial subjects would have sought direct appeals to God who could move closer to them particularly in times of tribulations such as the travails of colonization. In other words, the colonial missionaries sought to colonise God by discounting His voice which was heard previously in the Old Testament, and of course, God's voice was witnessed in African contexts. What they hated to encounter during the colonization process was God's voice directly speaking to the targeted victims of colonization. The colonial missionary logic was like one where (colonial) robbers who find children at home would tell the children that your father is now far away, too far away for him to hear your voices or for you to hear his voice. Similarly, colonial missionaries informed Africans that God had moved very far away from earth such that He could no longer hear the African voices and the Africans could no longer hear God's voice – what they supposedly only needed was to now read the Bible without seeking the live voice of God.

Therefore, colonial missionaries sought to discount the voice of the Supreme Being who was already known as the Creator of the universe in precolonial Africa. The Supreme Being was known to exist in precolonial Botswana, where He was known as Modimo or the Creator, Originator, Maker and Source of all things (Nkomazana & Setume, 2016). Among the Igbo in Nigeria, a Supreme Being was

known to exist hence names like *Chukwuemeka* (God has done much), *Chukwuka* (God is greater), *Chukwuma* (God knows) (Okeke et al., 2017); Similarly, among the Swazi of Swaziland, God was called *Mkhulumnqande* or Creator of the earth which he handed over to ancestors (Curle, 2016). In Zimbabwe, God was known as *Mwari, Nyadenga, Musikavanhu, Mlimo, Mwali* or the Creator *ex nihilo* of the universe (Ntholi, 2006; Gelfand, 1959; Daneel, 1970). Although Africans knew that God lived in Heaven (*Denga*) even as He would move closer to human beings, particularly in times of suffering and trouble, Eurocentric scholars conveniently depicted African religion as animism, totemism and naturalism because they sought to undo the sovereignty of God in Africa. Thus, although the voice of *Mwari/Mlimo* was believed to be heard from inside a cave at Matopo Hills in Zimbabwe (Makuvaza, 2008), the African religion was not animist, totemist or naturalist religion because the Africans knew that God lived in Heaven even though He could visit the earth to assist humans particularly in times of trouble. Notwithstanding this, colonial scholars and thinkers depicted African religion as animist, naturalist and totemist (Nhemachena, 2017) because the colonialists wanted to decentre God in Africa and they could do so by portraying African religions as animist, totemist and naturalist so that the existence of Heaven and a Supreme Being, that could compete with the intended supremacy of colonisers, would be discounted in African religion. Colonialists wanted their own voices to be the supreme voices in Africa and so they discounted the voice of God as the Supreme Being on the continent of Africa. This is why colonialists depicted Africans as lacking the concepts of Supreme Being, Heavenly God and sovereignty.

Thus, some Eurocentric scholars have depicted God's voice which was heard at the shrines in the Matopo Hills as "Voices from the rocks" (Daneel, 1970); and "God of the Matopo Hills" (Ranger, 1999). The erroneous assumptions in these depictions are that God's voice is a voice not from Heaven but from the rocks; and it is also assumed that the God that Africans knew is a "God of the Matopo Hills" and not God from Heaven. By depicting African religion in terms of animism, and by denying Africans knowledge about the Heavenly God, colonialists sought to deconstruct God in Africa, they sought to decentre God in Africa in the same way the same colonialists were deconstructing and decentring African sovereign

Kingdoms and Chiefdoms. After deconstructing and decentring God and the African Kingdoms and Chiefdoms, the colonialists then intended to include a "Great Reset" of the African world, which was in fact a colonial reset, such that Africans would yield to colonization. In other words, colonialists including colonial missionaries intended to see sovereignty vanishing from Africans – be it the sovereignty of God as He was known in precolonial Africa or the sovereignty of African Kingdoms and Chiefdoms as they were known in precolonial Africa. And to deconstruct, decentre and retrench the sovereign God, colonialists had to mute God's voice and to present God as dumb and unable to directly speak to humanity.

By retrenching God and muting His voice, colonialists intended to replace God's paternalism with their own colonial paternalism (Ricker, 2017; Nhemachena, 2021c). For this reason, the Belgian King Leopold II advised colonial missionaries, who were about to travel to the Congo, in the 1800s that:

> the task that is given to fulfil is very delicate and requires much tact. You will go certainly to evangelize, but your evangelization must inspire above all Belgian interests. Your principal objective in our mission in the Congo is never to teach the niggers to know God, this they know already. They speak and submit to a Mungu, one Mzambi, one Nzakomba, and what else I don't know […] They know that to kill, to sleep with someone else's wife, to lie and to insult is bad. Have courage to admit it; you are not going to teach them what they know already. Your essential role is to facilitate the task of administrators and industrials, which means you will go to interpret the gospel in the way it will be the best to protect your interests in that part of the world. For these things, you have to keep watch on dis-interesting our savages from the richness that is plenty [in their ground. To avoid that, they get interested in it, and make you murderous competition and dream one day to overthrow you] […] Evangelize the niggers so that they stay forever in submission to the White colonialists, so they never revolt against the restraints they are undergoing (Editorial Staff, 2 January 2013).

In the light of the foregoing, colonial missionaries mischievously depicted Africans as lacking the concept and worshipping of the Heavenly God; Africans were depicted by the colonial missionaries as animists, as naturalists, as totemists, as worshipping idols, as

heathens, as evil, as lacking sovereignty and as lacking notions of the sovereign God. The God that spoke in Africa to Africans was depicted by Eurocentric scholars as a "voice from the rocks" (Ranger, 1999), and as a "God of the Matopo Hills", and not a God of the Heaven. The point is that colonial missionaries already knew that Africans knew about God and that they worshipped God – and so the missionaries could not evangelize what Africans already knew, the missionaries had to teach Africans what they did not know and what they did not practice. In other words, Africans did not know about animism, naturalism, and totemism -and of course they did not know these because they did not exist in Africa - and this is why colonial missionaries had to teach these aspects. What colonialists called totems are referred in Shona language in Zimbabwe as *kuera* which is not a religion but various forms of avoidance of certain animals, birds, reptiles etc. When an individual is *kuera shiri*, it means they have to avoid eating birds and when an individual is *kuera hove* it means they have to avoid eating fish. In this sense, *kuera* is not totemism in the sense of a religion. In other words, if *kuera* means avoidance then it means *kuera* cannot be a religion because in a religion one does not avoid the object of worship but one pursues the object of worship. The other meaning of *kuera* in Shona language is to measure and this also does not refer to totemism. Also, Africans did not know that their ancestors were demons, evil and heathen, precisely because the African ancestors were not demons but they were so saintly that they even received the colonial missionaries with much hospitality in the first place: colonial missionaries had to teach Africans that their ancestors were evil, demons, sinners and heathen.

While colonial missionaries depicted African ancestors as demons, as evil and as sinners, Africans considered their ancestors (*badimo, vadzimu*) to be saintly mediators and intercessors between the living humans and God, much as Europeans consider their own ancestors as saints (Nkomazana & Setume, 2016; Sepota, 1998; Gifford, 2012; Bae & van der Merwe, 2008; Olukoya, 2019; Setio, 2019; Banda, 2020; Schliesser, 2014). Whereas precolonial Africans could hear and could be guided by the voice of God and the voices of their ancestors who spoke particularly at designated shrines and often through known mediums, colonialists sought to mute the voices of God and voices of the ancestors by defiling the African shrines, looting the African ancestral artefacts and ritual paraphernalia; sometimes the

colonialists even looted the decapitated heads of the mediums of African ancestral spirits; as much as the colonialists defiled the shrines of God and shrines of African ancestors as a way to mute the voices of God and ancestors, the colonialists also sought to defile African thrones by seizing and sitting on the sacred stools belonging to African Kingdoms such as the Golden Stool of the Asante people in Ghana (Strother, 2017; Kilani & Iheanacho, 2016; Mbalisi et al., 2015; Mwachukwu, 2017; Vendervort, 2011; Gbadamosi, 12 October 2021; Kyerematen, 1969; Brempong, 2000; BBC, n.d). Colonialists knew very well that sitting on the African sacred stools would defile them in ways that would dispel and repel African ancestors. And of course, colonialists also sat on African sovereignty and autonomy as part of the colonial process – they are still sitting on African autonomy and sovereignty even after the formal declarations of independence in Africa.

The colonialists targeted African political, community and family shrines and altars for destruction and defilement because they knew that shrines were places for taking oaths for political resistance to colonisation and for commercial reasons; ritual objects were thus burned or looted and transported to European museums; stools that were important for African royal titleholders were looted such that the African royal families were denied the stools that marked their ranks; colonial missionaries destroyed African shrines; the colonial missionaries criticized, condemned and destroyed African elements of religion and they branded African religion as inferior, barbaric, fetish and evil; African religion was branded as heathen, savage, primitive, juju, pagan, animism, idolatry, polytheisms and the devil was depicted as residing in Africa (Strother, 2017; Kilani & Iheanacho, 2016; Mbalisi et al., 2015; Mwachukwu, 2017). In Zimbabwe, colonialists sought to defile African shrines at Great Zimbabwe and at Matopo Hills by burying Cecil John Rhodes, the homosexual British arch-imperialist: he was buried at the *Malindidzimu* (resting place of the African ancestors) on the Matopo Hills where God's voice used to be heard and where African pilgrimages were made from as far as Venda in South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique (see McGonagle, 2007; Ntholi, 2006; Nhemachena, 2017; Fontein, 2006; 2009; 2015; Daneel, 1970). The colonialists also buried colonialists Alan Wilson and his deceased soldiers at Great Zimbabwe where the voice of God

and voices of African ancestors used to be heard (Fontein, 2006; 2009; 2015; Mushonga, 2006).

The fact that the colonialists kept some of the African ritual artefacts, and even decapitated heads of spirit mediums, in European museums means that the African artefacts were not necessarily demonic, evil, heathen, savage, barbaric or primitive as claimed by the colonial missionaries who looted such artefacts from Africans. The question is who would happily keep demonic, savage, heathen and evil artefacts in their homes and museums? The real reason why the artefacts were looted was that the colonialists were keen to mute the voice of God in Africa and they also wanted to mute the voices of African ancestors whose shrines were looted and defiled by the colonial missionaries. The aim by the colonialists was to deconstruct African spiritual sovereignty by decentring and deconstructing the voice of God in Africa as well as the voices of African ancestors who would otherwise be inclined to assist living Africans to resist colonization. Thus, Europeans and Americans who looted the shrines and artefacts are still refusing to return the stolen artefacts and skulls of African mediums; they give various lame excuses to justify retention of the artefacts and decapitated heads of Africans (Gbadamosi, 12 October 2021).

After having destroyed the African religious structures and after having decapitated African spirit mediums, Europeans continue to celebrate such destruction under the guise of poststructuralism in the twenty-first century. For instance, contemporary Western flat ontologists replace structure with some kind of interrelated network or assemblage; flat ontology proposes that there are no distinctions between humans and nonhumans – in this case, between the colonized humans and the nonhumans (Kvachev, 2020); also, flat ontology erroneously proposes that there are no distinctions between God and rocks, between God and trees, between God and animals, between God and mountains. In other words, flat ontology follows the logics that 'God is of the Matopo Hills' and that God's voice is a 'voice from the rocks' – and never a God of the Heaven or a voice from the Heaven. Besides, flat ontology denies the existence of hierarchies including hierarchies between human beings and God; flat ontologies deny the existence of hierarchies between human beings and animals – and for flat ontologists, God is, blasphemously, taken to be a crab, a dog, a scavenger, a rock, a skunk, a donkey, a

goat, a monkey, a baboon etc (Latour, 2005; Bryant, 2011; Vadim, 2020). Flat ontology is antihumanist and anti-anthropocentric in the sense of deconstructing and decentring the humans and Anthropos – and it celebrates nonhumans. Flat ontologies dismiss power including the power of God and by extension, they dismiss the sovereignty of God (Kvachev, 2020). For flat ontologists, God merely becomes an assemblage rather than a sovereign. Also, in flat ontologies, Africans are denied their sovereignty because flat ontologies assume that human beings and nonhuman animals are at the same level. Flat ontologies assume that all entities be they human or nonhuman are on an equal ontological footing and that humans do not deserve any more dignity that other objects such as dogs, baboons, owls, crocodiles, viruses, monkeys, skunks, snakes etc (Brassier, 2014).

The problem is that flat ontologies deny the existence of hierarchies yet African religions had hierarchies even in the spiritual realm where God ranked highest followed by ancestral spirits Gelfand (1959) for instance notes that for the Shona people of Zimbabwe, there was belief in the Creator; below the Creator were "tribal" spirits of chiefly families (*maGombwe*) and then the ancestors of individual families (*mudzimu wapamusha*). Noting the existence of spiritual hierarchies in Shona religion, Gelfand (1959, pp. 1-5) writes thus:

> The Shona has both a religious faith and a ritual. He believes in the existence of the Creator, although he does not often pray directly to him…This religion has much in it that is good and must have provided a sense of satisfaction and security to many people in a world which Europeans regard as primitive […] Both the tribal spirits and those of the family are graded in importance. The hierarchy of tribal spirits is comparable to the structure of a government department in a civil service, with the chief secretary at its head. Below him are a few provincial officers in charge of the provinces, under them a still larger number of district officers in charge of districts, and finally the assistant district officers in charge of sub-districts. Among the Mashona it is said that the greatest rainspirit (*gombwe, mhondoro* or *mweya*) of all is Chaminuka and under him are dozens of rain-spirits (*magombwe* or *mhondoro*). Each responsible for a different region or province.

In such a religion as of the Shona people where there are hierarchies, God could not have been at the same level with frogs, owls, snakes, donkeys, rocks, trees, baboons, monkeys, skunks and so on as is assumed by contemporary Western flat ontologists. Similarly, in a religion such as the Shona people practised where there are hierarchies, human beings could not have been at the same level with monkeys, baboons, frogs, owls, skunks, viruses, trees, rocks, bacteria, ants and so on as is assumed by contemporary Western flat ontologists. The point here is that in so far as they decentre and deconstruct the sovereignty of God and the sovereignty of Africans by assuming flat ontologies, the Western flat ontologists repeat the colonial practices of retrenching God and retrenching Africans from their positions of sovereignty. The point here is that flat ontologies are an apology for the colonial destruction of African religions that were marked by the existence of a Supreme Being, much as African institutions were marked by the existence of sovereign rulers.

The Kalanga people in Zimbabwe believed in High God known as Mwali or Creator God; the Shona people of Zimbabwe believed in the existence of *Mwari, Musikavanhu, Mutangakugara* or Creator of the universe (Nthoi, 2005; Ranger, 1999). The colonialists deconstructed African religion because priests in African religion ordered the supplicants of African religions to drive out the colonialists to avert ecological disasters and restore peace in Africa; during the Zimbabwean liberation struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, liberation fighters consulted the Mwari oracle at the Matobo Hills (Ranger, 1999; Bhebhe, 2019; Mushonga, 2006). To stop Africans from seeking the intervention of Mwari (God) in their struggles against colonialism, the colonialists depicted African religions as demonic, evil, animist, totemistic, naturalistic, and as leading to hell. Further, to disrupt African reliance on God in their struggles for liberation, colonialists dispossessed Africans of their sacred drums, musical instruments, drums of *Mwari* which were known as the Voice of God, Mambo weDenga (King of Heaven) or lord of all ancestor spirits; the colonialists also terrorized the high priests, of African religion, who served at *Mwali* shrines; the colonialists also looted African shrine artefacts including the sacred Zimbabwe birds (Oxford Reference, 2011; Matenga, 2011). The idea was to disrupt African ancestors who were known by Africans to be the guardians of the land (Schoffeleers, 1999). In this regard, African ancestors did

not turn into or become the land, as is assumed in Eurocentric flat ontologies, but they were guardians and owners of the land that was coveted by the colonialists who were thus threatened by the existence of African sovereigns be they in the spiritual realms or in the humanly realms. Dismissing the assumptions of flat ontologies in relation to Shona religion, Fontein (2006, p. 774) writes thus:

> Rather than being the very form of the landscape, the Shona spirit world shadows or parallels the human world, and exists separately to it, with spirit acting as owners and guardians of the land and the people on it. At times however, Shona spirits (the ancestors, *Mwari* and others) do manifest themselves in the landscape through rocks, caves, pools and trees. They can also appear as animals, especially lions and eagles, and perhaps most frequently of all emerge among people themselves by possessing spirit mediums or appearing in dreams. In this way, parts of the landscape, certain animals and certain people can act as vehicles for communication between the parallel world of the spirits and people, particularly on these ritual and 'sacred' occasions when these separate worlds share time and space.

Defiling holy places in Africa: Engraving colonialists in African sacred places

Perhaps the greatest defilement of African religious shrines was when colonialists buried their fellow colonialists on African shrines from where God's voice and the voices of African ancestors were heard. In this regard, Alan Wilson and his team of colonial soldiers were buried at Great Zimbabwe before being moved to Matopo Hills where the British arch-imperialist and homosexual Cecil John Rhodes was also buried on the African holy shrines (McCrea & Pinchuck, 2000; Fontein, 2006; 2009; 2015). So, apart from colonialists deliberating siting their missions and graves in close proximity to African sacred places (Fontein, 2015), the colonialists also destroyed graves of African ancestors. The British arch-imperialist Cecil John Rhodes was sited close to the Ndebele King Mzilikazi's grave because Rhodes wanted to replace Mzilikazi. Because colonialists defile African religious shrines, the voice God and the voices of African ancestors ceased to be heard at the shrines at Great Zimbabwe. Writing about the defilement of such African shrines, Fontein (2006, pp 771-776) notes thus:

Local people often state that the 'desecration' of Great Zimbabwe began with the arrival of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century. In particular whites are blamed for the destruction they caused as they dug for gold and relics, or for the source of the mysterious sounds and voices heard there is the past. Although archaeologists today often lament the reckless pillaging of ruins across Zimbabwe by early Rhodesian antiquarians, local narratives do not differentiate between the destructive diggings of early antiquarians and the careful 'scientific' excavations of professional archaeologists…Many informants…talked about this silence in relation to Great Zimbabwe, emphasizing that it used to have a voice, or voices and sounds that could be heard early in the morning, or in the evening. Some described the voice as the Voice of *Mwari* that now speaks at the *Mwari* shrines in the Matopos, while others described less specific sounds of people going about their daily business, milking cows, grinding corn, whistling, ululating and drumming. People also referred to sounds of cattle bellowing, cocks crowing and goats bleating. None of these sounds had a visible source and, importantly, they are no longer heard…Many people suggested that the sounds, voices and other 'miraculous' features of the place could return if *chikaranga* or *tsika dzechivanhu* (traditional rules and customs) were followed, and the spirits were consulted.

Because flat ontologies assume that God is merely an assemblage (Bennett, 2010) and not a sovereign, they deconstruct the centrality of God and the centrality of the African ancestral world that lies above the human world. And of course, by assuming that there is no hierarchy, flat ontologies deconstruct Africans' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources (Pereira & Gough, 2013; Tyagi, 2015; Gumplova, 2019). Soon after gaining political independence in the 1960s and 1970s, African states demanded sovereignty over their natural resources yet such permanent sovereignty over natural resources is currently being reversed through the grammar of flat ontologies. African permanent sovereignty over natural resources emerged as a fundamental principle of international law allowing postcolonial states to assert full sovereignty or sovereign rights over their natural resources found within their jurisdictions; Permanent sovereignty over natural resources emerged from North-South struggles of the 1960s and 1970s when the 'developing countries' sought to attain economic independence through permanent sovereignty over their natural

resources (Pereira & Gough, 2013; Tyagi, 2015; Gumplova, 2019). In permanent sovereignty over natural resources, natural resources belong to citizens of a state and not to foreigners; Permanent sovereignty over natural resources was granted to states by the United Nations following struggles between the North and the South; the idea in permanent sovereignty over natural resources was to create a new international economic order (NIEO) out of the colonial systems in which foreign powers, private individuals and corporations robbed people of the 'developing countries' of their resources; to reverse the colonial order wherein foreign powers had robbed Africans of their natural resources, the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources sought to vest natural resources ownership in the hands of the African states and their citizens (Gumplova, 2019).

The point in the foregoing is that flat ontologies are designed to reverse Africans' sovereignty over their natural resources because flat ontologies deconstruct African sovereignty; flat ontologies also deconstruct the centrality of human beings over nonhumans including over natural resources. Flat ontologies not only erroneously put humans and God at the same level but the flat ontologies also put human beings and their natural resources at the same level. In this way, human beings are surreptitiously denied sovereignty over their natural resources. When flat ontologists put humans and nonhuman objects at the same level, they alluringly address this as "democracy of objects" or "expanded democracy" but then this is simply meant to deconstruct African human sovereignty over their natural resources by assuming that the African human beings are at the same level as their natural resources. Put in other words, flat ontologies, including the animist assumptions in them are a sleight of hand to destroy African sovereignty over their natural resources.

To deconstruct African permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, Eurocentric scholarship deconstructs sovereignty, more generally. Eurocentric scholars argue that sovereignty is archaic, they argue that sovereignty is in fact not African and that sovereignty is derived from the European Westphalian Treaty; they redefine sovereignty as violence; the Eurocentric scholars argue that the challenges in the world are too big for a state to solve alone and that therefore states must relinquish their sovereignty and cede such sovereignty to some international institution or community headed

by the Euro-American establishment; they argue that global pollution, environmental degradation, and global poverty cannot be effectively addressed by states but by some international organization or community headed by the Euro-American establishment (Harrison & Boyd, 2018). Ironically, even as African states are advised to relinquish their sovereignty, Western transnational corporations continue to reinforce their hold on African natural resources, and such transnational corporations continue to rob Africans of their resources and to cause pollution and human rights violations on the continent of Africa (Ozden, 2005). In this regard, Eurocentric scholars advise Africans to submit their national sovereignty to the higher authority of an "international" body, and to also reimagine 'God without sovereignty' (Caputo, 2003).

Deconstructing African sovereignty in the absence of God's voice

Of course, even as Africans are advised to relinquish their sovereignty, Europeans and Americans are enhancing their technological sovereignty; they are enhancing their economic sovereignty and they are enhancing their strategic autonomy (Crespi et al., 2021; Kelly, 3 September 2020; Gabriel et al., 2013) – and they are also enhancing their political sovereignty and their sovereignty over their natural resources. In this regard, Western transnational corporations are benefiting and strengthening their positions even as Africans suffer problems such as the COVID-19 pandemic as well as unemployment due to the ongoing robotization of work. While Africans are advised by Westerners to relinquish their sovereignty and cede it to transnational or international organizations headed by Euro-Americans, we however witness Africans being immensely exploited by the same Western transnational corporations and organisations: instead of helping Africans, Western transnational corporations and organisations seek to maximise their profits. For instance, Western transnational pharmaceutical corporations have recently refused to share with Africans, the technological knowhow on how to produce COVID-19 vaccines; they refused to share the knowhow even when the WHO persuaded them to do so – in fact even as Africans are suffering not only impoverishment as a result of colonial dispossession and exploitation, but also due to COVID-19,

Western corporations are enjoying profits of $34 billion a year or 93.5 million a day out of COVID-19 vaccines (Dransfield, 16 November 2021). Besides, even as Africans are suffering the effects of COVID-19, Western corporations such as Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Google, Microsoft, and Netflix are enjoying huge profits in the order of billions because work and education have been shifted online (Thorbecke, 26 August 2020). In fact, Western pharmaceutical corporations like Pfizer are bullying states in the 'developing countries' to use their **sovereign assets** such as embassy buildings and military bases as guarantees against legal suits directed to the corporation in the event of recipients of their vaccines suffering adverse effects (Davies et al., 23 February 2021). Also, in spite of the fact that African states are being denied sovereignty over their own natural resources, African states are burdened with what are ironically called **sovereign debts** (Pfumorodze, 2022). The point here is that African states that have been **denied permanent sovereignty** over their natural resources are ironically **expected to pay the so-called sovereign debts**.

Nevertheless, using the pretext of COVID-19 vaccinations or pandemic responses in the future, the World Health Organization recently held a special session of the World Health Assembly (WHASS) in 2021 intending to draft a treaty on pandemic preparedness and response to bind states to respond to pandemics as it expects (Wenham et al., 2022). The European Union is the one that proposed the treaty which is called the Pandemic Treaty to force states to share data on pandemics, on pathogens, to ensure universal access to medicines, vaccines and diagnostics; the WHO's idea is supposedly to use digital data collection and sharing, pathogen and genomic data sharing, restore trust in international health systems (Wenham et al., 2022; Labonte et al., 2021; Maxmen, 2021). The proposed Pandemic Treaty gives the WHO the authority to oversee the collection of surveillance data and to issue recommendations on trade and travel advisories to control the spread of infectious diseases, among other things; the Pandemic Treaty is seen as a means to address inequities in global vaccine distribution; it is said to arise from concerns that during the COVID-19 pandemic many presidents and prime ministers ignored WHO recommendations and have not been made accountable for their actions; thus Germany, France, and other European Union member states have proposed a

legally binding Pandemic Treaty; in this regard, the EU and WHO called for a legally binding treaty supposedly so that the world is better prepared for the next pandemic (Labonte et al., 2021; Maxmen, 2021; Editorial, 6 April 2021).

We argue in this chapter that Africans must not only take note of the explicit objectives of the so-called Pandemic Treaty but they must also examine the underlying assumptions of such a treaty. Noting that the proposed treaty, like all other preceding colonial practices, destroys African sovereignty over their natural resources by transferring sovereignty and power more generally to the WHO, this chapter argues that Africans must look before they leap. In the light of colonial treaties that historically constituted the basis of colonization, it becomes apprehensive to have treaties that are designed to empower "transnational" organisations that are owned and controlled by Westerners who are anxious to deconstruct and destroy African sovereignty over their natural resources. Similarly, in the light of Western breaches of "international" agreements, such as the Lancaster House Agreement (Nhemachena, 2017), which were signed between African liberation movements and Westerners who had colonized Africans, it is apprehensive to have treaties that empower "transnational" organisations owned and controlled by the Westerners. In the context of, for instance, the late Belgian King Leopold II's use of rhetoric and cover-ups to camouflage his personal ambitions, including dispossessing and exploiting Africans in the former Belgian Congo (Ala, 2005), it is apprehensive to have treaties that empower "transnational" organisations owned and controlled by Westerners at a time when Westerners are anxious to deconstruct and destroy African sovereignty over their natural resources. The Belgian King Leopold II's stated aims were to explore and civilize Africans through legitimate trade and through the suppression of slave trade but the King had ambitions to dispossess and exploit Africans as unpaid cheap labour on rubber plantations. Also, in a context where Westerners are refusing to return land, back to African original owners, and to pay reparations for enslaving and colonizing Africans for centuries, it is apprehensive to sign treaties that empower "transnational" organisations that are owned and controlled by the Westerners. The point here is that Whereas Westerners would want Africans to simply forget about the cruelty of enslavement and colonization, and the possibility of new forms of

enslavement and colonisation, Africans need to be on guard so that they are not enslaved and colonized again in the guise of beneficial treaties and international cooperation. It would be foolhardy for Africans to simply forget and then risk being caught off-guard in the ongoing recolonization of the continent. It would be extremely costly for Africans to be caught off-guard. Thus, describing how enslaved Africans were chained up, connected, entangled and networked together, Esq (2003, pp. 896-898) writes:

> Many slaves died from fever, measles, and scurvy while aboard the slave-ships, before they even reached the shores of the West…The Trans-Atlantic voyage provided no apparent route of escape for the captives, except death, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. In a few instances, the captured slave demonstrated his or her preference to die, rather than suffer such inhumane treatment…In addition to the physical constraint that extreme overcrowding imposed, iron shackles restrained the African slaves' and wrists while aboard the slave ship, and also upon arrival in the New World. In effect, these iron cuffs were extremely burdensome, and likely to cause additional physical injury. Along with the iron cuffs, the slave-traders also secured iron devices around the slaves' necks, and similar iron chains to secure their arms and legs. Some of these iron contraptions were secured in such a manner that one slave would be connected to the limb of another slave. Therefore, the slave was not only constrained with the burden of his own motion, but also that of any other slave to which his bondage chains were linked.

If Africans are being chained and shackled together again using the virtual Internet of Things, the Internet of Humans, the Internet of Everything and the Internet of Battlefield Things (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020; Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020), African leaders, who uncritically support the ongoing shackling, risk becoming complicit in the ongoing recolonization on the Africans. The contemporary twenty-first century is littered with catchwords such as networks, connections, relations etc which are alluring but reminiscent of the shackles and chains of the enslavement era. There are lessons from the enslavement era to learn from. Enslaved Africans were seized, gagged and jammed into boats bound for the Americas and Europe (Sieff, 29 January 2018; Rothman, 5 October 2021), but in the contemporary era, Africans are chained through alluring international treaties, through the virtual spaces and chains

that are deterritorialising Africans in the sense of pushing Africans away from their natural territorial spaces where their natural resources are located. Historically, enslaved Africans were crammed onto slaveships but in the twenty-first century enslaved Africans are crammed onto a global spaceship in which they are denied ownership, control and sovereignty.

While enslaved African men and women were chained up for weeks in hot filthy holds where diseases ran rampant and punishment for disobedience was harsh (Kean, 4 April 2019), in the contemporary era, enslaved Africans are trapped in a global spaceship and forced to live in overcrowded hot and filthy shacks where diseases run rampant, and the African men and women are chained up in resilient impoverishment traps where death rates are very high. While countries like France, Britain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany and other governments authorized the enslavement of Africans in history (Esq, 2003), in the contemporary era, "transnational" institutions, "international" institutions, "transnational" corporations and Western states agree to draft treaties that often entrap Africans into giving up or relinquishing their sovereignty. Indeed, during the enslavement era, some Europeans were appalled to hear that Africans ruled themselves in their supposed barbarism and savagery (Esq, 2003).

While many enslaved Africans were forcibly branded with red hot iron and the names of their owners were written, using such red-hot iron, on the foreheads, backs or chests (Esq, 2003; Robinson, 2021; Adiele, 2017); in the twenty-first century, enslaved Africans are risking branding with microchip insertions/implantations and with biometric identification including digital identifications, ID2020, which are etched on the bodies of the recipients (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). Put differently, much as slave masters etched identities on African bodies, in the contemporary era, Western transnational corporations and institutions are etching identities on African bodies – Africans are still deemed incapable of giving themselves their own identities. Writing about how enslaved Africans were treated, Adiele (2017: 100-102) states thus:

> The human status of the Black African slaves changed automatically in the eyes of the European enslaving nations as soon as they were captured and handed over to the European slave merchants. They

ceased to be considered as fellow humans to become inferior and sub-human beings. Most often than not, these slaves were considered by their owners as mere tools of human labour…And by reason of this fact, they were treated like mere chattels, whose life and death depended solely on the whims and caprices of their white slave masters…The agony of the Black African slaves began with their forceful capture, which was followed by the branding of the slaves with the initials of their slave owners. For instance, the initial "D.Y" which was seen on the bodies of several millions of Black African captives was given to the slaves belonging to the British Royal African Company bearing the initials of the Duke of York as governor of this English slave company. In the like manner the initials "D.D" was branded on the slaves belonging to the merchants of Liverpool etc… The slave was meant to kneel down, the branding iron was red hot, and then it was stamped on the poor Negro's forehead, breast, buttock or back according to the fancy of the brander. This branding was followed by a temporary imprisonment in a slave dungeon located at the Castles of the various European enslaving nations in West Africa, where up to 500 men, women and children were kept in an underground with no air or light for weeks, before they were marched like herds of pigs through the Atlantic Coast, where the slave ships were kept in waiting to begin a journey of no return and of unimaginable future…these innocent men, women and children were left for days without food, kept in chains on their legs for weeks, mercilessly flogged and manhandled at the least provocation butchered and were made to lie down in the ship's hold with their backs, just to make space for the best and quickest possible financial gains. They were packed like tins of sardines in a sachet and were only allowed to occupy a space measuring only 5 feet in length by 16 inches in breadth during the Atlantic crossing which lasted for months…The manner of stowing the slaves in the slave ships like cattle had even a parliamentary approval of the governments of some European enslaving nations. For instance, the British government approved of this manner of packing of Black African slaves under the Regulated Slave Trade Act of 1788…The approval of this narrow space for the stowing of the Black African slaves was in the minds of these English enlightened Gentlemen of the time adjudged as the best comfort, which they could give to the Black African slaves during the Middle Passage.

If contemporary Africans become modern day slaves, denied sovereignty and autonomy and chained in the emergent Internet of

Things, Internet of Humans, Internet of Everything, and in the manifold international treaties which provide cover up for destroying African sovereignty and autonomy (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020; Crane, 2013; Crane et al, 2021; Hodal, 25 February 2019; Guilbert, 13 July 2020), those that will have enslaved Africans will shift the blame to contemporary African leaders. African chiefs and kings are similarly being blamed by Euro-Americans who enslaved Africans: they argue that it was the African chiefs and kings at that time who sold their fellow Africans to the Europeans. The Euro-Americans blame African chiefs and kings of that time for selling their fellow Africans to Euro-American buyers who were supposedly Christian and Godly. Depicted as descendants of Noah's cursed son, Ham, Africans have been portrayed and treated by Euro-Americans as natural slaves worth of perpetual enslavement. (Finkelman, 2012; Morrison, n.d; Reddie, 17 February 2011). Of course, the problem is that the Euro-Americans did not ask God if Africans are really the descendants of Ham and hence worth of perpetual enslavement. God's live voice has been dismissed and muted prior to the onset of the evils of enslavement and colonization.

To ensure that there was broad toleration of the enslavement of Africans, slavery was depicted as legitimate and as supported by the Bible: of course, the slave owners and traders did not care to ask God directly whether the institution of slavery was legitimate and sanctioned by Him – God's direct voice was not needed by the slave owners and slave traders. Once the institution of enslavement was justified, even churches including the Roman Catholic Church (Adiele, 2017) and the Church of England also engaged in slave trade and in slave ownership – and, for this, the churches have even refused to pay reparations to enslaved Africans or to descendants of enslaved Africans.

Just as the slave owners and slave owners and traders of the old justified the enslavement of Africans by claiming that Africans did not know God, in the contemporary era, Eurocentric scholars are trying to hide behind the communalism of ubuntu to argue that depriving Africans of their autonomy and sovereignty is legitimate and sanctioned by African ubuntu communalist cultures. The point is that while in the past, slave owners and slave traders justified enslaving Africans, including deprivation of autonomy and sovereignty by using the Bible and God, today the denial of African

autonomy and sovereignty is being justified using ubuntu collectivistic and communalist values which are conveniently presented by Eurocentrists as lacking individual autonomy. Just as the slave owners and slave traders of the old, justified enslaving Africans on the basis of claims that Africans were animists who did not know God, today those that seek to deny Africans their autonomy and sovereignty similarly claim that Africans are and were animists, naturalists and totemists who did not and do not know God, except through colonial missionaries. Put in other words, slave owners and slave traders of the old justified the enslavement of Africans by claiming that the institution of slavery already existed in precolonial Africa before the European slave trade and therefore they argue that Europeans cannot be blamed for enslaving Africans (Deertz, 23 August 2019; Bortolot, 1 October 2003; Adiele, 2017; Esq, 2003). In a similar way, those that seek to deprive Africans of their autonomy and sovereignty claim that autonomy and sovereignty do not exist in African ubuntu culture and therefore Westerners should not be blamed for depriving Africans of autonomy and sovereignty in the twenty-first century and beyond when Africans become shackled in the Internet of Things.

Of course, when Eurocentric scholars argue that the institution of slavery existed in Africa prior to the arrival of Europeans, they forget that elsewhere they argue that Africans did not have the institution of private ownership of property – including private ownership of slaves. If Africans did not have the institution of private property, the question then is about the basis of the institution of slavery in a society that does not have the institution of private ownership. If Africans did not have the institution of private ownership then it follows that they could not have privately owned slaves. In the same vein, if Africans had collectivist ubuntu, it follows that they could not have privately owned slaves prior to the arrival of Europeans. In fact, Eurocentric scholars argue, on one hand, that precolonial Africans did not have political organisations such as states, but, ironically, on another hand, the same Eurocentric scholars argue that African states kingdoms and chiefdoms enslaved and sold Africans to Europeans. Eurocentric proponents of flat ontologies presuppose that there were no social and political structures in precolonial Africa yet the same Eurocentric flat ontologists want Africans to believe the argument that African states, chiefdoms and kingdoms existed and

were the ones that captured and sold African slaves to Europeans and Americans. Similarly, Eurocentric scholars argue that precolonial Africans did not have cultures, yet the same Eurocentric scholars want Africans to believe that long before the arrival of European slave traders there were ethnic and cultural wars which were the basis of recruitments of slaves. In the same vein, Eurocentric scholars argue that there were no boundaries and borders in precolonial Africa yet they also want Africans to believe that slaves were captured during "tribal" and "ethnic" wars around territorial boundaries and borders. Besides, Eurocentric scholars argue that there were no legal institutions in precolonial Africa yet they want Africans to believe that African chiefs and kings sold into slavery those Africans that had committed crimes such as murder, robbery, kidnapping, and sorcery. Also, Eurocentric scholars argue that before the arrival of Europeans Africans did not have morals and ethics, yet the same Eurocentric scholars want Africans to believe the story that some Africans were so moral and ethical to render themselves into slavery as a way to pay debts which they could not settle otherwise (Esq, 2003; Adiele, 2017; Borlot, 1 October 2003; Deertz, 23 August 2019).

The point we are driving at is that before contemporary twenty-first century African leaders sign any treaties, conventions or laws, they need to know that when the reality of chicanery is exposed over time, the real culprits behind malicious treaties, conventions and laws will seek to pass the blame to the African leaders. In this regard, when African leaders sign treaties that relinquish African autonomy and sovereignty ceding them to "transnational" organisations, institutions and corporations owned and controlled by Westerners, the same Westerners will blame the African leaders for signing away African autonomy and sovereignty. In the same way the enslavers and colonisers from Europe and America are refusing to pay compensation for enslaving and colonizing Africans for centuries, contemporary African leaders must know that if they sign away African autonomy and sovereignty in some shady treaties that are set up to deconstruct and destroy African autonomy and sovereignty, then the Westerners and their so-called international institutions, transnational institutions and corporations will similarly refuse to pay compensation or reparations to Africans.

In this regard, while Britain and other European countries decided to abolish slavery and pay compensation for slavery, they ironically

did not pay even a cent to the enslaved Africans – the compensation for slavery was made to the slave owners and slave traders rather than to the enslaved Africans (Adiele, 2017; Manjapra, 29 March 2018). Similarly, whereas in America, Britain, Australia and other European countries, there is compensation to citizens who take vaccines and then suffer bad effects, in Africa, there is no compensation to Africans that suffer harmful effects of vaccines that are in any case produced by Western corporations some of which were historically involved in the enslavement and colonization of Africans (Nhemachena, 2021b). Decrying the fact that the enslaved Africans were not compensated, Manjapra (29 March 2018) writes thus:

> On 3 August 1835, somewhere in the city of London, two of Europe's most famous bankers came to an agreement with the chancellor of the exchequer. Two years earlier the British government had passed the Slavery Abolition Act, which outlawed slavery…Now it was taking out one of the largest loans in history, to finance the slave compensation package…You might expect this so-called "slave compensation" to have gone to the freed slaves to redress the injustices they suffered. Instead, the money went exclusively to the owners of slaves, who were being compensated for the loss of what had until then, been considered their property. Not a single shilling of reparation, nor a single word of apology, has ever been granted by the British state to the people it enslaved, or their descendants…From the 15th to the 19th centuries, more than 11 million shackled black captives were forcibly transported to the Americas, and unknown multitudes were lost at sea. Captives were often thrown overboard. When they were too sick, or too strong-willed, or too numerous to feed…Britain could not have become the most powerful economic force on earth by the turn of the 19th century without commanding the largest plantation economies on earth, with more than 800, 000 people enslaved.

Although Africans are being encouraged by Westerners to celebrate the Fourth Industrial Revolution, it is clear from the foregoing that Europe and America did not necessarily develop from industrial revolutions but from enslaving Africans. The wealth that was used to stimulate the industrial revolution came from enslaving Africans; major ports, cities, canals, and banks like Barclays Brothers, Thomas Leyland Banking House, Barings and HSBC trace their wealth from enslaving Africans and also the Bank of England traces

its wealth to the enslavement of Africans; even the wealth of the Church of England is traced to the enslavement of Africans, shipping industries in Europe and America are traceable to the enslavement of Africans (Gopal, 23 April 2014; Oakes, 2016; Ferguson, 23 January 2022).

Quietly grabbing African land while inserting the Fourth Industrial Revolution

In the contemporary era, we witness the transnational grabbing of African land in the second scramble for Africa; and these land grabs are occurring at the same time we are ironically being asked to celebrate and be optimistic about the ongoing Fourth Industrial Revolution. However, the question is if the Fourth Industrial Revolution is magical in terms of generating economic growth then why are the Western states and their corporations grabbing African land and other resources? If any growth is realized in Western economies in the future, will such growth not be a result of transnational land grabs rather than the Fourth Industrial Revolution? Of course, Africans may be told that the Fourth Industrial Revolution will be efficient but then the enslavement and colonisation of Africans were also carried out in the name of and under the assumptions of efficiency. Africans need to be wary of the supposedly unqualified good that will arise from the Fourth Industrial Revolution, particularly when their land is being grabbed by the Western transnational corporations; and when at the same time jobs are being handed over to robots that are already replacing human beings in the industries (Ford, 2 October 2021; Pethokoukis, 6 September 2021; Wood, 1 December 2021; Aeppel, 2 February 2022; Atkinson, 2019; Aratani, 27 November 2020; Csefalvary, 2021). Efficiency is a word that has, since the enslavement and colonization era, tended to hide sinister practices. Colonialists have historically tended to consider themselves so efficient that they saw no harm in colonizing other peoples in the world. Similarly, colonial missionaries tended to consider themselves so efficient that they saw no harm in replacing God's direct voice with missionaries' own mouths and voices. Instead of Africans making pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to God to hear God's voice, colonial missionaries made their own

supposedly more efficient voices loud and clear, foreshadowing God's own live voice across the continent.

Even as African leaders are promised, by the so-called investors, that employment will be generated when they are given African land in the so-called land deals, what we actually see is the increasing robotization of work such that human beings are being replaced with robots. Robots are already being employed to clean floors, disinfect rooms and other facilities in hospitals, supermarkets etc; fast food chains are now using cooking robots, robots are employed to inspect fields and kill weeds, other robots are employed to harvest fruits; there are also robots for milking cows, robots for mining and demining, robots for livestock farming,, building construction robots, robotic bartenders and restaurant robots (Ford, 2 October 2021; Pathokoukis, 6 September 2021; Wood, 1 December 2021; Csefalvary, 2021). The argument in the foregoing is that Africans need to assert their economic sovereignty rather than relying on the so-called investors and industrial revolutions which serve more to hide the proceeds of enslaving and colonizing Africans than to reveal any new ways of generating wealth and development. Promises of wealth creation, investment, development, progress and modernization have historically served to bamboozle Africans such that they get petrified and fooled into the logics of cruel anticipation – anticipating development that does not come, anticipating increased wealth that does not materialize, anticipating wealth creation that does not happen, anticipating progress that does not happen. Promises often serve to quieten, to mute and generate dumbness among those that would otherwise make noise. Missionaries knew very well how to mute and make Africans dumb as they waited for what was promised to come, which is still to come.

