

tapri

THE EUROPEANIZATION OF WAR IN AFRICA: FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN WARFARE

Author(s): M. A. Mohamed Salih

Source: *Current Research on Peace and Violence*, 1989, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1989), pp. 27-37

Published by: Tampere Peace Research Institute, University of Tampere

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40725112>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Tampere Peace Research Institute, University of Tampere is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Current Research on Peace and Violence*

THE EUROPEANIZATION OF WAR IN AFRICA: FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN WARFARE

1. Introduction

The present wars in Africa cannot be discussed without reference to direct or indirect European involvement. However, the concept of the Europeanization of war in Africa has more to do with the manner in which Europe has mediated and transformed war in Africa from limited tribal warfare to the use of machineguns and modern weapon systems. Furthermore, new values, mainly inherited from the colonial legacy are still persistent in shaping peace and war in Africa. Ironically some European laymen, educated elites, historians, and humanists never questioned some of the stereotypes that they use in daily life and in academic works as regard to what differentiates a world war from other types of war. It is not surprising that wars which were 'worldly' in their impact on the political map of the World are not considered world wars, however worldly they were. Hence a war which did not negatively affect Europe was not a world war since the world is used as a synonymous to Europe and vice versa. An ethnocentric self-indulgence which perceives the world in a very narrow sense of European (Firth 1956, Conrad 1970) values versus 'other cultures' and 'human types'.

The colonial wars which annexed Africa, North and South America, Australia and New Zealand to Europe are not world wars because Europeans prospered from them through commerce, slave trade and by acquiring the pride of being the masters of mankind. The 'other' wars against whole continents in which almost all European countries were partners in looting the resources of others are not considered world wars and are seen by the European colonial powers as legitimate since they expanded their might and political boundaries all over the world.

The dawn of independence in Africa meant that the European colonial flags have left the continent even though they managed to leave behind a strong paragon represented by South Africa. Moreover, the European values related to war and their pervasive effect have corrupted the political scene and led to

the erosion of traditional values and institutions. Yet the Africans are to be blamed for their political prematurity, abuse of human rights and war-like political leadership. Let us not forget that a political leadership, like that of Africa, whose role and agenda have been prescribed by external powers can never dare to respect its peoples, their human rights or claim to be politically mature.

The main proposition of this article is that there were several world wars before the First and the Second European World Wars. The penetrating effect of the earlier wars has staggering impacts on Africa today. It produced a continent ravaged with war and conflicts in which European values have dominated over traditional African institutions of war and peace. In other words it is premature to separate the dominance of European economic, political, and administrative systems from that of the technology of war and its effects on society. The former set of factors have militated the Europeans opting for protecting their political and economic interests either by direct involvement of paratroopers or extending military aid which fueled rather than solved the accelerating African conflicts.

Second, this article proposes that the end of the colonial wars has marked the beginning of conventional inter-state, internal and inter-ethnic wars as well as silent wars. Political instability caused by austerity measures, devaluation of currencies, external monetary pressures, trade restrictions and the like represent the most visible form of silent war between Africa and Europe. The Europeanization of war in Africa is both military and non-military adding one misery to another and developing the whole continent into economic, political and social bankruptcy. Therefore, the Europeanization of war in Africa is only another dimension to the savagery/neo-savagery debate (Salih, 1988) and the enemy image postulates (Harle, 1988) and their crony relevance to the impact of the European international values on peace and war in Africa.

2. *Europe and Africa: Old and New*

The relationship between Europe and Africa dates back to pre-colonial periods and cannot be discussed without historical reference. To start such a discussion with concepts such as neo-colonialism, structural dependence or unequal exchange would paint part but not the whole picture of the political values inherent in the relationship. To be sympathetic with the present while giving little attention to the misery of the past would only obscure rather than clarify the concepts used in the debate. To offer a synoptic of the early European/African encounters, I allow myself to quote at length Sesay's (1986: pp.1–2) Introduction to 'Europe and Africa'. Sesay reports that,

The domination of parts of Africa by certain European countries pre-dated the 1880s. The Romans were the earliest significant European conquerors of African people's. The Roman contact was in the form of military venture, manifested in the attempt to subjugate the famous African-based Empire of Carthage... The first of the clashes was Punic war of 264–241 BC, which resulted in the defeat of Carthage... The second Carthage war, 218–202 BC. The Roman control over North Africa, however, began to decline from the third century. This decline had, by the fifth century, allowed a group of European barbarians, the Vandals, to take over control of the western regions of North Africa.

The advent of the Muslim Arab invasions in the seventh century swept away traces of Roman rule in North Africa. The re-awakening of European interest came with the activities of the Portuguese mariners. The Kingdom of Portugal had earlier conquered the North African Kingdom of Morocco... they diverted the gold route to the Atlantic Coast of Africa. Portuguese activities in Africa eventually extended to several parts of the continent including the kingdom of Congo; the Gold Coast... present day Angola, Mozambique and Benin.

Other European nations did not delay too long in following Portuguese steps in the newly-discovered African coasts. Spain and France followed by 1494... the British joined the race in the 1660s... At various times other European countries had forts in the Gold Coast, such included the Swedes, the Danes and Brandenburgers... The 18th century European wars finally saw Britain as the major commercial force along the coastlines.