The missionaries of disaster and revolutions of poverty in Africa: The logics of Pachamama

The upshot of the foregoing is that colonial missionaries covered up for the rest of the colonialists by condemning African ancestors as demons of poverty when in fact the poverty was created by the colonialists themselves who dispossessed and exploited Africans. Similarly, contemporary Western churches cover up for Western transnational corporations by condemning African ancestors as

demons of poverty when in fact the poverty in Africa is created by the transnational corporations that continue to dispossess and exploit Africans. When the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank imposed Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes, on Africans, which saw massive retrenchments, removal of price subsidies, deregulation of wages, cost recovery and so on, the churches did not condemn them as demons of poverty. Indeed, the churches simply continued to condemn African ancestors as the demons of poverty on the African continent. And of course, uncritical Africans continue to believe that it is their own ancestors who are causing poverty on the African continent, supposedly mercilessly inflicting poverty and suffering on their own offspring.

With the ongoing second scramble for Africa and the associated transnational land grabs, it is not surprising that the churches and missionaries in them will continue to demonise African ancestors as the demons of poverty even as the poverty on the continent is actually coming from transnational land grabs and the second scramble for Africa. Missionaries will continue to demonise African ancestors as the demons of hunger when in fact hunger on the African continent is actually emanating from ongoing transnational land grabs. In the transnational land grabs, Africans' land is being grabbed and put to the service of Westerners who, by sleight of hand, portray their own interests as global interest – and hence they grab African land in the supposed interests of the whole world. Instead of producing food for Africans to eat those that are grabbing African land are growing crops that are not edible on a continent which has reported massive afflictions with hunger. Trapped in the Western logics of cruel anticipation, some African leaders succumb to promises of development, economic growth, modernization and progress which serve more to quieten otherwise rebellious Africans than to actually bring-forth the anticipated benefits. The map below shows what African and is being put to.

With the emergence of the Fourth Industrial Revolution that promises massive joblessness among Africans, Western churches will become even frenzied in condemning African ancestors as the demons of poverty on the continent of Africa. The Fourth Industrial Revolution is projected to result in billions of losses of jobs in a world that is increasingly preferring robots over human employees. In fact, Noah Harari (2008) has projected that the Fourth Industrial

Revolution will result in a "useless class of humans" because industrial robots would have replaced the human workers: and of course, the robots have already started to replace human workers. Indeed, with massive joblessness, some would condemn God as failing to answer the prayers of human beings. The point is that some humans create problems for others and then they blame their victims, and they even blame God for the problems that they would have caused on other human beings.

Figure 1: Uses to which transnational land grabbers are putting African land
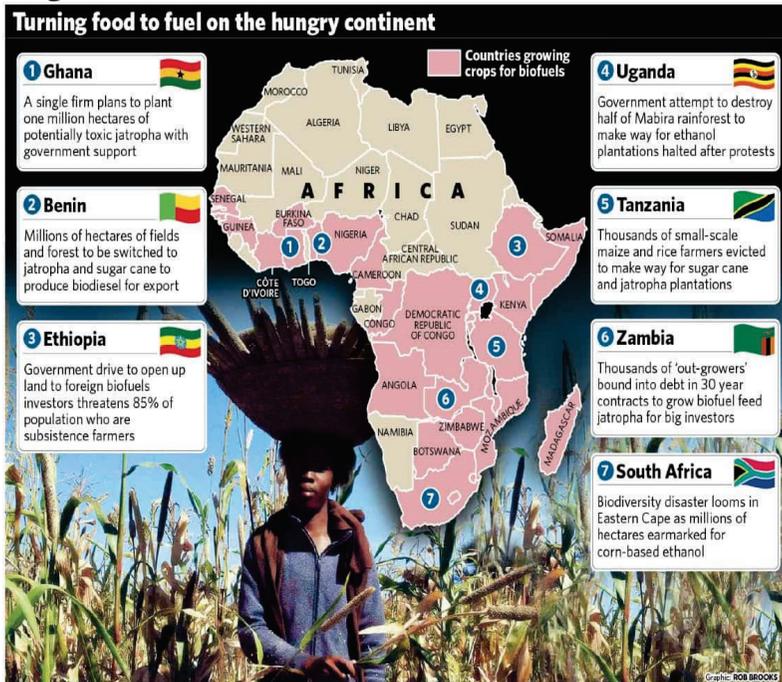
Source: Mwesigire B. (28 March 2014) Land Grabbing in Africa, the New Colonialism https://thisisafrica.me/politics-and-society/land-grbbing-africa-new-colonialism/

The massive joblessness, that results from the replacement of human workers with robots, is convenient for the proponents of Gaia, or earth goddess, who are desperate to "wean" humanity from God. After creating the joblessness, they will blasphemously depict God as weak, failed, collapsed, useless, unresponsive and then they will try to

convince humanity to shift allegiance from the Heavenly God to the earthly Gaia goddess: Gaia is already being addressed by its proponents as a more proximate and responsive Mother Earth (Lovelock, 2006). In short, the idea among Gaia proponents is to decentre the sovereign heavenly God and replace Him with Gaia or what they call Mother Earth or Pachamama (Ciocchini & Khoury, 2021; Espinosa, 2019; Stancioli, 2021; Humphreys, 2016). In fact, Pachamama is being given constitutional rights and legal protection in some countries, such as Bolivia and Ecuador, that believe in the primacy of the earth goddess.

The contemporary drive towards "protecting" Gaia or Pachamama earth goddess should be understood in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the interests of global elites who are behind the industrial revolution. Firstly, the agenda to "protect" Gaia or Pachamama is undergirded by Western efforts funded by global elites who are keen to deconstruct indigenous people's sovereignty over their natural resources. Once the earth or land is redefined as an animated earth being called Gaia or Pachamama then the indigenous people cease to have rights over their land and earth because it will from then onwards be presumed that Gaia or Pachamama is autonomous and must not be violated by the Indigenous people seeking to use their natural resources to bring about development. Once indigenous people are no longer able to extract and exploit their natural resources, renamed Gaia or Pachamama, it means that indigenous states will collapse from within because they will no longer have resources to exploit for their sustenance. In this regard, indigenous state sovereignty collapses such that indigenous people become more amenable to dependence on the interests of the global elites who are seeking to create a One World Government by destroying the sovereignty of other states (Nhemachena, 2021c). Secondly, the agenda about Gaia or Pachamama is undergirded by the interests of global elites who seek to reset the global economy towards genetically modified food or towards synthetic biology wherein for instance meat will be manufactured nanotechnologically in factories rather than on the farms. The agenda is to force humanity to accept and rely on genetically modified food which is presumed to be safer for Gaia or Pachamama. Put differently the agenda about Gaia or Pachamama, 'Mother Earth', is popularized by global elites who are anxious to

create opportunities for their corporations that want to use recent nanotechnological inventions to make billions of profits in the same way global corporations like Pfizer, Moderna etc are making billions of profits from COVID-19 vaccines manufactured using new technologies, including nanovaccines and nanomedicines. Writing about Pachamama, Ciocchini & Khoury (2021: 151) note that:

> …the Pachamama, the 'Mother Earth' goddess of the Indigenous peoples of the Andes, and the rights of nature invoked by other Indigenous peoples of South America. In Bolivia and Ecuador, Pachamama was integrated into state law and given constitutional rights during the 2000s. While the economies of both countries remain heavily dependent upon the extractive industry, the constitutional entrenchment of the Pachamama has arguably helped to alter 'common sense' views about an economic model based on unbridled consumption and the extraction of natural resources.

Once indigenous people cease to extract natural food from Gaia or Pachamama they become enslaved to the Western transnational corporations that are producing synthetic food or genetically modified food. This will be good for the global elites who own and control the transnational corporations which are already producing genetically modified food or synthetic food. Put in other words, the current hype about Gaia or Pachamama or Mother Earth is a sleight of hand that is meant to benefit global elites and their transnational corporations. In fact, the transnational corporations are currently grabbing land from African peasants even as the same corporations ironically sponsor agendas about Gaia or Pachamama and the attendant postextractivism. The point here is that the transnational corporations ideologically defuse indigenous competition for resources by convincing indigenous people that the earth is Gaia or Pachamama who must not be violated through [indigenous] extractivism. If the global elites and the rest of the world were really keen to protect gods, the question is why they not start by protecting the Heavenly God from blasphemy for example. Put differently, the current scenario where Gaia or Pachamama is constitutionally protected while the Heavenly God is not defended or protected amounts to a situation where humanity is prevented from violating the earth, deemed Gaia or Pachamama, but they are given the freedom to violate the integrity and sovereignty of the Heavenly God.

In fact, the Heavenly God is denied His voice. Of course, this is because global capital is interested in planetary resources, including those resources which they are redefining as Gaia or Pachamama, but the global capital has no interest in the Heaven – so it is not interested in defending or protecting the integrity or sovereignty of the Heavenly God.

The upshot of the foregoing is that promoting the interests of Gaia or Pachamama unhinges the sovereignty of God as well as the sovereignty of indigenous states such that the humanity collapses back into the logics of enslavement. Supporting the interests of Gaia or Pachamama deposes the sovereignty of God; it becomes an effective coup against God and against the sovereignty of indigenous humans. Similarly, colonialists have historically tricked Africans to stage coups against their own ancestors, they have been tricked to stage coups against the Heavenly God and they have been asked to stage coups against their own African kings, chiefs and presidents. And all these coups are convenient for colonialists who seek to opportunistically insert themselves into African spaces, be they physical territorial spaces, spiritual or cosmic spaces. In the same vein, the contemporary Fourth Industrial Society seeks to reengineer humans by editing and deleting human genes, editing and deleting human memories, changing human identities including in ways that create chimeras or human-animal hybrids via genetically engineering humans through nanotechnology (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). Such reengineering of humans constitutes coups against God who has originally created humans in His own image. Also, the contemporary Fourth Industrial Revolution seeks to rewire human brains such that they are amenable to remote control by global elites who use the Internet of Things to control other humans who would have computerable nanorobots/nanobots inserted or injected into their brains (Kurzweil, 2005; Nhemachena, 2021a). Such rewiring of the human brains also constitutes coups against the sovereignty of the Heavenly God who made humans in His own image and for the sake of serving the Heavenly Kingdom rather than for serving the earthly kingdoms of the global elites. The point is that once humans have nanobots/nanorobots inserted into their brains and are susceptible to wireless remote control, the human beings would begin to serve the earthly kingdoms of the global elites who remotely control other human beings implanted with nanocomputers

and microchips in their bodies/brains. The global elites would then be able to monopolise control over other human beings such that the remotely controlled human beings become puppets of the global elites. Once again, the sovereignty of the Heavenly God would have been decentred and deconstructed in the same way colonialists decentred and deconstructed the sovereignty of the Heavenly God in colonial Africa.

It's not just land deals but there are many deals: Networking deals, African minds capturing deals and human reengineering deals in slave 4.0

It is of course important to understand that missionaries are not only found in the conventional religious senses but there are also secular missionaries who are in reality missionaries evangelising imperial/colonial ideas. In this regard, much as the colonial missionaries supported colonial practices of denying Africans their sovereignty, including sovereignty deriving from the Heavenly God, some academics that have become missionaries of imperial/colonial ideas support the colonial/imperial practices of depriving Africans of their sovereignty. Some academics may evangelise flat ontologies that deprive Africans of their sovereignty; some academics may evangelise flat ontologies that deny the sovereignty of the Heavenly God. When Africa becomes flat, Africans by extension lose their sovereignty. If God is to become flat as is wished by advocates of flat ontologies, then God would lose His sovereignty. By portraying God as flat and as immanent in nature, flat ontologists are in fact, by extension, asking God to cede His sovereignty. The point is that when Africans become flat, they become dissimilar from dogs that lie flat waiting for instructions from their masters. For this reason, of course, flat ontologists advocate for the bridging of binaries between humans and animals, they argue for the denial or erosion of dichotomies between humans and nonhumans, and they argue for animism and vitalism which presuppose that all that is important is whether one is an actor or actant, rather than an autonomous sovereign thinking being. In this sense, flat ontologists are in fact treading the same lines as the late Nancy Sparrow who, in 2016, addressed South Africans as monkeys. Flat ontologists argue for the simianisation of Africans by denying distinctions between humans and animals (Nhemachena &

Mawere, 2020). Put differently, if the sovereign Heavenly God has created human beings in His image and given Africans sovereignty over animals and other resources, it boggles the mind why flat ontologists are keen to put Africans on the same level with animals or nonhumans.

Redefining African sovereignty in terms of violence (Mbembe, 2003), including in terms of necropolitics, some scholars have managed to make some Africans doubt their own rights to sovereignty. Of course, such Eurocentrists do not want Africans to know that sovereignty refers to Africans' rights of ownership and control over their own resources – the Eurocentrists do not want Africans to know that sovereignty is not necessarily about violence but it is about ownership and control over one's own resources. The point is that Africans have been made fearful of exercising their own sovereignty because African sovereignty has been redefined, by Eurocentrists, as violence. The idea for the Eurocentrists is to prevent Africans from reclaiming their sovereignty: so, they induce fear by redefining sovereignty as violence. In this regard, they generate what we call sovereigntyphobia in Africans who, consequently, begin to suffer paralysis with respect to asserting their sovereignty. The question is, if sovereignty means violence, which has to be abated, then why are Europeans and Americans retaining sovereignty including over the states which they colonized? Why is it that it is only African sovereignty which is defined as violence even as European and American sovereignty are celebrated as liberating and necessary? If sovereignty has to be decentred and deconstructed, why is it that it is only African sovereignty which is being decentred and deconstructed even as colonialists and their descendants retain sovereign over the states which they colonized. Redefining sovereignty in terms of violence has also managed to induce fear, among some Africans, of the sovereignty of the Heavenly God. By extension, redefining sovereignty in terms of violence has unfortunately cast the sovereign God as a violent God. In this regard, and sadly, the only sovereignty that is considered to remain acceptable, civilised and liberating is the imperial/colonial sovereignty.

In the light of African states struggles at the United Nations to be granted permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, it is understandable that imperialists were irked when, in the 1960s and

1970s, the African states were awarded permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. For this reason, imperialists were impelled to redefine sovereignty in terms of violence rather than in terms of African permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. This has the effect of reversing the African gains in terms of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. With sovereignty redefined as violence or necropolitics, Africans become fearful of asserting permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. Similarly, with sovereignty redefined as violence, sovereignty becomes a dirty word instead of a smart word in Africa where Africans are in fact supposed to be reasserting permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. The effect of making sovereignty a dirty word is to maintain the colonial or imperial status quo where colonialists and their descendants retain the natural resources which they stole from Africans who are being disabled from reasserting permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

When sovereignty is redefined as violence, Africans become afraid of reasserting their self-determination. In other words, when sovereignty is redefined as violence, Africans become afraid of what is their own, they become amenable to enslavement by those that have redefined African sovereignty as violence. When sovereignty is redefined as violence, Africans become afraid of the existence of a sovereign God and so they become amenable to enslavement by those that have redefined sovereignty as violence in order to entrap Africans into reenslavement. Put in other words, if a sovereign God has created Africans in His image, it follows that the sovereign God has created Africans as sovereigns over their natural resources. It is only the devil that would seek to reverse the sovereignty that is granted by a sovereign God. Of course, scholars that critique binaries are by extension unfortunately arguing that God and the devil must be put on the same level, and of course they are also sadly arguing that God and Gaia must be put on the same level in ways that decentre and deconstruct the sovereignty of the Heavenly God. When colonial missionaries came to Africa and inserted themselves into African villages, Africans did not know that they were minded on dispossessing and exploiting them in ways that deconstructed African sovereignty. The point is that occupying the same level and debinarisations should not be the aim, rather the aim should be to

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check if humanity has sufficient Godly morals, ethics and principles to prevent recolonization in the supposed postbinary world.

Deconstructing other people's sovereignty while strengthening their own sovereignty, Euro-American states are currently weaponizing international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Word Trade Organization, SWIFT, and even the Internet to forestall assertions of sovereignty by states on the margins of empire (Hackenbroich, October 2020; Quiggin, 2001; Savanovic, 2014; Moussu, 20 January 2022). In this regard, it has been argued that the European Commission should develop an economic sovereignty strategy and financial autonomy; it has also been argued that economic autonomy is valuable to the USA so that it projects, internationally, its national and corporate economic autonomy (Leonard et al., 2019; Sarooshi, 2004). While Euro-Americans assert their sovereignty, others argue that state sovereignty is not good for environmental protection (Schrijver, 2021; Gardner, 2011; Meadows et al. 1972). Although Western states and organisations argue that African state sovereignty is inimical to environmental protection, African states seek to assert permanent sovereignty over their natural resources which they would then use for autonomous development (Barral, 2016; Ngang & Kaniga, 2022). In other words, Africans know very well that independence without sovereignty over natural resources is an empty independence – it is no different from slavery. Put in other words, for Africans, sovereignty is not a problem but a solution and remedy to colonization; also, binaries are not a problem but a solution to colonial practices that treated Africans as indistinct from animals; besides, for Africans, the solution to world problems does not lie in networks, connections or relations because connections, networks and relations were central in the Transatlantic slave trade which was problematic for the enslaved Africans. The point here is that slave traders, slave drivers and slave owners worked in networks, connections and relations that must not be forgotten in the twenty-first century where Eurocentric scholars are once again celebrating connections, networks and relations – be they physical or virtual. In other words, there are networks of cloud systems where Africans minds and data are set to be transferred; Africans are set to be lodged in the Internet of Things, Internet of Humans, Internet of Health, Internet of Battlefield Things and the metaverse which all speak to

the valorisation of networks and connections, their implications for African freedom notwithstanding. The map below shows the complex networks, connections and relations within which the slave trade was conducted.

Figure 2: Networks, connections and relations in the slave trade
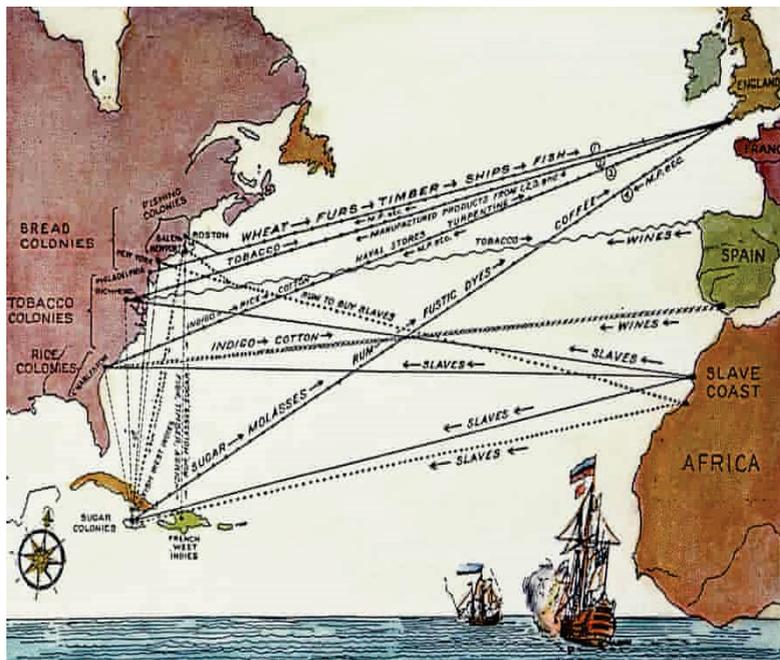
Source: Manjapra K, 29 March 2018

In the light of the above, we argue that the slave 4.0 would glorify networks and connections even as sovereignty and autonomy are unfortunately deplored; the slave 4.0 would fight for humanitarian aid and not for sovereignty; slave 4.0 would fight for work/job and not for sovereignty; slave 4.0 would fight for social security/social protection and not for sovereignty; slave 4.0 would fight for liberal democracy and not for sovereignty; the slave 4.0 would spend time hunting for international loans and debts rather than fighting for sovereignty; the slave 4.0 would deconstruct the sovereignty of God while glorifying heterarchy; the slave 4.0 would fight for the rule of law minus sovereignty; the slave 4.0 would fight for homosexual rights and not for sovereignty; and the slave 4.0 would fight for

human rights that do not include sovereignty over one's natural resources. Similarly, slave 4.0 would believe that there can be development without sovereignty over natural resources; the slave 4.0 would believe that there can be modernization without sovereignty over one's natural resources; the slave 4.0 believes that there can be economic growth without sovereignty over one's natural resources; besides, slave 4.0 believes that humans are at the same level with nonhumans; slave 4.0 believes that humans do not have stewardship over nonhumans and, also, slave 4.0 is antipathetic to decolonization but may believe in mere transformation. Slave 4.0 believes that African resources are better off in the hands of Westerners; slave 4.0 believes that God is at the same level with humans. Slave 4.0 believes that networks, connections and relations, without sovereignty over one's natural resources, can develop Africa. Finally, slave 4.0 believes that Gaia or 'Mother Earth' has replaced the Heavenly God.

In this regard, African leaders must stop relying too much on foreign aid as if they are chickens that rely on aid, including from those that are minded on eventually capturing and killing them. Foreign aid mentality is in fact chicken mentality. There is nothing humanitarian, or to be proud of, about foreign aid in a context where Africans are denied their autonomy and sovereignty.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that it is necessary to respect the sovereignty of God as it is also necessary to respect the sovereignty of Africans who have been favoured by God with sovereignty over the African continent. It has also been argued that depicting Africans as animists was meant to assist colonialists to deconstruct and discount Godly sovereignty over Africans. Uncritically celebrating a networked, postsovereignty world, amounts to celebrating the deconstruction of the sovereignty of God, who is presumed by flat ontologists to have become immanent in nature rather than to reside in the Heavenly Kingdom. In this regard, much as colonialists deposed African kingdoms and chiefdoms, flat ontologies have the effect of deposing God's Heavenly Kingdom. Thus, much as colonial missionaries muted God by making it impossible for Africans to hear God's voice, flat ontologies presuppose that the Heavenly God is

unable to speak for Himself – they simply assume that God has become immanent in nature without even seeking to hear what God Himself says about where he is residing. In Africa, precolonial Africans would visit holy shrines to converse with God, they would not simply make assumptions, such as flat ontologists' assumptions, that God has become immanent in nature.

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Chapter 4

Operation Dudula, Xenophobic Vigilantism and Sovereignty in Twenty-First Century South Africa

Artwell Nhemachena, Munyaradzi Mawere & Oliver Mtapuri

Introduction

While the European Union member states are strengthening their unity, sacrificing the interests of their own citizens to assist prop-up the sovereignty of the besieged Ukraine, in the face of the ongoing war in continental Europe, Africans' unity is ever withering away with Africans busy killing one another in xenophobic violence. Mirroring the absence of real and solid unity at the level of the African Union, Africans' everyday lives speak to pathetic existence marked not merely by material poverty but also by the poverty of unity, that speaks to xenophobia. Instead of exercising vigilantism so as to guard against loss of African unity, that made African independence possible in the first place, one witnesses forms of vigilantism that break the remaining shreds of African unity. If precolonial Africans were united and self-sufficient, one wonders why twenty-first century Africans think they can be self-sufficient and prosperous in the absence of unity among themselves. If precolonial Africans were sovereigns that thrived on unity, one wonders why twenty-first century Africans think that they can guarantee their sovereignty and prosperity in isolation from one another. If even European countries like Ukraine have asked for guarantors of their sovereignty and prosperity, it boggles the mind why twenty-first century Africans think that they can have sovereignty and prosperity without guarantors from fellow Africans.

The point is that the forms of vigilantism against fellow African immigrants, such as is happening in the ongoing South African Operation Dudula are terribly limited in that they blatantly ignore the reality that one cannot be a guarantor of one's own sovereignty and prosperity. In any case, in a world where transnational capital is footloose, what guarantee exists that the South African economy is

wholly South African when transnational corporations have migrated, taking with them resources belonging to other African countries, and settled in South Africa? The point is that the fellow African immigrants on whom operation Dudula is targeted might simply be following the flow of their resources which have been sedimented in South Africa when transnational corporations migrate from one African country to the other. The footloose transnational corporations disable the economic and political sovereignty of some states, that they loot and leave, and then, conversely, they enhance the economies, even if temporarily, in the states to which they migrate and enrich.

Kuwanda huuya: Lessons from African exogamy and the Dudula brigade's retreat inwards

In precolonial Africa, Africans were not xenophobic against one another because in addition to their political sovereignty they had their economic sovereignty as well. In fact, in precolonial Africa, Africans had proverbs such as *kuwanda huuya* (let us grow by immigration) in which they welcomed their fellow Africans (Nhemachena, 2021). Because precolonial Africans' marriages were exogamic, in the sense that the spouses would come from outside one's own group or state, Africans were not xenophobic or Afrophobic. In fact, marriages were strategic in the sense that marriage partners were from outside one own group and, even, outside one's own nation state such that marriages helped to connect Africans across nation states. The point we are hinting at here is that xenophobia and, more specifically, Afrophobia result from the lack of cohesion as African marriage systems are breaking down as a result of the resilient colonialism. Afrophobia is a symptom of the breakdown not merely of relations between nation states but also breakdown of African marriage systems, particularly exogamous marriages which were the custom in southern Africa. People who are in exogamous marriages begin to value relations with outsiders because they will have married outsiders. Conversely, people who fail to get married at all will not value outsiders because they would have failed, at a more personal level, to connect with outsiders at the levels of marriages. In other words, people who fail to get married begin to turn inwards, they begin to fear outsiders and to be hostile to

outsiders because they have failed to connect with them at a more personal level. In other words, exogamous marriages which prevailed in precolonial Africa, served an important function to prevent xenophobia or Afrophobia yet colonialists have destroyed African marriages wherein African men were actually encouraged to marry and bring in wives from outside their communities and outside their nation states. In the Zimbabwean Shona language, wives were brought into the families as *vatorwa* (those that have come in from elsewhere) (Magosvongwe, 2014). The effect of this was that at a very intimate level, men learnt to value outsiders and to know that they could not live without relying on outsiders.

With African marriages breaking down and up; with many Africans now failing to get married and with Westerners promoting the sex industry (marked by prostitution) and the use of dildoes and humanoid sex robots, Africans begin to turn inwards and to cease to value outsiders. They become contented with themselves, and they begin to think that they can live alone in the world. With prostitution and the sex industry being promoted, in a world ruled through liberalisation of sex, Africans begin to think that outsiders are not valuable in themselves except as objects of exploitation. With the marketing of humanoid sex robots, which are replacing African exogamous marriages, Africans begin to think that fellow Africans from outside are valueless even at intimate levels where they are, in any case, already being replaced with humanoid sex robots. Put succinctly, if African exogamous marriages were not destroyed as a result of colonialism, Africans would not be practising vigilantism against fellow African foreigners because each man would be having a foreigner for a wife, and each woman would be having a foreigner for a husband. Naturally one cannot easily practice vigilantism against one's exogamous wife. In the same vein, if African exogamous marriages were not destroyed, Africans would not be xenophobic in the sense of claiming that foreigners are taking away their jobs – logically, a man who is married exogamously to a wife would not be as xenophobic as to claim that his outsider wife is taking away his job. Put differently, a man married exogamously would not stage operation dudula on his exogamous wife.

The fundamental problem is that Africans are turning inside, increasingly failing to get married, resorting to the sex industry, using dildoes, purchasing humanoid sex robots, becoming incestuous and

masturbatory – and all these practices defeat the logics of exogamy which is a deterrent against xenophobia. When one tends to be masturbatory, one turns inside so much so that one becomes fearful of outsiders; when one tend to use dildoes one turns inside so much so that one becomes fearful of outsiders; when one tends to humanoid sex robots one turns inside so much so that one becomes fearful of outsiders; when one tends to the sex industry one turn inside so much so that one selfishly exploits the outsider for gain; the outsider begins to exist for purposes of exploitation in an instrumental way. Each one of these practices predisposes those that have turned inward to easily stage operation dudula against outsiders. If one understands that even at a sexual level, one needs the cooperation of someone outside of one's self, this helps prevent xenophobia, including Operation Dudula. Otherwise, in virilocal marriages within patrilocal residence African men would be staging Operation Dudula, and the attendant vigilantism, against their exogamous wives. Left to fester, this is where xenophobia would get to such that operation dudula would also begin to explain domestic violence within exogamous marriages, with men staging dudula against their outsider wives. In other words, it would be interesting to research on xenophobia in ways that connect it to tendencies for incest, endogamy, masturbation, use of dildoes and humanoid sex robots; and to the demise of exogamy.

This chapter problematises xenophobia and vigilantism in an African context. Xenophobia comes from Greek words, xeno meaning 'stranger' or 'foreigner' or 'wanderer' and phobos' meaning 'fear'. Xenophobia is fear of a foreigner. In the context of this chapter, xenophobia is Black on Black hatred accompanied with violence. Because it is African on African hatred, it can also be understood as Afrophobia. Vigilantism is about taking the law into one's hands. Expressed in this way, a combination of xenophobia and vigilantism denudes Africans of their dignity, self-worth and esteem resulting from an unnecessary amplification of difference, based on whether one is a foreigner or local. Xenophobic vigilantism shreds and tears apart the vision of African unity espoused by our forebears who envisaged Africa as a strong unitary state with one army, one parliament and one economy to serve its people. Leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Steve Biko of

South Africa, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea, Muamar Gaddafi of Libya, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and others turn in their graves when Blacks turn on Blacks through the technology of violence to accomplish vigilante ends.

In May 2008, violent assaults on immigrants in South Africa killed 62 people and made worldwide news. In April 2015, a second series of attacks erupted, prompting outrage throughout South Africa resulting in the withdrawal of the Nigerian ambassador. The country has acquired a bad notoriety as being one of the planet's most inhospitable places for African immigrants (Kevison, 2016). One never knows when the next series of attacks will follow putting fellow Africans in a state of uncertainty and misery – where the police's assistance to immigrants during attacks by vigilantes is reported to be half-hearted. We ask, where did that Pan-African consciousness go? Where did Biko's teachings of Black consciousness go? Where did the spirit of ubuntu vanish to? We shudder to think of a Black person hunting down another Black person to question their African-ness because of xenophobia and consequently subvert their belonging to the continent. Africa belongs to all Africans. This aligns with the clarion call made by the Jamaican singer Bob Marley in 1992 for Africans to unite in his song 'Africa Unite'.

Noting ways in which lack of economic sovereignty explains xenophobia, this chapter also argues that Operation Dudula is misdirected at fellow Africans who have similarly been historically deprived of their economic sovereignty within they own states. What deprives Africans of economic sovereignty is not necessarily the African immigrant, whether legal or illegal, but a particular kind of immigrant who dispossesses Africans of their land, minerals, livestock and then exploits them in the way that colonialists did. When precolonial Africans celebrated *kuwanda huuya* (becoming many through immigration), they were celebrating immigrants because they knew that such immigrants were not coming in to dispossess and exploit the insiders. But of course, colonisers, as a particular kind of immigrants who dispossessed and exploited Africans. could not have been welcomed through *kuwanda huuya*. Colonial immigrants were not merely coming in but they were dispossessing the insiders of their natural resources as well as their livestock – by so doing the colonial immigrants were depriving the insiders of their economic sovereignty. Put differently, African

immigrants into South Africa are not depriving South Africans of their economic sovereignty in the way that colonial immigrants did and are still doing. African immigrants are merely eking out living, often also in the margins of the "South African economy" without necessarily depriving South Africans of their economic sovereignty.

Put in other words, South Africans should not necessarily be worried that Africans of other nations are securing work because in Africa, Africans necessarily and customarily share work. In villages across Africa, one may for instance meet villagers working in fields and they invite even passers-by to join them in tilling the fields. In the African villages passers-by are similarly merrily invited to partake in meals even without them having asked for the meals. The problem comes up only when a passer-by begins to dispossess the insiders of their land and other resources/properties in the way that colonialists did. Otherwise, Africans generally share work and they also generally share meals without even complaining that a fellow African, who may even be merely a passer-by, has taken one's work or one's meal. The point here is that if one's work is done by a fellow African one should in fact celebrate, but if one's economic sovereignty is taken away, whether by a fellow African or by people from other continents, then one has reason to fight. What is important is not to exercise vigilantism in terms of guarding jobs rather Africans should exercise vigilantism in terms of guarding African economic sovereignty. Africans do not necessarily need to guard jobs but they must jealously guard their economic sovereignty which economic sovereignty will allow them to keep or reclaim their natural resources over which they could then employ fellow Africans. When African villagers working in their fields invite passers-by to assist in the work, they will be fully aware that the passers-by would not subsequently dispossess them of the land/fields upon which they have been invited to work. All they will be inviting the passers-by to do would be to assist work the fields. The argument here is that Africans are impoverished precisely because while colonialists fought for ownership and control of resources in Africa, Africans simply fight over work in the same way enslaved peoples may fight over work rather than over ownership and control of economic resources.

When Europeans and Americans came to Africa, they did not fight one another over work but they sought to own and control the material resources and the economies, even if the resources did not

belong to those Europeans and Americans. Yet all that Africans do is to fight one another over work or jobs rather than fighting to own and control the material resources that are foundational to African economic sovereignty. In fact, without ownership and control over the economy and resources in South Africa, the economy in South Africa is not really a South African economy. The economy in South Africa effectively belong to those that own and control the resources, who are not necessarily South Africans. Put in other words, the fact that the economy is in South Africa does not necessarily mean that the economy is South African; similarly, the fact that the economy is in Africa does not necessarily mean that the economy is African. Economies belong to those who own and control them – and in the case of Africa where Africans do not have economic sovereignty, economies belong to those that have colonised Africans, who happen to be outsiders - often operating through transnational corporations which are more powerful that the individual African states.

We have reached that precipice where a Black man is more scared to walk freely in an African country than in a European one; where foreign Whites and foreign Asians feel more secure than foreign Blacks on the African continent; and where Blacks fear for their lives from both White supremacists and xenophobic Black people. It is repulsive to imagine instances in which Blacks generally are not welcome in Europe and America and equally not welcome in an African country. The irony of the matter is that Blacks face repulsion in Europe and America, and yet they welcome White Europeans and Americans with open arms into Africa. The point is, how is it that Black South Africans are more welcoming to White people from Europe and America than they are to Black foreign brothers and sisters? Is it Afrophobia or a lack of Black consciousness? How is that Africans are keen to donate for the cause of Ukrainians in Europe, embroiled in the Russia-Ukraine war, while they are ironically happy to xenophobically expel foreign Blacks hailing from another African country? How do we fathom instances in which African brothers and sisters run away from their own African brothers and sisters because of xenophobia when the ultimate goal should, in fact, be a united Africa? This chapter is about these critical existential issues. It is divided into four sections. The first looks at the historical context of xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals in South Africa; the second part looks at Operation Dudula, its make-

up and motives; the third part looks at the consequences of Operation Dudula and the last part theorises xenophobic vigilantism.

Historical context of South African vigilantism

South Africa's post-apartheid period has indeed been characterised by a constant undertone of xenophobia, in terms of attitudes and actions. According to the 1996 Global Survey, South Africans were the worst unfriendly country among the 17 sampled nations (Robertson, 2015). A 1999 study also stated that a majority of South Africans backed the government's suggestions requiring immigrants to keep documentation on them at all times (69 %), and electrifying South Africa's borders (77%) (Crush, 2001). In 2006, vigilante actions and sentiments remained common, as a 2006 study indicated that over 50 percent of South Africans wished to repatriate immigrants irrespective of their legal status in the country (Southern African Migration Project, 2008). A similar poll revealed that hatred towards foreigners is not limited to particular South African groupings or regional groupings. Regardless of whether the sampling was confined to Africans or Indians, or even if participants were asked about immigrants from Africa, Europe, or Latin America, the percentage of the samples with a favourable opinion of immigration did not reach 26 percent.

The immigrant subgroup that is more prone to encounter rejection and consequent racism are African foreigners. Daily prejudice is common, particularly for citizens of Central and West African nations (Dodson, 2010). Alarmingly frequent are extremist assaults on immigrant persons, especially retailers (Charman & Piper, 2012). On the night of 12 April 2008, a group inside the primarily Zulu-speaking section of Alexandra neighbourhood in Gauteng assembled and started shouting pro-government chants including *"Phansi amakwerekwere"* (Zulu for "Away with outsiders"). Small groups dispersed and proceeded house to house looking for immigrants. Whoever failed the exam, which sought to offer the Zulu term for "forearm," were punished. The hostility escalated during the following weeks that followed. On 14 May, Alexandra remained in turmoil with tens of hundreds of citizens assaulting everyone they believed to be a foreigner, stealing and damaging private houses and businesses, and fighting against the policemen. These actions spread

to Diepsloot, Tembisa, and Thokoza, and other suburbs mostly surrounding Gauteng. Protests broke out during the next weekend in metropolitan Johannesburg and parts of Cape Town.

Over eight weekends, this xenophobic bloodshed, eventually subsided, having left 62 killed, 670 injured, and 100,000 homeless (Misago et al., 2010). Zimbabweans and Mozambicans comprised a disproportionate number of the casualties. Thirty of the deceased included South African citizens, who were possibly misidentified as immigrants, penalized because they did not take part in the rioting. The government's response seemed late in coming. The government subsequently criticised vigilantism and the resultant bloodshed, and accused "external parties" (Landau, 2011). A number of academic and government studies were produced such as South African Human Rights Committee Report (2010); Human Sciences Research Council Report (2008). The 2008-2009 assaults and May 2015 incidents, resulted in 349 immigrants being murdered because of their nationalities (Hall, 2015). King Goodwill Zwelithini's statement of April 2015, that said African immigrants were "parasites," prompted a fresh round of assaults on foreign immigrants (Hall, 2015). The rioting started in Kwazulu and eventually extended to Gauteng affecting slums, informal settlements mainly in urban areas. Even though the number of fatalities were fewer as compared to 2008, nine fatalities were attributed to xenophobia as the global response became extremely pronounced (Essa, 2015). The United Nations Security Committee and the governments of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Malawi expressed harsh condemnation, whilst Nigeria, withdrew its envoy (Essa & Patel, 2015).

Operation Dudula and its motives

Operation Dudula is a recent substantial mobilization attacking Black immigrants in what initially appeared to be a spiral of vilification and thuggery that may increase as politicians attempt to deflect exposure of their own mistakes and the catastrophic effects of COVID-19 (Seepe, 2022). The resurgence of pro-government sentiments in predominantly poor South African neighbourhoods is causing foreigners and refugees to worry about their personal security. According to Security Services Minister, Bheki Cele, who visited Diepsloot, an impoverished township east of Gauteng,

following violent demonstrations against illegal immigrants that left yet another Zimbabwean father, Elvis Nyathi, in flames, South African Police Services enhanced their presence in several of such areas with Operation Dudula partly being the source of the hostilities (Qukula, 2022). Spatari, (2022), asserts that xenophobia and Operation Dudula are typical of a worldwide pattern of increasing right-wing vigilante violence that is gaining favour at a time of economic recession. From its debut in Soweto in 2021, Operation Dudula, whose name translates to "drive away," had developed a notoriety for stoking xenophobic feelings and intimidating individuals whom its supporters allege to be undocumented immigrants. All of its neighbourhood "activities" were followed by brutality, intimidation, and vile language. Sibeko, (2022), contends that Operation Dudula is a branch cell of the Put South Africans First protest gang, an organization which popularized and re-popularized pro-government movements on Facebook and twitter prior to their manifestation on the streets. Some political parties who air their anti-immigrant sentiments are also to blame for the emergence of xenophobic attacks on foreigners (McMichael, 2022). Globally, militarized organizations constituted behind racist principles are on the increase. Operation Dudula appears to herald a worrying fresh development in which public street violence is institutionalized using street gangs. Right-wing thuggery has a history pre-1994 South Africa as described by Paul Erasmus in his autobiography Testimonies of a Stratcom Hitman. From 1994, suspected offenders were routinely subjected to violent "mob justice" (Spatari, 2022). Operation Dudula has not officially commented on the existence of affluent European offenders in South Africa, including the imprisoned Czech renegade Radovan Krejcir or Serbian organized criminal groups. Most of the press attention on Operation Dudula highlighted that foreigners became the sacrificial lambs for the societal ills resulting from massive inequalities, unemployment, and so on (Africa News, 2022).

According to a World Bank research titled 'Inequalities in Southern Africa', South Africa is the most unequal society (World Bank, 2021). The analysis underlined the correlation between poverty and social groups and observes that 10% of the populace controls 80% of the income. According to Statistics South Africa, an astonishing 10.5 million South Africans remain below the basic income threshold, whereas the unemployment rate is about 35 per

cent (StatsSA, 2020). President Ramaphosa publicly denounced Operation Dudula at the beginning of 2022, after an outcry by non-governmental organizations amidst worries of a new increase of violent protests. He referred to it as a "militia group" that must be "ended" (Seepe, 2022). From its perspective, Operation Dudula asserts that its members are "clearing up neighbourhoods" and "offering chances" to marginalized South Africans. Supporters of Operation Dudula were urging the state to provide jobs for the South African youth.

According to Bhengu (2022), rivalry around insufficient commodities is likely the greatest cause of ethnic conflicts, vigilantism and xenophobic sentiments with competition growing as socio-economic circumstances worsen. Employment and social assistance highlighted as potential battlegrounds between locals and foreign nationals (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2008; Misago, 2012). It can be surmised that scapegoating is rationalised in circumstances of desperation. A further long-held theory in the humanities is that socioeconomic hardship, or impoverishment, generates animosity and aggression against racial minorities (Essa &Patel, 2015). Typically, hunger is associated with stereotyping and hostility via the process of stigmatization. As such, Everatt (2010) has observed that places, including municipalities, afflicted by Operation Dudula are often also typically the impoverished communities. The contention that South African vigilantism is a consequence of cumulative dissatisfaction within the leadership is a recurring main argument (Hall, 2015). Others cite poor service delivery in those municipalities and the provision of poor health care facilities (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation).

The emergence of Operation Dudula

On 6 January 2022, proponents of Operation Dudula ransacked the Tsietsi Mashinini Hub in Soweto, a place that is considered a safe haven for foreigner nationals and unauthorized migrants. In mid-January 2022, allegations of intimidation of immigrant vendors in Soweto and Johannesburg by a group called "Operation Dudula" (which means "to shove/push" in isiZulu) started to emerge. This has been followed in June 2020 by a public networking movement

urging violence towards immigrants underneath the title of Operation Dudula. On 12 and 13 February 2022, inhabitants of Soweto and Alexandra marched to Hillbrow and Orange Grove, under the banner of Operation Dudula, to forcefully remove undocumented foreign nationals on accusations of increasing the rates of crime and drug use in the country, including selling drugs (Myeni, 2022). The Dudula grouping complained of rising unemployment and a shortage of economic opportunities for South Africans allegedly because of the presence of foreign nationals. The authorities quickly removed the Operation Dudula protesters, averting conflict between locals and foreign nationals. Vigilante groups dispute that their campaign is xenophobic, notwithstanding that their avowed declaration is to violently deport undocumented immigrants from South Africa (Lewis, 2015). Statistical data reveal broad involvement and sympathy for the aggression in the impacted localities (Claassen, 2014). Several academics have noted the increasing proportions of mob justice in South Africa, with African people encountering antagonism and brutality daily. As a result, those South Africans who show hatred, bigotry and animosity to foreign nationals, disrupt the generally harmonious interactions existing between them and local residents. It is clear that mob vigilante attacks with a xenophobic slant have both global and subnational socio-political ramifications. We argue that aggression and brutal hostility committed by Africans against fellow Africans, constitute an act of betrayal and is anathema to Pan-Africanism that threatens the regional geo-politics which are already cracking on the back of the influence of foreign powers in the affairs of the continent and the presence of foreign militaries. Landau (2017) is of the view that inter-ethnic animosity is an indication of a profound social and political malady. These attacks if unchecked have the potential to damage the country's diplomatic ties, especially in Africa, where, if other Africans respond in the same manner, the continent will implode hence the need to look at Operation Dudula and its socio-political ramifications and recent trajectory.

It is easy and convenient for South Africans to forget that many of their compatriots were housed, and they opened up bases from where to wage the liberation war in frontline states (that became Southern African Development Community) and elsewhere during the struggle against the apartheid regime prior to 1994 (when it

gained her independence). Many Africans in those frontline states recall the occasional raids that were mounted by the apartheid South African government into those neighbouring states hunting for the South African freedom fighters. In the process, local populations were affected (as part of the collateral damage) – some got maimed, others paid the ultimate price – death. All that history is conveniently forgotten, and in current times claims are made that foreigners must go yet South Africans were welcomed in their time of need. This does not mean that South Africans must forever be indebted to frontline states. All it calls for is their collective consciousness, and to remember their African-ness because it is in that spirit that African liberation leaders vowed to liberate the whole of Africa without chasing anybody home: this shows that their foresight was undergirded by the idea that Africa is not free until all of it is free. Nothing is heard from those South African leaders who were in exile, in other African countries, to educate the general citizenry about the reception and welcome they received in the African countries that enabled the execution of the South African struggle for liberation. It boggles the mind why those leaders who lived in exile in those countries hardly speak out about it; their silence is equally an act of betrayal. This is made worse when some people in high national offices support Operation Dudula. When people in high national political offices, support Operation Dudula, that shows political short-sightedness and paucity of political consciousness and depravity of the ideology of Pan Africanism. Operation Dudula can only be supported by those who are Afrophobic, and non-Pan-Africanists. The spread of Operation Dudula, across the country, is a sign of political immaturity and a lack of Pan-Africanism as well as lack of Black consciousness. It is a travesty because the government is failing to stop its emergence for political expedience and this may come to bite it in the future when violence erupts. It is a ticking time bomb that requires a single stone being thrown in the wrong direction for mayhem to ensue.

When the people of Poland and the rest of Europe are opening their doors to Europeans, Africans are chasing each other and saying they must go home and they are taking away jobs. The jobs that are being taken are generally menial (on farms and in restaurants), when the real money is in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and not the small change that a foreigner works for to earn as labourers or

working for themselves as tradesmen and women. The fear that Operation Dudula may spread into other institutions including universities, hospitals, schools, state owned enterprises, municipalities and others is not unfounded. Besides institutions, it may permeate and protrude into other countries. For instance, the Mayor of Lusaka, Ms Chilando Chitangala was recently reported to have said that the over 3,000 foreigners who are trading in the Lusaka Central Business District will be forcibly repatriated to their countries with assistance of the Zambian Immigration Department as a way 'to bring order to the city' (Lusakatimes.com, 2022). Such dynamics imply that xenophobic vigilantism can easily spread to become a transnational movement which is dangerous for a continent trying to recover economically from the negative effects of COVID-19.

Operation Dudula and its consequences

As justification for executing Operation Dudula, members of the organization cited anarchy, joblessness, and a dearth of socioeconomic prospects. The influence of Operation Dudula cannot be ignored but its mission must be clear and beyond reproach (Gabrielspen, 2022). Operation Dudula has impacts on the country's image and perception, for foreign "investment" and geo-political diplomacy. It can dampen "investor" confidence and lower employee morale. Visitors may think twice before visiting the country and so can affect the tourism industry adversely. Based on his comments, President Cyril Ramaphosa said individuals responsible for Operation Dudula are violating the law. "We cannot tolerate a scenario in which individuals would resort to vigilantism to solve a societal issue," (Shafiek, 2022). This behoves upon the South African government to educate its citizens about migration and its importance; the rights of citizens as well as of foreign national; its obligations to the African Union and international conventions on migration; and dealing with the stereotypes against foreigners; assist foreign nationals to regularise their status etc. For Nombembe (2022), the absence of a defined strategy has prevented many localities from preparing adequately for the flood of foreigners leading to prejudice and assaults against immigrants in several locations. Evidently, South Africa needs a national cohesiveness policy to foster peace between immigrants and citizens.

Neighbourhood discussions are also important to foster unity between them.

Theorising xenophobic vigilantism

We hypothesise that xenophobic vigilantism represents a form of violence disguised as nationalism against foreign nationals. It feeds on lies and fear - lies that foreigners are intent on doing evil and crime in the country and fear (that is real and imagined) that foreign nationals are taking jobs from locals, jobs which are menial and when foreign nationals largely create their own jobs and flourish. While the professionals are documented and legal, they still face the same wrath in the communities. Our point is, xenophobic vigilantism is divisive, dangerous and unAfrican. Some of the tenets of xenophobic vigilantism are that it is devoid of defensible ideological posture; hurtful, malicious, unlawful and has violence as its hallmark. The issue of jobs or unemployment affects both foreign nationals and locals alike – therefore the same adverse socio-economic conditions affect the victim and the perpetrator of xenophobic vigilantism with the victim enduring it at two levels – violence in the commodity and job markets where it is hard to trade freely without hostility from the vigilantes and antagonism at the community level where foreign nationals reside. This reflects the omni-presence of their vulnerabilities which imbricate.

Xenophobic vigilantism is an afront to nationhood because it erodes the basis upon which states are founded and anchored – political freedom, rule of law and democracy (based on freewill because nationals who do not support Operation Dudula find themselves under threat from those who support violence against foreign nationals – they too cannot speak out lest they be targeted in return. It is these non-violent people who remain voiceless and defenceless stifling their political freedoms in a context of violence. Xenophobic vigilantism is based on coercion and manipulation as those who participate may not be doing it out of freewill. It can also destroy the cordial relations existing between countries – as foreign African governments and nationals take retaliatory action against those who torment foreign nationals in tit-for-tats at government and local levels. The sources of xenophobic vigilantism include ignorance, a lack of travel abroad and the continent

(internationalisation/Africanisation) - remnants of a closed society as the apartheid system represented. Operations such as Dudula have the potential to bring about and spread violence because they feed on violence - if they do not go unchecked. To avert violence, there is need to educate communities about African-ness – the spirit of being Africans - and oneness and the creation of Afrocentric and diverse society, where African consciousness is valorised, spread and sustained.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at xenophobic vigilantism and exposed its many facets. The advent of mob violence and hooliganism against immigrants in South Africa, is a phenomenon that needs to be addressed at the individual, community and national levels given its socio-economic ramifications. While some South African youths feel immigrants are the reason for their unemployment, this view is short-sighted in the larger scheme of things as the issue is multi-dimensional and has to be tackled as such – it has to do with international relations, diplomacy, Pan-Africanism, sovereignty and so on. This chapter has argued that instead of fighting over jobs, Africans must fight for the recovering of their economic sovereignty which they lost during colonialism. While the African liberation wars, which saw Africans of different nations assisting one another, won political sovereignty, there is still need to fight for economic sovereignty, which also requires African unity in this twenty-first century. Fighting over jobs is indeed a mere sideshow because the war must rather be for Africans to collectively reclaim their economic sovereignty, including permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. This is where vigilantism might be helpful - forms of vigilantism that assist Africans reassert and reclaim their economic sovereignty and hence decolonise the economies.

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Chapter 5

Precolonial African Economic Sovereignty: A Critical Analysis of the Utility of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Achieving Economic Growth in Africa

Shoko Angela- Billiet

Introduction

Africa of antiquity had many ways of sustaining and managing its economy without depending on people from Europe and America, as is the case in present day Africa. Agriculture, mining and trade were other ways that Africans used to create, manage and sustain their own economic sovereignty. The agricultural system, mining and trade were viable because of the implementation of ideas and approaches that were compatible with their environments. In the precolonial era, Africans did not just care for the environment but they also owned the African environments – in essence they had environmental sovereignty in addition to economic sovereignty. The tried and tested body of knowledge, the indigenous knowledge systems, that Africans used made it possible for them to have vibrant economies which they owned and controlled. As a body of knowledge unique to Africa, its use ensured productivity in the agriculture sector thereby contributing immensely to sustainable development of the economy in many African societies. The fact that precolonial Africans had viable and sustainable economies belies Western claims that precolonial Africans were primitive and helpless before the arrival of European colonisers. Through IKS, precolonial Africans enjoyed economic sovereignty to own and manage their own economies. With the advent of colonialism, however, the African indigenous knowledge systems were denigrated and depicted as backward. It is the contact between Africa and the West which resulted in the loss of confidence in many of the precolonial systems, IKS included. Colonial structures and policies which sought to replace the ways in which indigenous people survived, were put in

place. This chapter seeks to provide a critical analysis of the way Africans enjoyed economic sovereignty through the use of traditional and local knowledge known as the indigenous knowledge system. Sovereignty covers economic and environmental sovereignty. Sovereignty refers to self-determination and ownership and control of one's own natural resources, without the interference of outside forces. In Zimbabwe, sovereignty is known as *kuzvitonga kuzere*, implying self-determination premised on ownership and control of one's own natural resources, without foreign interference. Economic sovereignty involves the exercise of authority by the state over its resources, the tangible and intangible resources. Sovereignty is important as it is a form of identity. A state is identified by its ability to own, control and manage its resources. That way the economies become vibrant. Whenever external forces come into play to grab African natural resources, a nation ceases to have all the independence, that is what happened to Africa. The colonialists destroyed African economic sovereignty through dispossessing, exploiting and enslaving Africans. Through these tools they sought to eradicate IKS which had been historically used by Africans to enhance and sustain economic sovereignty. The chapter argues that the Western ideas and approaches that replaced the IKS are not compatible with African economic sovereignty.

Indigenous knowledge systems

Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) refer to a body of knowledge that exists among the people of a particular geographical location who use the IKS to solve their problems. Mapara (2009, p 140) has it that IKS is a body of knowledge, or bodies of knowledge of the indigenous people of particular geographical areas. The body or bodies of knowledge are community owned hence it is the indigenous people who can fully understand how they use their knowledge to solve their problems. IKS are therefore unique to a particular group of people or society. Though they were suppressed and denigrated during the colonial era, IKS did not die. Ndangwa (2007, p 168) opines that IKS refers to a complex set of knowledge, skills and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a

particular geographical area. The knowledge is dynamic as it is meant to address certain issues at a given time.

IKS are also known as indigenous ways of knowing, traditional knowledge, indigenous technical knowledge, ethno-science, people's science, folk-ecology, local knowledge, or village science (Mapara, 2009; Mapira & Mazambara, 2013). The names point to the idea that indigenous knowledge is people's science and is based on their experience in dealing with life issues. It is also peculiar to the indigenes such that aliens may not understand it. For this reason, the colonial settlers regarded the African indigenous knowledge systems as barbaric, backward and evil. IKS cover ecology, climate, agriculture, animal husbandry, botany, linguistics, laws, ethics, health, morality, medicine, clinical-psychology, craft skills, aesthetics, economics, learning and governance systems (Mapira & Mazambara, 2013; Ndangwa, 2007). In other words, the IKS cover all aspects of life for a particular indigenous group.

The characteristics of IKS include among other things that:

- It is a home-grown form of knowledge, which is the basis of solutions to everyday life problems
- It is part and parcel of a community's cultural practices and ways of life
- Often it is not documented but has passed from one generation to another through oral history
- It is used in solving the immediate problems that confront the community
- As a dynamic form of knowledge, it changes in line with events that may be taking place in a society, and
- It is always under scrutiny since it is valued for its ability to solve prevailing problems (Matsika, 2012).

The above cited characteristics provide a summation of how best IKS can be understood: that the knowledge is home grown and therefore peculiar to a cultural group, and that it is meant to solve local problems. It is also worth noting that the knowledge is handed down from one generation to another through oral and written history thereby making it different from the Western knowledge systems (WKS) (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020).

IKS is both oral and written as is evidenced by the existence of universities, such as the University of Timbuktu, in precolonial Africa (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020). What matters most is the ability of the knowledge to solve problems. After all, who should declare that whatever is written is more authentic than what is not written? In spite of some of it being undocumented, IKS is used to solve problems peculiar to Africans. The other difference between IKS and WKS is that WKS is erroneously regarded as a universal body of knowledge (Ndangwa, 2007, p.168). On the other hand, IKS are unfortunately deemed not to be scientifically proven yet there is already science in IKS. Western science should not be taken as a yardstick for everyone to use. Western science is conveniently considered, by those that are in favour of it, to be fast, effective, convenient and reliable yet the idea behind it is to serve imperial interests and not African interests. Western knowledge is meant to efficiently and effectively enslave and colonise Africans (Nhemachena, 2021). WKS also seek to obliterate IKS. It seeks to demonise and denigrate the indigenous knowledge systems. The West takes itself to be the certifier of everything and it acts as a "self-appointed mother that monopolises the roasting of the meat in the entire world" (Nhemachena, 2021). It does not take into cognisance the fact that each body of knowledge works better for its particular people. No body of knowledge is superior to the other. The different bodies of knowledge are like birds flying in the sky. There is no way they can collide because of lack of space. Each bird has got its own space in the sky. Likewise, each body of knowledge is there to serve its own people's interests. Indigenous knowledge systems however do not seek to be taken as universal body of knowledge but they acknowledge the existence of other bodies of knowledge in other geographical areas and cultures.

IKS and agriculture

Agriculture was one-way Africans used to enhance their economic sovereignty. They used local knowledge to produce organic food in quantities enough to feed their families and to get surplus. Africans utilised indigenous knowledge systems from land preparation up to the harvest and storage season. It is only when the colonial settlers came and sought to eradicate local systems of doing agriculture that

Africans started to rely on humanitarian aid from Europeans. The policies and methods that were subsequently implemented were not compatible with African environments and as a result they failed to get enough harvests.

It is the colonial period that saw African women, who were once the main players in the agriculture field, being denigrated and marginalised. The issue of gender binaries infiltrated into the African culture, making women second class citizens. In precolonial Africa, however, women and children participated in economic activities like agriculture. Oyewumi (1997) provides an insight on how gender issues were tackled in Africa of antiquity. Giving examples from the Yoruba society, she demonstrates how it was more important to be a human being first before one's sex was considered. The social anthropologist Amadiume (1987) writes of male daughters and female husbands implying that among Africans gender roles were flexible and complementary. The male was not the superior and the defining category but they worked hand in glove for the survival of their families. African women had a voice in agriculture issues. They were not recipients of men's commands but in most cases, they were decision makers as they were the ones who controlled food provisions for the families.

Among the Yoruba the family is non-gendered and so Oyewumi (2007, p.3) writes that "Within the Yoruba family, omo the nomenclature for child is best translated as offspring. There are no single words denoting girl or boy in the first instance. With regards to the categories husband and wife, within the family the category oko, which is usually glossed as the English husband, is non-gender-specific because it encompasses both males and females. Iyawo, glossed as wife in English, refers to in-marrying females. The distinction between oko and iyawo is not one of gender but distinguishes between those who are birth members of the family and those who enter by marriage. The distinction expresses a hierarchy in which the oko is superior to the iyawo." What this entails is that there existed no gender binaries among Africans. As such, each individual was important to the society including the female gender which was peripherised during the colonial period. Women were active participants in agriculture. They were the main decision makers in as far as agriculture is concerned. As articulated by Mohammed-Katerere (1996, p 23) women are the majority of farmers and similarly

have much knowledge about locally appropriate farming practices. As *de facto* managers, women decided on which crops to grow depending on rainfall patterns of a particular farming season. Traditionally they cultivated small grain crops in areas with low rainfall. That way they ensured hunger and starvation would not affect them. The small grain crops were replaced with cash crops when the White settlers came. The early White explorers to come to Africa mischievously regarded Africans as primitive people who consumed the 'most indigestible' types of food, the small grains. (Green in Kauma, 2021) This led to the demonization of the traditional crops such that even people occupying regions four and five in Zimbabwe today are engaged in cultivating crops like maize which need at least high amounts of rainfall. This leads to hunger as they can harvest few bags of maize to last the winter season only. This has resulted in monocultural farming trends and this affects the soil ph. The consequences of not taking heed of the indigenous knowledge systems are then felt.

Traditionally, women used to leave some trees in their fields in order to get organic manure for the following planting season. Tree leaves would ensure soil fertility, hence good harvests. The introduction of inorganic fertilisers led to the abolition of this farming practice. Most farmers now rely on these fertilisers more than they do on organic fertilisers. The problem with countries with nonperforming economies like Zimbabwe is that not everyone can afford to buy the fertilisers. Food security problems then arise and this forces Africans to rely on donations for food. Prior to colonialism Africans did not seek humanitarian aid from the Europeans, they were economically self-sufficient and they had economic sovereignty.

Agricultural production was done near homes in order to safeguard their crops from wild animals which could destroy their crops. It also ensured close monitoring of the crops by women. Theodre Bent (1999) opines that growing crops near homesteads was also intended "for black women –whose daily duty it is, at this season of the year, to act as scarecrows and save their crops from birds". Africans were quick to find solutions to their problems. They could use their experiences to get answers to their problems. It also made movements by women easier as they were the ones in charge of making food provisions for the family.

Africans ensured diversity in their selection of crops to grow. They did not focus on growing one crop in a field. One would find that in a maize field there would be the bean crop (*nyemba*), sweet reeds, pumpkins, and water melons among others. These would ensure soil is kept fertile and would control the alkalinity and acidity of the soil. These days farmers tend to use herbicides of which some of them are non-selective as they would kill other crops planted within the maize field. To a poor farmer who got land without enough inputs, use of such herbicides reduces production. Intercropping was a pest control measure which was cost effective. That way, Africans could manage their production thereby ensuring food security. Land portions were also allocated to women for them to grow crops like roundnuts, groundnuts and tubers like sweet potatoes and cassava. Each and every married woman was supposed to have such a piece of land allocated to her. The woman was free to do whatever she wished with the produce from her piece of land. Some would sell the surplus and secure property for herself, property referred to as *maoko* property (Schmidt, 1992). Some of the crops were dried for consumption during the off-season period. They were kept in sealed granaries for a certain period in order to control the pests. Chirimuuta & Mapolisa (2011, p.54) have it that the sealing of granaries was one way of making sure that no living organism accessed oxygen for respiratory and reproductive purposes. This therefore ensured food security among Africans as pests were controlled so as not to destroy their crops.

Mining and trade among Africans

Colonialists did not introduce trade to Africa. Europeans colonised Africans out of envy of the great economies that Africans had prior to colonisation (Bhila, 1982; Mudenge, 1974). It was because of the great precolonial economies that Africans did not need foreign humanitarian aid to sustain their economies and livelihoods. Africans were and are still rich in minerals and Europeans have always envied that. Precolonial trade sustained African economies and it made Africans enjoy their economic sovereignty. Precolonial African trade prospered because markets were not controlled by the Westerners: since colonialism, Westerners

have designed trade laws, and regulations that stifle Africans' economic sovereignty.

In West Africa, precolonial women owned and controlled market places and were also engaged in long distance trade. As the ones who managed homes, it was noble that they engaged in economic activities that brought food home. Men and women of Africa, in antiquity, did not fight each other over work. Their roles were complementary and they accorded each other spaces. Everyone was a bread winner and as such women also participated in trading. Hymer (1976) cites one Dutch observer, who as early as 1602, described a Ghanaian market as a beehive of activity with women participating together with their male counterparts. He had this to say:

> ….then the women came to the market with their wares, who bring oranges, lemons, bananas, back-ovens, potatoes, indianias, millia, mais, rice, manigette, hens, eggs, bread and such like necessaries, which those that dwell on the sea-side have need of, and are sold both unto the habitants, and to the Netherlanders in the ships, which come thither to buy it. The inhabitants of the sea-side come also to the market with their wares, which they buy of the Netherlanders, as linen, cloth, knives, ground corrals, look-glasses, pinnes, arme rings, and fish, which their have gotten in the sea, whereof the women buy much, and carrie them to other townes within the land to get some profit by them……those women were verie nimble about their business, and so earnest therein…(Hymer, 1976).

The Dutch observer, in the quotation above, commends the Ghanaian women for their hard work. He also notes how they could bear the hard weather conditions for the sake of their families. They went to the market heavily laden and returned heavily laden. As family-centred beings, African women defied all odds and participated in spheres which would be considered as male dominated spheres in Western circles. If one has the family at heart, the family comes first. There is no need for one to wait for the husband to be the only bread winner in the family. With this enshrined in the African body of knowledge, African women found themselves participating in trade for the upkeep of their families. That women are meant for the private sphere, the kitchen, is an alien philosophy which had no space among the precolonial Africans.

West Africa was known for engaging in the earliest form of trade. The city of Kano was a leading centre of craft production and traded not only locally but even far beyond. In Zimbabwe, the people of Great Zimbabwe also engaged in long distance trade. Great Zimbabwe had its great economy revolving around cattle rearing and agriculture. For the Great Zimbabwe inhabitants long distance trade was valued. The Indian textiles and beads, were valued and the interior peoples exchanged with ivory and gold (Akyeampong, 2017). In South Africa the Khoisan who occupied the south western part of South Africa exchanged their cattle, sheep and hunting produce for the iron and copper from the Batswana. The Nguni also traded with the Xhosa: the Xhosa received iron from the Nguni. It is the wealth of South Africa that attracted foreign invasion of their land. As Akyeampong (2017) notes, it was the sheep and cattle of the Khoi pastoralists of South-Western Cape that attracted European ships to the area in the first place in the sixteenth century. With these examples cited, claiming that Africans learnt about trade from the Westerners would be a misrepresentation of African history. Trade became an important sector which ensured economic sustainability among the Africans. Other countries from other continents would come to Africa to engage in trade with them. That way the African economies became viable to the extent that they did not find themselves struggling to feed their families. Trade contributed immensely to the growth of African economies.

Mining made Africans economically self-sufficient. Mali was one nation known for gold production and Ghana was known as 'the land of gold' but because Mali had the most powerful political muscle, it became the richest nation as it had control of many gold producing nations during the medieval period.

Mining is defined by Stocks & Down (1979, p.9) as the 'removal of minerals from their natural geological environment and their transport to the point of processing or use'. Research shows that even during the precolonial era mining was one way that Africans used to sustain their economies. Through mining, Africans enjoyed economic sovereignty. Africans used different mining methods which were compatible with their readily available resources. Hammel, White, Pfeiffer and Miller (2000) note that, during the precolonial era, mining techniques were divided into three categories namely scavenging, open mines and underground mines. These

differed with the mineral being extracted. They are of the view that the scavenging method followed the hunting and gathering techniques where minerals could be easily extracted from the surface area. Minerals extracted through the scavenging method were mostly those that were meant for cosmetic purposes. According to Van de Merwe, (cited in Hammel et al., 2000), iron ore is also one mineral that Africans could get using the scavenging method. He cites Phalaborwa area, Eastern Transvaal in South Africa and Buhwa in Zimbabwe as examples where iron ore could be extracted using the scavenging method. It became also easier to get the iron ore and copper if the top soil was washed away by soil erosion. This surface scratching was also easier on the river banks. The tools used included iron hoes, woven baskets and clay or wooden plates, in case of gold washing. Usually, this method was employed during 'the winter months when the water levels were lower and miners could take advantage of any gold deposited exposed by floods at the beginning of the previous summer' (Phimister, 1976).

Another mining technique used by Africans during the precolonial era is that of open mining. This method of mining was more complex as compared to scavenging. It was complex both in terms of tools needed and the necessary planning needed. They had to dig deeper in order to extract the minerals, sometimes as deep as more than 600 metres. The tools used included stone hammers and pounders, iron gads/chisels, stone wedges, hoes, shovels, buckets (wood/hide/bark/clay) and baskets (Hammel et al., 2000). With these tools, they could get the necessary minerals for trade. The other technique that they used was the underground mining method which was more complex compared to the ones discussed above. Underground mining involved the use of more complex tools and needed a lot more careful planning. Because of the complexity of the mining method, careful planning and strategies had to be devised to mitigate problems like lack of ventilation and illumination. Africans used their indigenous knowledge systems to extract the natural resources within their continent. Africans proved to be very rich in minerals and that is what attracted the colonisers. Colonisers envied the gold, iron ore, diamonds and many other minerals in Africa to the extent of devising plans to colonise and dispossess Africans of their natural resources. To make sure they succeeded in colonising Africans and in dispossessing them of their resources, they

demonised everything African. The African methods of mining were depicted as primitive and worthy of abolition. The African mining tools were also looked down upon during the colonial era. Africa was then depicted as a continent devoid of history and its people as blank slates with nothing tangible to offer. As noted by Nhemachena (2021, p.80) "Right from the colonial era, Western demonizations of Africans as uncivilised, as primitive, as irrational, as barbaric, as indistinct from animals, as beastly, as underdeveloped, as nonmodern, as uneducated, illiterate" was one way for colonialists to gain monopoly over everything in the world. What they missed however is that, for precolonial Africans, life was complete and full of meaning for they relied on their body of knowledge which was tried and tested. After all, if one looks closely one would realise that both the precolonial methods of mining and the modern methods produce the desired results, that of extracting minerals from the ground. It all points to the fact that Africans did not depend on "foreign aid" to enjoy their own economic sovereignty. They had their resources which could sustain them economically.

In order to enjoy economic hegemony, the Whites exploited, colonised, dispossessed and enslaved the African people. Baldwin (2014) has it that Congo has always held more mineral riches than the European Union and the United States combined. The Congolese had diamonds, gold and rubber which they owned, controlled and used to sustain their economy. The Belgian King Leopold II envied these natural resources and sought to steal them by whatever means available. From 1885-1908 he was in control of the Congo Free State which he took to be his private property. He created a new African forced labour class which he used to build the many railways and transportation routes at no cost (Baldwin, 2014). The transportation system was meant to facilitate the easy and quick way of transporting stolen resources from the Congo to Belgium. African men and women were also forced to work in mines day and night for the benefit of the Belgian King. During this enslavement period, the Belgian King Leopold II massacred an estimated 10-13 million Africans during his rule over the Congo, and it is historically considered one of the largest genocides in African history. Such kind of acts by Leopold II have had long term effects on the economy of the Congo. Thus, exploitation, colonialism and slavery had negative effects on the economy of the Africans: African economic

sovereignty was stolen by Europeans. This is why Africans became reliant on foreign aid. Their economies became nonperforming as a result of alien policies and practices brought about by the colonisers.

The slave trade and its implications on African economic sovereignty

Slave trade had adverse effects on the African economies. Nunn (2008) has it that the slave trade spanned for a period of 500 years, that is from 1400 to 1900, which is quite a long period of time with Africans being taken away for forced labour in American plantations. Nunn (2008) also notes that Africans experienced four slave trades, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the trans-Saharan, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean slave trades. Of the four slave trades, the trans-Atlantic is the largest and well-known slave trade where slaves were shipped from West Africa, West Central Africa and Eastern Africa to the European colonies in the New World (Nunn, 2008).

Quite a larger number of Africans were shipped as slaves who were then treated as property by the slave owners. Figures of the enslaved Africans vary with others approximating it to 12 million while some say that the number can surpass 12 million. Nunn (2008) states that during the trans-Atlantic slave trade alone 12 million slaves were exported from Africa and that another 6 million were exported in the other three slave trades. These numbers do not include those who died on the way, those who died in barracoons whilst waiting to be transported and those who died during raids. The mortality rate was very high in the ships that ferried the enslaved Africans. Smith in his book "West Africa in the Era of 'Legitimate Trade'" has it that those who died enroute are 11 863 000. The conditions in the ships were bad and it led to loss of lives by many. Ventilation was poor and as a result many suffocated. Smith also notes that during the journey the enslaved Africans were placed in tiers or layers, separated by movable docks of planks. To fit in as many docks as possible, slaves had to lie down on their sides, the head of one resting on the chest of the other. This was too inhuman and it led to loss of many African lives.

Given such a large number of slaves from Africa it is evident that Africa lost a lot of people who were supposed to be productive in their societies. Able bodied men and women were taken away from

their land and this negatively affected the African economies. As Walter Rodney (1972, p 100) observes, the slave trade is one tool that Europeans used to underdevelop Africa. This is so because "captives were shipped outside instead of being utilized within any given African community for creating wealth from nature". This points to the fact that those who used to contribute to economic sustainability were taken away thereby creating a gap which no one could fill in. To corroborate this idea, Fage (1969, p.332) states that:

> The basic factor underlying all African attitudes …people were a very scarce resource in relation to cultivable land and other resources, such as mineral deposits… in a situation in which there was an abundance of land but a scarcity of people, traditional village societies based on ties of kinship and engaged in subsistence agriculture were unable to take advantage of all these opportunities arising when they were touched by growing external demands for scarce and valuable commodities such as gold, salt, copper or ivory. There was a shortage of people available to act as traders and carriers, to work in mines, to provide the political organization and military security to enable trade to flow freely or to provide food and other support from those withdrawn from the subsistence sector to engage in these new activities (Fage, 1969, p.332).

The above citation points to the fact that the slave trade had a negative impact on the crucial sectors that contribute to a society's achievement of economic sovereignty. Agriculture, trade and mining were thus affected as manpower became a scarce resource. The slave trade had long term effects and to get everything back to normal requires a long time. Africans are still suffering the consequences of this inhuman slave trade.

Slavery also deprived Africans of their cherished resource, land. Mtapuri & Nhemachena (2017) note that the introduction of slave trade saw many Africans unwillingly abandoning their land as they flew to seek refuge in places far away from the slave trade routes and this land was never recovered. In order to gain total control of the land, they then 'legalised' the land grabbed "through the laws enacted by the colonial and imperial robbers - in everyday parlance - the robber or the thief bringing to finality the dispossession by theft of the indigenous people of their resources" (Mtapuri & Nhemachena, 2017). With large pieces of land taken away from them, Africans had

their economies affected since land is a source of wealth. Agriculture, trade and mining were affected by this illegal colonial land grabbing.

It is not possible to separate economic sovereignty from political sovereignty. If there is bad governance the economy is also affected. The slave trade affected adversely the politics of the African societies. It brought about ethnic and social disintegration. How did this happen? The way slaves were taken from villages led to social disintegration. Northrup (1978 cited in Nunn, 1998) notes that villages and states were now raiding one another to get slaves for sale. Villagers would kidnap each other thereby perpetuating and lubricating the slave trade. People turned against each other. This threatened the social order to the extent people could no longer live in holistic harmony as enshrined in the African ubuntu philosophy of living. This meant the economy was not spared from being a non-performing economy. Slave trade thus did not do justice to Africans and their economies. Yet when African kings such as the King of Dahomey resisted the slave trade, the Europeans subjected such African kingdoms to subversive activities. Thus, Rodney (2012, p. 81) writes:

> In the 1720s, Dahomey opposed European slave traders, and was deprived of European imports – some of which had become necessary by that time. Agaja Trudo, Dahomey's greatest King, appreciated that European…pursuit of slaving in and around Dahomey was in conflict with Dahomey's development. Between 1724 and 1726 he looted and burned European forts and slave camps…blocking the paths leading to sources of supply in the interior. European slave traders were very bitter, and they tried to sponsor some African collaborators against Agaja Trudo.

Conclusion

The chapter has looked at the importance of indigenous knowledge systems in achieving African economic sovereignty. It has defined and explained the value of indigenous knowledge systems. It has been noted that during the precolonial period Africans enjoyed economic sovereignty by harnessing their indigenous knowledge systems. The colonisers however destroyed the indigenous knowledge systems, which is why Africans became food insecure.

The chapter also noted how agriculture, trade and mining helped in achieving African economic sovereignty.

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Chapter 6

Environmental and Economic Sovereignty through African Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Insights from Mashonaland West, Zimbabwe

Peter Masvotore

Introduction

Human beings gather knowledge basically for two purposes: survival and development. Humanity tries to understand and come to grips with the environment in order to survive (The World Bank, 1998). This becomes the aim for all kinds of activities intended to build up knowledge systems. In ancient times, before the colonization of Africa, indigenous people had developed their ways of knowing how to survive and live. Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) have been relied upon to assert and define, ownership and control of natural resources since time immemorial. If we lose the wisdom of indigenous Africans, we lose our sovereignty as well. As long as indigenous peoples are not heard, non-native audiences will continue to deal in misrepresentations. IKS are indispensable sources of autonomous sustainable development in Africa. This chapter discusses IKS in view of their significance for economic and environmental sovereignty and for sustainable economic development in Africa, and Zimbabwe in particular. The chapter argues that IKS are indispensable in fostering environmental and economic sovereignty to humankind in the Global South who have historically been dispossessed of their environments and economic freedom. The main argument of this chapter is that Euro-modernity has entailed dispossessing and exploiting Africans, siphoning their natural resources which could have been harnessed, for the benefit of the Africans. In this regard, indigenous knowledge systems should not only be considered to be a solution for the management of African environments but they are also a solution for Africans' recovery of their environmental and economic sovereignty. However, Europeans have historically colonized the Africans and the

colonialists also destroyed, denigrated and marginalized African IKS. Based on an in-depth study in Nyaminyami Rural District Council in Mashonaland West Province of Zimbabwe, this chapter focuses on IKS that are aimed at African recovery of ownership and control over their natural environments. The chapter focuses on IKS as adaptive strategies for environmental and economic sovereignty looking at how some natural features, signs, animals, pests and plants were used as IKS in seasonal change forecasts by the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people in Nyaminyami Rural District Council/Omay. The chapter concludes by stressing that in as much as it may be difficult for Zimbabweans to revert back to precolonial epoch, lessons can be drawn from this study for policymakers who seek to enhance African environmental and economic sovereignty.

Conceptualization of terms

The concept of sovereignty has been at the heart of Africans' struggles for development.

The issue of sovereignty was central to Nkrumah's call to arms against neo-colonialism. Without a genuine independence, it was argued, without the ability of African states to chart their own strategic direction, the continent had little chance of escaping from the worst features of dependence and underdevelopment and would always be at the mercy of international economic interests and events (Bush & Szeftel, 2002, p.6).

The above notion demonstrates that the ravages of "debts", instability in African states and globalization have made African independence fragile and thus the issue of sovereignty becomes very important. The problem of establishing and defending national sovereignty has been a familiar theme in Zimbabwe, and it is also a widespread concern in Africa that there is a process of unpronounced 're-colonization' going on under the ideological cloak of globalization and structural reforms that negate indigenous knowledge systems and African sovereignty.

Having looked at the concept of sovereignty it is prudent at this point to have a bird's eye view on the concept of indigenous knowledge systems. The phrase indigenous knowledge systems has varied explanations and denotations. It is also referred to as local and/or traditional knowledge (Odero, 2011). IKS denotes what

native people know and do, and what they have known and done from time immemorial, what they have practised, that has passed through trial and error and proved to cope with change (Eyong, 2007, p.122). Mawere (2015, p.59) defines indigenous knowledge as a set of ideas, beliefs, and practices of a specific locale that has been used by its people to interact with their environment and other people over a long period of time. Thus, IKS involves the thoughts and beliefs that exist among the native people. In this context, IKS applies to the knowledge of indigenous plants, food preservation techniques, seed selection to avoid famines, and disease control in livestock (Odero, 2011, p. 2).

Furthermore, Nakashima et al. (2012) state that indigenous knowledge integrates culture and society's specific knowledge on practices such as agriculture, traditional medicine and ethnobotanical properties of medicinal plants for human and animal usage; and celestial knowledge which influences human living, weather forecasting and disaster prediction. Siambombe et al. (2018, p. 47) demonstrate that indigenous knowledge features in information, technologies, beliefs, nutrition, health, veterinary care, human resources, education, communication, agriculture and fisheries, food and technology, tools, handicrafts, performing arts, religion and astrology. Be that as it may, this study focuses on the IKS practices among the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people in Nyaminyami Rural District Council (Omay[1]) located in Mashonaland West Province in Zimbabwe. It focuses on how IKS has been a tool for environmental and economic sovereignty which sustain agriculture, livelihoods, hazard predictions and, more generally, the environment. Thus, across southern Africa, local communities rely on their IKS (Midgley, 2011; Siambombe et al., 2018, p. 49).

Indigenous knowledge system is of great importance to new generations of Africans who seem to be overwhelmed by the dynamism of the environment for example due to climate change (Siambombe et al., 2018, p. 48). IKS is also an important subject to researchers who seek to explain environmental crises in contemporary Africa. Understanding indigenous knowledge systems also enhances African economic and environmental sovereignty.

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[1] Omay will be used interchangeably with Nyaminyami rural district council to mean the same community.

Study area and methodology

A sample of sixty participants (20 from each of the three wards) was purposively selected in Msampakaruma, Nebiri and Negande areas for the study. These areas are in Nyaminyami Rural District Council which is part of Omay and is situated in Mashonaland West Province in Zimbabwe. Purposive sampling was done basing on the assumption that the participants possessed the traditional knowledge pertaining to their environment. These research participants involved a mixture of old and young men and women. The researcher selected only those people who were likely to provide the required data and were prepared to share it as espoused by Kumar (2011). For the purpose of assessing how the traditional knowledge was passed on along lines of descent, young people aged between eighteen and thirty-five years were included in the study. The Ministry of Agriculture extension workers, and Chiefs were the key informants on indigenous knowledge systems. Thus, Midgley (2011) argues that it is essential to work with a wide range of informants, across age, gender and educational lines. This helps to triangulate and validate the responses from the study. Data collection methods included open ended interviews which were used to allow interviewees to express their views, concerning seasonal changes, basing on traditional climatic and weather knowledge. Data was collected based on the indicators of environmental changes together with their meanings and reliability for the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people. Tonga people are found in the three areas, the Shangwe people are found in both Nebiri and Msampakaruma while the baGova people are found in Msampakaruma area. Data presentation and analysis were based on qualitative techniques. Data was gathered, summarized, put into themes and synthesized to match the purpose of the study. Informed consent was sought from all the research participants who were engaged by the researchers. Participants freely decided to participate in this study.

Harnessing of IKS in adaptation strategies

Africans who are the original owners of land and other resources including indigenous knowledge were deposed, robbed and exploited by colonialists who also engaged in biopiracy of the indigenous

knowledge (Nhemachena., Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020, p. 3). Furthermore, global governance systems have allowed the patenting of indigenous knowledge hence they legitimized theft. As such before the theft of indigenous knowledge, African communities had intellectual property rights; Africans also had their methods of predicting disasters, including climatic change. The Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people in Omay used some traditional IKS signals to forecast seasonal and weather variations. This helped them in their everyday living including in agriculture which is the backbone of Zimbabwean's economic sovereignty. Environmental indicators of seasonal changes were used for the predictions

Termites

The elderly women interviewed during the study in Msampakaruma, Nebiri and Negande areas all confirmed that termites are important indicators to forecast the coming of the rain season. Termites have, for very long, been an indispensable indicator to determine the change of seasons for the Tonga and Korekore people in the Omay area of Nyaminyami Rural District Council in Mashonaland West. For Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili (2018, p. 49), the behaviour of termites was also a reminder for the farmers to begin planting crops.

In the fall of winter and rise of summer, termites were and can still be seen even today packing and gathering food for underground storage to signal the coming of rains. Such actions by termites send loud and clear signals to the farmers to begin preparing for planting (interview with Kausu Mpofu, 2021).

The vanishing of termites signals the coming of rains. The behaviour of termites is very useful, in predicting weather changes, for the subsistence farmers in the Omay communal areas: the farmers have no access to Euro-modern technological and scientific information on weather. In the interviews carried out in Nebiri, the Chief asserted that, *kuti munchenje wabulika yanuunga yawa alayo mvula* (once the termites disappeared it means rain will soon come) (interview with Chief Nebiri, 2021). Some farmers in southern Africa face challenges of receiving inaccurate weather forecasts (Jiri et al, 2016, p.159; Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili, 2018, p.50). Thus,

IKS can help mitigate the risks posed by seasonal weather changes and climate change.

Animals, birds, fish and frogs

Participants in Msampakaruma area highlighted that the natural death of some wild animals which usually occurred between August and October signified a forthcoming drought. Similarly, among the Batswana community in South Africa, the behaviour of plants, domestic and wild animals, birds, insects, and the characteristics of the atmosphere, and wind were used as indicators of various forms of natural disasters in the arid and semi-arid environments (Kaya & Koitsiwe, 2016, p.103; Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili, 2018, p. 49). Such indigenous knowledge is important in preparing ahead of an impending and anticipated disaster like drought. Revered and sacred animals like lions played a very distinct and substantial role in forecasting climatic, weather and seasonal variations for the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people in Omay or Nyaminyami area in the past. Chief Negande confirmed that;

> A lion is one of the precious animals for the Tonga people. When a lion visited the shrines, the coming of rain was indicated by its roaring at shrines (malende) an incident which rarely occurred except to warn people about the coming of rains (interview with Chief Negande, 2021).

Christian ideologies have resulted in the fading away of the importance of such indicators. Sacred places such as African shrines are no longer being respected. However, frogs and fish also play an important role as indicators of seasonal changes for the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people, even in the twenty-first century.

It is the croaking of frogs in the fall of winter that gave a reliable message that it was about to rain and time for planting had come. This message from the behaviour of frogs is complemented by the behaviour of fish in the months of October and November, in each and every farming season (interview with Chief Msampakaruma, 2021).

The beginning of the rain season was also symbolised by certain birds that produce indicative sounds. Birds, indeed, have the innate ability to sense weather changes, getting the forecast right is much

more than a hobby for birds. In many cases it means the difference between life and death for the birds. Not only severe weather makes it difficult and dangerous to fly, it can also cause food sources to become scarce and nearly impossible to locate. In addition, high winds and heavy rain can batter birds and damage a number of nests, so being able to sense an impending storm is crucial for birds as they have to stay alert, stock up food, seek shelter or flee if necessary. Birds known as *Basikampembeza or ndiyo-liyo* in Tonga or *Shuramurove* (Abdim's stock) in Shangwe or baGova would fly across the sky to celebrate the change of the season and this is very reliable weather information for the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people.

In other southern African communities, the behaviour of certain bird species is considered to indicate disasters (Kaya & Koitsiwe, 2016, p.103). For them, nests that are at the top of trees on river banks predict levels of flooding and vice versa. It has been learnt among the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people that when *Makava* (painted dogs) produce a sound near a homestead, it signifies a calamity or it is associated with bad luck that is likely to happen to someone in the community. The sound is translated as expressing *kulwezwa* in Tonga or *munyama* in Shangwe and baGova meaning the coming of a misfortune or bad omen. Be that as it may, *mayuwa* is a sound produced by small animals of the cat family, believed to have been coming from *basangu,* (the spirits of the dead) to predict that someone was about to die. Sounding of *machinchiizya/mazizi* also expressed misfortune to the family related to those who heard them sounding. Such kind of indigenous knowledge helps the local people to avoid or prevent natural disasters and any impending calamities.

Pests and belief systems

Lighting flies (*mwini-mwini*) flying throughout the night in massive numbers in the rainy season are said to be a signal of torrential rainfall in that period. However, at times, farmers may fail to pick weather information from these fire flies, due to their unreliability. On the other hand, the number of mosquitoes indicates the quantity of rainfall to be anticipated in a specific season. Many mosquito bites are an indication of heavy downpours. In other words, mosquito bites and their quantum become a measuring tool used, to compare seasons, by the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people. Some pests like

army worms (*kampekete*) are also good indicators of seasonal variations for the Tonga and baGova people. According to Chief Negande, excess of *kampekete* (army worm) normally appears at the end of November after germination: this is a sign of the coming of excessive rains but then the same pests, that serve as indicators, also destroy the crops. The pests however, boost the morale and encourage farmers to work extra hard and cultivate as they expect a good season. The Tonga, Shangwe and baGova would then build bigger storage bans (*matala*) to store their yields.

For Hart & Mouton (2005), when Ugandan farmers grow traditional vegetables, they use home-made solutions such as ash, urine, water, acacia leaves and chili peppers to control pests and diseases. In the same vein, there are some traditional practices which the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people observe, ostensibly to evade calamities, such as sitting down when eating during cultivation. Chief Msampakaruma (2022) noted the existence of a belief that eating whilst standing or moving around the field would attract pests. These traditional practices originated from traditional leaders such as the spirit mediums and they were then implemented and enforced by the local leadership like the *sibbukus* (village heads) and *basimwaami* (chiefs). Whenever, one fails to oblige to the orders by the leaders it is a punishable offence that entails handing over a cow or some goats to the Chief's court. Additionally, Thursday has been set aside as a traditional day of rest. Singh (2007) indicates that in India farmers manage crop pests by a cultural worship called *Hareli* that is celebrated at the onset of monsoon.

Telestereograph indicators

These indicators include the moon and the stars. The direction of the moon indicates the amount of rainfall to be anticipated by the farmers as well as the changing of seasons. One other indicator of seasonal changes is the encirclement around the moon (*dambwa kumweezi*) (*denderedzi*): this indicates whether there will be in/adequate rains. A large circle around the moon shows that there will be enough rains and a small encirclement is interpreted as a sign of disaster, famine and little rainfall in the season.

The spirit medium in Nebiri was also interviewed during the study and he had this to say:

When the circle surrounding the moon is large it signifies heavy downpours to be received. As soon as we notice this encirclement on the moon, us the spirit mediums, we will go to the shrine to do some rituals for the heavens to open up.

Furthermore, it is believed that if lightning flashes before rains it is a sign that the rains are coming. This is noted to be a reliable source of weather information for the farmers (Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili, 2018). According to an elderly man interviewed in Negande area;

A cluster cloud of stars locally known as *kkondo lyamuchimba/mangwangwa* shows stars moving slowly in the sky during the dry season and when it reaches a certain point, a rainy season is experienced. This celestial vision marks the seasonal changes as shown by red clouds which are said to described the end of rain (*mvula yalamba munsila*).

According to Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili (2018) the wind is considered to be a very important weather forecast tool for people since the ancient times. Similarly, Chief Msampakaruma stated that to mark the commencement of a rainy season, the blow of wind which is known as *muswii* in Tonga (trade winds) is experienced at dawn and this signaled the coming of a rainy season. Trade winds are usually observed in October and November each year and they serve to alert farmers to prepare for the new season. IKS in Omay or Nyaminyami Rural District Council has enabled farmers to prepare themselves for seasonal changes.

Plants, fruits and *zunde ramambo*

If wild fruits such as the tamarind (*busiikka*), baobab and (*mateme or matamba*) pomegranate fruit are produced in large quantities this indicates impending famine (Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili, 2018). Noticing such indicators people collect as much food as they can and store it in preparation for the famine or drought. In southern Africa, Zimbabwe in particular farmers also developed coping strategies that include growing of drought tolerant crops (Magni, 2016, p.8; Singh, 2007, p.103).

This chapter shows that IKS in Nyaminyami Rural District Council utilises vegetation as indicators of seasonal changes. A middle-aged interviewee in Nebiri declared that some sacred plants such as baobab trees, tamarind and *mungiyi/munyi* are used as places for performing weather-related rituals such as petitioning for rain (*malende*) (see also Nhemachena, 2017). On the other hand, plants like *mululwe/murumanyama* are not used as firewood because they are considered sacred. Such kinds of IKS assist in the conservation of vegetation which in turn help people to preserve the environment and minimize the dangers of deforestation (Siambombe, Mutake & Muzingili, 2018). Nyaminyami or Omay is one of the districts with a lot of vegetation in Zimbabwe. Research conducted in southern Africa demonstrates that the fruiting patterns of some trees indicate patterns of rainfall as well (Jiri et al., 2016, p. 160). Furthermore, Magni (2016, p.25) notes that the plummeting or drying of flowers symbolises the approach of a dry season. In other words, the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people in Msampakaruma, Nebiri and Negande area, respectively, use plant behaviour to forecast seasons.

All the three Chiefs namely; Negande, Nebiri and Msampakaruma provided information about the *Zunde Ramambo,* a traditional social protection mechanism that is designed to mitigate food security, implemented in Omay or Nyaminyami Rural District Council as a way of coping with the effects of seasonal changes. *Zunde* is a Shona word that means a large gathering of people taking part in common activity or may refer to plenty of grain stored for future use by people in a particular community (Gukurume, 2014; Mawere & Awuah-Nyamekye, 2015). One *sibbukus* (village head) interviewed from Nebiri revealed that in Nebiri, there is land designated for the *Zunde Ramambo* where local people participate in the growing of food crops which will be distributed to those in need after harvest.

This *Zunde Ramambo* system acts as a social safety net for vulnerable members of the community and it ensures that food security is guaranteed at all times. For the practice to work, it is expected that agricultural duties that include planting, weeding and harvesting are executed timely by the community members (Chanza & Ayal, 2014; Mavhura, 2017). *Zunde Ramambo* serves to strengthen the social capital nets, of the community against potential risk of droughts. *Zunde Ramambo* also fosters community cohesion among different villages in Omay, and this helps communities to withstand

the effects of droughts and famine. Peasant farmers are assisted to absorb shocks and to be resilient.

Although IKS date back to the pre-colonial era, they are still relevant to the present situation as they provide an alternative to Western models of environmental management which have caused much damage to ecosystems throughout the African continent (Mapira & Mazambara, 2013, p.105). However, during the post-colonial era, there has been a growing interest in the restoration of IKS hoping that they may hold clues in solving some of the environmental problems the country is facing.

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been discovered that farmers in Omay used indigenous knowledge in order to stay alert and prepared for any seasonal changes. It is therefore recommended that local technical advisors such as the agricultural extension (AGRITEX) officers should take note of the significance of the IKS in promoting agriculture and fighting the effects of droughts and guarantee a hunger free world. The AGRITEX workers should also deliberately educate farmers on how they can mainstream IKS to benefit their farming, to augment food security. This chapter has examined the indigenous knowledge systems as a synthesis of the Tonga, Shangwe and baGova people's traditional knowledge on weather dynamism, disaster preparedness and environmental sustainability. In this regard, indigenous knowledge systems should not only be considered to be a solution for the management of African environments but they are also a solution for recovering environmental and economic sovereignty for Africans.

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Chapter 7

The Knowledge About and Worshipping of the Heavenly God in Precolonial Africa

Elijah Chambiwa

Introduction

Since time immemorial, African people have had a belief in the Supreme Being who is part of their worldview and religious praxis. They believe that the Heavenly God works through different *mhondoro* spirits whose words are conveyed to the living Africans through spirit mediums. These beliefs represent African religions. Scholars like Bolagi Idowu (1979); John Samul Mbiti (1969); Olupona & Adeluwo (1991), among others, observed that long before contact with Europeans and Arabs, Africans had developed a variety of distinct social institutions, political structures, economic institutions, cultures and languages that were a product of their indigenous religious world views which had a basis in the belief in a Supreme God. David Livingstone wrote, in 1860 in his letter as a missionary after twenty years of experience of south and central Africa, that "the ideal of praying to the Supreme Being, though not quite new to all seems to stick their minds so forcibly that it will not be forgotten". Further, even the early inhabitants of Africa, like the Hottentots, believed in a powerful being. These early people's belief included a great being who created all things and to whom prayers could be made. A belief in a Supreme Being is common among Africans. The nature, character and attributes of the Africans' Supreme Being reflect indigenous religious orthodoxy prior to the introduction of Christianity. This chapter unpacks African knowledge and beliefs in the highest God, prior to the arrival of Europeans in Africa.

The knowledge, beliefs and practices of Africans

Religion gives answers to a lot of problems that people face in the world. According to Karl Marx, as noted by Allport (1958), religion

is the opium of the masses. Awolalu & Depamn (1979) state that African indigenous religion is the way Africans have understood and worshipped God. This religion is found in almost all the facets of the lives of African people. The African traditional religion is everywhere for those who can see and read it. It is present in myths and folklores, in songs and dances, in liturgies and shrines and in proverbs and pithy sayings. The Africans had knowledge about and they prayed to the Heavenly father even before colonialism. It is similar to the other religions like Islam or Christianity which also worship the Supreme Being or God.

Olikenyi (2001) argues that African religion has no founder and that is why it is called an indigenous religion. It is a religion that is full of life and activities such as ceremonies or festivals: it places impassioned virtues, values and morals at its core. African traditional religion is found in almost all activities of the Africans. Awolan & Depamu (1979) also state that African traditional religion is the way of life of the people of Africa.

God is real to the Africans. He is believed to be the Creator and the absolute controller of the universe. He is a Supreme Being. The concept of Supreme Being is widely known in African Traditional Religion. African knowledge of the Supreme Being is demonstrated by the names given Him by Africans, for instance the name "*Chineke*" (the Creator) or "*Chukwa*" (Idowu, 1975). In the name Creator, emphasis is placed on the creative activity of God who is known to have created the world *ex nihilo*. In fact, this fundamental belief in God, the Creator is something an African knows without being taught. This is to say that the belief in the Supreme Being is axiomatic in African religion. (Ugwu, 1992).

Additionally, Groves (1948) pointed out that each child, as he/she grows to maturity, discovers that one belongs to a family with its kinship obligations, he/she enjoys birth right membership in the clan, and this is reckoned through one's parent, usually the father. It is then styled patrilineal. Cases where descent is matrilineal exist, and even various combinations for the different purposes of descent, succession and inheritance. Through the clan, the child is linked up with his/her ancestors. Now the clan extends into the unseen: there is one community of the living and the dead. This exists at two levels. There are family ancestors that concern the family group and no one else; and there are the chiefly ancestors or past rulers of the

community. There is recourse to these unseen helpers in times of distress, including illness or personal misfortune in the family, drought or epidemic in the community. Also, their guidance may be sought before enterprises of importance are undertaken. They have power to help or harm but they are also dependent upon the living Africans. They are regarded as intermediaries between the living Africans and the Supreme Being.

According to Moyo (1988) in the African traditional religion the most important of the *vadzimu* is the spirit (*mudzimu*) of the paternal grandfather (*sekuru*). His spirit protects his grandchildren on earth from all ills and gives them their character, personality and good behaviour. If the spirit is annoyed in any way it may punish one of the grandchildren or one of its sons and daughters by causing sickness, an accident or even death. Failing to remember the *mudzimu* is sufficient to disturb it and cause it to show its presence by producing sickness. The other spirit elders, those of the grandmother, father and mother do not guard and protect the interest of the nuclear family, but take action when a rite or ritual is overlooked, forgotten or transgressed.

The people of Hwesa, a segment of the Shona people, believe in the High God, usually known as *Karuva*, who works through the different "tribal" spirits (*mhondoro*), whose words are conveyed to the people through their spirit mediums (Moyo, 1988). The Shona individual can consult his family spirit when necessary. If, for example he is out hunting and is unsuccessful, he can go up to a tree, place some snuff at its foot, clap hands and talk to his family spirit, asking it to help in hunting. Similar observations are made by Ukpong (1983) who states that Africans are neither agnostic nor atheist because they believe in God, following their ancestors. Therefore, there is inescapable embeddedness of traditional African religions in the people's way of thinking and knowing to a point that it is nearly impossible to extricate oneself from it.

According to Kamara (2000), African traditional religion (ATR) is now accommodated in the African initiated churches (AICs). The members of these churches aim to be Christian without losing their African identity. ATR is a religion that was practiced throughout Africa before the arrival of the colonial missionaries. The core premise of the ATR is the maintenance of African culture and its main feature is loyalty to the ancestors and the accompanying rituals

that express this loyalty. Africans worship one Supreme Being and venerate ancestors as intermediaries to the Supreme Being. African theologian Maluleke (1994) argues that African identity and culture are preserved in African traditional religion. The notion of *ubuntu* or communion in ATR is based on the conviction that African life is lived within a community.

According to Mbiti (1961), Africans are notoriously religious so much that religion permeates into many aspects of life. Moyo (1988) agrees with Mbiti when he acknowledges that religion is part of the fibre of society, it is deeply ingrained in social life. It is impossible to isolate and study it as a distinct phenomenon, therefore, when members of a family or clan gather together in a sacrificial ritual for the ancestors, that is a religious activity.

Kamaras (2000, p. 503) notes that African religion is part and parcel of culture in Africa. As Mbiti (1970) notes, it starts before birth and does not end after death. Whether Africans are part of the Western religion today or not, they invoke God in their everyday lives. In fact, the word God and its derivates in various African languages is the most uttered words in their daily conversations. African traditional religion has a strong foothold in contemporary Zimbabwe and it is an integral part of the everyday lives of many Zimbabweans. Their strong belief in the existence of spiritual beings requires that they attend to their day to day activities and relationships with caution and respect for human dignity. In African traditional religion, it is known that offences, wickedness, violations of societal norms and sinful acts are detested by God (Chavunduka, 1999).

In Shona and Ndebele religions, God (*Mwari* or *Umlimo*) is seen as the Creator, *ex nihilo*, and sustainer of the universe, similar to Christianity. *Mwari* or *Umlimo* is believed to be active in the everyday lives of the Shona and Ndebele people, and even in politics (Chavunduka, 1999). Moyo (1988) argues that in indigenous African religion, the concept of God is similar to the three main monotheistic religions Christianity, lslam and Judaism. *Mhondoro* spirits act as intermediaries between God and Africans.

According to Chavunduka (2007), African traditional beliefs and practices are not restricted to one day per week, but they are present in the most common daily activities as well as special ceremonies. African traditional religions provide Africans with a system of values, attitudes and beliefs which orient them to their world. The African

worldviews provide a system of morality that distinguishes right from wrong, good from bad, appropriate from inappropriate in every situation that they face.

Moyo (1998) expounded that Africans do not treat spirits as Gods and they do not worship them However, just as they respect living elders, the spirits of ancestors are remembered and respected. Appropriate behaviour and observance of obligations and rites are important to maintain social harmony, longevity and contentment of spirits. These spirits are believed to constitute an invisible community, caring for the living and participating in their joys and sorrows.

Every religious tradition has an individual who performs specific religious tasks and duties: it may be a rabbi, lmman, minister, pastor or priest (Chavunduka, 2007). In African religious traditions there are different religious roles which include spiritual leaders, ceremony leaders, petitioners for rain, counsellors, healers (diviners and herbalists) and assistants in each of the above. Most of the people who perform these roles are spirits mediums or potential spirit mediums. In some African traditions these various roles may be served by the same individual, in other traditions, leaders may be considered as professionals in that each position requires long term training. The positions are often full time, leaving little time for the activities beyond the fulfilment of their duties. In most African religious traditions women and men may serve in any leading capacity, one of the most important functions being officiating at religious ceremonies, a practice that is very important for maintaining a close-knit community.

Just as Christians offer sacrifices, the ATR also offers sacrifices and prayers to God through their ancestors. The practice of praying to God through ancestors is premised on the belief that God, upon creating the world, retired in Heaven delegating the responsibility of taking care of humanity and the world to the ancestors. The sacrifices were also practiced Biblically as illustrated in Leviticus 1: 2-5.

Wrong ideas about African religion

Coba (1998) argues that there was a common misconception in missionary circles that Africans had no religion, and hence was a dark continent. Coba (1998, p.190) asserts that missionaries were minded

on turning Africans away from their culture. Consequently, missionaries were regarded as agents of colonization of Africa. The complicity of missionaries in the colonisation of Africans is evident in the letter that was written by King Leopold 11 of Belgium to colonial missionaries in 1883. Leopold instructed that the mission of missionaries is never to teach the "niggers" to know God, because they already knew Him, but to make them subservient people (Idowu, 1975).

Ancestral rituals should be seen as religiously motivated. Asamoah-Gyadn (2007) states that ancestral rituals are intrinsically a form of "worship". However, Seoka (1997) argues that the rituals and the practices within ATR should not be regarded as the "worship" of ancestors. Mtetwa (1996) argues that the use of Western theological and anthropological categories in articulating African rituals and philosophies has to discontinue because they often tend to distort and confuse Africans who, in any case, already worshipped God in the precolonial era. According to Seoka (1997, p.5), in African religious practice, ancestors are serviced but not worshipped – this African talk of *umsebenzikababa or umama*, meaning that the entire event is called *umsebenzi* (a service) of remembering or thanking the ancestors.

There is a fallacious colonial wisdom that holds that Africans did not know God prior to the arrival of Arabs and the colonial missionaries (Chavunduka, 1999). In the era of burgeoning Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Africa, traditional African religions have been under relentless assault and bastardisation by those that fail to dig deep into the foundational roots of African traditional religions (Owolalu & Dopamu, 1979). Aquina (1967) notes that one observable commonality is that most of the African traditions do not have a written Holy text for references. Therefore, it is difficult for any Westerners and non-Africans to have in-depth knowledge about African traditional religions. It is believed that traditional African religion has been in existence since the beginning of humanity (Mbiti, 1969).

Colonialism and African religion

Onuzulike (2007) points out that early Christian missionaries tried to destroy African religions. African traditional religious rites and

rituals were regarded, by colonial missionaries, as abominable and heathen. Colonial missionaries also erroneously preached that African religions were witchcraft and that in Africa ancestors were idols standing in the place of God. Chavunduka (1999) asserts that the colonial attempts to destroy African religions have not succeeded. Religion is the strongest element in traditional African cultures and it exerts great influence upon the conduct of the African people. Religion is closely bound up with the African ways of life. Many African Christians have continued to participate in traditional religious rituals, and they have also continued to consult traditional healers despite being members of Christian churches.

Mutasa & Mutubuki (1995) argue that African religions were structurally organized prior to the coming of the Whites. They further argue that even Christianity started in Africa. African religions do not encourage witchcraft, they merely recognise its existence; African religions regard witches as sinners and so in African religion, witches are tried and punished (Chavunduka, 1999).

African religions were wrongly depicted, by colonial missionaries, as superstition. A superstition is a readiness to believe and fear something without proper grounds (Mbiti, 1969). According to Chavunduka (1999), Africans were wrongly depicted as pagans which is a word, that originated from Latin, meaning a peasant, rustic or rural person. Later, the term pagan took the meaning of a person who is not a Christian, Moslem or Jew. Some Westerners have mistakenly regarded Africans as simply believers in magic. It is true that magic, witchcraft and sorcery feature in the traditional lives of African people but their religion is not constructed around magic. This is only part of their belief in good and bad practices and spiritual forces.

According to Kazembe (2008), God does not communicate with people directly. Through his study of *maGombwe* in Zimbabwe, Kazembe notes that the ancestral spirits interact with their descendants on a day to day basis; and the Africans communicate through *maGombwe* to God. Many people who became Christians found it difficult to abandon their religion completely (Chavunduka, 1999). Christian conversion was shallow and it did not always change African people's understanding of life and relations with their ancestral spirits, *maGombwe* and God.

Conclusion

The Africans in the precolonial era had the knowledge of God. For one to understand much about African traditional religion the knowledge of African culture must be fostered because the two are inseparable. God was known and worshipped as *Mwari, Mutangakugara, Musikavanhu, Nyadenga, Umlimo, Unkulunkulu* etc. For this reason, colonial missionaries were wrong to demonise African religions as heathen and as evil. Africans were not polytheists, they were not animists or totemists or naturalists because they believed in and worshipped one Supreme Being who they understood to have Created the universe *ex nihilo*. In this regard, precolonial Africans already knew about the existence of a sovereign God who is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent.

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Chapter 8

Lies, Fears and the Scandals of Missionaries: Contesting Christian Conceptions about God in Africa

Wilson Zivave

Introduction

When missionaries came to Africa, they lied that there was no sovereign God in Africa and that Africa was an evil continent. Colonial missionaries were afraid that Africans would seek God's voice to resist colonialism as well as the imposition of colonial religion. Precolonial Africans had very strong moral, spiritual and religious fabric that would, if left alone, render missionary evangelizations unfruitful and pointless. The colonial missionaries preached a God trapped in sacred writings, apartments and attire but not in the hearts and lives of the people. Such missionary preaching was a scandal because Africans already had one Supreme Being (God) who was active in the lives of the indigenous people and was not distant from culture, spirituality and morality (Turaki, 1999, p. 86). Westerners purport that they are the only ones who know the true God to be worshipped. Yet precolonial Africans were aware of the existence of the Supreme Being. Africans had a cordial relationship with one Supreme Being known by various names in Africa. The concept of God in Africa should not be understood as an invention by colonial missionaries because Africans had their own means of communicating and worshipping the Supreme Being as well as expressing their spirituality. This chapter seeks to contest claims that missionaries brought God to Africa: it examines religious beliefs and practices of the African people during the precolonial period. The chapter also argues that the God brought by colonial missionaries to Africa has created more social, moral and spiritual dilemmas for the Africans who got perplexed when the same missionaries who preached about God colonized other human beings. It recommends that indigenous religion should be demystified and should not be

discarded in preference of the missionary religion. Missionaries lied to Africans for political reasons and they feared Africans for religious reasons.

Colonialism and Christianity

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Africans witnessed an explosion of missionary activity (Nunn 2010, p.147). The success of missionaries' work is largely attributed to colonialism which resulted in Africans being converted into Christianity. As Robin Horton (1984, p. 397) writes:

> With the advent of the twentieth century… Europeans came to be seen as symbols of power, and Christianity itself came to be seen as part of a larger order, comprising Western education, colonial administration, commerce and industry, with which everyone had henceforth to reckon.

This implies that Christianity was a tool for colonisation. Besides, Nhemachena (2021) asserts that European traders, hunters, missionaries and explorers laid a solid foundation for Euro-North American modernity, colonialism, and now coloniality. As such the church was used as a decoy to colonise Zimbabwe and other African states. This colonialism advanced by the Europeans was a result of missionary manipulation and trickery which facilitated the signing of the Rudd Concession that saw native people losing their autonomy and sovereignty. It was part of colonial grandmaster plan to use missionaries in persuading African chiefs into signing treacherous treaties which served to legitimise colonisation. Part of the deceptive agenda of the missionaries was to ensure that the African people embraced Christianity as a religion: missionaries viewed Zimbabweans as "irredeemably barbaric and doomed because of their supposed lack of knowledge about God - that is to say, the lack of a specifically Christian God (Gifford, 2012, p.166). It is these mischievous assumptions that missionaries made (Horton, 1984, p. 396). This implies that Christian missionaries were a colonial religious means of gaining political mileage in Africa.

Before the coming of Christian missionaries, indigenous people were very religious and pious devotees. They were pious to their

Supreme Being. However, missionaries misinformed and disinformed indigenous people that one true God was found in the Bible and in the Church which colonialists were bringing to Africa. Tutu (2006, p.1) asserts that God is not a Christian; and they preached a God who died for people's sins and this was new to Africans whose beliefs were punctuated by *unhu/ubuntu*. Missionaries described Africans as the vilest and laziest of all the people in the world; stupid and liars, polytheist and witches. Seen in this light, Nhemachena (2021, p. 388) asserts that "from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, Catholic and Protestant missionaries were the eyes through which Europe viewed the religious and cultural systems of the non-European world". This suffices to show that missionaries defined Africans using their own Western lenses – the missionaries did not see Africans using Godly lenses but they used their own fallible Western lenses to understand Africans. For missionaries, Africans supposedly lacked intellectual and moral principles that could make them true believers of one God. Thus, Africans were erroneously labelled, by missionaries, as evil and polytheist. The missionaries perceived African religions as evil and they did everything possible to ensure that the religions were destroyed (Nkomazana & Setume, 2016, p. 29). It is this description of Africans as evil which allowed the missionaries as colonial agents to justify the colonial mission of civilization in Africa. This colonial civilization mission became an indoctrination mechanism to spread Western culture and belief systems in Africa. While colonialists considered their own colonial or missionary eyes to be civilising eyes, they depicted the eyes of the enslaved and colonised as evil eyes (Nhemachena, 2021, p.387, Apostolides & Dreyer, 2008). European missionaries saw a thin line between Westernizing the world and converting it to Christianity. It is because of this that missionaries spread Christian values and Western civilization simultaneously. Western civilization, Christianity, commerce and colonization were believed to be inseparable (Nkomazana & Situme, 2016, p. 33). The colonial missions of civilization were premised on colonial mischievous assumptions that Africans were inferior, uncivilized and primitive. Nkomazana & Situme (2016, p.33) assert that reproducing the colonisers' culture and imposing it on the Africans was part of the missionaries' mandate to 'civilise' the Africans. It is this missionary mandate which generated a lot of misinformation about

Africans and their God. God was imagined and presented through the colonisers' lenses. For this reason, missionaries concluded that Africans had no God. Considering it their work to bring God to Africa, the missionaries depicted African belief systems as polytheistic, barbaric, animistic and paganistic. This was done to weaken the religious and cultural identity of Africans and in particular the indigenous Zimbabwean people.

Missionaries preached that God is Christian: indigenous people who converted to Christianity were rewarded with free education. The coming of missionaries marked the beginning of misinformation about the concept of the Supreme Being in Africa. Indigenous people began to accept missionary teachings that God is Christian and that because there was no Christianity in precolonial Africa, there was therefore no God in precolonial Africa. Missionaries considered the preachings on the Christian God as part of their evangelical calling supposedly meant to drive Africans from polytheism to monotheism. Nkomazana & Setume (2016, p. 34) note that missionary societies were formed with the intent of sponsoring expeditions to Africa, to "save souls" and to supposedly bestow God's blessings on Africans. Many of the missionaries had an attitude of contempt for the African ways of life (Chidester, 1992, p. 9). Missionaries capitalised on the fact that in Africa God had different names in different regions – and they used this fact to portray Africans as polytheists and animists. And the paradox was that the missionaries themselves were giving colonised Africans different names – the colonial names given to Africans were different from the African traditional names (Nhemachena, 2016).

Missionaries such as Charles Helm, Robert Moffat and David Livingstone contributed to the misinformation and disinformation about Africans and their God. These missionaries encouraged other missionaries from their native countries to bring light to the supposedly dark continent, as if God had switched off light in Africa. However, Africa had plenty of light in real and metaphorical senses. It had plenty of sunlight compared to Europe, and God had bestowed Africans with plenty of rectitude which explains why Africans did not colonise Europeans. Europeans had moral, ethical and juristic darkness - this is the reason why Europeans did not have moral compasses. The European continent was morally, legally and ethically dark as compared to Africans, and this is why Europeans

colonized Africans. Europeans did not colonise Africans because there was light in Europe and darkness in Africa, rather Europeans colonized Africans because there was moral, ethical, and juristic darkness in the Europe that perpetrated heinous crimes on other humans who they colonized. Missionaries had common misconceptions that Africa had "no religion and Africa was a dark continent" (Manganyi & Buitendag, 2013). Africans had always been enlightened and believed in one God, albeit known by various names. The labelling of Africans as polytheists and Christians as monotheists is "the gospel to declare the superiority of Western value systems [and] using this claim to justify European conquest and exploitation of Africa" (Goba, 1998, p.19). The coming of missionaries with the Christian God who glorified Western cultural values to Africa is clear testimony that missionaries misinformed the world about the belief systems of indigenous people. Manganyi & Buitendag (2013) assert that missionaries undermined African culture. The colonial missionaries believed that African traditional religious beliefs and practices were inferior (Nkomazana & Setume, 2016, p. 31). The missionaries equated non–western cultures with degradation, barbarism, ignorance and darkness (Moffat, 1842, p. 224). They arrogated to themselves the responsibility to "aid" and "enlighten" Africans from the supposed savagery, barbarism and darkness. Missionaries wanted Africans to denounce their forms of worship of the Supreme Being and then adopt western ways. Concerning this missionary attitude, J.J. Freeman cited by Mackenzie writes:

> They must be secluded not only from the heathen portion of the community but from their home habits, customs and occupations, even though their parents may be Christian, lest they imbibe that love of a life among the flocks and herds by which natives seem so… (Mackenzie, 1884, p. 264).

The main objective of missionaries was to ensure that indigenous people abandoned their system of worship and then adopted Christian ways, including a Christian God. Missionaries did this to strengthen the colonisation of indigenous people. The motive was, therefore, to prepare the Africans mentally for the takeover by colonizers (Nkomazana & Situme, 2016). The effect of the takeover

was to make Africans a people without a religion, identity and a sovereign God.

Christian missionaries' preaching was a scandal. Missionaries believed that the spirit of God would not be found in the supposedly rude, wild and barbarous souls of Africans. This point is supported by Ray (1976, p. 75) who says, "without an exception Africans are without a belief in a supreme being neither have they any form of worship". Missionaries also believed that Africans were untutored in terms of knowing who the one and true God was to be worshipped. Missionaries understood monotheism as a philosophical concept which could be only understood by missionaries themselves. This means that Africans were viewed as blank slates who did not have the spirit of God and were unaware of one God to be worshipped. These missionary claims were meant to assist in colonising Africans and in displacing their rich religious heritage. To label Africans as untutored because they had a belief in one Supreme Being not known by missionaries is a misjudgement and an ill-conceived conclusion.

The depictions by missionaries, which were sandwiched by colonial mentality, are misplaced. This is because God has never been absent in Africa. Idowu (1962) argues that God is universal and so is his revelation. The claims by missionaries that God was never active in Africa and that Africans are polytheists are a religious falsehood. The arrival of missionaries marked the beginning of misinformation and disinformation about Africans' belief in one God. This misinformation had both political and religious objectives, in the colonial sense.

Colonial misinformation and disinformation about indigenous people and the Supreme Being

The accounts of the early missionaries reflect prejudices against indigenous religious beliefs and practices. Missionaries generally had bias towards European cultures when they interpreted the African concept of the Supreme Being. European Victorian culture perceived African indigenous cultures as inferior to European culture. Nkomazana & Situme (2016, p. 31) note that missionaries depicted African culture as a morass of bizarre beliefs and practices of a people generally understood to be savages and primitive (the opposite of the missionaries who represented European civilization). It is therefore,

not surprising that missionaries saw indigenous people as heathens. They came to Africa expecting to find pagans and heathens who knew nothing about God (Nkomazana & Situme, 2016, p. 35). However, those expectations greatly influenced their attitude towards African systems of worship. The African indigenous people were not into idol worship and they were neither animists nor polytheists. Missionaries described Africa as the "hotchpotch of ridiculous and harmful superstitions" (Nkomazana & Situme, 2016, p. 37). For instance, Moffat (1842, p.224) claimed that "Satan is obviously the author of the polytheism of other nations". This presupposed that Africa was the centre of paganism and religious syncretism, and the missionaries were unwilling to honestly search for the religious truth about Africans. They peddled lies about nonexistence of the concept and belief of the Supreme Being among the indigenous people.

It is an undeniable truth that missionaries saw Africans with Western spectacles. Africans suffered from the prejudice of the Westerners who saw Africans as irreligious people with no form of worship. Monotheism and worshipping have been defined by Westerners in ways that suited their colonial projects. This augurs well with Mbiti (1969, p. 178) who observed that the term "worship" does not exist in many African languages. Zulu (2002, p. 476) argues that to worship a human being in the real sense of the word is foreign to Africans. Yet, the indigenous name for worship among the Shona people of Zimbabwe is *kunamata*. This means that indigenous people worshipped the Supreme Being, and they venerated their ancestors. Missionaries thought that the veneration of ancestors was heathenism yet the Europeans also venerate their own ancestors who they depict as saints. After depicting the veneration of ancestors as heathenism, missionaries concluded that Africans did not worship God. Nkomazana & Situme (2016, p. 40) believe that it is not only offering and sacrifices that are directed by Africans to spirits and the living dead, but prayers and invocations are also made to the Supreme Being. These prayers are directed to God, and ancestral spirits merely act as intermediators between the living and God. Africans believe that God cannot be approached directly but through ancestors. This suffices to say Africans believe in God who is approached through ancestral spirits. In this sense, Africans do not and did not worship ancestors but they worshipped God through ancestors.

A jaundiced understanding of Africans as people with no form of worship led to the misconception that Africans are backward. For colonial missionaries, Africans are witches, sorcerers and godless people. Missionaries brainwashed indigenous people who then started to believe that God is Christian and accessible only by embracing the colonial culture. Africans were made to believe that God was not universal but belonged to Europeans, in essence. Missionaries ignored the fact that God had been in Africa as evidenced in African proverbs, rituals, songs and myths expressions.

In Africa, God is one but with several names: just as in Europe God is variously known in French as Dieu, in Germany as Gott, and in Italian as Dio (see Nhemachena & Dhakwa, this volume). Yet colonial missionaries preyed on the different names of God in Africa such that they misinterpreted God, with various African names, as paganism, animism and polytheism. Chidester (1992, p.11) asserts that in African languages there are names for God or the Supreme Being, but there are no historical events that inform the names Africans have for God. These several names for one Supreme Being in African indigenous society are a clear testimony that indigenous people were monotheists. The evidence of the names of God in Africa show that indigenous people worshipped the Supreme Being. Africans had rituals in which they worshipped and directed their problems to the Supreme Being. The existence of the *Mwari* shrines, among the Zimbabwean people, at Njelele reflects that the indigenous people of Africa worshipped one God. The term *Mwari* is in singular form and this denotes that Africans were monotheists and not animists.

The *Mwari* shrine were found in sacred places like mountains and caves. This is in total contrast to the expectations of the missionaries who wanted to see churches as the sole places for worshipping the Supreme Being. Missionaries erroneously believed that the absence of church buildings among the African indigenous people was an attestation that they did not worship God (Moffat, 1842, pp. 224-245). The absence of church structures in precolonial Zimbabwe was exploited by missionaries who then claimed that the Africans did not worship God. Yet, scholars like Turaki (1999, p. 162) argue that Africa never had altars or temples built for this Supreme Being. Missionaries came from a society where religion was reflected by church buildings which represented religious beliefs and practices

(Nkomazana & Setume, 2016, p. 31). The absence of church buildings resulted in missionaries depicting indigenous people as heathens with no places of worship. This biased judgement was further worsened by the absence of missionaries in indigenous religion hence the misplaced conclusion that the indigenous people had no religion and had no Supreme Being. For Christian missionaries, evangelists are vital in converting people to God. However, among the indigenous people there was no conversion because people are born religious. For this reason, missionaries with the help of colonial authorities sought to bring "Christian God" to the supposedly untutored Africans.

Africans have been notoriously monotheistic and to say that they are polytheistic is an anathema. Nkomazana & Setume (2016, p. 31) note that the Batswana in Botswana hold that their religion was from time immemorial monotheistic. It is true that the African indigenous people traditionally believed in a single Supreme Being who had various names such as *Musiki*, *Unkulunkulu*, *xikwembu*, *Muzimu*, *Modimo* and *Leza* etc. The Supreme Being, among the indigenous people, has always been believed to be the Creator *ex nihilo*, Maker, Originator and source of all things, including life (Chamberlin, 1969, p. 80; Schapera, 1961, p. 63). The terms such as *Mwari, Unkulunkulu, Musiki, xikwembu* and *Modimo* all describe the single Supreme Being that was worshipped in Africa from time immemorial. Different names of the Supreme Being should not be understood as polytheism but should be properly understood as monotheism. For this reason, Mbiti (1975, p. 36) is convinced that African traditional religions (ATRs) are monotheistic African peoples' beliefs about God are similar to other religions' beliefs about God. Consequently, different cultures among African indigenous people knew about the existence of one God who had various names. The point here is that having several names does not necessarily mean that the referent of the various names is plural. Even a human being can have several names but he/she will remain singular. Thus, the fact that God in Africa had several names does not imply polytheism or animism (Nhemachena & Dhakwa, this volume). Oduyaye (1997) assert that God is experienced as an all-pervading reality. So, the different names of the Supreme Being, '*Mutangakugara*' in the Shona language and '*Unkulunkulu*' in the Ndebele language, do not necessarily mean polytheism or animism.

The attributes of the Supreme Being as omnipotent, omnibenevolent, omniscient, provider, creator, sustainer and omnipresent attest to the fact that indigenous people believe that God is active in their lives. These attributes are derived from names of God such as *Samasimba, Usomandla, Ambuye, Chidzivachepo, Musiki*. In this vein, Idowu (1962) argues that "the names of God are not mere labels but are descriptive of character and depict people's experience with God". God is experienced as good grandparent hence the name *Ambuye* who is the source of benevolence and protection. This reflects that indigenous people believe that God is provider of life and guardian of African people. Oduyaye (1997) observes that the immediacy of God in African affairs is demonstrated through the names that Africans bear. God is also known as *Musikavanhu* [the Creator of humankind] and *Mutangakugara* [first to exist or Initiator]. These names are not a reflection of Christian influence but they reflect precolonial African monotheism.

Mbiti (1970b, pp. 435-436) contends that ATR(s) are, to a large extent, compatible with Christianity and that many parallel elements of these religions can merge into each other without conflict. Africans knew about one God before the coming of missionaries because "the knowledge of God is innate and intuitive" in Africa (Boaheng, 2012, p. 8). The existence of God is held to be obvious by Africans. This is because "no human being can lack the concept of God; therefore, all have the idea of God" (Boaheng, 2012, p. 8). Christian missionaries preached a White God as a means of brainwashing Africans so that they would abandon the beliefs of their forefathers. The term *Mudzimu Unoyera* which means the Holy Spirit is not unique to Christians, the indigenous people also believed in *Mudzimu Mukuru* (the Supreme Spirit) and *Mudzimu Unoyera* as well. God, for Africans, is Spirit. The indigenous people believe in one God called, *Ntate* by the Sotho, which means father who is spirit in form.

Mbiti (1969, p. 68) asserts that "it is a widespread feeling among many African people that man should not or cannot approach God alone or directly, but that he must do so through the mediation of a special person or other beings". Mbiti (1969, p. 68) explains further that "the living dead occupy the ontological position between the spirits and human beings and between God and human beings."

Africans perceive a distance between them and God or the Supreme Being (Chidester, 1992, p. 7). The ancestors are closer to the African people, whilst the ancestors are regarded to be closer to God as well. The implications and functions of the closeness of the African ancestors to God are not appreciated by the colonial missionaries who instead depict their own European ancestors as saints close to God. When Africans offer libations to their ancestors, this suggests that the ancestors have the ability to hear their descendants. It seems Africans do not question the reality of God, because it is a given (Chidester, 1992, p. 9).

Missionary hated Africans who fought against colonisation and also, they hated African spirit mediums who led the African liberation wars. Colonial missionaries wanted to force the Zimbabwean Mbuya Nehanda, spirit medium, to convert into Christianity but Nehanda refused (Zivave, Hofisi & Moyo, 2021). Nehanda did not believe in the missionary God: she instead believed in God, historically known by Africans as *Musikavanhu*. The missionaries had one objective of destroying African belief systems and then replacing them with their European belief systems (Zivave, Hofisi & Moyo, 2021, p. 1). Thus, they denounced African spirit mediums even as they praise the Pentecostal mediums of the Holy Spirit (Nhemachena, 2017). African spirit mediums would go to places such as Matonjeni where the *Mwari* religious shrine was found. Furthermore, the presence of *Mwari* belief of the High God shows that indigenous people in Zimbabwe had the concept of the Supreme Being. Spirit mediums act as intermediaries and functionaries of the Supreme Being among the African indigenous people. However, colonial missionaries saw spirit mediums as representatives of the devil and for this reason the missionaries tried to force Nehanda, a renowned spirit medium, to renounce her belief in *Mwari/Musikavanhu*.

Sacred places which Africans considered as places for communicating with God were depicted, by colonial missionaries, as evil. The African reverence of sacred phenomena was depicted by colonial missionaries as animism and idolatry (Boaheng, 2012, p.3). Missionaries depicted African indigenous people as animist and idolatrous despite the fact that Africans, in fact, worshipped the Supreme Being at the sacred places. The point here is that Africans did not worship the places, they did not worship the shrines themselves but they worshipped the Supreme Being who manifested

at the places or shrines (Nhemachena, 2017) These African beliefs and experiences belie Edward Tylor (1871) who surmised that Africans believe that all things, even inanimate objects, have souls. Motlhabi (1994, p. 123) notes that Africans were erroneously depicted as worshippers of sacred trees, forests, caves and rivers when in fact they worshipped God, the Supreme Being, who manifested at shrines which could have trees, caves and rivers (Nhemachena, 2017). The African indigenous people also had centralised places where they could listen to the voice of the Supreme Being: the voice of God was heard at Great Zimbabwe and at Njelele in the Matopo Hills where the *Mwari* priesthood was found (Zivave, Hofisi & Moyo, 2021). Nature is created by God and so nature is often used by God, without that nature necessarily becoming God as assumed in animism (see Nhemachena, 2017).

This means that rituals such as petitioning for rain were done to solicit for rain from the Supreme Being via ancestors (Nhemachena, 2017). The rain itself was not understood by Africans as God, but Africans knew that it was God who provided the rain. The rituals "revive relationships within the community and between the living and the ancestors" (Mndende, 2006, p.161). Rituals are a way to revive the relationship between the Supreme Being and humanity. This implies that indigenous people acknowledged that there is one God to whom rituals were ultimately directed. Therefore, none but the Supreme Spirit can send rain; but prayers for rain are addressed to the spirits of the African ruling dynasty, who intercede for them at the court of One too great to be approached by mortals (Willoughby, 1969, p. 206).

Myths like *Mwedzi* myth, chameleon-wasp myth and *Guruuswa* myths reflects God's manifestation among the indigenous people. From the *Mwedzi* myth, God is the Creator of the universe and human beings owe their existence to Him (Zivave, Hofisi and Moyo, 2021). So, colonial missionary proclamation that indigenous people did not believe in a Supreme Being is inaccurate. The myths show that African indigenous people believed in a God. Cosmogonic myths reflect that God has always been the Supreme Being, even before the arrival of the colonial missionaries.

Africans that knew the truth

The main reason why Africans responded by establishing African Independent Churches was to counter missionary misinformation about Africans and their spirituality. African Independent Churches knew that Africans already worshipped the Supreme Being and that the colonial missionaries were dishonest in their depictions of Africans as polytheists, heathens and animists. African Independent Churches knew that the colonisation of Zimbabwe was facilitated by missionaries like Charles Helm and Robert Moffat whose lies misled African indigenous chiefs to sign treaties that resulted in the colonisation of Africa. Nkomazana & Situme (2016, p. 35) observe that missionary evangelizations supported the colonial processes. Thus, the colonial flags followed the missionary crosses because missionaries encouraged Africans to be submissive to colonial rule, including colonial culture. In doing this, the missionaries were political agents of colonialism. Furthermore, missionaries who came to Africa and became part of the colonial project are still active in maintaining the colonial status quo (Nkomazana & Situme, 2016).

It is also clear that the main focus of missionaries was to ensure that there was one universal religion. This was only achievable when the missionaries peddled lies about African belief systems. Missionaries did this so that they would get many African converts and then their sponsors would channel more resources to missionary work in Africa. They brought a new religion but with the old God who was already known using various names among precolonial Africans. Therefore, Missionaries did not bring God to Africa. The belief in one Supreme Being is a universal phenomenon which is not peculiar to Christianity.

Conclusion

The chapter noted that missionaries lied about Africans and their God in order to facilitate the colonisation of Africans. Missionaries depicted Africans as evil, backward, savage, barbaric, heathen, witches, sorcerers and unpolished. For these reasons, Africans were tricked to rebel against their own systems of belief in one God. African systems of worship were dismissed as supposedly demonic, devilish, savage, barbaric, Godless, as animist and as lacking

transcendence and orderly hierarchies. Colonial missionaries wanted to have a monopoly of monotheism and so they made Africans believe that God was only known by Europeans who then took it as their self-proclaimed duty to spread the God across the world. The point in this chapter is that religions have doctrinal differences but they have a common belief in one God. Missionary claims that Africans were polytheists while Christians were monotheists were, in fact, fabrications meant to legitimise the colonisation of Africa.

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Chapter 9

Colonial Theft and Pollution of African Environments

Peter Machenjera

Introduction

The advent of colonialism in Africa, from the late 19th Century, entailed the theft and pollution of African environments. It is the main thrust of this chapter to explore the colonial theft and pollution of the African environments. This chapter engages with colonial activities such as dispossession of Africans, and it argues that colonial mining, agriculture, urbanization and industrialization were more detrimental than beneficial to Africans whose land and environments were stolen by colonialists. The chapter explores the colonial disinheritance of Africans whose resources were stolen; and the degradation of land and the environment in general. The chapter argues that colonialists never considered the sanctity and sacredness of African bodies and environments because the colonialists were obsessed with stealing African resources and exploiting Africans bodies. The African bodies and environments were exploited in order for the colonialists to achieve their goals. Across the African continent, the African environments were decimated as the colonialists siphoned wealth from African resources. Examples are drawn from across the African continent to illustrate the effects of colonialism on the environments. It should be noted that prior to the colonization of Africa, Africans had ownership and control over their environments, and they took every possible step to keep it safe and sacred. The chapter also challenges neocolonial logics that would want Africans to care for environments/resources without recovering ownership and control from the [descendants] colonialists. Not much attention has been given to the necessity of restoring African environments back to the original owners.

Background to the colonial dispossession of Africans: Colonial environmental terrorism

Africa lost a substantial amount of wealth to the European colonialists during the last quarter of the 19th and greater part of the 20th centuries. The colonialists' motives and desires were to loot African resources. Therefore, Bond (2008) states that we can never forget the history of a continent colonially looted through land grabs, subjected to vicious taxation schemes, with precious metals spirited away, the looting of antiquities to the British Museum and other trophy rooms, the 19th century emergence of racist ideologies to justify colonialism, the 1884-85 carve up of Africa into dysfunctional territories in a Berlin negotiating room. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) contend that the industrial revolution in Europe resulted in the colonisation of Africa. This then deprived Africans of their natural resources. England (2012) also shares the same observation that competition for raw materials and for new markets, caused by European industrialisation, led to the parcelling out of African territories at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. According to Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere (2003), the colonization of Africa was immediately followed by brutal rule and the siphoning of the natural resources to Europe. The two remind us that after looting the treasures of Africa and subjecting Africans to the most gruesome treatment ever visited upon a people, the various colonial powers granted sham independence the African states.

To better appreciate the barbarity of colonial theft and pollution of African environments, it is prudent to briefly look at the precolonial period to ascertain how Africans looked after their resources and environments. This will reveal the wealth that Africans had before the colonialists dispossessed them.

Precolonial African resource and environmental management

Prior to the colonization of Africa by European powers such as Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and others, Africa was teeming and beaming with a variety of fauna and flora. According to Kwashirai (2007), Africans perceived nature analogically as a granary, pharmacy, butchery, sources of energy and construction material. The landscape was an enduring source of a wide range of important

multi-products (Kwashirai, 2007). The natural forests afforded wild edible grains and fruits, water and also meat by virtue of being a wild habitat from where Africans fetched firewood, building poles for huts, kraals, crop cribs and fences and wood for carving as well as medicines. Forests were viewed as places where all community members had equal access to collect the forest products on which indigenous material culture was based (Kwashirai, 2007). This, however, is not to say that the harvest of these natural resources was done wantonly and randomly. There were guiding rules and regulations, with traditional leadership controlling the people to make sure that everyone got his or her fair share from their environment.

The above kind of African environmental management did not only apply to forests but to land and water management as well. According to Zhou & Machenjera (2017), it is note-worthy that in precolonial Africa, sustainable indigenous land and water management systems were used. In southern Africa, cultivation involved making planting pits and thus minimal tillage of the land which in essence limited erosion (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). The two add that the *Zai* system of West Africa involved digging planting holes into the soil where organic materials were added and so rain water was trapped to benefit the plants. Sadly, the use of the plough during the colonial period, as opposed to the friendly indigenous knowledge pit system previously common in southern Africa, was worse off than indigenous conservation farming technology which reduced erosion (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). Makanyisa et al. (2012) observe that Africans used scientific methods, in preserving the environment, such as shifting cultivation which involved slashing and burning of trees for land clearance and for providing potassium. Other methods were intercropping and terracing. Thus, the precolonial Africans were very conscious of the necessity of environmental management.

The precolonial period was also characterized by strict forest management through traditional institutions, low population and minimal forest resource exploitation (Alawi, 2014). According to Alawi (2014), in Tanzania, uncultivated land was owned communally before colonialism and people used the forests extensively for their livelihoods. Alawi further adds that forest management and use in Morogoro (Tanzania), like in any other African countries, was controlled through customary institutions including beliefs, taboos

and customs. Alawi (2014) explains that forest resources were governed using local customs that limited access to some areas such as sacred grooves and grave yards, and controlled tree cutting through a series of taboos. Makanyisa et al. (2012) agree that certain taboos were enforced with the prime objective of conserving the environment. Makanyisa et al. (2012) explains that taboos were made up of prohibitions that forbade interaction and association with a particular thing, place or places for the moral goodness of the society. A very good example is, given by Alawi (2014), of the Shona people of present-day Zimbabwe whose taboos had a vital moral role towards the ontological wellbeing of both the individual person and the environment as a whole. This is supported by Makanyisa et al. (2012) who posit that for the Shona, environmental taboos transcend simple prohibitions on certain sacred sites, plants, nonhuman animal species, pools and rivers. Therefore, taboos were very useful during the precolonial period in so far as they helped to protect the environment.

Precolonial hunting was also controlled to such an extent that wild animals were not killed wantonly. It is Alawi's (2014) observation that the hunting activity was founded on traditional rituals, rules and norms. Hunting seasons were common in African societies during the precolonial era and some species of animals usually sacred and totemic were not to be hunted (Alawi, 2014). It was only with the advent of colonialism and its ugly and merciless decimation of the environment that Africans helplessly watched their environments being destroyed.

Even the kings were very much involved in the conservation of resources during the precolonial period, especially when resource use was perceived to be threatening sustainability. According to Murombedzi (2003), King Tshaka (Shaka) of the Zulu State had to set up a royal hunting reserve, in present-day Hluhluwe Game Reserve, as a preserve for the ruling political and military class. Some African rulers set up rudimentary management systems in an effort to save wild animals from extinction (Murombedzi, 2003). A very good example is, given by Murombedzi (2003), of Mzilikazi, King of the Ndebele state, who introduced a permit system for all European hunter-gatherers in his Kingdom. Under this system, gifts and other presents were given to the King in return for permission to hunt in his territory. The Ling also levied a percentage of the spoils of the

hunt as payment for permission. Mzilikazi also set up a game reserve, known as Maduguza, in Matebeleland, west and north-west of his capital, Bulawayo. In this game reserve, no one was allowed to kill animals except with the king's permission. The hunting Shangaans of South Eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe also set up a royal wildlife preserve in the area around present-day Gonarezhou National Park (Murombedzi, 2003). Some may view these leaders as having been selfish and greedy but from a conservationist point of view, one can see that they were indeed environmentally visionary and disciplined.

Cultural practices and beliefs such as *zviera* and superstition were also used during the precolonial period as ways of conserving certain animal species, especially the endangered ones. Kwashirai (2007) notes that the cultural practice of totems promoted game conservation. This is so because many ethnic groups, clans or kinship groups adopted an animal or bird as their totems. These totems then acted as 'tags' or forms of identity that brought the African groups together in one large family. Africans would avoid eating an animal, bird, fish or reptile which was their totem. The adopted species were neither harmed nor eaten by members of the group who believed in its *kuera* or sacred value. Kwashirai (2007) adds that superstition also played a role in forest and game preservation. The hyenas, owls and snakes were feared and viewed as agents of witches and sorcerers whilst some revered lions acted as vehicles for *mhondoro* spirits (see also Nhemachena, 2017). What is clear from the above is that the cultural practices and beliefs were very useful in making sure that certain species were preserved and saved from extinction.

The above few illustrations about precolonial African environmental management have revealed that the precolonial period in Africa had elaborate environmental management and preservation principles. Africans cherished their environments because they benefitted a lot from them and were, thus, bound to jealously guard against any force that threatened their existence.

Colonial theft in Africa

The colonization of Africa meant great loss for Black Africans. Africans lost land, minerals, manpower, raw materials, livestock, wild animals etc as a result of theft by European colonisers. What the Europeans did first when they came to Africa was to steal land from

Africans and then they imposed themselves as the owners of the stolen resources. Jacobs (2003) notes that European colonisers who came to Africa were seeking land and when they found any "open" land, they would build, put in the plough and tell the Africans that the "unoccupied" land was "God's and not theirs". In fact, the Europeans assumed that Africa, just like Australia and America, was *terra nullius* or empty land. However, to the Africans, the territory that the Whites claimed to be empty or God's was in fact African land which had been given to African people by God and by their ancestors. For instance, the Zimbabwean Chief Rekayi Tangwena and his people refused to be removed from their land even as it had been designated European land; they vowed to fight until the land was restored to them (Morgan, 1973). This was the trend across Africa and the correct term to describe the land seizure by these Europeans is land theft or robbery.

Wherever the Europeans colonized territories, they stole African land and sadly such theft was legitimised at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 which the European states convened without even inviting the Africans who became the victims of the colonial theft (MacKenzie, 1983). Even where the Africans appeared to have agreed through the signing of treaties, land was stolen from the Africans through cheating and chicanery. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) lament that in Central and Southern Africa, pieces of land that had high agricultural potential were annexed and handed over to European settlers. Conversely, African natives were pushed to the geographically isolated marginal land. Misana et al. (1996) add that most colonial governments adopted land-alienation policies which led to much fertile land being reserved for European settlers, handed over to concession companies and designated as Crown Lands: this resulted in highly inequitable distribution of land, with African peasants being displaced onto less fertile marginal lands. Misana et al. (1996) add that in 1956, in Tanzania, some 40% of the total cultivable land had been stolen by the colonial settlers. In Zimbabwe, the first African reserves were established in 1895 in the infertile and low-rainfall areas of Shangani and Gwaii; and by the late 1950s, 30% of the African population in Zimbabwe was already landless. In addition, Makanyisa et al. (2012) give further evidence about land theft in Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe): in a document signed on 14 August 1893, the colonialists promised that each soldier

who participated in the Anglo-Ndebele War (War of Dispossession) of 1893 would be entitled to 2428 hectares which translated to a total of 1.6 million hectares of fertile land. Even the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930 was meant to enhance White supremacy in colonial Zimbabwe and had nothing to do with protecting the environment per se (Makanyisa et al., 2012). In colonial Zambia, the creation of Crown Lands and Native Reserves between 1928 and 1929 led to the expulsion of large numbers of the indigenous population from their former lands; they were then resettled in the Eastern and Southern Provinces (Misana et al., 1996). Liboiron (2021) summarized all this in a statement that stealing is a manifestation, a symptom, a mechanism and even a goal of colonialists. So, whatever terms colonisers and their descendants may use in order to sanitise the process of land theft from Africans, the bottom line is that land was stolen from Africans and this still affects the livelihoods of the Africans in this twenty-first century.

After stealing the land from Africans, colonialists established plantations on the stolen land. Rodney (1973) notes that agriculture plantations were widespread in North, East and South Africa and, to a less extent, in West Africa. Rodney explains that these colonialists invested very little capital in obtaining the land which they got by robbing Africans. In Kenya, for example, after the Kenyan highlands had been declared 'Crown Land', the British colonialists handed over to the British Lord Delamere 100 000 acres of the best land at a cost of penny per acre. Lord Francis Scott also purchased 350 000 acres, while the East African Estates Limited got another 350 000 acres and the East African Syndicate took 100 000 acres adjoining Lord Delamere's estate – all at give-away prices (Rodney, 1973). Further evidence is that of the Firestone Rubber Company of the United States of America which was able to acquire one million acres of forest land in Liberia at a cost of 6 cents per acre in 1926. Thus, during the colonial era, plantations and estates were established on stolen land.

In cases where the colonialists failed to develop the stolen land, they would rent such land to companies and then get paid: sadly, the original African owners of the land got nothing. This was the case, for instance, in Congo where King Leopold II of Belgium considered Congo as his personal colony but he had no money to administer the colony: he ended up parcelling out large tracts of African land to

European companies in order to "spearhead development" on a profit-sharing basis between him and the companies, and at the expense of the Africans (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). The funny part about this is that King Leopold II, all the way from Belgium, was selling African land to various companies, making profit out of it while the Africans suffered colonial exploitation and disinheritance. This was purely theft of African land.

Another form of theft by the Europeans was through forcing Africans into cash crop production. There are some African territories that were stolen for purposes of producing cash crops that were highly demanded by European industrialists. African agriculture suffered and Africans were forced to shift from food crop production, thereby causing poverty. According to Obeng-Odoom (2021), Britain systematically undermined self-sustaining subsistence agriculture in favour of cash crops such as palm oil which helped Britain's industrial development: palm oil was needed to produce the detergent that was needed for cleaning grease. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) observe that in Equatorial Africa, the French officials banned the Mandja people (now in Congo Brazzaville) from hunting so that they would engage solely in cotton production. Isaacman & Isaacman (1983) trace the roots of the current backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment in Mozambique to colonial cash crop production and labour migration to South Africa. Rodney (1973) has shown how Gambia rice farming was so popular before the colonial era, and how so much of the best land was transferred to groundnuts such that rice had to be imported on a large scale to try and counter the ensuing famines. Similarly, the concentration on cocoa production in Asante raised fears of famine in a region previously famous for yam and other food stuff. Arguably, the growth of cash crop production during the colonial period diverted Africans from their traditional crops that gave them wealth. In a way, the Africans were robbed of their economic sovereignty because they were forced to concentrate on cash crops of which prices and management were determined by the colonialists themselves. The Africans were swindled at the market place where the Whites deliberately lowered prices for African produce so that the Europeans could get the cash crops cheaply. Many Africans were robbed this way throughout Africa.

Colonisation was also characterized by stealing of Africans' mineral wealth. The industrialisation in Europe required raw

materials which they secured from Africa. Rodney (1973) argues that from the very beginning of the scramble for Africa, huge fortunes were made from gold and diamonds in Southern African where colonialists like Cecil John Rhodes operated. Cecil John Rhodes' company, DeBeers Consolidated Mines made profits that were phenomenal and consistently high ranging between $26 million and $29 million throughout the 1950s. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) agree that it is a historical fact that shareholders of mining companies collected fabulous dividends from gold, diamonds, manganese, uranium, emeralds, asbestos, iron ore, copper and other minerals. Copper, for example, became Africa's chief mineral export in the 20th Century because of its importance in the capitalist electrical industry. Mapuva & Chari (2010) note that it was uranium mined in the Congo that ended up in the hands of Americans and eventually at Hiroshima and Nagasaki where the atomic bombs, that brought the Second World War to an end, were exploded. Kevane (2015) gives further evidence of the looting of minerals from Africa by the British whose robbery of the Akan empire (West Africa) was accompanied by significant looting of the gold wealth. Kevane (2015) adds that gold production in Ghana, in the early 1930s, was substantial - in the order of 250 000 ounces in 1930 and 70 000 ounces in 1939: at the real price for gold at US$500 per ounce, this would be between $125 and $350 million per year. The gold exported (stolen) was approximately 20% of the value of all exports from the colony. In a letter addressed to Mr. Hartnett (Department of Information) dated 6 May 1980, Anderson C. B (1980), an economic geologist, disclosed quantities of lithium minerals that were stolen from Bikita Minerals (in colonial Zimbabwe). By the end of 1965, some 463 023 tonnes of lepidolite, 291 516 tonnes of petalite, 48 687 tonnes of spodumene, 7 071 tonnes of eucryptite and 5 497 tonnes of amblygonite had been produced at Bikita, in addition to tin, columbite-tantalite, microlite, beryl and pollucite. Proceeds from all these minerals stolen from Africa did not benefit the Africans but found their way into the pockets of the European colonialists who used them to develop the cities and towns in Europe. Today, some Africans adore and envy advanced life in Europe that was sadly built by resources stolen from the Africans.

The European theft during the colonial era was not only confined to minerals and cash crops but also oil and rubber extraction. Mapuva

& Chari (2010) point out that a ready example of the theft of African's natural resources is that of the extraction of rubber in the Congo. Also, in the Belgian Congo, unimaginable degrees of cruelty were exerted on Africans as they were forced to produce specified quotas of rubber. Tidy & Leeming (1987) note that the Belgian King Leopold made a profit, on rubber alone, of over £3 million between 1896 and 1905. One colonial company called Concessionaire Company started with a paid-up capital of £9 280 yet it made a net profit in six years of £720 000. Another company working in the Kasai region with a paid-up capital of £40 200 made a profit of £736 680 in four years. In Liberia, the Firestone Rubber Company of the USA made huge profits, from rubber, which carried it to the 25th position among the giant companies of the USA (Rodney, 1973). From all these profits that were made by the European colonialists, the Africans did not benefit. What they received as rewards were only enough to enable them to report for work the following day as well as to be able to meet the taxation demands.

The handling of these super profits from the minerals and other colonial activities was done by commercial banks that were established for the purposes of making sure that the monies were transferred straight to the metropoles. A very good example is the one given by Rodney (1973) of the Standard Bank which was outstanding in Southern Africa. The Standard Bank of South Africa Limited started operating in 1862 and made a fortune out of financing gold and diamond and through handling the loot of Cecil John Rhodes and DeBeers. By 1895, the Standard Bank had spread to Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Mozambique (Rodney, 1973). In 1960, the Standard Bank produced a net profit of £1 181 000 and paid a 14% dividend to its shareholders. Most of the shareholders were in Europe or were Whites in South Africa: however, the profits were produced mainly by black people of South and East Africa. Furthermore, European banks transferred the reserves of their African branches to the London Head Office to be invested in British money markets (Rodney, 1973). This was the trend across Africa, even in French colonies, and that was how surplus was most rapidly transferred from Africa to the metropoles.

In addition to the above, Africa contributed directly to the European economy. Rodney (1973) states that by the 1950s, the

sterling reserves of a small colony like Sierra Leone had reached £60 million while in 1955 the British government was holding £210 million derived from the sale of cocoa and minerals from Gold Coast. Africans' total contribution to Britain's sterling balances in 1945 was £446 million which went up to £1 446 million by 1955 – more than half of the total gold and dollar reserves of Britain and the Commonwealth, which then stood at £2 120 million (Rodney, 1973). Even the likes of Arthur Creech-Jones and Oliver Lyttleton who were major participants in the colonial process admitted in the early 1950s that Britain was living on the dollar earnings of the colonies. The Belgian Colonial Secretary, Mr. Godding also admitted that during the World War 1, the Congo was able to finance all the expenditure of the exiled Belgian government in London, including the diplomatic service as well as the cost of armed forces in Europe and Africa, a total some of £40 million. Because of the Congolese resources, the Belgian government did not borrow even a shilling or a dollar while the Belgian reserve remained intact (Rodney, 1973). This shows the highest level of theft endured by Africans as a result of the colonisation of their territories.

Colonial theft of African minerals and other raw materials was made possible by the development of roads and railway networks that linked the source areas to the sea and then overseas. The construction of roads and railways was deliberately done to link the African interior. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) note that the railways were built primarily to facilitate the export of cash crops and minerals. Clearer evidence is found in the former German Togo where the railway lines were actually named after the products they were built to carry. So, there were names such as iron line, palm line, cotton line and coconut line. In addition, in colonial Zambia and Congo, railways were largely constructed to facilitate the exploitation of copper while in colonial Zimbabwe they were used to export coal, iron ore, asbestos, tin chrome and tobacco (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). According to Hrituleac (2011), between 1890 and 1939, over 32 000 miles of railroad were built in Africa, and cars and trucks were brought to Africa to make some regions more accessible for commerce. Rodney (1973) stresses that all roads and railways led down to the sea and were built to extract gold, manganese, coffee or cotton. They were also built to make business possible for the timber companies, trading companies and agricultural concession firms and

for the White settlers. It is Rodney's (1973) conviction that anything that may have seemed to be catering for African interests was purely coincidental. Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012) agrees with the above notion that there was no good effort to develop an organised road network which would help to improve the lives of the African people. Thus, Zhou & Machenjera (2017) concludes that it is worthy to note that colonial roads and railways were not constructed to promote internal trade in African commodities and there were no roads connecting different colonies and different parts of the same colony in a manner that made sense with regard to Africans' needs and development. In actual fact, the colonial transport network was tailor-made to siphon raw materials from the peripheries (colonies) to the metropolis (imperial centres). Even today, the colonial legacy can be witnessed in many African countries whereby production and export of commodities is geared towards the needs of former colonial powers. Therefore, the transport networks developed by the colonialists in Africa were established to enhance the theft of raw materials from the colonies to Europe. It was the conduit through which Africans lost their resources.

Africans were also robbed by the European colonisers through taxation. The colonial governments made it a point to force the Africans into the colonial monetary economy where the Africans could be taxed to the benefit of the colonialists. This was day-light theft as Africans were made to work in order to fulfil the demands made by the colonialists. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) state that from the infancy of the colonial rule, taxation was introduced by colonialists with monetary taxes being imposed on numerous items such as cattle, land, houses, dogs and people themselves. Misana et al. (1996) argue that the introduction of hut and poll taxes by the colonial governments forced peasant farmers to sell their labour or to grow cash crops in order to get the required money; this forced many young people in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to migrate for wage labour in mines, farms and factories of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. In Nigeria, the British imposed a land tax with the aim of forcing the Nigerians to work even when they had produced enough to satisfy domestic needs. The land tax meant that people work continuously to have extra money to pay the British land tax. Therefore, taxation was double edged in that it was meant to raise money for the colonial governments and to force the

Africans into the monetary economy where they would find themselves working on settler farms, mines and factories because that is where they could get the money.

Another way in which the colonialists stole from Africans was through consistent underdevelopment of African territories and plunder of African resources. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) argue that as much as vital copper exports from Congo, Northern Rhodesia and other parts of Africa contributed to the leading sectors of European technology, the respective African countries remained poor and underdeveloped. A very good example of a place whose development was stifled to the extent of remaining backward by the end of the colonial era was Chunya in South Tanganyika (now Tanzania). According to Rodney (1973), by 1953, the British had gobbled up all the gold and exported it abroad such that by the end of the colonial period, Chunya was one of the most backward spots in the whole of Tanganyika and was known as the poor Cinderella of East Africa. This is why Moruwawon (2012) describes slavery and colonialism as kinds of economic cannibalism that literally consumed generations of Africans. Thus, colonial administrations deliberately and systematically excluded Africans from the mineral resources of their territories and it has to be noted that this was done for a purpose. Africans were deliberately pauperized through excessive exploitation of their labour and resources.

African wildlife was not spared. Some of the colonialists were involved in the business of hunting wild animals for profits at the expense of the Africans. They went as far as controlling the hunting of wild animals by Africans as if they cared much about preservation of the game: they were shutting up all the avenues for African access to their forests. Writing about colonial Malawi, Mulwafu (2010) states that the late 19th century saw a substantial increase in hunting activities, especially of elephants for ivory. From about 1897, several game ordinances were promulgated in order to control African hunting. All of them required Africans to pay much higher fee for possession of a gun, and later the selling of guns and gun powder to Africans was made illegal unless one had obtained a permit. The permit fee of £25 per year was just prohibitive for the majority of Africans (Mulwafu, 2010). The colonialists went as far as establishing game reserves in order to make sure that the Africans were kept far away from game. In South Africa, the Cape Act for the Preservation

of Game was passed in 1886 and later extended to British South African territories in 1891. This led to the establishment of the Sabie Game Reserve in the Transvaal, whose name changed to Kruger National Park in 1926 (Mulwafu, 2010). The most shocking thing about all this is that while Africans were being restricted in their hunting expeditions just to get food, the Europeans took hunting for sport. It should also be made clear that all the game regulations or laws passed during the colonial era were not really meant to conserve wildlife from depletion but rather to restrict the hunting of game by Africans. The restrictions were biased since they conferred special privileges on the European elite who easily hunted different types of animals while the Africans were prohibited.

Besides restricting Africans from hunting wild animals, the creation of game reserves took away land from the Africans and alienated them from the tourism industry. In Southern Rhodesia, for example, by 1931, a total of 5780 square miles of land had been declared permanent game sanctuaries in the following areas:

- Matopo National Park which was reserved in 1926 covering 350 square miles,
- Wankie Game Reserve which was reserved in 1928 covering 5141 square miles,
- Victoria Falls Game Reserve created in 1930 covering 210 square miles, and
- Kazuma Pan Game Reserve established in 1931 covering 76 square miles (Murombedzi, 2003).

Murombedzi (2003) argues that, initially, the creation of the game reserves was meant to save wild animals especially the endangered species but when tourism began to rise with the increase in the number of White visitors coming to the reserves, the idea of turning the reserves into viable economic units started gaining momentum. This led to the establishment of more reserves in different provinces. What all this entailed for the Africans is that they were being excluded from these game reserves by virtue of their inability to own the combustion engine and they could no longer access the areas they had lived on prior to colonisation (Murombedzi, 2003). Furthermore, the Africans were displaced by these new reserves and relocated into the already crowded reserves. For example, the establishment of

Gonarezhou Game Reserve in 1934 caused the displacement of 1500 families and the subsequent relocation in the overcrowded Matibi 2 reserve in Natural Region 5 which receives very low rainfall, among other harsh conditions there (Murombedzi, 2003). According to Murombedzi (2003), by 1960, some 4 524 400 hectares of land had been alienated for the parks and wildlife estates. Therefore, the creation of the game reserve was a double loss for the Africans as they were alienated from both the economic opportunities associated with game reserve tourism as well as loss of livelihoods in the form of land and wild animals.

It should also be noted that colonial theft was made possible because when the colonialists arrived in Africa, they assumed total control of the territories they settled in. It is Rodney's (1973) conviction that when European citizens owned land and mines (and other resources) belonging to Africans, it was the most direct way of sucking the African continent. Under colonialism, the ownership was complete and backed by military domination. Rodney (1973) further argues that so long as the foreigner colonialists owned land, mines, factories, banks, insurance companies, means of transportation, newspapers, power stations and others, Africans' resources would continue to flow outwards into the hands of those foreigners. In other words, Rodney is saying that in the absence of direct political control (which Africans didn't have during the colonial period), foreign "investment" ensures that the natural resources and labour of Africans produced economic value lost to the continent. England (2012) notes that the extractive industries, in Nigeria, such as tin and later crude oil were completely controlled by colonial European companies which did not contribute to industrial education nor did they transfer technology to the Nigerian colony. Machenjera (2016) also observes that the indigenous people were totally alienated and so they lost access to the resources they had historically owned and controlled.

Another form of theft that was witnessed across Africa was that of enslavement of Africans as they were forced to work for the colonialists, developing the economies of the Europeans at the expense of theirs. According to Castellino (2020), European colonisation involved theft on a scale never witnessed before. Castellino points out that when the indigenous people resisted colonisation, they were dispossessed through force, captured as

indentured labourers to work on plantations elsewhere or simply incorporated into the new economies set up to absorb them as unskilled workers. Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere (2003) agree with the above observation and they stress that through brute force and greed, the colonisers ushered in slave labour, divested the African of the ownership of his or her land and the resources therein, enslaved men, women and children, and robbed the Africans of dignity and human rights. Missionary and lawyer, George Washington Williams gave a description, in graphic detail, of the kidnapping of African men, women and children by King Leopold's officials who compelled Africans to gather rubber pulp, a process that was so arduous and painful (Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere, 2003). In addition, one of Kenya's White settlers, Colonel Grogan, put it bluntly when he stated of the Kikuyu: "We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. Compulsory labour is the corollary of our occupation of the country" (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017, p. 49). Today, massive statutes, buildings, museums and other evidence of material wealth, can still be found in many European cities from Belgium to London, all made possible by the blood and sweat of the dispossessed, exploited, illtreated, humiliated and ultimately forgotten throngs of Africans (Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere, 2003). Therefore, African labour was stolen from African economies and forced to advance the European economies and wealth. The stealing of African labour was a great loss to Africa as it affected the whole chain of the African economy.

In addition, Africans were robbed of her industrial and economic skills as the Europeans worked to devalue African efforts. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) posit that mass production of colonial capitalism virtually obliterated African industries such as cloth, salt, soap, beads, iron and even pottery-making. In fact, colonialism induced African ironworkers to abandon the process of extracting iron from the soil and to concentrate instead on working scraps of metal imported from Europe. In the process African technological development was halted (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). It is for this reason that progressive scholars like Rodney (1973) dismiss the modernization rhetoric arguing that Africans could have been better off in the bush. It is worthy to note that Africans were advancing at their own pace but the colonialists came and robbed them of their technological skills, denouncing them as backward.

The other brutal loss that Africans endured during the colonial era was loss of population. The colonisers used all the methods at their disposal as long as it helped in achieving their goal. Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere (2003) lament that each time the Africans questioned the inhumanity of the colonisers, the colonisers resorted to the most extreme means of enforcing their unbridled rule, such as massacre of the Hereros in South West Africa (now Namibia) in 1904. The German commander of war, General Lothar Von Trotha, who was assigned the task to slaughter the Africans made it clear that he found it most appropriate that the Herero nation perish. Ziltener & Hünzler (2013) state that in certain areas, colonialism led to a drastic population decrease such as what happened in Belgian Congo where the population decrease was by 50%, between 1879 and 1919, mainly because of forced labour and the genocide associated with it. It is difficult to come up with the exact number of the people that Africa lost as a result of colonialism but historians agree that many people were wiped out of the face of Africa.

Africa's wealth was also stolen at the market place where the European colonialists traded with the Africans in bad faith. Huge wealth is lost through unfair trade because the Europeans are after profit maximization and minimization of losses. Zhou & Machenjera (2017) show that the terms of trade are set up by the developed countries in a manner entirely advantageous to them and detrimental to Africans. The export of agricultural produce from Africa and the import of manufactured goods into Africa from Europe, North America and Japan are advantageous to Western countries. At the same time, the prices of the manufactured goods are also pegged by the European colonisers, along with the freight rates (Zhou & Machenjera, 2017). This is also noted by Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012) who state that the colonisers assigned to Africans the role of production of raw materials and primary products for use by European industries. In addition, the African raw materials are bought at a very low price while manufactured goods from abroad are sold at very high prices. The above examples clearly show another avenue through which the Africans are swindled by European colonisers.

The above discussion has shown that the colonial epoch was a period when Africans experienced the level of theft never witnessed before. The industrialisation in Europe was the chief cause of the

colonial greed and hunt for African resources, including minerals, land, oil, labour and others. The major motive behind the colonisation of Africa should never be mistaken for anything else: it was all about stealing everything that the Europeans could set their hands on and anything they deemed useful or profitable. All those who may want to view the colonial epoch as a blessing to Africa are reminded that anything positive that could have come out as a result of colonisation was an accident of history. The colonialists mercilessly plundered the African resources to unredeemable levels such that some of the colonies, if not most, are still struggling to recover from the impact of colonialism.

Pollution of environments in colonial Africa and beyond

The colonisation of Africa was not only associated with theft and expatriation of resources but also contamination of the environment: the focus of the colonisers was mainly on profit maximization at whatever cost. The environment was sacrificed as the colonisers were scavenging for minerals and other resources that they wanted from Africa. Even where the colonialists seemed to care for the protection of the environment by enacting laws, they were in fact minded on shutting out the Africans from accessing the resources they used to own and control prior to the coming of the European colonisers.

Colonial mining was the major culprit in as far as pollution of the African environment was concerned. Hill (1972) writes about the pollution in the form of mine dumps in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Hill (1972) stresses that the mining of lithium at Bikita Minerals affected the environment in various ways and one of the effects of this mining has been that of environmental pollution especially due to the emergence of mine dumps. Hill (1972) points out that in Rhodesia mine dumps created interest more for their offence to aesthetic value than for any practical reason. As the country industrialised, the mine dumps problem escalated and with it related practical problems and environmental pollution. Commenting on colonial mining, Machenjera (2016) argues that the extraction of minerals during the colonial period continued to lack an ecological approach to resource management as well as basic conservation principles. Machenjera (2016) adds that the colonialists' quest to maximise their profits from the extractive industry led the

colonial officials to deliberately pay a blind eye to environmental degradation caused by their mining activities such as the mine dumps. The problem of mine dumps was experienced in all mines that were opened during the colonial period such as Shabani (Zvishavane), Mashaba (Mashava), Lalapanzi, Redcliff and others dotted around Zimbabwe.

Mining during the colonial era was also responsible for dust pollution. Wherever there was mining, this problem was rampant emanating from the heavy machinery used in opening up the ground, the heavy trucks that worked day and night on gravel roads as well as heavy machines crushing rocks as they processed the mineral ores. The processing of lithium in colonial Zimbabwe, for example, produced a lot of dust which was emitted into the environment. According to Aral and Vecchio-Sachs cited by Machenjera (2016), when spodumene is crushed, it generates silica-rich dust which is a health and safety hazard. The Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG) (2015) states that during the dry season, there is a thick layer of black substance (dust), from the Wankie (Hwange) Colliery, which hovers over vegetation throughout the region. This contaminated vegetation is dangerous to animals that eat it, causing death and diseases. Community members attributed the high rate of livestock miscarriages in the area to eating and drinking polluted vegetation and water, respectively. Several women also complained of itching eyes due to coal dust (CNRG, 2015). This was mainly caused by the fact that the colonial governments never cared to protect the environment since they were too obsessed with profit maximization. Even the laws that were put in place were mainly meant to increase the grip of the colonialists on the African resources. The 1961 Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05) in colonial Zimbabwe is a good example of a colonial law that gave mining companies legal powers to acquire mineral rights over agricultural land and even other sensitive areas (CNRG, 2015). This meant that the mining companies had power to do whatever they deemed necessary to acquire the minerals they wanted, even if the environment was to be sacrificed.

The emergence and growth of industries as a result of colonialism was also characterized by pollution of the environment. Olufemi et al. (2018) stress that since the emergence of industries and technological advancement, our planet has faced many challenges

which have put pressure on the global environment. One such challenge is environmental pollution which is primarily caused by mining and burning of fossil fuels such as coal. Adekunte & Nwaechefu (2019) agree that some of the European industries dumped their waste anywhere they pleased. They didn't care about the pollution they caused by dumping their industrial wastes. Industrial emissions also pollute the environment. Giving the example of Hwange Colliery of Zimbabwe which consumes 1 750 tons of coal per hour, the Union of Concerned Scientists cited by CNRG (2015) argues that an average 500 MW coal plant each year emits the following:

- 10 000 tons of Sulphur dioxide which is the main cause of acid rain which damages forest, lakes and buildings;
- 10 200 tons of nitrogen oxide and are a major cause of smog and acid rain;
- 3.7 million tons of carbon dioxide which is the main greenhouse gas and leading to global warming;
- 220 tons of hydrocarbons. When these don't burn completely, they are released into the atmosphere and cause smog;
- 125 000 tons of ash and 193 000 tons of sludge from the smokestack scrubber. This sludge and ash consist of coal ash, limestone and many pollutants such as toxic metals like lead and mercury.

Therefore, the growth of industries during the colonial period caused a lot of pollution on the environment ranging from air, land and water pollution to raw materials, effluent waste and chemical leaks.

The colonisation of Africa also saw the growth of urban centres with associated environmental problems. According to Boahen et al. (1986), colonialism caused the emergence of new towns and the rapid development of old ones. Abidjan, Takoradi, Lome and Port Harcourt are examples of the former while Lagos, Accra, Kumasi, Dakar, Wagadugu and Kano represent the latter in West Africa. The growth of cities was associated with problems of pollution which affected the people and the immediate environment. This, according to Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012) was because most of the little social

amenities provided during the colonial period were concentrated at a place. This made many people to migrate from the rural areas where these amenities were virtually non-existent to colonial urban centres where they could be found. The consequence of this, according to Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012), and Mwambazambi (2010) was the struggle and over-use of these amenities, the attendant overcrowding of the cities and the problems of urbanization which included filthy and slump environment, poor hygienic conditions, spread of epidemic diseases, overpopulation, chaotic construction and housing, social vices and others. Makanyisa et al. (2012) argue that the policy of segregation in the urban residential areas saw insanitary conditions in high density areas or areas inhabited by the Blacks. Ogundere (1972) adds that in Africa, there was a tendency towards concentration of urban populations in the large cities. This galloping urbanisation was responsible for the dangers of pollution due to increasing use of fertilizers, pesticides, oil contamination in rivers and seas.

According to Boahen et al. (1986), the population of Accra rose from 17892 in 1901 to 135 926 in 1948; that of Lagos from 74 000 in 1910 to 99 000 in 1936 and 230 000 in 1951; that of Abijan from 800 in 1910 to 10 000 in 1914 and 127 000 by 1955 and that of Dakar from 19 800 in 1916 to 32 000 in 1936 and 132 000 in 1945. Fox (2013) presents that Zambia's capital city of Lusaka which had 1.7 million people then was only designed to accommodate 125 000 people. All this shows that the increase of population in colonial cities was responsible for the problems associated with the colonial cities especially the problem of pollution be it water, air, land or noise pollution. Of course, having been dispossessed of their land and livestock, Africans could not have remained in the rural areas – they had to move to towns and cities to try and find jobs to survive.

The colonialists should also be blamed for sectoral application of environmental laws which failed to stop pollution. While it is commendable that the colonial governments made efforts to arrest the rapid degradation and pollution of the environment by the promulgation of environmental regulations at regional and national levels, it should be noted that the regulations were sectoral as they addressed only specific natural resources (Mwambazambi, 2011). According to Mwambazambi (2011), the colonial governments took rudimentary approaches to environmental issues, other than natural

resources conservation, by treating them merely as sanitation or public health issues. As such, for complex environmental issues like poisonous or hazardous wastes emanating from the agricultural and industrial activities of transnational companies that polluted the air, water systems and land, there were no serious legislative efforts by the colonial administration to deal with them. Therefore, in terms of environmental legislation, the colonial governments did little to protect the environment or to arrest the culprits.

Water pollution was also rampant during the colonial era. What is worrisome is that the White colonialists deliberately ignored the Africans in as far as provision of clean water was concerned. According to Hannemann (2015), during the colonial era, there were arguments made by Europeans that the African residents didn't require improved water and sanitation facilities because they had been living without them before the colonial period. Yet, in actual fact, the colonial developments left the unimproved sources of water more polluted than in the precolonial era. This forced some Africans to wage protests against the colonial administration, for example there were African protests when in the southern city of Lagos, the governor who followed Lugard in office, Walter Egerton, attempted to forcefully remove 350 Africans from an ideal land to one that was not equipped with health infrastructure. According to Olufemi et al. (2018), the Transitional Oil Companies (TOCs) in Nigeria were responsible for incessant environmental pollution, particularly from oil spillage and gas flaring. The impacts of such pollution were reflected in the pollution of rivers and drinking water which also caused the death of aquatic animals, the extinction of gemstones and health-related problems. The worst part is that very little attention was given to the development of communities despite all the damage done to their natural environments. The Hwange Colliery in Zimbabwe, for example, was responsible for pollution of surface and underground water reserves. The coal dust from the Colliery was washed into open drinking water sources and this caused stomach problems. It appears the problem of water pollution was rampant in colonial cities (especially in black townships) and in colonial mines which produced a lot of toxic substances that polluted the water sources.

It is important at this juncture to appreciate that the gaining of political independence by Black Africans did very little to ease the

impacts of environmental degradation created during the colonial period. In actual fact, in most countries, the independent governments continued with the colonial trajectory of denying Africans ownership and control over their natural resources. The neocolonial logic that would want Africans to only care for environments or resources ignored the imperatives of African ownership and control of natural resources. Environmental sovereignty cannot be achieved in Africa if Africans are forced to care for the environments which they are not allowed to own and control (Nhemachena & Dhakwa, this volume; Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020).

Thus, Nhemachena & Mawere (2020) worry about the threats to human security as a result of failure to respect African humanity. Understood in the light of posthumanism, antihumanism, animism, post-anthropocentrism and transhumanism, African human security has evidently been put on a recession course together with African state security (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). As such, the environment has been tampered with such that human bodies have been sacrificed in the interests of nonhuman viruses, nanobots, microchips, bacteria, fungi and other pathogens (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020). Mwambazambi (2011) stresses that it is unfortunate that with the arrival of independence, many African countries did not place environmental issues on the agenda and emphasized their political rights and economic development. This explains why Zimbabwean cities like Harare and Gweru, among others, have proved to lack the capacity to process water for domestic consumption (Mutondi, 2016): there are high levels of pollution of Harare's main rivers, especially Mukuvisi. Muza (2018) also adds that many companies struggle to deal with the costs related to disposal of effluent waste. These companies and their effluent have continued to deplete biodiversity.

The general populace continues to live in the areas they were pushed into by the colonial governments. Also, Zimbabwe's 1961 Mines and Minerals Act which is virtually operational stresses that in the event of acquisition of communal lands to pave way for mining, it is the Rural District Council, not the actual victims, that will be compensated. Section 188 (7) of the Act states that any payments due in terms of subsection (2) in respect of such Communal Land (whose owner is the rural district council) shall be paid to the District

Development Fund referred to in section 3 of the District Development Fund Act (Chapter 29:06) (CNRG, 2015). This provision is clear that the people still don't have sovereignty over their natural resources. This elimination of the African citizens from the environmental matrix is partly responsible for the incessant environmental degradation.

Conclusion

The colonisation of Africans was a sad development for the Africans and their environments as the colonisers were determined to do whatever they could in order to get what they wanted. In the process, Africans lost a lot of their wealth through colonial theft and robbery. African environments were sacrificed as the colonialists from Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and others scavenged for resources. Colonial mining, for example, was responsible for land degradation with scars and tumours left strewn over the landscapes. Africans were dispossessed and put under brutal colonial rule where they were denied sovereignty over their natural resources. Africans were forced to pay colonial taxes, to produce cash crops for the Europeans as well as to extract resources for the colonialists. Some Africans were captured into slavery, all for the sake of making sure that the Europeans' economies were kept sustainable.

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Chapter 10

Implications of Contemporary Transnational Land Grabs on African Economic and Environmental Sovereignty

Lennon Mapuranga & John Majoni

Introduction

The quest for African economic and environmental sovereignty is hampered by neocolonial practices directed against the African people. For instance, there are ongoing land grabs by foreign companies, states and international institutions that are engaged in the 21st century second scramble for Africa. Transnational land grabs refer to a situation whereby foreign owned companies or individuals grab land belonging to African indigenous people. The Transnational Institute (2013, p. 4) defines land grabbing as follows; "Land grabbing is usually portrayed as an illegitimate seizure of land from a person or people that leads to their expulsion from the land." Some African leaders are unwittingly mortgaging key African national resources as collateral security for Western loans; this has been critiqued as surrendering the nations' economic and environmental sovereignty to aliens. Sadly, such African leaders mistakenly think that they can fix "African economies" by entering into land deals with Westerners who are now grabbing land from African peasants. Green (cited in Deng, 2010) accuses some African leaders of ceding their states on a silver platter, not for national development, but for self-enrichment. The government of Emmerson Mnangagwa in Zimbabwe has been seeking to re-engage with the "international community" and as part of this effort it is parcelling out land to foreign owned companies in such a way that the indigenous Zimbabwean people are being displaced from their land in this 21st century.

Also, of great concern are the activities of the Chinese owned entities across the African continent. Transnational corporations, like Sun Yi Feng in Zimbabwe are wantonly destroying the natural as well

as the man-made environment of the countries they are operating in and they rarely plough back to the affected communities whose land has been grabbed. In Zimbabwe, the veterans of the liberation war and the generality of the Zimbabwean citizens are questioning why the government of Emmerson Mnangagwa is reversing the gains of the liberation struggle by parcelling Zimbabwean land to foreign corporations again in the 21st century. They complain that the milk and honey of the continent are still being enjoyed by the Chinese, Americans, French and British whose transnational corporations are again grabbing land from African peasants in the 21st century. Afro-centric analysts/groups like La Via Campesina (2011) contend that land seizures by transnational corporations is in fact 'new colonialism' disguised as economic concessions for the economic and environmental development of the African continent. This chapter highlights the consequences of transnational land grabs on contemporary African communities and suggest strategies to remedy negative consequences which seem to be dominant.

Key drivers of transnational land grabs

There are various reasons behind the transnational entities' grabbing of African lands. Firstly, some African governments seek to attract direct foreign "investment" ((DFI). Cotula et al. (2009) and the Transnational Institute (2013) cite Sudan, Ethiopia, Madagascar and Mozambique as some key recipients of FDI on the African continent. Cochrane (2016) suggests that land is being parcelled out by some African governments in the name of increasing the land's productivity and efficiency, through direct foreign "investment". Some African economies are not functioning well due to unfavourable balance of payments (BOPs) with more imports than exports, hence foreign currency deficits affect them. They therefore seek to easily secure foreign currency via land deals that are resulting in land being grabbed from African peasants. However, the actual reasons for lack of foreign currency in Africa remain unaddressed. For instance, the fact that Africans do not control world commodity prices and that African products may be unfairly priced at the world market remain unaddressed. A particular example is the global fall of oil prices in 2020 which negatively affected the economies of Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Angola, Gabon and Chad.

The other factor contributing to low levels of foreign currency in Africa is the failure to add value to African products before they are sold or exported. Zimbabwe, under the late President Robert Gabriel Mugabe tried to avoid too much exportation of raw materials: the government saw the importance of value addition. In this regard, a chrome processing plant is being established in Mashava, 40km from Masvingo town.

Jung-a et al. (2008) describe Africa as a continent with the most "underutilized" land. According to the Transnational Institute (2013), the World Bank also has this misconception when it says the world has a total of between 445 million to 1.7 billion hectares of reserve land. However, Cotula et al. (2009, p.5) argue that "While there is a perception that land is abundant in certain countries, these claims need to be treated with caution". This argument makes sense because while the World Bank seeks to grab African land by claiming that it is reserve land, African citizens, who fought the liberation struggles to recover their stolen land, are still waiting to receive it from the descendants of colonialists who are refusing to let go of it (Nhemachena, Kangira & Chiripanhura, 2021). Land may be supposedly underutilised or idle but it is nevertheless owned by the African communities who live on it.

Transnational land grabbing has taken place in Africa, at unprecedented levels, during the past 15 years. Some African governments engage foreign companies in land deals supposedly as a means to step up agricultural productivity and efficiency (Cochrane, 2016). However, what actually drives transnational land grabs is not the need for efficiency: in the home countries of the transnational corporations that are grabbing African land, there have been looming civil strife caused by dwindling food reserves. Countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Syria and China descended on Africa to engage in agro-land deals. These countries set up "investment" agents to propel their "investment" efforts in the African continent. For example the Qatar "Investment" Authority negotiated for land in Sudan (Grain, 2008); Saudi Arabia's Abu Dhabi Fund For Development financed a 28 000 hectare project to grow alfalfa (cattle feed crop), maize, beans and potatoes to export to the United Arab Emirates (Rice, 2008); Syria and Sudan signed a 50 year lease under the Special Agriculture "Investment" Agreement in 2002; Lonrho obtained a land deal of 25 000 hectares in Angola in 2009

(Burgis, 2009); Saudi agricultural firms are engaging in a US$400 million project in Sudan and Ethiopia and they are growing barley, wheat and lucerne in Egypt; a US based company, Dominion Logistics grabbed 30 000 hectares in Mozambique in 2012 to grow rice and a Swedish subsidiary opened up a tree plantation in Chikweti Forests in Mozambique in 2012. Such land transfers are depicted as benefiting all parties yet the land grabs deny Africans their sovereignty. South Korea and Saudi Arabia engaged in transnational land grabs between 2007 and 2008: they intended to enhance their own food security by grabbing African land (Transnational Institute, 2013).

Green cited in Deng (2010) depict some leaders in developing countries as 'bag carriers' for imperialists because they always do the bidding of imperialists and neglect the interests of the African citizens who they lead. Such leaders defeat struggles for economic and environmental sovereignty for Africans. This has further weakened Africans' capacity to build national identities and sovereignty.

Land grabbing in Africa is said to have been accelerated by global politico-economic dynamics. Also, transnational land grabs are being carried out under the pretext of producing green fuels for blending purposes (Transnational Institute, 2013). For instance, the USA's America Clean Energy and Security Act and The European Union's Renewable Energy Directive (RED) have triggered the land grabbing spree in Africa. According to the Transnational Institute (2013), the EU is a culprit in the loss of African economic and environmental sovereignty: the EU promotes bio-fuels and also EU funds (Europeans Pension Funds) are used as capital for investing in new lands belonging to Africans. Africans will remain at risk of losing land as long as the international community does not do anything to effectively stop the ongoing land grabs. Pressure groups like La Via Campesina and its 2007 Nyeleni Declaration to stop land grabs cannot help the situation either if big international bodies, like the United Nations Organisation, are just paying lip service while African economic, and environmental sovereignty are being trampled upon.

Implications of transnational land grabs for African economic and environmental sovereignty

When European colonisers came to Africa, the first thing they did was to satisfy their major economic objective, that is, grabbing the land that belonged to Africans. Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Namibia among others have a painstaking history wherein African land was stolen by colonialists who came all the way from Europe. In the African liberation struggles, restitution of land was one of the primary aims. Some may argue that Africans are enjoying the benefits of the colonial legacy but then it is necessary to note that for Africans to be fully human, they have to recover and assume ownership and control over their land (Nhemachena & Dhakwa, 2018). Similarly, receiving the so-called humanitarian aid does not make African human because even dogs, pig and chickens receive aid from those that may be minded on ultimately killing them. In this regard, it is chicken mentality to claim that Africans are benefiting from the legacy of colonisation (see Nhemachena & Dhakwa, this volume; Nhemachena, 2021). Human beings are not defined in terms of receiving aid, rather, humanity is defined in terms of ownership and control over one's resources (Nhemachena & Dhakwa, 2018). Thus, Cochrane (2016) maintains that land grabbing can only be ethical when the affected population is in full consent with it.

Like its predecessor, the old imperialism, contemporary transnational land grabs cause suffering to the African people. Cochrane (2016) notes that loss of land by African peasants leads to loss of income and livelihoods. When Europeans colonized Africans, they destroyed African economic sovereignty; a situation which Moyana (1984) vividly portrayed as an 'economic assassination' of the livelihoods of the Zimbabwean masses. The successive colonial land ordinances (Order-In-Councils) from 1894 right up to 1969 created artificial poverty for the Africans in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The enactment of the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and the Land Husbandry Act (1955) in colonial Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) made lives miserable for the Africans. In Kenya, Mau Mau guerrillas had land restitution to Kenyans as their aim. Guerrilla kingpins like Didan Kimathi made international news headlines during their trials, for example in 'The Trial of Didan

Kimathi.' During the colonial era, Kenyans were turned into landless destitutes, solely depending on the White men for survival. The Kikuyu, Nandi and Wariomo people were heavily affected by colonialism as they were dispossessed of the highlands. The Nama and Herero in Namibia fought against the Germans in 1904-5, The Maji Maji Rebellion (1905-1906) in Tanganyika was spurred by the colonial dispossession of Africans and the exploitation of Africans. In Zimbabwe, the First Chimurenga of 1896-97 had the aim of repossessing stolen land. These forms of resistance by Blacks were aimed at recovering African economic and environmental sovereignty. Yet in the 21st century, transnational corporations are again grabbing land from African peasants – effectively recolonising Africans. Although governments may claim that they are allowing foreign companies or individuals to own land as a means to develop economies in Africa, African communities do not stand to benefit from such recolonization of the continent (Cotula et al, 2009). Deininger et al. (2011), in their World Bank Study, reiterate that "investments" do not build a lot of jobs to compensate for loss of livelihoods resulting from the transnational land grabbing. Hossain & Green (2011) note that victims of transnational land grabbing end up relying on erratic employment opportunities, being threatened by declining food security and a rising cost of living. Mechanization reduces labour demands and also affects the level of wages to be earned (Li, 2014; Cotula et al., 2009). Makki & Geisler, (2011), and Shete & Rutten (2015) argue that typical consequences of transnational land grabs include displacement, nourishment, biodiversity loss, environmental damage (air, water and land), deepening vulnerability and loss of income. The Transnational Institute (2013) gives an example of a Swedish company engaged in tree plantation which acquired 140 000 hectares of land in the Chikweti forests in Mozambique. It promised 3000 jobs but only 900 jobs were created. The situation was dire for the indigenous population who got very little wages (about 66 euros/month), left their fields unattended, were irregularly paid, had no other benefits, had long hours of work and were harassed. The World Bank stated that the wages paid to indigenous workers working for the Swedish entity were insufficient to compensate for livelihoods lost (Senfert, 2012). Cochrane (2016) maintains that transnational "investors" can lead to massive land loss on the part of the African peasants. Deigner

et al. (2011) have a similar point that between 2004 and 2009 the following countries had land grabs reaching the following percentage marks: Nigeria 97%, Ethiopia 49%, Mozambique 53% and Sudan 78%. In Zimbabwe, the new dispensation government headed by President E. D. Mnangagwa is under the spotlight due to increased evictions of the powerless Zimbabwean citizens: the government has a 'Zimbabwe is open for business' mantra in which they seek to satisfy Whites coming in as "investors". The Chinese have laid roots in many parts of Zimbabwe, exploring and extracting minerals. In places where Chinese nationals are operating businesses, locals groan and moan under very brutal treatments including very low wages and other unfair labour practices. Mayer (2019) gives the example of the Chinese mining cobalt in the Congo even as they perpetrate human rights abuses on the locals. Child labour contributes 40% of the total labour force and the businesses have contributed to the destruction of protected areas in Congo. There is very insignificant infrastructural development since Chinese nationals do not put up permanent structures or even houses: they stay in cabins or caravans. Is this 'economic sovereignty'? Workers are at the mercy of Chinese employers who sometimes summarily dismiss employees, give them very little wages, flog them and expose them to unsafe conditions of work. To make matters worse, Chinese machinery often destroys national infrastructure like roads. The Chinese companies do not observe corporate social responsibility as they rarely plough back to the community.

In its drive to enhance its food security, China implemented the 'Going Out Policy', or its long-term hedging strategy since 2004, in which companies are urged to source for areas of "investment" outside China (Cotula et al., 2009; Anderlini, 2008). Funds were poured into these Chinese foreign "investors" from the China-Africa Development Fund. Major "investors" in African land from 2004 to the present are China, South Korea, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Leading land grants in the African continent were made between 2000 and 2008 with Ghana and Sudan at the forefront of signing these bilateral "investment" treaties. Qatar is leasing 40 000 hectares of fertile land in the area bordering River Tana in Kenya's northern coast and has promised to build a deep port as an additional incentive for having acquired a lucrative land deal. Other sources of "investments" in the same period are the European

Union member states and the United States of America. Green, (in the Transnational Institute, 2013) castigates local leadership for helping outsiders to disadvantage the African citizens via land grabs. In a nutshell, one may conclude that the new colonialism has stalled development in Africa, bringing with it massive economic and environmental disenfranchisement on the poor Blacks, Africans are likened to someone who tends cows and is not allowed to milk them; they are milked by others who even do not own them! It is really a painstaking development. Africa is losing large tracts of land as a result of transnational land grabs on the continent. The table below shows land transfers that took place in selected countries:

Table1.0 showing total number of hectares allocated to foreign "investors" from 2004 to early 2009.

Country	Number of hectares grabbed by transnationals
Madagascar	800 000
Ethiopia	600 000
Ghana	450 000
Mali	150 000
Sudan	480 000

Source: Country Studies

The transnational corporations cause a sharp decline in African food reserves when the new land holders engage in the production of non-food crops (Cochrane, 2016). The Transnational Institute (2013) describes a situation whereby transnational land grabs deprive African citizens of food as "loss of food sovereignty". Such a scenario is likely to be experienced in the Chilonga area of Zimbabwe. The land that is grabbed is earmarked for a Lucerne growing venture owned by Mr Coertz. Blas & Wallis (2009) also cite CAMS, a company from the United Kingdom, that is growing sweet sorghum in Tanzania specifically for the production of biofuel. The Transnational Institute (2013) regards the introduction of flex/multi-purpose crops, for the production of other products besides food, as another key driver of land grabs in Africa. Not only overseas "investors" are engaged in land grabs. Cotula et al. (2009) point out that South African farmers have land deals in Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania. This reveals that not only overseas land deals affect

Africa. Mining companies drastically reduce land that can be put to food crop production: this compromises strategic national food reserves of any country. There is ample evidence to support this point because major recipients of FDI in land deals, like Sudan, now import huge amounts of food (Cotula et al., 2009). Also, Muzarabani communities in the Zambezi Valley in Zimbabwe are likely to lose a lot of land to Invirctus, an oil and gas exploring company. There are reports that the company is hopeful to find oil and gas and start employing some locals in various jobs. Besides, Dlamini (27 February 2022) reports that huge oil reserves have been found in Namibia. The people of Namibia should expect inevitable evictions from the land granted to that "investor". What is more disturbing is that people who are directly affected by evictions may be relocated very far away from the mine and infrastructural benefits may be enjoyed by nearby communities who have not been moved.

Environmental sovereignty is a concept that is given little attention in many African states: much focus is on political sovereignty. More often than not, revolutionary governments in Africa expose their countries to environmental damage as a result of uncontrolled activities by reckless foreign "investors". Multinational "investors" are often blamed for over-use and for pollution of water. Via (2011) contents that overuse and pollution of water can lead to reduced food production. Mining companies usually pollute water bodies with dangerous chemicals. Gold mining companies, which use mercury in the purification of gold, damage the natural environment since mercury is poisonous to both flora and fauna. Critics of governments, like the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, allege that they offer mining contracts to foreign "investors" and neglect the need for environmental impact assessments to weigh the feasibility of the project with regards to safeguarding the environment. Efforts by locals to force foreign "investors" to follow Environmental Management Authority (EMA) regulations are futile as some governments cast a blind eye to these companies and just concentrate on punishing locally owned companies in cases of environmental damages (Dlamini, 27 February 2022). Where is the environmental and economic sovereignty? Why do governments 'give children's bread to dogs'? Who should really benefit from the local resources? Africans are just watching helplessly while the natural ecosystem is wantonly destroyed by transnational corporations. One

day, forthcoming generations or even the current generation will pay dearly for such errors of commission. With the environment affected, people's lives are at risk as a disturbed ecosystem usually translates to social strife triggered by food shortages, water and air pollution. Cochrane (2016, p. 2) states that "Negative outcomes are particularly pronounced in countries where the rule of law is weak, where governments have limited ability to monitor activities and enforce laws and where human rights are regularly violated." It is for these reasons that scholars like Makki & Geisler (2011) argue that transnational land grabs have plunged the African continent into poverty, misery and undernourishment.

The problem is that some African nations' constitutions are not followed in letter and spirit as they should be. Government officials override the constitutions with impunity. This is very dangerous since it leads to much suffering of the powerless citizens. Some countries seem to have Land Acts which recognize landholding rights even under customary conditions but the problem is that of poor implementation. Some land grabbing deals require both parties: governments and "investor" to compensate the victims; other land grabbing agreements compel the government alone to be responsible for compensating affected citizens. The Transnational Institute (2013, p. 15) states that local people are expelled when their land is needed, conversely, their labour is not needed; and what often follows after promises have been made is a trail of broken agreements around such issues as payment for damages, resettlement in improved conditions, and compensation. This leaves the citizens very vulnerable. Ethiopia is one such country which requires the government to compensate people for land loss. Mozambique's 1997 Land Act, Uganda's 1998 Land Act and Tanzania's 1997 Land and Village Land Act all protect customary land rights but the Acts are often not implemented.

African states were not compensated by colonialists who dispossessed Africans of their land: now the descendants of colonialists are doing the same – dispossessing Africans and refusing to compensate them in the 21st century. Who now should shield vulnerable Africans from the daylight theft in which some of the African state leaders are complicit? Cotula et al. (2009, p.7) bemoan lack of implementation of laws thus; "Although on paper some countries have progressive laws and procedures that seek to increase

local voice and benefit, big gaps between theory and practice, between statute bills and reality on the ground result in major costs being incurred by local people."

Studio 7 News (1 March 2022) reported that Zimbabweans in Dangamvura told authorities that they are opposed to Chinese companies mining quarry from a mountain in Dangamvura. It was also reported that the Chinese go about telling African chiefs that they do not have title deeds to the land which they claim to be theirs. It was also reported that the government of Zimbabwe was forced to reverse a mining deal after residents of Uzumba revolted when they were ordered to make way for the Chinese.

It should be noted that Western nations are also involved in the land grabs and they compete with their economic rivals like China. USA's Dominion Farms got a 30 000 hectares land deal to grow rice in Mozambique (Transnational Institute, 2013). Nhantumba & Samao (2009) note that land deals in Africa negatively affect the citizens because:

- There is no relevant advance information before consultation meetings are held with citizens.
- In most cases one meeting is held when in fact there should be many meetings to decide the fate of the affected. Thus, consultations are deemed incomplete and unsatisfactory.
- More often than not, leaders like politicians, chiefs, village heads, headmen and councillors attend these meetings deciding for the affected without them having a significant input.
- Women are rarely represented.
- Transparency usually lacking.

Conclusion

The ongoing scramble for land by transnational corporations has compromised African economic and environmental sovereignty. Any supposed gains deriving from transnational land grabs are overshadowed by huge losses invariably incurred by the victims of land grabs. African peasants are suffering social and economic shocks deriving from the ongoing dispossession. African leaders must awaken to the imperatives of African economic and environmental

sovereignty. The African leaders should not over rely on aid, loans, land deals and so on, rather they must actively and spiritedly promote and support African economic and environmental sovereignty. It is only through economic and environmental sovereignty that the African future can be guaranteed: a man who is extremely dependent on another cannot have a guaranteed future because such future is precariously dependent on the other. African futures cannot be guaranteed unless African leaders cease to be as dependent on aid, loans and so on from outside Africa.

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Chapter 11

Environmental Sovereignty, North-South Dialogues and Sustainable Development in Africa

Mrisho Mbegu Malipula & Theobald Frank Theodory

Introduction

International relations discourses consider the state to be the primary point of reference in the analysis of global environmental concerns in general, and climate change in particular. State sovereignty entails the existence of a central governing entity known as a government that exercises unequivocal political authority over a specified geographical territory and the people in it (Habib, 2015). The Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States (1933) under Article 1 outlines the characteristics of a state in terms of possession of territory, permanent population, a government and the ability to enter into international relations with other states. States have the right to deal with their internal affairs without interference from other states. Pollution of the environment and climate change are among the key problems affecting humankind and these are used, by some Eurocentric thinkers, to argue for the desovereignisation of African states (Malipula & Theodory, 2016; Nhemachena, this volume). It is further argued by such thinkers that climate change necessitates borderlessness because environmental problems are contagious (Mann, 2009): however, such thinkers ignore the fact that colonialism is also contagious and viral such that once it started to spread from Europe and America, the whole world was affected. The point here is that it is necessary to stem environmental problems but it is also important to stem the virus of colonialism, including trampling on other people's sovereignties. Some scholars contend that African states must not insist on sovereignty supposedly because environmental challenges are broader than the African states (Gardiner, 2008). However, it is also necessary to note that imperialism is broader than the African states and so the entire world must also cooperate in resolving the challenge of neoimperialism.

The argument here is that environmental challenges such as pollution are not the only problems that are broader than African states.

Eurocentric scholars hold that African states must make concessions on their sovereignty in order to save the environment. They argue that if African states cede their sovereignty this would enhance sustainable development (Malipula & Theodory, 2016). Rather than considering restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation as crucial for the sustainable development of Africans, Eurocentric scholars assume that there can be sustainable development only when African states cede their sovereignty to Western owned and controlled transnational organisations and institutions. In other words, it is unclear why Western countries want to cooperate with African countries on environmental issues, including climate change, yet the same Western countries do not want to cooperate in matters of restitution and reparations that would ensure sustainable development of Africa (Nhemachena this volume). Furthermore, African environmental sovereignty would be enhanced by ensuring that Africans own and control their environments. It is grossly unfair for the Western countries and their so-called international institutions to force Africans to only focus on protecting environments which they are not allowed to own and control.

Rebranding of the concept of state sovereignty

International law sets the parameters to define states and accord them sovereignty. While geographical boundaries are easily seen where there are boundary fences, border posts and military installations, boundaries are not easily seen in ocean water bodies around which there are often disputes between states. The Law of the Seas stipulates that there is territorial water for individual states and international water for the global community. While land surfaces constitute definite areas of states' jurisdictions environmental problems from land surfaces still affect other states (Oppenheim, 1912). Oppenheim's argument suggests that territorial sovereignty is limited in relation to the sovereignty of other states. As such, territorial sovereignty over resources needs to be exercised within the ambit of good neighbourliness. However, Kiss & Shelton

(1991) contend that states have the right to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

While Meadows et al. (1972) wrote in "The Limits to Growth" that the problem in the world is one of population growth, it is also necessary to notice that in Africa, the major problem has to do with the colonial dispossession and the fact that colonialists stole African land. Much of African land is owned by a few descendants of colonialists (Nhemachena, Kangira & Chiripanhura, 2021). In this regard, the problem in Africa is not necessarily one of population growth but it is one of land grabs during the colonial era as well as in the contemporary ongoing second scramble for Africa (Nhemachena, Warikandwa & Mtapuri, 2017). Put different, the problem in Africa is not mainly one of population growth but it is one of the occurrences and growth of transnational land grabs – in Africa we do not only have the degradations of the environment but Africans are also degraded by colonialism and neocolonialism that dispossessed them of their environments, including land (see Nhemachena, Mawere & Mtapuri, this volume). The point raised by Nhemachena, Mawere and Mtapuri is that it is important to pay as much attention to neo/colonial degradation of human beings as is paid to environmental degradation. A few people (and their corporations), in the world, monopolise resource ownership and/or control across national boundaries. Resource inequalities in the world today can be traced back to the colonial era when Westerners dispossessed and exploited Africans. While Eurocentric scholars would want to argue that environmental problems started with the industrial revolution, we argue that environmental problems in Africa started with colonialism wherein colonialists dispossessed and exploited Africans. When Eurocentric scholars blame the industrial revolution for environmental problems, they are in essence simply following the faulty arguments in Meadows et al.'s (1972) "The Limits to Growth". Environmental problems in Africa are not a result of the so-called technological innovations in Africa (Pereira, 2015), rather they are a result of colonial dispossession and exploitation. In fact, during colonisation, Africans were also dispossessed of their technological innovations which they used to do mining, smelting, blacksmithing, textiles, weaving etc (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020).

When African states demanded, in the 1960s, permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, Eurocentric scholars introduced discourses about the limits to growth which foregrounded marine pollution, oil spills, environmental degradation and the impact of development on the ecology of the planet. The UN Conference on the Human Environment which was held in Stockholm in 1972 foregrounded the connections between economic development and environmental deterioration (Mostafa & Biswas, 1991). The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is a brainchild of the deliberations of this conference (Stockholm Group, 1988). The problem here is that surprisingly there are no similar UN sponsored conferences foregrounding African states' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. It is as if Africans are being advised that caring for the environment is more important that owning and controlling the environment. In fact, Eurocentric scholars are asking Africans to simply focus on caring for the environment which is still owned and controlled by descendants of colonialists whose transnational corporations maraud Africa and continue to grab land from Africans peasants. In this regard, the UN is complicit in Western environmental escapism (Nhemachena & Mawere, 2020; Nhemachena & Warikandwa, 2019). It is necessary to balance African ownership and control of the environment, on one hand with caring for the environment, on the other hand.

The World Commission on Environment and Development, set up by the UN in 1987, argued for an understanding of sustainable development as worldwide environmentally conscious development endeavours (UN, 2000). For two decades after its inception, sustainable development has been a catchword among politicians, development practitioners, academics and public servants. In addition, over 500 international treaties and other agreements exist aiming at striking a healthy balance between economic development and environmental protection (Camenzuli, n.d). The problem however, is that Africans need a healthy balance between caring for their environment and actually owning and controlling it. In other words, Africans need permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. Europe and America do not only have carbon footprints in Africa but they also have dispossession footprints in Africa (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Matowanyika, 2020). Both the neoimperial ecological footprints and the colonial dispossession

footprints need to be addressed if Africans are to realise real development and environmental sovereignty.

Selected political economic theories for understanding global environmental concerns

Neoliberalism

Neo-liberal theories of development inform political as well as economic affairs of most countries in the world. Neo-liberalism is the dominant paradigm guiding the global political and economic landscape. At their core, neo-liberal theories posit that development is contingent on political economic practices that liberate peoples' freedoms within an institutional frame that guarantees private property rights, free trade and free market ethos (Mudge, 2016). The states under the neo-liberal theoretical orientation are required to roll-back to maintenance of law and order and creating appropriate environments for liberal economic practices to thrive. In essence, neo-liberal theories contend that a market-led economy is more effective and efficient than a government-led economy (England & Ward, 2016). As enticing as the dictates of neo-liberalism seem to be, their application breed inequalities (O'neill & Weller, 2016). The trickle-down effects envisioned by proponents of the neo-liberal theory are far from reality in many African countries. In so far as neo-liberal theories prevent African states from focusing on ownership and control of natural resources, such theories are built on the faulty logics of "The Limits to Growth".

Dependency

Dependency theory of development stresses historical dependent relationships. In this regard, proponents of dependency theories are of the view that countries of the Global North use their economic muscles to assimilate the impoverished countries of the Global South into an exploitative international economic order that perpetuates underdevelopment, dependence and poverty (Ferraro, 2008). The argument is that countries of the Global South are underdeveloped by countries of the Global North (Romaniuk, 2017). This is due to the inequitable economic relations that characterised the colonial era. Dependence theorists argue that during the colonial era, resources belonging to the Global South were looted through plunder and

piracy. The historical account of the underdevelopment of the Global South suggests that the Global North has consistently dispossessed citizens of the Global South (Romaniuk, 2017).

Realism

The central postulation of the realist theory is that the international economic and political order is anarchic in nature, and states that are part of the international political and economic order are egoistic and rational in decision making (Donnelly, 2008). The anarchic nature of states entails struggles, competitions and conflicts between states in the quest for development. As such power and the ability to use it are central in realising a state's interests, including development. In the international context realism contends that states make decisions to interact with others after calculating the likelihood of meeting their self-serving interests. As such, the urge to interact with others, on sustainable development, is contingent on what can be gained by a state (Goodin, 2010). As such, international environmental cooperation can only be realised if the envisioned cooperation is in line with the states' self-serving interests. Countries' like the US and Canada's refusal to ratify the Kyoto Protocol; Western countries' limited financial investments towards curbing the effects of CGH emissions; China's stance against global environmental legislations are premised on the realist argument (Song & Woo, 2008).

The North-South dialogue on sustainable development

The 1992 Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro and the Summit held in Katowice, Poland have failed to come up with implementable initiatives to enhance sustainable development (Minneti, 2018). It is not easy to convince the impoverished people not cut down trees for firewood/charcoal without providing them with affordable sustainable sources of energy.

North-South divides in the North-South controversy at Rio `92

In 1992 the UN General Assembly convened the Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro to discuss ways and means of achieving sustainable development and

forging partnerships between the Global South and the Global North (UN, 2008). The states adopted a comprehensive global plan for sustainable development under Agenda 21 which, among other things, placed commitment to finance mitigation of environmental destruction (Langeweg, 1998). However, the Rio meeting has failed to ensure sustainable economic development practices (Malipula & Theodory, 2016). There has been the establishment, by UNCED, of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) to convert the deliberations of Rio '92 into concrete environmentally sustainable development programmes and policies.

Much pollution to the environment comes from the Global North's industries and so countries of the Global South argue that they must not be subjected to stringent conditions because they are not the ones that are polluting the environments (Thiaw & Munang, 2012; Rourke, 2005). Countries of the Global South argue that applying the same standards between the Global North and the Global South would be unfair (Ling, 2012). So, countries of the Global South are demanding that countries of the Global North finance sustainable development programmes in the Global South. However, countries of the Global North have refused to bear the costs of sustainable development to alleviate environmental degradation in the Global South (Girvan, 2007). In this regard, the then US President, George W. Bush, said "We do not have an open pocket-book". This was his response when asked about US readiness to finance global environmental protection initiatives. Apparently, the US wants to see the people of Africa bearing the burden of environmental damage caused by Western transnational corporations operating in Africa (Thiaw & Munang, 2012). As is evident from Nhemachena & Dhakwa (this volume), Africans have already suffered enslavement and colonisation, and so to expect them to bear the cost of environmental damage by Western transnational corporations would be extremely unfair.

Divisions were witnessed at the Rio '92 where there was a stand-off between the Global North and the Global South (Rourke, 2005). As a trade-off for not using its forests, the Democratic Republic of the Congo demanded an annual sum of US $ 5 billion to be paid into its state coffers for it to protect its forests (Malipula & Theodory, 2014). The North-South divide in the Rio '92 Summit vividly portrays

conflicts of interest between countries of the Global North and Global South (Langeweg, 1998).

North-South divides on the Kyoto Protocol

The Kyoto Protocol entered into force on the 16th of February 2005. In the main, the protocol called for countries of the Global North to reduce their combined emissions of greenhouse gases by 5.2% between 2008 and 2012 (Reicher, 2011). The countries of the Global North did not take kindly to the suggestion that they reduce their emissions because such reduction entailed reducing their industrial production. Some countries of the Global South wanted countries of the Global North to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by between 12% and 15% by 2012 (Rourke, 2005). However, countries of the Global North considered such thresholds unacceptable (Ellis, 2009). On their part, countries of the Global South refused to reduce emissions because they still needed to develop their own economies and also, if they reduced emissions this would leave the countries of the Global North with leeway to continue polluting the environment knowing that the countries of the Global South were bearing the costs of reduction of emissions alone (Sanders, 2010).

The Kyoto Protocol instituted a Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) to control carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide. However, the mechanism has failed in reducing the gases (Sanders, 2010). The division between the Global North and Global South made it impossible to agree on the Kyoto Protocol.

North-South divides at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)

The WSSD was held in Johannesburg, South Africa from the 26th of August to the 4th of September 2002. The summit aimed at taking stock of successes, challenges and issues that emerged since the Rio `92 (UN, 2008). As it was the case for the Rio `92, UN WSSD reiterated that sustainable development initiatives are affected by the failure of developed countries to take their environmental protection and financial responsibilities seriously. This was evident in the opening remarks of the Chairperson of the summit, the then

President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who urged the global community to strive for shared prosperity because sustainable development cannot be realised in a world where very few people are rich and many people are impoverished (UN WSSD, 2002). Similarly, the then UN Secretary-General, the late Dr. Koffi Annan, urged the developed countries to use their economic muscles and advanced technology in leading the globe towards environmental protection and sustainability. UN WSSD also urged states that failed to ratify the 1997 Kyoto Protocol to do so and cut down carbon dioxide emissions as agreed in the Kyoto Protocol. However, countries of the Global North have not heeded the calls (UN WSSD, 2002).

The North-South divides in the Conference of the Parties (COP 24)

Climate Change Parties (COP) is the supreme decision-making body of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Several COPs have been held, to make UNFCCC decisions, including COP 24 held in Katowice-Poland in December 2018. The conference was meant to coordinate efforts geared at increasing the global momentum on reducing global GHG emissions as agreed in earlier COPs, and to foster dialogue on how signatories to the Paris Agreement would monitor, report and compare national climate change mitigation efforts. The Katowice talks re-opened nagging Global North and Global South divisions. Countries of the Global South demanded periodic reporting rules for financial support from countries of the Global North – this was not agreeable for the Global North (Nakhooda & Norman, 2014). Countries of the Global North were promised $100 billion by the countries of the Global North, to meet the effects of climate change, but they only received $70 billion (IETA, 2018).

Bio-fuels

Some countries of the Global South have entered into land deals with transnational corporations to embark on the production of bio-fuels (Cotula et al., 2009) but then this compromises Africans' food sovereignty. Some local African farmers are fearful of being kicked off their lands to pave way for bio-fuel "investors". There are many

foreign "investments" in the bio-fuel production in the Global South (Theodory, 2017). Similarly, the massive production of bio-fuels raises concerns over food security as some farmers decide to abandon food production and turn to the production of bio-fuels (Ewah, 2014).

Conclusion

For Africans to develop and to realise economic growth, they need their economic and environmental sovereignty as well as permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. Africans cannot develop without economic and environmental sovereignty as well as sovereignty over their natural resources. European countries have developed precisely because they have sovereignty over their economies, environments and natural resources. In the light of such observations, it is cause for wonder how Africans are expected to develop and to realise economic growth when they are denied their sovereignty. If the Global North is unwilling to sign protocols for the protection of the environment, it is cause for wonder why Eurocentric scholars would want Africans, who they have dispossessed of their resources, to simply reduce themselves to caring for the environments which have been stolen from them (Nhemachena et al., 2018). If Africans are not allowed to have sovereignty over their environment and natural resources, how can they just care for such environments? Also, without sustainable sovereignty, how can Africans have sustainable development. Sustainable development requires the existence of sustainable sovereignty.

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Chapter 12

Food Sovereignty and Stewardship Over Animals: Experiences of Elderly Female-Headed Households in Domboshava Communal Lands, Zimbabwe

Ignatius Gutsa

Introduction

In most Zimbabwean rural areas, women are engaged with different animal species either as managers of livestock or defenders against predators. In this chapter, I focus on the stewardship of humans over non-human animals, birds, pests etc. in terms of food sovereignty. I have achieved this by examining elderly female-herded households' stewardship over domestic animals, wild animals, birds, pests and other forest resources in Gutsa village, Domboshava communal lands. As I discuss below, an assessment of such stewardship is important in the context of the debates on the food sovereignty of elderly female household heads: this assists in understanding how they produce, distribute and consume different food types and the extent to which they have food sovereignty. Furthermore, such a discussion is important since the debates on food sovereignty need to factor in the role of human stewardship over nonhumans which sometimes destroy crops, and thus have to be managed and controlled.

In the study village such a discussion is also important as the stewardship of humans over non-humans is occurring in the face of erratic rainfall patterns, population densification, habitat loss, commodification of forest products and changing land use patterns, post the year 2000's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). In the year 2000 the Zimbabwean government repossessed large tracts of land from White farmers and then the land was redistributed to indigenous Black people under the FTLRP. During this process, two former commercial farms of Rumani Estates and Chibvuti farm which bordered the village, which is the site of this research, were transformed into a medium density suburb of Charlottes Brooke as

well as into small parcels of land. This post-FTLRP change in land use patterns and the accompanying population densification resulted in the encroachment, fragmentation and destruction of natural habitats in the area. The population densification is also a result of the extensive sale of communal lands to cater for people seeking cheaper residential areas on the periphery of the capital city of Harare (Hungwe, 2014).

Regarding population densification in rural Africa, Lamarque, Anderson, Fergusson, Lagrange, Osei-Owusu & Bakker (2009) observed that this phenomenon has serious implications on the "contacts" between humans and non-humans as wild animals may end up destroying crops. So, some human beings would end up having to guard their fields so that they chase away animals from fields: children may end up absenting themselves from school when they attend to the fields (Hill, 2004, p. 280) .

Food sovereignty and humans' stewardship over non-humans

The humans' stewardship over non-humans is crucial for ensuring food sovereignty in Africa Although there are some scholars who want to use relational ontologies to put humans and nonhumans at the same ontological level (Reperant, Cornaglia & Osterhaus, 2012), this chapter argues that human stewardship over non-humans is crucial if Africans are to have food sovereignty. Without stewardship over nature and over nonhumans, human beings cannot have sovereignty at all. In this regard, stewardship over nonhumans is a *sine qua non* of sovereignty. While scholars supporting relational ontologies would want to posit that humans and nonhumans are related, and that there are no hierarchies between humans and nonhumans, this chapter contends that human stewardship over nonhumans necessarily means that there are hierarchies between humans and nonhumans – and that it is humans who assume stewardship over nonhumans in Africa. If, as relational ontologists erroneously posit, humans and nonhumans were at the same ontological level, without hierarchies, then this would mean that the females in this present study would not be able to manage the non-humans or even to chase them away from the fields or to prevent the destructive forays of the nonhumans. The fact that humans, including children, could chase away nonhuman animals from the

fields means that humans have primacy over the nonhuman animals – it means humans and animals are not at the same level and it means that there are recognised hierarchies between humans and nonhumans.

The debate on food sovereignty was first defined by the international peasant movement, *La Via Campesina*, in 1996 as "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (Campesina, 1996). The debates on food sovereignty and livelihoods can help in understanding peasant agriculture systems, the local and the traditional (Moreno-Calles, et al., 2016, p. 2). The concept of food sovereignty adopted in this chapter is based on the five domains of food sovereignty. These domains are namely (i) use of agro-ecological management practices for food production, (ii) the localization of food production and consumption, (iii) promotion of social justice and equity, (iv) the valuation of traditional knowledge and (v) the transformation of economic and political institutions and structures to support self-determination (Jones, Shapiro, & Wilson, 2015, p. 1). This chapter focuses on the food sovereignty of elderly female household heads who use their bodies of wisdom, knowledge and practices around biocultural diversity (human diversity, landscape diversity, agricultural diversity, forest diversity, livestock diversity, wildlife diversity, water diversity, gastronomic diversity and environmental diversity) (Moreno-Calles, et al., 2016, p. 9).

Methodological issues

Data for this chapter is derived from two main phases; namely my experience of growing up in the village under study and the nineteen months of formal ethnographic research period between April 2014 and November 2015 in the Gutsa village. I borrowed this methodology from Einarsson (2011) who combined data from ethnographic research with his historical experience of growing up in the Icelandic fishing community which he studied. In the second phase of my fieldwork, I adopted participant observation, life history interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) with elderly female household heads as well as key informant interviews with the traditional leadership in the village. The elderly female household

heads forming the core of this ethnographic study are: Mbuya Tarai, Mbuya Ku, Mbuya Gone, Mbuya Mizhu, Mbuya Njere, Mbuya Chota, Mbuya Tawira, Mbuya No, Mbuya Cha and Mbuya Reni (all the ten elderly women's names used in this study are pseudonyms). In line with standard ethnographies, the data presentation and discussion of findings are combined together (Kenyattta, 1938; Worby, 1995).

Domestic animals in the village

Gutsa village residents longed for good rains for arable farming and also for adequate rainfall to guarantee good pastures for livestock. The villagers lost their livestock due to the severe 1992 drought. During this drought there were no more pastures and no more watering points for the livestock.

Previously all the cattle kraals in Gutsa village were located at one site on the eastern side of the village, referred to as *"kumatanga"* or places designated for kraals. However, in the late 1980s, cattle owners in the village moved their kraals closer to their individual homesteads, due to the increase in stock theft.

Custom in Gutsa village stipulated that all residents completed harvesting their crops by the end of May so that cattle and goats could then be allowed to roam freely from the 1st of June each year. Villagers had to memorise these dates when planting and harvesting maize, the staple crop. Also, the village head was responsible for reminding forgetful villagers about this date, every year. From November onwards, cattle were no longer allowed to roam freely as the farming season was assumed to be well on course.

However, there was always a marked delay in letting goats to roam freely in the village as goats were considered a nuisance due to their habit of nibbling at anything they come across, including fruit trees. Goats were generally left to roam from end of August each year when the harvesting of sweet potatoes, peanuts and roundnuts was expected to be complete. Some residents often complained to the village head that goats nibbled at the small fruit trees, at homesteads, as well as at sweet potatoes. Those with small fruit trees and flowers at their homesteads did not entertain roaming goats nearby. The goats ate the small fruit trees. To prevent goats from eating the fruit trees, residents resorted to covering the small trees with thorns or

alternatively they surrounded the small trees with poles/grass to keep the goats at bay. During the rainy season, goats were either herded together with cattle or they were tied on long ropes which allowed them to graze as far as the ropes could allow them. To avoid conflicts with fellow villagers whose trees were nibbled at, some villagers would tie up their goats on long ropes throughout the year. However, this practice made the goats lean and such goats also became easy prey for baboons.

Food sovereignty and the challenge of baboons and monkeys

In the village, baboons and monkeys are considered the most troublesome animals due to their destructive activities at homesteads and in the fields. Baboons were increasingly becoming a problem from the early 2000s because some human beings settled into their habitats. Also, some human beings increasingly collected wild fruits leaving the baboons with very little to eat. Some villagers collected wild fruits from the forests, others cut down wild fruit trees and this resulted in shortages of wild fruits for animals to eat. On this eastern side of the village's border is the *chiro* (baboon's abode). Immigrants who were settled close to the *chiro* incidentally acted as village buffer against marauding baboons. Elderly women who often suffered marauding baboons and monkeys were Mbuya Njere, Mbuya Reni, Mbuya Chota, Mbuya Mizhu and Mbuya Tawira. However, it was Mbuya Tawira who was the most affected by the baboons as her home was on the very edge of the village, near the *chiro*.

When Mbuya Tawira settled on the land located very close to the *chiro* in the early 2000s she became the one most troubled by the baboons in the village. However, increased population densification over the years saw more people settling near the *chiro*. She noted that if villagers living close to the *chiro* grew maize then they would help each other to chase the baboons away from the fields.

Although monkeys frequented Mbuya Tawira's home in search of food, they were less daring than baboons and they were more afraid of her small dog. Mbuya Tawira's daily struggles with marauding baboons were mainly a consequence of living on the edge of the village where the mountain range with the *chiro* was located. For Mbuya Tawira, planting the drought tolerant finger millet was

strategic: finger millet has low height such that she could easily spot baboons that tried to enter her field.

Baboons were much more daring and troublesome than monkeys. The baboons could move as *chiverero* (literally the lone baboon which is able to slip in unnoticed) or as complete troops. In maize fields, the baboons dug up newly planted maize seed, they also ate maize cobs even as they were beginning to ripen. Baboons also ate pumpkins, squash, tomatoes and green vegetables in the fields. At homesteads they preyed on small livestock such as goats, chickens and turkeys. In the village, baboons were also called *"mbavha"*, "thieves" because they were always stealing the villagers' food. The baboons also ate fruits, in orchards, such as mangoes, *mazhanje (Uapaca kirkiana),* avocados and bananas.

Residents stated that since the early 2000s baboons had developed a new strategy wherein they moved into newly planted maize fields digging up the newly planted maize seeds. Locating the planted individual maize seed was easy for the baboons especially when villagers practiced zero tillage. In zero tilled fields, baboons found it much easier to locate and dig up the newly planted maize seeds. The baboons would spot the freshly dug holes where the maize seeds had been planted. Villagers attributed this new practice of digging up maize seed by baboons to the scarcity of wild fruits (especially *mazhanje).* Mazhanje were becoming scarce because some villagers were harvesting these fruits and then selling them in the nearby capital city of Harare. Some villagers also cut down the *mizhanje* trees. Previously *mazhanje* would ripen in the forests between October and January of each year. However, at the time of the research, the mazhanje would be finished in the forest by December of each year.

Villagers came up with strategies to reduce the likelihood of baboons digging up their newly planted seeds. Mbuya Tawira indicated that she would conceal the holes where the maize seeds were planted to make it difficult for the baboons to locate the planted maize seeds. This could be accomplished by cutting and dragging leafy tree branches in the field to erase planters' footprints and to conceal the holes in which the seeds had been planted. Otherwise, the villagers were forced to keep watch over their fields every day from the day they planted until they have harvested the crops. Since 2014 *mazhanje* have become scarce. So, instead of the baboons surviving on wild fruits they marauded villages looking for food.

Because of marauding baboons, the elderly women no longer had time to freely socialise with other humans; they had to spend time watching out for baboons. Baboons and warthogs forced Mbuya Ku to stop ploughing her fertile field that was located far away from her homestead. Also, Mbuya Reni could not leave her homestead which was located close to the *chiro*. This encumbered her trading business because she could not leave the homestead to visit her customers or to market her commodities. In October 2014, Mbuya Reni was worried that baboons would maraud her homestead more because wild fruits were scarce that year. Mbuya Tawira reported that she always sent apologies if the village-head called for a meeting during the week days: she could not leave her homestead unattended because of the marauding baboons. A number of the elderly women could no longer attend village meetings because of such marauding baboons.

Mbuya Reni often asked one of her grandchildren to sit on top of a hill to deter baboons using a radio. However, the baboons became used to the trick and they started to ignore the noise from the radio. Also, the baboons knew that human beings would not be on the lookout in the fields during rains as they would be sheltering in the houses.

Villagers had to wake up very early in order to chase the baboons away from the fields. Other villagers gave up farming because they complained of *"kurimira makudo"* (growing crops for baboons). Chickens and goats were also preyed on by the baboons. Dogs could be used to chase the baboons and monkeys away.

Those villagers without dogs to assist them were especially troubled. Mbuya Tawira pointed out that, because of the marauding baboons at her homestead, she only went to pay condolences at funerals in the village when her grandchildren had returned from school. After paying condolences she had to return home early in the evening as she could not leave her grandchildren to sleep alone. Thieves also caused havoc in the village. At times Mbuya Tawira was only free to pay condolences over weekends when her grandchildren were at home. Despite being a member of the Salvation Army Church, Mbuya Tawira could no longer attend church services. She often engaged in *maricho* (work in someone's field for payment) only over weekends when grandchildren where at home. However, during

school holidays she could go for *maricho* throughout the week as her grandchildren would be at home.

Mbuya Njere, who also lived close to the eastern edge of the village near the mountain range, lamented the havoc caused by baboons in the village. She said that if one really wanted to keep goats especially near the *chiro* then they had to herd them instead of tying them up: tying them up would make them easy prey for the baboons. Mbuya Gone's home was close to Mhinorombe Mountains which baboons climbed to obtain an undisturbed view of the whole village. Due to the location of her homestead, she had on several occasions lost a number of her goats from raids by the baboons.

The nocturnal challenges of warthogs and duikers

Warthogs were a huge problem in the village, especially during the rain seasons. The warthogs which came from Chibvuti and Rumani commercial farms destroyed crops on a nightly basis. Villagers had to spend nights in fields particularly located far away from the homesteads. The villagers would light fires and they would also beat drums to scare away the warthogs. So, during the day it was the birds, baboons and monkeys; in the evenings, it was warthogs and duikers that troubled the villagers. The warthogs were subsequently hunted down and killed: this has freed the villagers from their menace.

Food sovereignty and cattle ownership

Most villagers had since stopped rearing cattle as a conflict avoidance strategy with fellow villagers. Of all the elderly women in this study it was only Mbuya Mizhu who still had cattle. Mbuya Ku, Mbuya Gone and Mbuya No previously owned cattle. There was no more sufficient land for cattle farming in the village. So, cattle belonging to some villagers strayed into commercial farms in Chibvuti and Rumani and this generated conflicts with the farm owners.

It was mainly during the rainy season, when crops were planted, when cattle became sources of conflict between villagers who ended up reporting each other to the village head's *dare* (court). During the rain seasons, cattle could not lie down in liquid dung during the night.

Poultry, insects and food sovereignty in the village

Chickens and turkeys were a menace in the small vegetable gardens in the village. Villagers took advantage of the rains to cultivate beans and leafy green vegetables. Generally, chickens were left to roam. However, they were not allowed to roam when villagers had planted green vegetables at homesteads. Also, turkeys were not allowed to roam freely as they would eat vegetables in the gardens.

With the exception of Mbuya Tarai, all the elderly women had at one point kept some type of livestock. Mbuya Cha stopped rearing chickens at her homestead in 2011: she wanted to avoid conflicts with her neighbours who complained that the chickens were eating their vegetables. She indicated that if she was to ever keep chickens it would only be broilers or layers which would be kept in enclosures.

The existence, timing and appearance of insects were also important in the village. A number of insects were considered delicacies by the elderly women. These insects were mainly seasonal in their appearance and they included *hwiza* (locusts)*, ishwa* (flying termites)*, makurwe* (crickets), *madzambarafuta* (edible flying ants), *mandere* (chafer beetles), *madora* (mopane caterpillars)*, harati* (*Cirina forda*)*, magandari* (*Lobobunaea*).

Conclusion

Livestock and insects contribute to the food sovereignty of the elderly female household heads. For example, ownership of livestock helped the elderly women to diversify livelihood options. Birds and insects are also classified as delicacies. However, livestock, insects and birds can also destroy crops. The overarching argument in this chapter is that without exercising stewardship over nonhumans, Africans cannot achieve food sovereignty. Human stewardship over nonhumans is a *sine qua non* of food sovereignty. To assume that Africans and nonhumans are at the same level, as relational ontologists do, would be a negation of African food sovereignty.

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Chapter 13

The African Union and its Role in Ensuring African Economic and Environmental Sovereignty

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Introduction

As one of its mandates, the African Union is tasked to promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the positioning of the African economies within the global economic system. Among its objective, the African Union (AU) aims to liberate the continent from the remaining vestiges of colonization, neocolonialism and apartheid. Decolonization would involve addressing the colonial dispossession of Africans. Contemporary transnational land grabs that are gripping the African continent are one of the issues which need great attention. The first colonialisation has passed but Africa is in a phase of 'new colonialism' coming in the guise of "investments" and "development". The AU aims to assist Africans to extricate themselves from the malaise of underdevelopment and exploitation in the world. The AU plays a great role in ensuring African economic and environmental sovereignty as it is mandated to promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest such as African states' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, economic sovereignty, political sovereignty and environmental sovereignty. Africa can achieve success if its economy is placed fully in the hands of the Africans who should decide the pace of development of their continent. African environmental sovereignty involves Africans' ownership and control of their environments, the Africans' freedom to exploit and preserve resources in their localities. The AU also plays a role in connecting people and markets within and between African countries and regions: this is a long-standing aspiration and a core part of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). The launch of AfCTA was in line with South African President Cyril Ramaphosa's economic integration priority. According to the World

Bank (27 July 2020), the establishment of the AfCTFA will create the largest free trade area in the world connecting 1.3 billion people and could potentially lift billions of people out of poverty in ways that foster integration and promote economic sovereignty of the African citizenry. Economic sovereignty is realized when Africans own the economic resources in their states and are free to participate in wealth generating activities without undue constraints, mainly from foreign corporations, states and institutions. The fact that African economic resources are still owned and controlled by foreign corporations and institutions makes it difficult for Africans to achieve African economic sovereignty. Improving trade and African investments is an essential component of economic sovereignty because Africans cannot enjoy trade if the world market is owned and controlled by Westerners who impose unfair trade policies on Africans. Many of the goals of the African Union are in line with the United Nations global goals. Part of the AU's aims is to unite African nations and bring an end to conflicts: this aim is crucial for African economic sovereignty.

The African Union and its responsibility

The African Union (AU) an international organization comprising all 54 independent states in Africa, and Western Sahara, was established in May 2001 to, *inter alia*, promote regional integration, interstate solidarity, peace, good governance and to enhance the African voices in the global system (AU, 2009). According to Toga (2016), the AU has socialized African leaders to accept liberal values as the foundation of international cooperation; enhanced the agency of Africa on the world stage; and established progressive and innovative rules and norms for the African continent. It should be however noted that Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) brought in some form of Western aid with strings attached leading to socio-economic and political problems which derailed African economic and environmental sovereignty. Agu & Okeke (2013) point out that the advent of the African Union (AU) can be described as an event of great magnitude in the institutional evolution of the continent. The heads of state and government of the AU managed to accelerate the process of integration in the continent to enable it to play its role in the global economy while addressing multifaceted

social, economic and political problems. The social, economic and political problems are sadly driving the desovereignisation of Africa.

In the case of Ebola, for instance, ECOWAS in collaboration with the AU took a lead in containing the spread of the Ebola virus thus mitigating a potential regional humanitarian crisis on the continent (Gbrewold, 2010). The AU played a key role in promoting a united force, instead of over relying on Western donor funds. However, in Darfur (Sudan) and in Libya, the AU took a lukewarm and slow response despite violations of human rights and genocide (Coming, 2017).

According to Adebayo (2012), the main objectives of the AU are, *inter alia*, to rid the continent of the remaining vestiges of colonization and apartheid, to promote unity and solidarity among African states, to coordinate and intensify cooperation for development to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states and promote international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations. AU (2012) notes that indeed, as a continental organization it provides an effective forum that enables all member states to adopt coordinated positions on matters of common concern to the continent. However, it should be noted that the AU fails when it comes to safeguarding the political sovereignty of its member states that are harassed by Western states. A notable case is of the late Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, who was deposed by USA, France and their friends. Also, the late Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, did not receive assistance from the AU to fight off unilateral sanctions which were imposed, by the USA and the EU, on Zimbabwe. As a continental organization, the AU should play a critical role in propelling the sovereignty agenda for the region: and such sovereignty should include economic and environmental sovereignty. Colonization is not only political, but also economic and environmental, and the AU must take this into cognizance and as part of its objectives to free Africans from economic and environmental colonization wherein Westerners own and control African economies and environments.

In the same vein, Nathan (2009) notes that the AU enhanced the agency of African states and governments in the international arena. The AU serves as a forum for African governments to coordinate their policies and decisions on key international issues. The problem is that the AU cannot fund itself: this compromises the AU's

struggles for economic and environmental sovereignty in a situation where its Western funders are the ones that are violating African economic and environmental sovereignty. The AU summits (AU, 2001) are often used by individual African states and groups of states as a forum to mobilize regional and international support for particular causes. The AU has been helping the African group in the UN system and it has helped small African countries to construct and maintain infrastructures such as roads, bridges, universities and research centres and other projects that require initial investments (Lisk, 2012). This shows the great drive of the AU in promoting the economic and environmental sovereignty of African states.

As a successor to the Organization of African Unity, the AU came into existence, at the Durban (South Africa) Heads of State Summit in July 2001, with the more focused goal of propelling African states towards peace and prosperity as the basis of achieving the ultimate goal of political and economic integration of its member states (AU, 2001). The AU was modelled on the European Union with structures that include an assembly of heads of state, an executive in which countries are represented by their foreign ministers and the AU commissioners and headed by a President. Coming (2017) observes that the AU has clearly had meaningful successes through its direct contributions and collaborations with the international community in resolving conflicts, for instance in Sudan, Cote d'Ivore and Kenya.

African blocks and economic sovereignty

African countries have made substantial progress in many areas. Noteworthy among these are the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980) both of which involve programmes and strategies for self-reliant development and cooperation among African countries (AU, 2002). The treaty establishing the African Economic Community, commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, seeks to create the AEC through six stages culminating in an African common market using the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks (Adebayo, 2012). The treaty has been in operation since 1994. The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution is a practical expression of the determination of African leadership to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in Africa. The 2000 solemn declaration on the

Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation establishes the fundamental principles for the promotion of democracy and good governance on the continent (Nathan, 2009).

Recently, African countries united to increase access to COVID 19 medical supplies. In a short space of time Cyril Ramaphosa, South African President, (then AU Chairman) from February 2020 to February 2021, managed to lay down the groundwork for most of his initial priorities and has implemented strategies for the continent to continue responding to the pandemic after his Chairmanship (Heitzig, 2021). Some of the key things include: Securing 1 billion COVID-19 vaccines. In the latter half of 2020, Ramaphosa established the African Vaccine Acquisition Task Team (AVATT); a group of individuals from across the continent whose main goal is to secure enough vaccines to achieve continental immunisation by 2022. The vaccine issue is a solution prescribed on Africa by leading world powers which are setting the pace and determining the course of events in the world. Africa has been left with no room to refuse vaccination programmes since Western nations can bar unvaccinated Africans from doing business with them and this can affect Africa's economic development. Where is the vaccine sovereignty on the African side? Africans' failure to produce their own vaccines threatens their economic sovereignty. Heitzig et al. (2021) maintain that the African states' debts ballooned from the time of the outbreak of the disease; this is because economies closed with lockdowns and vaccines were borrowed to cover the 80% deficit left by COVAX. Under Ramaphosa's leadership, several prominent Africans were appointed as special negotiators who negotiated with the international financial institutions for financial support and debt relief. This resulted in debt relief for countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Kenya; the result was also financial assistance for Africans' pandemic response and economic recovery.

The African Union is seen as the premier regional institution whose mandate is mainly to provide peace and security on the continent (Toga, 2016). The European Union for instance, has developed numerous collective security arrangements such as a common foreign and security policy that aims to protect the interests of its member states (Shayamwako, 2011). In Africa, the AU has formed a common security and defence policy that aims at defending the interests of Africa states.

There is evidence of decreasing trends of military coups on the continent of Africa since the formation of the OAU followed by the AU, in 2001 (Williams, 2007). This positive trajectory has been strongest across the Southern and Western regions where ECOWAS and SADC have often worked in conjunction with the AU.

Shayamwako (2011) notes that the AU encourages economic cooperation among member states. The African Development Bank (ADB), which renders financial assistance to AU member states, is one of the economic cooperation initiatives of the AU. The ADB assists African people displaced by wars and by environmental disasters. Such help includes relief material for refugees. The AU Commission provided, and still provides, strategies, political, technical and planning support to operations authorized by the Peace and Security Council and carried out by regional coalitions of member states. The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution ensure that African wellbeing is maintained. However, Francophone African countries seem to be disjointed from other African nations because France continues to exert a lot of neocolonial influence in them., in spite of formal independence Djite (1987) pointed out that francophone countries are still colonized by France. The currency reserves of these countries are kept in France. The French Treasury, for example is receiving US$500 billion every year, from African reserves, which payment of reserves they enforce on Francophone African countries. These Francophone African countries are not allowed to freely sell their natural resources but they have obligations to consult France. The economic and environmental sovereignty of these countries are at stake (see also Nhemachena, Kangira & Chiripanhura, 2021).

The AU's unique voluntary 'Peer Preview Mechanism', by which individual members agree to be assessed by a team of experts drawn from other states, is designed to encourage "democracy" and "good governance". AU observer missions are now sent as a matter of routine to cover elections in all member states, in accordance with the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (Melher, 2008). Toga, (2016), notes that progress has been made by the AU Commission in collaboration with international partners and the UN, towards better coordination and harmonization of development policies and programmes. The AU Commission works

with Regional Economic Communities (RECs) representing the various geographical regions of the continent. Some of these RECs such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the East African Community (EAC), and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) have been quite active in exploring possibilities to harmonize budgetary and fiscal policies and for a monetary union (Shayamwako, 2011). Accordingly, the major challenge confronting the AU and its leaders is how to respond to job and livelihood aspirations of Africa's youth who account for as much as three-quarters of the labour force in most countries on the continent. In many African countries, children have gone to school and attended universities but they end up unable to find jobs (Cotula, 2009). Hunger and rising levels of unemployment among the youth in Africa prompted heads of state at the AU Summit at the Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, to adopt a declaration on creating employment for accelerating Youth development and empowerment (Coming, 2017).

The Economic, Social and Cultural Council, an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of the member states of the African Union, pays more attention to international development cooperation and relationships with international partners (Cochrane, 2016). The AU Headquarters is now housed in a magnificent multi-million-dollar complex in Addis Ababa; the complex has been provided by China as a gift to Africa. Africa's traditional partners in the West tend to view Africa's relationship with China as a matter of concern. China is viewed, by the West, with great suspicion since the time it launched the Belt and Road Initiative - an economic blue-print to open up foreign lands for Chinese "investments" (Cotula, et al., 2009).

The UN and REC's core aim has been the economic development of Africa. It is important to note that economic growth and development cannot be attained without meaningful and sustainable peace and security (Agu & Okeke, 2013). In response to other challenges, Africa has limited cooperation in the protection of the environment, in fighting terrorism, in combating the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria, TB or dealing with humanitarian issues such as refugees and displaced persons. African leaders must address these factors that impede African economic sovereignty (AU, 2009).

The Constitutive Act of the African Union adopted in 2000 at the Lome Summit (Togo) entered into force in 2001. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was adopted as a programme for the AU at the Lusaka Summit in 2001, to improve on the security issues. Security has always been an issue to all human societies. This is predicated on the fact that security impinges on the survival of every human being or society. Without security, there cannot be peace and development (Imobigue, 2001). Agu & Okeke (2013) contend that prior to the birth of AU, the OAU, in its Declaration of Cairo, reaffirmed its commitment to work jointly and also to expedite actions in resolving conflicts peacefully in the region.

From its founding documents developed in the late 1990s to early 2000s, it is clear that the AU was instituted and empowered to play a critical role in resolving conflicts in Africa. The principal objective of the AU is the development of an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena (AU Commission, 2009). The Abuja Treaty, which established the African Economic Community is an important milestone in Africa's integration process. The Abuja Treaty changed the form of Africa's integration process by providing for the creation of a Pan-African Parliament, Court of Justice, and a Solidarity and Compensation Fund (Coming, 2017).

The AU launched the Tripartite Forum which prioritized programmes addressing trade and logistics challenges so as to lower the cost of doing business and improve the competitiveness of products from the COMESA, EAC, SADC etc. According to Khanyi (2021), Agenda 2063 places great importance on the role that trade plays in developing economies; and it recognizes that trade is a powerful engine for economic growth and development. In Africa, barriers to trade have resulted in a fragmented regional economy; Africa's role in the global trade market has been to provide raw materials. Fluctuating commodity prices and Africa's limited value addition to its natural resources render Africans vulnerable to external shocks derived from export dependency. In 2020, oil producing nations like Nigeria, South Sudan, Gabon, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and Angola were hard hit by decreasing commodity prices (Heitzig et al., 2021). Within the framework of Agenda 2063, the AU has developed continental frameworks and flagship projects aimed at adding value to Africa's commodities,

reducing and removing barriers to intra-Africa trade and creating a large market for African goods and services.

Khanyi (2021) notes that the Agenda 2063 flagship initiative, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA), describes a continental geographic zone where goods and services move among member states of the AU with no restrictions. The AfCFTA aims to boost intra-Africa trade by providing a comprehensive and mutually beneficial trade agreement among the member states. Other continental frameworks include Boosting Intra-African Trade (BIAT) which aims to deepen Africa's market integration and significantly increase volumes of trade that African countries undertake amongst themselves. Additionally, there is the Action Plan for the Accelerated Industrial Development of Africa (AIDA) which aims to enhance Africa's industrial performance.

Shayamwako (2011) pointed out that the African Mining Vision (AMV) is the AU framework which aims to promote transparency, social responsibility and tax compliance in the extractive industry. The AMV calls for the transparent, equitable and optimal exploitation of mineral resources to ensure broad-based sustainable growth and socio-economic development. The department of trade and industry lead the efforts to promote trade within Africa. Some of the departments in the AU include Agriculture, Rural Development, Blue Economy and Sustainable Environment (ARBE), Economic Development, Trade, Industry, Mining (ETIM), Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (ESTI) among others.

In one of the ordinary sessions of the AU, the leadership spoke of the "Africa we want" which is heralded as a new development strategy that is meant to enhance the ability of Africans to use their resource endowments fully and effectively for their own development. Although this 50-year initiative has many objectives, the overall aim is to encourage Africans to own their problems, take control of their resolutions, and build by themselves, a prosperous continent based on inclusive growth and sustainable development (AU, 2012). However, Europe, America and China prey on African resources. Economic and environmental sovereignty are at stake because some African leaders are 'often bag carriers for colonisers' in that they help foreign corporations state and institutions to dispossess and exploit Africans (Green cited in Deng, 2010). If Africa is to realize economic and environmental sovereignty, African leaders

should practice what they preach and not just pay lip service to the Africans' plight.

Agriculture forms a significant portion of the economies of all African countries (Ayitley, 2002). The AU member states committed themselves to mobilizing members and stakeholders in the agri-food sector - primarily agriculture producers, regional institutions and technical institutions (Coming, 2017). The emergence of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) seeks to drive continental agricultural revolution. Cochrane (2016) argues that food reserves may decline sharply if new landholders engage in non-food crop production. The rise of regional integration and sector-based policies has served to speed up the formation of farmer organizations (FO). The FOs moved a step further to form the Pan-African Farmers' Organization (PAFO) in 2010 (Lisk, 2012). However, supportive economic institutions are lacking in Africa compared to the other parts of the world, especially in the financial and insurance sectors.

A number of regional economic communities adopted by AU, namely Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Eastern Africa Community (EAC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) help countries overcome divisions that impede the flow of goods, services, capital, people and ideas (Ayitley, 2012). Divisions are a constraint to economic growth in developing countries. Regionalization is deemed a powerful method of creating opportunities. EAC, COMESA and SADC have been committed since 2008 to creating a vast tripartite free trade area. However, political instability in several countries in the region is hampering the integration process. Additionally, African countries continue to impose strenuous visa and trading hurdles on each other and there has been little unity or solidarity among the people of Africa.

African Union and environmental sovereignty

Different organizations work on environmental and natural resources. Notably, the building of the Monitoring for Environmental and Security in Africa (MESA) programme and African Monitoring of Environment for Sustainable Development (AMESD) programs among others, help in building member states'

capacities for improved performance in terms of discharging their responsibilities. Additionally, there was also the implementation of the Green Wall for the Sahara and Sahel Initiative (GWSSI) as part of combating land degradation and desertification. More so facilitating the formulation and implementation of the Integrated African Strategy on Meteorology (weather and climate) to enhance weather and climate service delivery for sustainable development through cooperation among AU member states (Adebayo & Peterson, 2011).

Under the African Monitoring of the Environment for Sustainable Development, African decision-makers and planners design and implement national, regional and continental policies to safeguard the environment (Lisk, 2012). Khanyi (2021) notes that, since 2007, the AU Commission, through Agriculture, Rural Development, Blue Economy and Sustainable Environment (ARBE) has become an important player in matters of climate change, desertification and biodiversity. Besides, there was a substantial show of African solidarity on environmental affairs during the Rio +20 Conference. On 15 July 2021, in Addis Ababa, the African Union launched a new five-year continental Green Recovery Action Plan (2021-2027). The Green Recovery Plan was also set up in terms of priorities, namely, improving climate finance, supporting the just transition to renewable energy, nature-based solutions and a focus on biodiversity, resilient agriculture and green resilient cities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the African Union played a great role in fighting for economic and environmental sovereignty in Africa. Regional blocks have been set up so as to foster better utilization of economies of scale. The existence of bilateral and multilateral agreements between African states promotes environmental and economic sovereignty within the continent. The establishment of the mechanisms assists in enhancing development in Africa. A prosperous and sovereign state needs peace and development as well as African ownership and control over their natural resources.

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Chapter 14

Chidembo Tamba Tamba Muswe Ndakabata: Interrogating the New Empire's Technologies of Remote Control on the Sovereignty of Twenty-First Century Africans

Artwell Nhemachena

Introduction

Theorising the world in terms of the Shona (a people of Zimbabwe) idiom *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata* (skunk act but I will hold your tail), this chapter critiques the neoimperial animalisation of Africans who are thus denied their sovereignty in a world where enslavement and colonisation are resilient. Using the idiom of *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata*, the chapter theorises the positions of the enslaved and colonised not in terms of absence of agency or actions but in terms of control - directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, remotely or proximately by those that enslave and colonise others in the world. Put differently, *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata* underscores ways in which Africans are deprived of their sovereignty at a global level because neoimperial states in the Global North continue to control Africans, even after the declarations of formal independence. In this regard, economies in Africa continue to be owned and controlled by neoimperial capital, including transnational corporations from the Global North; in the same vein, education systems in Africa continue to be controlled by neoimperialists, including states and funders in the Global North, that determine the curricula even at university levels; African environments including land, continue to be owned and controlled by neoimperial capital, including transnational corporations from the Global North; and indeed much of the media in Africa continue to be controlled by neoimperialists who continue to determine what is newsworthy and what isn't newsworthy for Africans; African medical systems continue to be owned and controlled by neoimperialists who continue to declare what counts and doesn't count as effective and

safe medication for Africans. Indeed, also, African publishing houses continue to be owned and controlled by neoimperialists who determine what is a good publication and what isn't a good publication on the African continent. Put in other words, slave drivers and colonialists animalised Africans by treating them as indistinct from skunks, and beasts of burdens; such animalisation of Africans was meant to constitute a warrant by which to deprive Africans of their sovereignty and autonomy.

The enslavement and colonial animalisation of African humanity involved the destruction of their social, cultural, marriage, family, political, economic, legal, bodily and religious structures such that the [Africans] humans, so animalised, became indistinct from animals, or from nonhumans more broadly. Because enslavement and colonisation are necrostructural (in the sense of destroying pre-existing structures) rather than social structural for their victims, slave owners and colonisers destroyed the social structures, cultures and bodies of the enslaved and colonised peoples of Africa (Nhemachena, 2021a). Of course, slave owners and colonisers did not necessarily aim to destroy the agency or vitality of the enslaved and colonised because slave labour and colonial labour exploitation depended on the agency and vitality of the enslaved and colonised peoples. Put in other words, slave owners and colonisers sought to enhance the agency and vitality of the enslaved and colonised – but it was agency and vitality without autonomy and sovereignty which they enhanced. In this regard, colonisers treated colonised Africans as indistinct from animals that lack sovereignty and autonomy; in fact, colonialists referred to African villages as kraals (Holleman, 1969; Cousins, n.d; Vijfhuizen, 1998) – just as one would refer to cattle pens as kraals – from which the colonisers could draw draught power. Of course, colonialists drew draught power from Africans who were subjected to forced labour and this is why African villages were referred to as kraals similar to cattle kraals or pens. Thus, Vijfhuizen (1998, p. 10) writes about Zimbabwe:

> Homesteads are also called kraals and therefore a village head or village chief is also called a kraalhead. Village chiefs are 'lowest' in hierarchy of the chieftaincy. They are followed by a few headmen and Paramount chief…All chiefs are also recruited into government…The

colonial era lasted from 1890 up to 1980 when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe upon independence.

The point in the quotation above is that colonialists were keen to turn Africans into animals so that they could use them as draught power in colonial projects. For colonialists, there were no binaries between Africans and animals. Because animals do not have culture, polities, religion, morals, ethics, rationality, sovereignty, marriages and economies, colonialists also needed to destroy such African institutions in their efforts to turn Africans into animals. To facilitate the destruction of African cultures, polities, religions, laws, marriages, families and economies, colonialists depicted them as primitive, savage and barbaric – the colonialists' aim was to fool Africans such that they would consent to the destruction of their own institutions, as a prelude to animalising the Africans who were thus deprived of their social and cultural institutions. The point here is that when they dehumanised enslaved and colonised Africans, Europeans and Americans did not intend to destroy the agency of the enslaved/colonised people, rather they wanted to turn the human agency in Africans into animal agency which could be exploited without any compunction. Animal agency is agency that devoid of rationality and logic – and so it is not surprising that slave traders/owners and colonialists denied the existence of African rationality and logic. Because agency that is devoid of rationality and logic cannot be autonomous, it is not surprising that after denying Africans their rationality and logic, colonialists proceeded to deny Africans their autonomy and the attendant freedom. The enslaved and colonised were allowed to act or exercise agency but without autonomy and sovereignty.

Agency, autonomy, sovereignty and necrostructuralism

Agency and vitality without autonomy and sovereignty have been celebrated for centuries by slave drivers and colonialists who valued the labour power of the enslaved and colonised; in this regard, agency and vitality alone are not worth celebrating if they are not accompanied or anchored by autonomy and sovereignty of the Africans. A world with abundance of agency and vitality, minus autonomy and sovereignty, is a world that perpetuates the logics of

enslavement and colonisation. Absence of autonomy and sovereignty implies political and social death in the sense of lacking organisation and the power associated with it; absence of autonomy and sovereignty implies cultural and juristic death in the sense of lacking rights and freedoms in the world; absence of autonomy and sovereignty implies vulnerability in a world where neoimperial capital is hunting for agency and vitalities that lack the protection of sovereigns. Put succinctly, agency and vitality are easier to hijack and exploit when autonomy and sovereignty disappear. The point is that if one loses autonomy and sovereignty, one becomes more amenable to slave in the interests of others because one's self would have vanished together with autonomy and sovereignty.

To ensure that Africans became more amenable to slave for them, colonialists destroyed African polities, which they conveniently depicted as savage and barbaric; to ensure that Africans became more amenable to slave for them, colonialists destroyed African cultures, which they conveniently described as savage and barbaric; to ensure that Africans became more amenable to slave for them, colonialists destroyed African families and marriages, which they conveniently described as savage, barbaric and oppressive (Nhemachena, 2021a); to ensure that Africans became more amenable to slave for them, colonialists destroyed African legal systems which they conveniently depicted as not legal but mere etiquette; to ensure that Africans became more amenable to slave for them, colonialists destroyed African religions which they conveniently depicted as not religions but demonic animistic spirituality devoid of knowledge of the Heavenly God.

While poststructuralism assumes that enslavement and colonialism were about setting up structures for the enslaved and colonised, this chapter argues that enslavement and colonialism were about destroying the sovereign and autonomous structures of the enslaved and colonised peoples. In this sense, what twenty-first century Africans actually need is not the continuation of the decentring of structures in the sense of poststructuralism and postmodernism, but they need more robust structures to resist neocolonialism and neoenslavement. To assume, as poststructuralists and postmodernists do, that enslavement and colonialism set up structures for Africans is to belie the colonial destruction of precolonial African institutions. It amounts to crediting colonialists

for their destruction of the autonomous and sovereign structures which existed prior to colonialism on the continent. The argument I am making here is that it is more accurate to say that colonialists destroyed autonomous and sovereign structures in Africa, and then they set up colonial structures that denied sovereignty and autonomy to Africans. Sadly, poststructuralism and postmodernism do not assist Africans recover their sovereignty and autonomy which were destroyed by colonialists: twenty-first century Africans are simply being advised, in poststructuralism, to decentre structures, to deconstruct and destroy structures much as precolonial Africans were advised by colonialists to destroy their own structures.

What I call a theory of necrostructuralism underscores the fact that enslavement and colonialism destroy the structures of the enslaved and colonised people. While poststructuralism assumes that freedom and liberation, for the enslaved and colonised, would be realised by deconstructing and destroying their social structures, necrostructuralism, on the other hand, assumes that freedom and liberation for the historically and resiliently enslaved and colonised would be realised by recovering and regenerating autonomous and sovereign structures for the formerly enslaved and colonised people. In this vein, when the enslaved and colonised people revolted, they were not necessarily acting or rebelling against social structures but they were rebelling against the colonial destruction of their indigenous sovereign structures. The point is that poststructuralism, by assuming that the destruction of structures liberates humanity from colonialism, falsely presupposes that there were no structures in precolonial Africa. In this sense, poststructuralism shares the absurdities of the assumptions of the Hobbesian state of nature which assumes that anarchy, structurelessness and chaos existed in precolonial Africa. In other words, poststructuralism assume that precolonial Africa, in so far as it supposedly did not have structures, was barbaric – it assumes that Africans can be "liberated" by being thrown into the barbarism of structurelessness, aimed at destroying structures and instantiating the Hobbesian state of nature that has no place for African sovereignty.

When Western Non-Governmental organisations and civil society organisations deconstruct African states, condemning them as oppressive, dictatorial and authoritarian, they are in fact employing the assumptions of poststructuralism which is inimical to African

sovereign interests. Western agents of deconstruction know very well that African states are essential for the realisation of Africans' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources which are coveted by Westerners who now want the African states, that act as gatekeepers of the resources, to vanish. When the NGOs and CSOs condemn African states as oppressive, dictatorial and authoritarian while ironically ignoring the oppressiveness, authoritarianism and dictatorship of transnational corporations which own and control African economies, it should be understood that the intentions of the NGOs and CSOs are to deconstruct, decentre and destroy African states' sovereignty. When the NGOs and CSOs condemn African states as oppressive, dictatorial and authoritarian while ironically ignoring the oppressiveness, dictatorship and authoritarianism of the invisible hand of the market - which is in fact the invisible hand of the resilient empire - it should be understood that their intention is to decentre, deconstruct and destroy African states' sovereignty. When the NGOs and CSOs condemn African states as dictatorial, authoritarian and oppressive while ironically ignoring the oppressiveness, dictatorship and authoritarianism of international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, it should be understood that their intentions are to deconstruct, decentre and destroy African states' sovereignty. In all these cases, the aim of the neoimperialists is to cast Africans, deprived of sovereignty and autonomy, into the Hobbesian state of nature – this is because poststructuralism falsely assumes that the deconstruction of structures is liberating.

The upshot of the foregoing is that agency and vitality must be premised on human autonomy and sovereignty, otherwise Africans may end up mistakenly celebrating the agency and vitality of skunks whose tails are beholden to remote masters who seek to dissipate African autonomy and sovereignty. The Shona people warn humanity against recklessly celebrating agency and vitality because even those who are remotely controlled by distant masters exercise agency and vitality, *albeit* in self-destructive ways. Even smelly skunks whose tails are held by their masters exercise agency and vitality, *albeit* in ways that are dissipative and destructive of African sovereign structures and institutions. In other words, what I call dissipative agency is one that destroys African sovereignty; dissipative agency or dissipative vitality is one that destroys African cultures, families and

marriages, economies, moral and legal principles. When one exercises dissipative agency, one destroys one's family, marriage, identity, polity, economy, morals and culture – and many Africans are, wittingly and unwittingly, recruited by extraterritorial and extraterrestrial forces to exercise such self-destructive dissipative agency. In the same way a skunk's smelly agency is dissipative, dissipative agency is decentring, deconstructive and destructive. Put in other words, dissipative agency is the agency that cannot be glorified, it is agency akin to farting in so far as it deconstructs and dissipates African social structures.

Put in other words, what I call dissipative agency refers to the agency of those that do not have autonomy and sovereignty, and are thus controlled by their masters, who may be invisible. Dissipative agency also refers to the agency of those that are possessed by demonic spirits which take hold of the bodies of the human hosts such that they are deprived of autonomy and sovereignty. In so far as dissipative agency is destructive, it is a kind of agency that is necrostructural in the sense of destroying structures of African sovereignty and autonomy.

The logics of *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata* can be more easily understood through references to how *mashave* (foreign spirits) possessed and used the bodies of Africans, beginning in the colonial era. Gelfand (1959, pp. 121-123) notes that:

> The same is said of the *varungu* (Europeans) who entered Mashonaland in former days to look for gold or to hunt for game. Many died in these strange parts and their disturbed spirits wandered about until they settled on their selected mediums…the…*varungu mashave* (alien spirits) they eventually settled upon innocent, unsuspecting Mashona who were more or less forced to accept the restless spirits and came to terms with them […] The method by which an alien spirit (*shave*) reveals himself is fairly common. When he wants to possess for the first time the host he has selected, he makes him ill…The relatives are puzzled and worried by the long illness and consult a diviner to discover the cause. They are told that a particular *shave* wishes to enter the patient and that he wishes to be accepted by him.

As much as spirits possess the bodies of some human beings which are then used as force-multipliers, slave owners and colonialists grabbed the bodies of the enslaved and colonised people

which they then used as force-multipliers in the colonial projects. Some Africans were used as force-multipliers in the slave trade that benefited the Westerners; other Africans such as those that became colonial assistants or informers (Wamaggata, 2008; Schumaker, 2000), were used as force-multipliers in the colonisation of Africa. The point is that Africans become force-multipliers when they are wittingly or unwittingly enrolled or co-opted to serve imperial or colonial projects. Some Africans are used as force-multipliers in the subjugation and even assassination of their fellow Africans; and of course, other Africans are even used as force-multipliers to destroy their own cultures, polities, autonomy, sovereignty, religions, marriages and families. When one is used as a force-multiplier for colonial and imperial projects, one becomes a dissipative agent in the sense of assuming socially deconstructive or destructive agency.

The upshot of the foregoing is that Africans must not become bandwagonists when Western scholars celebrate agency, vitality and animism (Wozniak, 2013; Henry, 2020) because the exercise of agency is not necessarily liberating in the case of those that exercise self-destructive or dissipative agency. Because those that are used as force-multipliers in colonial/imperial projects are not necessarily humans, because animals can also become force-multipliers, it is not surprising that some Western scholars are arguing for symmetrical anthropology wherein humans and nonhumans are assumed to be on the same plane (Sansi, 2013; Latour, 2007). Because those humans that are used as force-multipliers are placed on the same plane as nonhuman animal force-multipliers, it is not surprising that some Western scholars are arguing that there are no distinctions between humans and nonhumans; because those that are used as force-multipliers are placed on the same level as nonhumans, it is not surprising that some Western scholars are arguing that there are no distinctions between humans and things, and between subjects and objects. Put differently, when some humans are treated as remotely controlled skunks in the world, it would not make sense to retain the binaries between such humans and the nonhuman skunks which are used as force-multipliers for human masters in the world. Force-multipliers do not deserve autonomy and sovereignty – all they are allowed is to exercise agency and vitality on behalf of masters who enjoy all the autonomy and sovereignty in the world. In brief, the agency that is celebrated in force-multipliers is not human agency or

human vitality – imperialists and colonialists only celebrate the animal or nonhuman agency in their subjects or victims who are thus not allowed to reclaim human autonomy and sovereignty of their own. The idiom *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata* underlines the animal or nonhuman agency that colonialists and imperialists celebrate in those humans that they deprive of autonomy and sovereignty.

Force-multipliers, binaries and symmetrical anthropology

When one becomes a force-multiplier for others, one's agency/actions become (largely) irrelevant to one's own interests as an autonomous, self-determining and sovereign being; one who is turned into a force-multiplier begins to excel more in agency/actions that benefit those that have turned one into such a force-multiplier. Put differently, one who is turned into a force-multiplier begins to excel in matters that are (largely) irrelevant to one's own autonomous and sovereign interests and or the interests of one's family, spouse, community, nation and region. For instance, invasive foreign spirits (*mashavi*, in Shona language) turn their human hosts into spiritual force-multipliers whose bodies are used to further the ends of the *mashave* spiritual forces. Equally, alien ideologies and epistemologies can turn uncritical recipients into force-multipliers for those that purvey the alien ideologies and epistemologies. And those that have been turned into force-multipliers for alien [spiritual, ideological and epistemic] forces become necrostructural in the sense of readily and uncritically deconstructing and destroying their own marriages, families, cultures, laws, polities and communities. Indeed, those that have been turned into force-multipliers for alien forces can even become necrostructural in the sense of destroying their own indigenous bodily structures and identities: the agency/actions of humans that have been turned into force-multipliers for others will have been hijacked and upended. In the Shona idiom *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata*, the skunk does not exercise autonomous or sovereign agency/actions, rather the agency/actions of the skunk would have been hijacked by those that hold its tail such that the skunk becomes a force-multiplier for those that would be holding its tail.

Thus, those humans that are seized by, and become force-multipliers of, foreign spirits or *mashavi* may even wittingly or

unwittingly destroy their own human bodily structures and humanely identities, commit suicide, spousecide, mariticide, matricide, patricide, regicide and identiticide (Nhemachena, 2021a). The antithetical foreign spirits will have hijacked their agency/actions and volitions. Put differently, a human force-multiplier's will have been overborne by the master that controls it, whether proximately or remotely. To ensure that Africans became force-multipliers for the colonial projects, colonialists demonised African ancestors while at the same time they encouraged Africans to allow *mashave* (foreign spirits) to replace their ancestors. To force Africans to become vessels, not of their ancestors but of foreign spirits, colonialists destroyed African ancestral shrines and ritual accoutrements. To force Africans to become force-multipliers for colonial projects, colonialists also destroyed precolonial African sovereignty and replaced it with colonial polities designed to serve imperial purposes. To ensure that Africans became force-multipliers in colonial projects, colonialists destroyed African systems of education and replaced them with colonial ideologies and education which were designed to ensure that Africans became educated slaves deprived of autonomy and sovereignty. After having destroyed the shrines for African ancestors and for the Supreme Being, colonialists even named days of the week after their own imperial gods and goddesses such as Julius Caesar for the month of July; Augustus Caesar for the month of August; Janus for the month of January etc (Nhemachena, 2017). The point here is that Africans could not have been turned into colonial force-multipliers if they retained their cultures, land, livestock, polities, languages, autonomy, sovereignty, religions, laws, economies and identities as Africans.

Whereas imperial tropes are that destroying African cultures, marriages, families and polities - which are first condemned as savage, barbaric and oppressive - constitutes freedom for the Africans who are supposedly being freed from their own cultures, families, marriages, polities, religions etc, I argue in this chapter that "freeing" Africans from their cultures, marriages, families etc was meant to turn Africans into animals and to deny them humanely attributes of their own. It is not surprising that in the contemporary era, Western scholars are arguing that there are no distinctions between (African) human beings and nonhuman things, including animals. It is argued by such scholars that humans, and nonhumans such as animals, trees,

birds, snakes, fish, artificial intelligence, chatbots, humanoid avatars, virtual assistants, conversation agents and humanoid robots are indistinct because each one of them is endowed with agency and capacity to act (see for instance Wozniak, 2013; Henry, 2020). Put differently, some scholars argue that there should not be hierarchies between human beings and nonhumans (Bryant, 2011; Wilde, 2020). The argument in this chapter is that human beings are not only defined by the capacity to act but also by the exigencies of autonomy and sovereignty; yet some Western scholars would want to reductively define humans in terms of the capacity to act or to exercise agency without autonomy and sovereignty.

Assuming that there is symmetry between humans and nonhumans does not only deprive Africans of autonomy and sovereignty but it also legitimises the disposal of some human beings as nonhumans begin to compete with humans for jobs and for companionship and partnership. Some Western scholarship assumes that there is symmetry and hence no binaries between human spouses and humanoid sex robots – and this is meant to open up space to market humanoid sex robots that are being manufactured to supplant human spouses in marriages. With some humanoid sex robots manufactured in the image of celebrities and models, humanoid sex robots are set to retrench human spouses (Dube, Anctil & Santaguida, 2020; Brodeur, 2020; Nhemachena, 2021b). Thus, global capital would sponsor discourses about symmetry between the agency/actions of human spouses and the actions of humanoid sex robots - global capital would argue that humanoid sex robots have agency/actions similar to human spouses. Similarly, global capital is striving to make profits through selling robotic workforces and so it would sponsor discourses on symmetrical agency/actions between human workers and robotic workers. Put simply, contemporary scholarly postulations of symmetrical agency/actions between human beings and nonhumans are meant to make it easy to replace human workers by arguing that there is symmetry between human teachers and robotic teachers, between human doctors and robotic doctors, between human pharmacists and robotic pharmacists, between human drivers and robotic drivers, between human nurses and robotic nurses, between human police officers and robotic police officers, between human presidents and robotic presidents that are set to rule the emergent algorithmic world; and between human

spouses and humanoid sex robots. The idea in all this is to supplant human autonomy and sovereignty such that humans cease to have control over their institutions: elevating nonhumans has the effect of decentring humans in ways that upend their autonomy and sovereignty.

In fact, sections of humanity are set to be transformed into cyborgs or biology-technology hybrids so as to transform their identities from being humans to being cyborgs; some sections of humanity are set to have their genes, DNAs and genomes edited such that they lose their natural (human) identities (Orth, 2020) and they become indistinct from nonhuman animals that can be experimented on and have their genes and genomes edited and deleted. Sections of humanity are set to be inserted, implanted or injected with nanotechnology, nanobots, nanorobots, nanomedicines, nanovaccines and nanoimplants which will transform them into cyborgs deprived of autonomy and sovereignty, including over their own remotely controlled bodies (Savolaine & Vainio, 2011; Flores, 2018). So, writing about nanobots, nanorobots, nanovaccines, nanotechnologies and nanomedicines that are inserted or implanted into human bodies for purposes of remotely controlling them Karthikevan et al. (2020, p. 972) sadly welcome the practices:

> Thus, we need an artificial mechanism that, like blood cells, circulates in the bloodstream. This is the situation where the idea of programmable nanobots comes into the picture wherein these nanometre sized artificial systems circulate in the bloodstreams…Nano-robotics is the recent approach for the challenge of automating the nanotechnologically assembled devices for medical purposes…

The technologies also enable global elites to remotely monitor and control the world, including humans who happen to be inserted with such brain nanorobots/nanobots, brain microchips, cerebral internet, Internet of Things, Internet of Humans and Internet of Battlefield Things (Flores, 2018a; Nhemachena, 2021b). Put in other words, sections of humanity inserted with brain nanobots/ nanorobots/nanovaccines and brain microchips will be subjected to cerebral internet for purposes of remote surveillance and control (Salinas, 2018; Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). The point here is that once Africans are connected and tied into the

emergent global Internet of Things, global Internet of Humans, and the Internet of Battlefield Things, they will cease to have autonomy and sovereignty. Also, once brain nanorobots/nanobots or brain microchips are implanted or inserted into Africans, they will lose autonomy and sovereignty because their minds will be increasingly subjected to control by the global elites who own and control the software used to produce the brain nanobots/microchips/ nanorobots.

To begin to remotely monitor and control sections of humanity including humans injected or implanted with nanobots, nanorobots, nanovaccines, nanomedicines and microchips, global elites would need to first of all implant/inject the microchips, nanobots, nanovacccines, nanomedicines or nanorobots into the human bodies – and these nanobots/nanorobots will self-replicate inside such human bodies (Kurzweil, 2001; Martin, 2017). Unfortunately, glorifying the contemporary technological developments and the future which they spawn, Ray Kurzweil (2001) writes thus:

> Within 30 years, however, we will be able to send billions of nanobots – blood cell-size scanning machines – through every capillary of the brain to create a complete noninvasive scan of every neural feature. A shot full of nanobots will someday allow the most subtle details of our knowledge, skills and personalities to be copied into a file and stored in a computer…Using high-speed wireless communication the nanobots will then communicate with each other and with other computers that are compiling the brain scan database…In 2029, we will swallow or inject billions of nanobots into our veins to enter a three dimensional cyberspace – a virtual reality environment. Already, neural implants are used…But while a surgically introduced neural implant can be placed in only one or at most a few locations, nanobots can take up billions or trillions of positions throughout the brain. We already have electronic devices called neuron-transmitters that, noninvasively allow communication between electronics and biological neurons…By taking positions next to specific neurons, the nanobots will be able to detect and control their activity. For virtual reality applications, the nanobots will take up positions next to every nerve fibre coming from all five of our senses. When we want to enter a specific virtual environment, the nanobots will suppress the signals coming from the real senses and replace them with new, virtual ones. We can then cause our virtual body to move, speak and otherwise interact with the virtual environment. The

nanobots would prevent our real bodies from moving; instead, we would have a virtual body in a virtual environment, which need not be the same as our real body.

The point in the foregoing is that the human minds and brains are set to be rewired and reverse engineered using nanotechnology, nanobots or nanorobots (Kurzweil, 2005) that would dispossess humanity of autonomy and sovereignty. So, the human mind is set to be connected to the internet of things and to cerebral internet such that the individuals cease to have autonomy and sovereignty over their minds that will, from then on, be remotely controlled by those that own and control the software and nanotechnologies which are inserted or implanted into the hapless humans' bodies/brains. In this regard, the human minds and brains will be transferred from the biological bodies/brains to the cloud through brain scanning (Perper, 2019; Salinas, 2018). Put crudely, some sections of humanity will be dispossessed of their minds or mental faculties when the minds are nanotechnologically scanned and transferred to the cloud or when the minds are scanned and uploaded to technological substrates.

Brain computer interfaces and brain cloud interfaces are glorified by some scholars, who focus on the supposed beauty of connecting the brain to the cloud, connecting the brain to computers, connecting the brain to the Internet of Things, Internet of Humans and Internet of Battlefield Things (Boran, 2019). However, the future in which the minds are downloaded and then uploaded to technological substrates, for remote monitoring and control by global elites, is scary for Africans who have been dispossessed of their autonomy and sovereignty since the eras of enslavement and colonisation. Notwithstanding African fears, some Western scholars celebrate the possibility of acquiring knowledge by downloading files directly to the brain (Boran, 2019). Some sections of humanity may be unwary of the gradual replacement of their minds when the inserted, injected or implanted computing devices like nanorobots and nanovaccines gradually and surreptitiously take over the functioning of the brain. The point here is that the brain is scanned and then replaced by cybernetic implants that are set to see the brain biologically atrophying and dying (Goertzel & Bugaj, 2006; Graziano, 2019). In this regard, some writers like Ray Kurzweil (2005) state that they

prefer the gradual replacement over instantaneous replacement of the brains that are scanned.

While such nanorobotic brain scanning and transfer of human minds to the cloud and into technological substrates are celebrated by some contemporary scholars in terms of postbiological evolution (Ognjanovic, 2019), it is necessary to consider ways in which technologically capturing and remotely controlling the human minds facilitates colonial/imperial logics that deprive Africans of their autonomy and sovereignty. The argument in this chapter is that some global elites are set to take over the ownership and control of other humans' minds in the guise of technological advancements, connectivity, networking, nanomedical interventions, nanovaccine interventions, telemedical interventions, digital health interventions and in the name of technological efficiency. Defined as a world inhabited by human descendants in the form of machines and animals (Ognjanovic, 2019), the futuristic postbiological evolution is essentially about effacing some sections of humanity from the human category and transferring them to the category of posthuman cyborgs, hybrids of technology and biology. In other words, the term postbiological evolution hides the logics of *chidembo tamba tamba muswe ndakabata* wherein the new empire strives not merely to create complex beings; not merely to connect, network, reverse engineer and rewire human brains but also to wrestle away the ownership and control of human minds. Some sections of humanity whose minds happen to be technologically captured by global elites lose their autonomy and sovereignty – and they become imperial force-multipliers remotely doing the bidding of the god-like global elites and imperialists. With nanotechnology, microchips, nanovaccines, nanomedicines and nanorobots circulating in the human bloodstreams, global elites will be able to directly inject their "facts" into some remotely controlled human beings' minds. Martins et al., (2019, p. 15-17) write thus:

> However, the injection of facts and accumulated knowledge may not necessarily translate to cognition, understanding, meta-analysis or meta thought that can inspire imagination and creativity…Access to the hippocampus and cerebellum for memory injection would also be required, as well as the cerebellum and basal ganglia for complex motor tasks…All brain output signals might be suppressed by neuralnanobots

to avoid the movement of real limbs, mouth, or eyes during virtual experiences; in place of this, virtual limbs would react appropriately while adapting the surrounding virtual world in the field of vision…B/CI (Brain Cloud Interface) users might initially encounter a virtual dashboard in the cloud where they can select from an extensive menu that is replete with experiential pathways.

Apart from becoming vulnerable to the global corporations that own and control the technologies, Africans will also be vulnerable to hackers who would hack the brains/minds that are connected or networked in the Internet of Things, Brain/Cloud Interface and Brain/Computer Interface (Oliveira, 2018). In fact, Wolfson (2003) notes the dangers of nanotechnology which can be used as a terrorist weapon because the nano-robot that can operate within the human body could easily be programmed to destroy rather than heal – and because of their small size, and due to the fact that they can be quickly redesigned to avoid latest countermeasures, nano-machines pose a threat as a terrorist weapon of the future. What I am driving at here is that contemporary nanotechnological reengineering and rewiring of human beings destroys bodily structures, brain structures, memory structures, natural identities, human essence, autonomy, sovereignty and self-determination.

The technological machinations through nanorobots, brain nanobots, and microchips come in the wake of African demands for self-determination, autonomy, sovereignty, as well as restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonialism. Looked at closely, one notices that Westerners are opposing African demands for self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, restitution and reparations by reverse engineering the African brains through nanotechnology and biotechnology which deny autonomy, sovereignty and self-determination to victims of enslavement and colonisation. Through nanofabrication, African bodies and identities are set to be remodelled in the image and interest of neoimperialists such that it becomes impossible for Africans to assert their original identities, African essence, autonomy and sovereignty (Nhemachena, 2021a). The idea in neoimperial circles is to reverse engineer African memories which are set to be edited and deleted using brain nanorobots; the idea in neoimperial circles is also to edit African genes and genomes such that Africans would become ineligible for

restitution and reparations for enslavement and colonisation. Put differently, the neoimperial idea is to efface African identities such that it becomes impossible for Africans to assert autonomy and sovereignty over their natural resources.

In fact, the autonomy and sovereignty of Africans over their natural resources is being neoimperially decentred through ideologies about biocentrism, earthcentrism, naturecentrism, ecocentrism and "mother earth/Gaia" all of which advocate for postanthropocentrism which decentre humans. In this vein, postanthropocentrists and posthumanists prefer the "liberation" of nature, earth or "Gaia/mother earth" from (African) human domination (Lovelock, 2006). Whereas Afrocentrists argue for the placing of African cultures, identities and values at the centre (Asante, 2009; Chawane, 2016), Eurocentric scholars prefer decentring humanity, deconstructing [African] "human exceptionalism", and deconstructing [African] human speciesism. Eurocentric scholars also argue for a postidentitarian world order in which human identities (including African identities) are effaced via logics of cyborgs. Whereas Afrocentrists argue for placing African epistemologies at the centre of analysis, Eurocentrists prefer shifts from focusing on epistemology to ontology – what is being addressed as the "ontological turn" which would displace and replace the Afrocentric quest to recentre African epistemologies. Whereas Afrocentrists put African consciousness at the centre of analysis, Eurocentric scholars foreground agency/actions in contrast to the Afrocentric focus on [African] consciousness and subjectivity. Furthermore, to bypass Afrocentric demands for recentring African minds, identities, consciousness and epistemologies, Eurocentrists prefer to technologically reengineer humans. Eurocentrists prefer to nanotechnologically rewire minds, capturing [African] minds, uploading the minds into technological substrates or transferring the minds from their biological brains to the cloud where they can be owned and controlled by the owners of the cloud computing technologies. Of course, Eurocentrists control the hegemonic ideologies and discourses which they deploy in such a way that, without careful scrutiny, some Africans would mistakenly think that the ideologies and discourses are serving Afrocentric and African agendas.

Therefore, whereas Afrocentrists argue for the full emancipation, self-determination and full humanisation of Africans, and for mentally positioning Africans to overthrow resilient enslavement and colonisation (Chawane, 2016; Howard-Hassman, 2004; Oluwaseyi, 2016), Eurocentric scholars and thinkers prioritise the emancipation or liberation of nature/"mother earth/ Gaia". Whereas Afrocentrists argue for African self-determination, autonomy and sovereignty, Eurocentric scholars and thinkers prefer heterarchy, heteronomy and relationality in place of Afrocentric and African claims for self-determination, autonomy and sovereignty. Whereas Afrocentric scholars argue for mentally freeing Africans from Eurocentrism, Eurocentric scholars argue that African human beings are indistinct from nonhumans including those nonhumans that do not have minds and brains – such as stones, sticks, trees, soil, mountains etc. As pointed out above, global elites are in fact set to dispossess Africans of their brains by transferring the brains to the clouds or into technological substrates.

The upshot of the foregoing is that Africans need to be careful to avoid celebrating their own enslavement and recolonisation in a world of technocolonialism (Nhemachena, Hlabangane & Kaundjua, 2020). Of course, indigenous colonial assistants, translators, collaborators and providers of field notes (Wamagatta, 2008; Schumaker, 2000) were historically similarly recruited, as force-multipliers, to further imperial colonial objectives in Africa and other colonised territories. I argue in this chapter that such Africans who are wittingly and unwittingly given to self-immolation and self-harm (Vehaba, 2019; Greenland, Proulx & Savage, 2020) are akin to humans that would seek martyrdom by destroying their own bodies and communities or they simply sleepwalk into destruction. Addressing those that become imperial/colonial assistants, informers and collaborators, in projects that are antithetical to their own interests, as capitulationists, Chawane (2016) characterises them as condemning Afrocentricity, as uncomfortable with themselves, as doubtful whether Africans should have sovereign and autonomous agency, as replete with self-hatred, as ashamed of Afrocentricity and therefore they conceal their identities. Chawane further characterises the capitulationists as seeking to always please their imperial/colonial masters and so, to assuage their masters, they attack Afrocentrists. I want to argue that capitulationists are amenable to playing the

neoimperialist ball even if that does not benefit Africans in terms of autonomy and sovereignty. All that capitulationists value is their agency in fulfilling the masters' commands. This chapter describes the agency of capitulationists in terms of *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* (to be tricked to play a flat ball).

Kutambiswa bhora risina mweya, *kutambiswa chomama* and cruel anticipation

To assist me in explicating the agency of capitulationists, I also borrow the Shona people's sayings *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* (to be made to unfruitfully play a flat ball) and *kutambiswa chomama* (to be made to chase after an elusive ball until one defecates on oneself). If to have autonomy and sovereignty is to possess ownership and control, *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya/kutambiswa chomama* is to suffer the consequences of lacking autonomy and sovereignty in the sense of ownership and control of the game that is being played in the world. When one has no ownership and control of the ball that is being played, one is prone to running about fruitlessly, even if in the vain hope of acquiring control in the future. The notion of *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* entails being framed to play a game using a ball that is flat and without pressure: it speaks to situations when one exercises agency without autonomy and sovereignty such that the agency is fruitless for the one who exercises it. This notion beckons Africans to critically consider whether they are not in *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* when Westerners designed "modernisation" programmes that presupposed that colonised Africans would "modernise" without the need for autonomy and sovereignty; the notion also beckons Africans to critically consider whether they did not get into *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* when Westerners designed civilisation programmes that presupposed that Africans could become civilised without the need for autonomy and sovereignty; similarly, the notion beckons Africans to critically consider whether they are not in *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* when Westerners design development programmes that presuppose that Africans can develop without the need for autonomy and sovereignty. If Westerners civilised, modernised, and developed themselves on the basis of their autonomy and sovereignty, it is cause for wonder why the same Westerners would expect Africans to modernise, civilise and develop without their own autonomy and

sovereignty over their natural resources. This points to what the Shona people describe as being tricked to play a flat ball, which even a small child would complain as problematic.

In *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*, the point is to emphasise the trickery that is used by some people to hinder the progress of other people. In *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*, the victim is made to exercise agency and may even be prodded for more agency/action even when it is clear that the agency lacks autonomy and sovereignty that would ordinarily be necessary to underwrite fruition. In *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*, one exercises agency/actions in terms of kicking the flat ball but it simply does not go far, or even anywhere. The implication is that the flat ball will not go far no matter how hard it is kicked, it may not even go anywhere. Through *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*, the Shona people advise humanity that they must not just engage in useless postautonomous/postsovereign agency/actions without first of all understanding the script or the broader global agenda beyond the exigencies of local agency/actions. In other words, the idea in *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* is to make other people exercise actions/agency – spending their precious energy on postautonomous, useless or unfruitful agency/actions. People that are uncritical will stupidly continue to play the flat balls, kicking the flat balls even as they realise that the balls are flat and do not go anywhere, even with very hard kicks. The uncritical and stupid people become even immensely grateful to the colonial script writers who provide the flat balls, on which they waste themselves and their energy away. *Kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* does not imply passivity but it implies action/agency premised on deceptive alien, heteronomous and heterarchic scripts and flat balls on which to waste oneself away. Put in other words, *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* enjoins Africans to critically interrogate the scripts upon which they base their actions/agency. It enjoins Africans to avoid acting blindly or exercising blind agency/actions. In other words, for the Shona people, action/agency must ordinarily bear intended fruits – thus, it becomes worrisome when, for centuries, Africans engage in actions/agency that do not result in development, freedom, liberty, independence, autonomy, sovereignty, restitution, reparations and decolonisation.

The lesson in the caveat against *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* is that Africans must take ownership and control of sovereignty over their natural resources before they can do anything else, otherwise,

without ownership and control over their resources, Africans risk *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*. It is the one who does not have ownership and control who is amenable to *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* while those that have ownership and control assume power to design the scripts for action – people who own and control their resources do not only exercise agency but they also design the scripts which form the bases for their agency/actions. In this regard, slave owners who owned not only natural resources but also owned the enslaved peoples did not only exercise agency/actions but they also designed the scripts which formed the bases of agency/action; on the other hand, the enslaved Africans who did not have ownership and control over their natural resources and even over their own bodies were forced to only exercise agency/actions without the privilege to design the scripts for agency/actions. Similarly, the colonisers who usurped ownership and control of natural resources from colonised Africans did not merely exercise agency/action but they also designed the script which formed the bases of agency/actions; on the other hand, the dispossessed Africans were forced to exercise agency/actions without the right to also design the scripts for agency/actions. The point here is that agency/action does not happen spontaneously but it is a result of scripts – without autonomy and sovereignty one cannot design scripts for agency/action.

In the light of the foregoing, it is necessary to note that while colonialists claimed to be bringing civilisation to Africans, they were in fact, at the same time, dispossessing Africans of sovereignty over their natural resources. In this way Africans ceased to design their own scripts for African agency/actions. While Westerners claimed to be modernising Africans, they were, in fact, at the same time retaining the natural resources which they stole from Africans such that Africans did not recover the autonomy and sovereignty to design their own scripts for African agency/action. While Westerners are still claiming to be bringing development to Africa, they are in fact currently engaged in transnational land grabs that are seeing African peasants losing the small pieces of land that they have had since colonial dispossession started. With the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank dictating economic policies in Africa, Africans are still deprived of autonomy and sovereignty to design scripts for African agency/actions. Throughout the African continent, one witnesses games of *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* – and of course many

African leaders are at fault for capitulating to *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* wherein they are forever running from pillar to post asking for aid rather than reclaiming autonomy and sovereignty to design their own African scripts. In this vein the Madagascar herbal cure for COVID-19 presented an opportunity for African leaders to exit the centuries-old *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya* but then many African leaders, sadly, decided to continue with playing the flat balls – importing vaccines from Europe and America even as doing so seriously compromised African security, autonomy and sovereignty.

Similar to *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*, the Shona people also describe futile agency/action as *kutambiswa chomama* which refers to situations where some sections of humanity are forced to waste their energy engaging in actions/agency that do not bear fruits. In *kutambiswa chomama*, a small group of dominant people, such as the small group of global elites, play the ball (which is not necessarily flat as in *kutambiswa bhora risina mweya*) among themselves. However, in *kutambiswa chomama* there are also hopeful people, outside the small group of the dominant people in the world, who are, by design, kept forever running after the elusive ball which is kept circulating among the members of the small dominant group/section of humanity. In other words, in *kutambiswa chomama,* the dominant group or section of humanity monopolises the ball such that the other people outside this dominant group are forever engaged in chasing the ball but without ever catching it or even touching it or laying their feet on it. In *kutambiswa chomama*, one finds oneself forever chasing the ball that is, by design, monopolised by a small group of people who have designed the script in such a way that they keep everyone else actively and eternally busy chasing after the elusive ball and, often, even chasing the shadow of the ball. In this sense, *kutambiswa chomama* is just like actively chasing shadows which one would not be able to catch. The victims of *kutambiswa chomama* find themselves running all over trying to catch the ball or to kick the ball and, because they are deliberately set up to fail to catch the ball, they keep on running after it while the small group of global script writers leisurely pass the ball among themselves. The implication of the caveat in *kutambiswa chomama* is that Africans should study the ways in which the world is set up and determine why they are failing to exercise fruitful agency/actions on the continent of Africa. In fact, the phrase *kutambiswa chomama* means that the victims are made and designed to

exercise fruitless agency and actions, always fruitlessly running after the ball/s, until they defecate on themselves. Of course, in *kutambiswa chomama,* sometimes one gets so close to the ball that one thinks that one has eventually succeeded, only to realise that it was so near yet so far away.

Colonialism is resilient in the form of *kutambiswa chomama* on the continent of Africa where Africans are neoimperially managed through logics of cruel anticipation. Cruel anticipation in this regard refers to ways in which through *kutambiswa chomama*, Africans are kept hopeful about development even when they are dispossessed of their autonomy and sovereignty that are ordinarily essential for development; through cruel anticipation, Africans are kept hopeful of modernisation even as they are dispossessed of their autonomy and sovereignty which are ordinarily essential for modernisation; through cruel anticipation, Africans are kept hopeful of civilisation even as they are dispossessed of their material resources which are ordinarily essential for civilisation; similarly, through cruel anticipation, Africans are kept hopeful of civilisation even as they are advised to destroy their own polities, marriages, families, cultures, economies and even their bodies which are increasingly subjected to synthetic biology and nanotechnological fabrications. Writing about anticipation, Adams et al., (2009, p. 248-249) argue thus:

> Crucially, predictable uncertainty leads to anticipation as an affective state, an excited forward-looking subjective condition characterized as much by nervous anxiety as a continual refreshing of yearning […] Anticipatory regimes offer a future that may or may not arrive, is always uncertain and yet is necessarily coming and so therefore always demanding a response. Anticipatory regimes in their specificity can conjure many versions of the future, but what all speculations share is orientation towards and claim to the future as that which matters. Anticipation is not just betting on the future; it is a moral economy in which the future sets the conditions of possibility for action in the present, in which the future is inhabited in the present.

Cruel anticipation is about keeping the Africans hopeful in a world where those that are encouraging the Africans to be hopeful are the very same ones that are depriving Africans of the chances to actualise their anticipations. In the Shona people's parlance, cruel anticipation is depicted through *kugarira guyo sembwa* (a dog that perpetually lies

close to a millstone in the hope that it will get an opportunity to eat food on the millstone). The point is that if dogs had their own millstones, they would eat as they liked – instead of lying close to millstones owned by others in perpetual hope of getting a chance to eat food. The idea is for Africans not simply to celebrate the exercise of agency/action or to simply lie close to millstones that are owned and controlled by others – rather the idea is for Africans to own and control their own millstones over which they exercise autonomy and sovereignty. To simply lie close to the millstones of others in the hope of receiving humanitarian aid would be to become animals, in the sense of assuming the postures of dogs deprived of autonomy and sovereign ownership over resources. To illustrate how cruel anticipation plays out with the colonisation of Africa, I draw on Matunhu (1976, p. 60) who writes about how Zimbabwe was colonised using the Rudd Concession thus:

> The concession became known as the Rudd Concession. In return for granting this mineral concession to Rhodes, the Matabele King was supposed to receive about $300 per month for an unspecified period, 11, 000 Martin Henry Breech loading rifles and a steam gun-boat to be stationed somewhere on the Zambezi River about 400 miles from the Matabele capital of Bulawayo. How Rhodes or his agents were going to take the gun-boat up the unnavigable Zambezi River has never been explained. At any rate, King Lobengula never received from Rhodes the money, the guns and not even the gun-boat.

The lesson in the quotation is that Africans are colonised through promises of better things that never materialise; Africans are advised in the promises to destroy their marriages and families in order to get better marriages and better families that do not materialise; similarly, Africans are advised in the promises to destroy their polities in order to get better polities, which better polities never materialise; equally, Africans are advised to destroy their autonomy and sovereignty in order to get better lives which better lives never materialise. Africans are advised to relinquish ownership and control over their economies and natural resources in order to get better economies and commodities, which better economies never materialise. In the same vein, Africans are advised to destroy their natural African bodies in order to get better synthetic bodies, which better bodies never materialise as better. After all these promises, Africans are kept

running from pillar to post in the sense of *kutambiswa chomama*. The point is that even contemporary African leaders suffer cruel anticipation in the sense that at independence they anticipated restitution of land back to Africans which did not happen; at independence they expected to resume sovereignty over their natural resources which resumption did not happen; also, at independence they anticipated economic sovereignty, growth and development which did not happen – they continue to depend on "humanitarian aid" which ironically reduces them to lying beside millstone, like dogs, in perpetual anticipation of aid, ironically, from those that enslaved and colonised them. In this regard, it is also a question of the colonisation of imagination – they can no longer imagine themselves as autonomous sovereigns in a world that has eroded the distinctions between Africans and nonhuman animals.

Conclusion

To be remotely controlled is to be treated like a skunk whose tail is held by the masters who deprive such skunks of autonomy and sovereignty. Agency/action should be premised on the exigencies of autonomy and sovereignty if there are to be any meaningful and fruitful results for the agents. To be remotely controlled is to have one's agency/action hijacked and redirected to the service of the masters. This chapter has argued that Africans need to ensure that they reclaim their autonomy and sovereignty if they are to effectively develop and modernise the continent. Relying on "humanitarian aid" alone is not sufficient to guarantee the sovereignty and autonomy of Africans. The chapter has argued that when Africans spend time waiting for "humanitarian aid" they are in essence becoming dogs in the sense of dogs that lie close to millstones, owned by others, in the hope of getting food. What is needed is for Africans to assume sovereignty over their natural resources so that they are not forced into *kutambiswa chomama*.

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Chapter 15

The Fourth Industrial Revolution: The First Robotization of Africans

David Salinas Flores

The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is promoted as the process of accelerated automation of traditional manufacturing and industrial practices via digital technology (Benyera, 2021).

Klaus Schwab, the main promotor of the 4IR writes in his book considered the manual of 4IR: "The 4IR gives us the ability to live a longer, healthier and more active life" (Schwab, 2016, p. 34).

Benefits of the 4IR have been the focus of many scholars. The 4IR is hailed as a solution to Africa's problems such as hunger, malnutrition and famine, water crises, human insecurity, public sector underperformance, poor communication, unreliable transport services, poor education among others (Benyera, 2021; Fomunyam, 2019), on the bases of such promotions of the 4IR, the whole world is experiencing new technologies related to the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Thus, in Africa, several nations, most notably South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Rwanda, are aiming to take a lead in the implementation of policies intended to address the challenges represented by the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Ostrowick, 2021; South African Government, 2020). However, it is necessary to emphasize that this onset of this 4IR is being developed with technologies applied to things. A recent article published this year notes that:

> "Thus, disruptive technologies directly related to 4IR such as Artificial Intelligence (AI),
> Robotics, Block Chain and 3D printing are emerging faster" (Nyagadza et al., 2022, p.5).

An objective analysis of the books, and the promotion of the 4IR, however reveals that the main objective of the Fourth Industrial Revolution is the application of these technologies in human beings.

Actually, this initial application of 4IR technology to things is only the anteroom to the application of this 4IR technology in human beings, thus, the promoted internet of things aims to be the prelude to cerebral internet.

Schwab, author of the "manual of the 4IR" asserts that:

> I believe that today we are at the beginning of a fourth industrial revolution. It began at the turn of this century and builds on the digital revolution. The fourth industrial revolution, however, is not only about smart and connected machines and systems. Its scope is much wider. Occurring simultaneously are waves of further breakthroughs in areas ranging from gene sequencing to nanotechnology...It is the fusion *of* these technologies and their interaction across the physical, digital and biological domains that make the fourth industrial revolution fundamentally different from previous revolutions (Schwab, 2016, p. 11 -12).

> "The fourth industrial revolution is unique because of the growing harmonization and integration of so many different disciplines and discoveries...For example, digital technologies can interact with biological world" (Schwab, 2016, p.15).

> "The convergence of physical, digital ad biological world is in the heart of the 4IR" (Schwab, 2016, p.63).

> "In short: the objective of the 4IR, that make the fourth industrial revolution *fundamentally different from previous revolutions"* (Schwab, 2016, p. 12)*: is the fusión of the digital and biological.*

Schwab (2016, p. 94), is more explicit in his book, he writes: "Technological advances are pushing us to new frontiers of ethics. Should we use the staggering advances in biology only to cure disease and repair injury, or should we also make ourselves better humans?

The end of the book by Schwab (2016, p 156), the part of the book that authors generally use as conclusion, is practically a promotion of invasive neurotechnology: Neurotechnologies. The tipping point: The first human with fully artificial memory implanted in the brain.

Thus, this evidences that the 4IR is only an intellectual camouflage to the massive application of the new technologies in human beings.

In other words, the main objective of 4IR is the massive implementation of transhumanism. Therefore, if governments of Africa want to apply 4IR technology they must be mindful of transhumanism as well.

Transhumanists state that adding technological implants and inserting DNA in human beings will improve their condition. It is striking that the transhumanist postulates have been analysed from different points of view such as sociological, religious, moral (Ostrowick, 2021), philosophical (Holm, 2016) and bioethics, however the main analysis related to the evidence of their affirmations is absent. Thus, one of the most promoted critical intellectual about transhumanism is American Francis Fukuyama; he writes in an article: "The first victim of transhumanism might be equality" (Fukuyama, 2004, p.42).

Recent research are revealing the truth about transhumanism; the transhumanism is a fraud, a big fraud (Salinas, 2018a, p.381).

The intellectual fraud is based on three facts.

1) Transhumanists hide the fact that technological implants can be a weapon against the citizen;
2) transhumanists invent many benefits of technological implants; and
3) transhumanists do not use the technological implants that they promote.

Concealment of the harmful effects of technological implants

(a) Technological implant can cause diseases "nano-diseases"

Technological implants such as nanobots can be injected into bodies, they can be put in the water, that human beings drink, they can be put in the food that human beings eat and they can be put in the air that human beings breathe (Nhemachena et al, 2021a, p. 14). Thus, nanobots can be placed in food, they are ingested, they can circulate in the blood, and they can be located in specific organs. Nanobots can produce blockage or stimulation of these organs and they can, thus, produce any disease or symptom such as intestinal obstruction, ocular refraction defects, sexual impotence, respiratory failure and even death. A recent article alerts: "Emergent cerebral

internet which threatens intensifications of epidemics…" (Nhemachena, 2021a).

It is necessary to highlight that nano-diseases are hidden by the medical establishment. Actually, their current scientific state is being hidden by the scientific media, thus, for example, nowadays, with the invasive neurotechnology human brains can be hacked, they can be manipulated in the same way humans manipulate computers, it is possible to send brain algorithm to other brains by wi-fi, therefore this can cause new diseases; there is a secret new neuropathology: a nano-neuropathology. Most doctors do not know this disease. Justin Sanchez of the biological technology of DARPA, stated in an interview that; "There is no technology that can acquire signals to inform scientists of exactly what is happening inside the brain" (Gorman, 2013).

However, recent research show that DARPA is the main organizer of cerebral internet in the world (Salinas, 2018b); also, the magazine "The Economist" promotes cerebral internet with the image of the brain with wi-fi and some organizations donate shirts, with symbology of brainnet, to poor girls. The evidence of concealment of current developments by scientists is abundant. On the other hand, recent research show that many sci-fi tv and movies have a secret script: illicit medical experimentation using nanotechnology in the whole world (Salinas, 2018c; Salinas, 2019a; 2019b; 2019c; 2019d). This concealment of current science and the illicit medical experimentations use secret scripts of the sci-fi series and movies. In this regard, series of science fiction can become libraries from which this secret science can be drawn. Although the American establishment and its media hide what is going on from the citizens of the world, this kind of tv series can be a source of medical information about CIA-caused diseases - diseases that are not described in university medical books such as the diseases caused by nanobots. In the use of nanotechnology there are also risks like mind control, loss of privacy due to use of cerebral internet and so on. The best information about nano-diseases is not yet found in the few books written on nanotechnology. However, information on nano-diseases can be derived from an analysis, with scientific rigor, of science fiction series such as Black Mirror or Person on Interest (Salinas, 2019c).

(b) Nanobots can be used as weapons of delinquency

The illicit nanotechnology has created a new kind of criminals, criminals that could be called "nano-hired killers" or "nano-torturers", those responsible for the "dirty work" of nanomafia; these mainly include journalists, university students, nurses and illegal immigrants like many Venezuelans in Peru: these people would be responsible for performing several works including: selection of the victims, choice of "the persons of interest", persons who can assist the nanomafia; they intoxicate the victims with nanobots through food, drinks or pills or they can kidnap the victims in order to insert in them the brain implants; they can also edit, select and market mind videos obtained from the daily espionage using the Brain net, they also do mind torture, victim torture, breaching the victims' privacy, they perform information and espionage of victims' dreams; they obtain information from the victims' dreams, they use the Brain net for extortion; they create pseudo-diseases blocking the function of organs by telemetry in order to then extort the victim with "the cure" (Salinas, 2018d).

Medical articles say good things about brain net, it is one of the most promoted "innovation" of transhumanism:

> Brain net allows the capturing of the private lives, of the victims, mainly the sexual one, capturing the audiovisual extortion material, stealing intellectual information, and capturing brain algorithms, judicial information, confession secrets, prayers, credit cards passwords or any other kind of private information.

The Brain net aims to become the most powerful extortion, mind control, honour destruction and privacy violation weapon owned by the organized criminals, the state terrorism and the cyberwar perpetrators (Salinas, 2018e).

It is surprising that the advocates of the 4IR are silent about the dangerous effects of transhumanism to human beings. Klaus Schwab (2016) in this book "The Fourth Industrial Revolution" does not mention nano-diseases or nano-criminals. It is necessary to highlight that the main partners of transhumanist mafia are the police, prosecutors and intelligence services in the world. They hide complaints about crimes committed by nano-criminals using their nano-weapons. Recently, The National Joint of Justice, the highest

rank authority of justice in Peru, filed a denunciation of a mafia of prosecutors related to illicit nanotechnology (Junta Nacional de Justicia, 2021).

Research about illicit nanotechnology say in books:

> Why do books on nanotechnology rarely ever mention nanoweapons? The answer is that nanoweapons are "classified," meaning the technology and its military applications are either "Secret" or "Top Secret." The technologists involved in their development cannot publish their research in scientific journals, they can't speak about it at scientific conferences, or give media interviews about it. (Del Monte, 2017, pxii).

Recent research reveal the reason for this "top secret": Crimes developed with nanoweapons are the source of illicit enrichment and sex pleasure of a mafia of police, prosecutors and members of intelligence services in the world (Salinas, 2018a,d,e).

Nanotechnology as a tool for committing crimes is giving rise to an exclusive corrupt circle of "new millionaires": professors of medicine, health unions, doctors, nurses, technicians, hospital managers, physicists, journalists, publishers of scientific magazines, librarians, engineers, politicians, professors, policemen, prosecutors, judges, the military, university students and even school students who illicitly become rich at the expense of their victims' health, honour and their lives (Salinas, 2018d).

The concealment of nano-mafias, nano-diseases and nanoweapons by mafias of prosecutors and police (Salinas, 2018 a, d, e) has a mega objective. The manufacture of consent to massive use of nanotechnology in the society as a tool of education, tool of security, tool of surveillance in health and disease, delivery of drugs or vaccines, food additives whose promotion has already begun; if human beings do not know anything about nano-diseases or nano-crime, they easily accept nano-implants into their brains, they will think that nanotechnology is beneficial to them.

While the world may massively use nanotechnology in education, and medicine among others, humanity may remain unaware that they are being spied on or they are under mind control, this mafia of prosecutors, police, agent of national service of intelligence and

journalists will continue getting sexual pleasure with cybersex, sexual relations with teenagers who are turned into sex slavery, with mind control or under extortion; the mafia will also continue to spy on sexual lives of university students in the world, they will obtain information to use in extortion and they will torture and kill honest citizens who denounce them.

(c) Technological implants can be used as military weapon

DARPA's scientists have publicly stated, at conferences, that cerebral internet was successfully used by the US army in the Gulf War. The cerebral internet simulates the voice of the unconscious, and for this reason it has been used as a weapon, taking advantage of the faith. It was named "the voice of God", this weapon was able to trick the soldiers of the Iraqi army to persuade them to surrender (Salinas, 2019b). It is important that African governments know it. Similar to the ways in which the US army, in the military bases in Peru, is using jungles in the nanotechnological experiments, they could do the same in Africa.

US military bases in Africa

Some African scholars have already noted the existence of US military bases in Africa:

"US empire has a massive military presence in Africa, the empire is busy situating military bases and command posts in Africa. The United States is the most present foreign army in Africa with their African Command (AFRICOM) being omnipresent in every African region…" (Benyera, 2021, p.113).
"Apart from setting of military commands such as AFRICOM, The United States of America expanded its secret intelligence operations in Africa with bases for espionage and surveillance programs" (Nhemachena et al., 2020, p.9).

United States armed forces are organizing brain net in the jungles of the world

There is plenty of evidence that point to US Navy organizing the cerebral internet in the Peruvian jungle; there is evidence about the existence of two military bases in the Peruvian jungle (Madre de Dios

e Iquitos). (NAMRU-6) is considered a unique military base in South America, It is necessary to highlight that NAMRUD-6, justifies its presence in the jungle of Peru arguing that its objective is only infectious diseases research, however, recent researches show that the main aim of NAMRUD-6 is actually to organize mafias of cerebral internet in Peru, there is plenty of evidence that point to a massive and secret release of brain nanobots in the Peruvian jungle; thousands of teenagers are becoming victims of surveillance and mind control. So, mind control is a secret mega problem of public health in the Peruvian jungle; surprisingly it has been created by the government and health institutions such as National Health Institute in Peru, Naval, Medical Research Unit Six (NAMRU-6) (Salinas, 2020).

In this regard, the presence of US military bases in Africa lead to high suspicion that African adolescents would become victims of American military mafias of brain net in African jungles; they would be under espionage and mind control, and turned into sex slaves.

Brain implants are the main tools for digital fascism

The global transhumanist mega-project is created by the elite that secretly rules the world, these elites are grouped into different categories like the masons, The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and the Bilderberg Club; they seek to create a world society including digital fascism with an elite of millionaires who will not use brain microchips and nanobots. They will have access to the video stations to mentally control, spy and enslave the rest of the global citizens. The humans with brain nanobots are subjected to the following: mind control, permanent monitoring using the Brain net, elimination of their emotions, living in a virtual reality, mind deletion and elimination of sexuality" (Salinas, 2018a, p.391).

Global elites and their transnational corporations and institutions are anxious to implant and insert chips, nanobots and biometric sensors into African brains and bodies, homes and cities for purposes of global surveillance, dataveillance and sousveillance in the emergent One World Government (Nhemachena et al., 2021b, p.113).

"The net effect of embodying nanobots is that the human body and brain become open to manipulation by global elites…the human bodies begin to speak to the western advocacy for open societies in

Africa, global elites do not only want to establish open societies in Africa, but they also want to establish open bodies and open minds that can be remotely controlled and read by the same global elites" (Nhemachena et al., 2021a, p.14).

With these "smart" technological insertions, implants and injections, human beings will become walking robots, talking robots and fighting robots. Actually, workers with mind control practically give his body to CEO's transnationals, they will use the bodies of the workers under mind control as extension of this body. it will be the worst exploitation of the worker in the history.

An expert in contra intelligence states in relation to digital fascism using brain net: "The new society mental...the society that is becoming by leaps and bounds does not present good expectations for most of the population...our inner self will become transparent, accessible to anyone, our thoughts will become public domain" (Baños, 2020, p.410).

A South African university lecturer alerts:

"Once a person's gene and memory have been captured by the data miners, a person will be subject to being hacked and controlled by those in charge. There is no superior form of slavery such as owning, controlling, and managing one's genes, memory, and thought processes. The capturing of these aspects of humanity constitutes what can be termed *the sum of all colonialities*" (Benyera, 2021, p.77).

"In the 4IR, Africa will turn in a postbiological society characterized by high levels of hybrid human-machine" (Benyera, 2021, p.132).

Actually, the best proof of the main objective of 4IR, is in Schwab's own words: he writes in the manual of 4IR: "The fourth industrial revolution has the potential to robotize humanity" (Schwab, 2016, p. 105).

In short, the real future with 4IR is: The new slavery will be human robotization, brain nanobots and microchips, will be the new chains and shackles. Actually, the secret mega objective of 4IR seeks to achieve human slaves for the millionaires who ruled the world.

They invent benefits of technological implants

Transhumanists state that adding technological implants and inserting DNA in human beings will improve their condition, they use several clichés: "Nanobots in our brains will make us godlike" (Kurzweil, cited by Miles, 2015).

However, there is no scientific evidence for this claim made by Kurzweil.

Most amazing is that in spite of the unrealistic and almost delirious affirmations of transhumanists, their theories are promoted and supported at the highest official level in the world and are promoted daily by the press, and most remarkable is that they practically do not have much opposition from scientists or intellectuals who even spread their unrealistic postulates.

The other cliché is "Enhancement". An African lecturer argued:

"If such technologies disable – as they do - human autonomy, sovereignty and control over the brain, mind, body and so on, the question is how they enhance or augment the same humans? The question is why such technologies are depicted as enhancing or augmenting humans?" (Nhemachena, 2021b).

Transhumanists do not use brain implants that they promote

Rob Neil, the Director of the University of the Singularity, financed by Google; "If you want to be at the forefront in the future, you will have to introduce improvements (biological)" (Salinas, 2018a, p.383)

Nick Bostrom said: "I Want to be a Posthuman!" (Bostrom, 2008, p.1).

However, they do not use brain implants, this is the best proof of the transhumanist scam, none of the transhumanists uses the dangerous brain implants and the technological innovations that they promote because they know the truth, brain nanobots can cause diseases or be used as tool for committing crimes. Thus, in the massive public lectures they perform, they do not perform the "mind uploading" with the brain net, which allows a person's entire private life to be made public, it is necessary to highlight that this nanotechnology already exist, it is being used secretly on workers;

thus, in Peru, recent researches indicate that Venezuelan immigrant young women are accepting jobs of which conditions include obligatory use of the brain internet so that is worst, there is a secret installation of cerebral internet in workers without their knowledge. Probably this modality is the most common (Salinas, 2019b).

Conclusion

The implantation of 4IR transhumanist technologies will have two consequences:

(a) Recolonization of Africa

Implantations of invasive pieces of intelligent technologies into human brains, bodies, homes and African indigenous spaces are risky. Once empire is technologically lodged in indigenous brains, it will become impossible to decolonise and resist the imperial force and its voice within. (Nhemachena et al., 2021b, p.128).

(b) The end of the humanity of Africans

For many centuries, African people were dehumanized, they were depicted as indistinct from machines and animals therefore they did not deserve autonomy, human dignity, human integrity and privacy (Nhemachena, et al., 2021b) Even prestigious intellectuals such as Hegel described African people as wild and therefore as fit for enslavement (Adegbindin, 2015). Thus, when Africans will be converted into transhumans this vision of Africans will return.

World plutocracy will use all their power to implant 4IR transhumanist technologies in the whole world, African governments must resist this implantation of 4IR transhumanism. Actually, the application of 4IR transhumanism technology, will be the end of the humanity of Africans.

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