The Berlin Conference 1884 which led to the partition of Africa between the colonial powers had largely shaped the present map of Africa according to Francophone and Anglophone-speaking countries.

The full annexation of Africa under colonial rule was preceded according to Falola (1987: pp. 26–7) by deception, acquisition through military activities and the use of missionaries, and pax Britannica. The

final method of pacification involved the military campaign, the most effective of all the strategies. In Falola's words,

African resistance movements had no chance of success in view of the military and technological gap between them and the European invaders. Moreover, the European merchants and traders along the coast were in the habit of selling obsolete weapons to the African potentates.

Although this part of the African history is well known, I brought these passages to illustrate that many historians, including Africans, present the African history after the European image. Events are heartlessly reported as if the colonization process and slave trade were carried out through what some European scholars erroneously call 'contact'. The pretension that Africa was subdued through contact and missionary activities is far fetched and is no longer acceptable. The concept of cultural contact, I believe, is so passive and mild to describe the yelling of children and women and the misery of youth and adults who were in the run fearing for their lives from the bullets, the steel chains and the clubs of the ruthless inhuman European and non-European slave raiders¹. The firearms used by these powers devastated the peaceful African villages, burnt the farms, destroyed the animals and the lives of millions. Whole continents were brought to their knees, their peoples enslaved and sold like cheap commodities in the new and the old Worlds.

Wasn't that the longest World War ever in the history of mankind? A war that extended from the time when the first African slaves were exported to Portugal in 1441 to today's apartheid in South Africa. New enslavement in the form of pass laws, denial of political rights, oppression and the use of the first of law, the police and the army to suppress the aspirations of the Africans simply because they have different skin pigment. The 'other' world wars are full of grieve, horror, holocaust and annihilation of millions of peoples. These wars were severe and destructive and even worse than some aspects of the Europeans First and Second World Wars.

It seems that the only difference between yesterday's and today's Europe is that it became more conscious of the existence of other peoples and other cultures through humanitarian, progressive, radical and religious groups. Nevertheless, although such groups are quick to condemn injustice and the colonial past, they are not in a position to change the status quo. One should admit that there is a recession of the ideological uniformity of the past which facilitated the

wars against the rest of the world. Anti-apartheid and other anti-racist political groups have managed to coexist with racist, national and red fronts. The emergence and interaction of such values represent a healthy direction in a changing World, but how much promise they hold for changing the enemy image is yet to be seen in the coming decades.

What interests me here is not the horrors of slavery and colonialism which we all know something about, but their implications for the present political brawl in Africa. What is the nature of war and peace in African 'modern' states vis-à-vis traditional warfare. I argue that political economists have failed to recognize that the most grievous of African miseries are probably those inflicted by the transfer of military technology to Africa. It is through this technology rather than the plantations and the multi-nationals that Africa was enslaved and subdued. The present impact of such weapons of Africa is far-reaching. It has penetrated the social systems relating to the value of humanity and dignity. It is unfortunate that the Europeans have always failed to recognize that the values which mediated Nazism, Fascism and Stalinism have never existed in Africa. Those ugly abuses of power and human rights by some African leaders who still enjoy the support of their European masters can never be explained against anything other than the penetration of such European political values as Fascism and Nazism in the minds of the African political leadership. After all it is the European history of modern European leadership which we have all (here I mean educated Africans) been socialized to admire and appreciate. We were made to believe that our societies are savage and war-like although war in traditional Africa was never a war of genocide, holocaust or mass killings in concentration camps. The sad thing about this is that modern military technology is desired by the African political leadership which created itself alongside the image of Europe at the expense of the hungry, the poor, the diseased and the destitutes.

3. Tribal Warfare and Peace in Traditional African Societies

It is naive to argue that there were no wars in pre-colonial Africa and that it is the Europeans who brought war to Africa. However, there are several differences between traditional warfare in Africa and those which followed the Europeanization of war. Some European scholars in their drive towards distinguishing their civilized world from 'primitive' Africa have gone as far as

denying that there was any war in Africa. The famous remark by Nettleship (1975, p. 86) that,

war is a civilized phenomenon, different from primitive fighting

is a good representative of this view. As an African whose continent has been described by many Europeans as primitive, I may find this concept appealing since it coincides with my redefinition of some aspects of European civilization, especially nuclear weapons as a form of neo-savagery (Salih, 1988). However, this is not sufficient to solve the question before hand. If war is a civilized phenomenon then the only wars that have ever been fought were those which involved the Europeans who assume that they are civilized while other human societies are primitives. In retrospect it leads to the same conclusion that the only world wars that have been fought so far were the First and the Second World Wars because they involved the European powers. I do not wish to pride Africa with the term civilized by proving that there was no war in Africa before the advent of colonialism. On the contrary, I'm of the view that what is called tribal warfare was not a war. It was a fight between equals who possessed the same type of rudimentary weapons and skills. This means that Nettleship is absolutely right if he meant that Africa did not possess and use the civilized (or neo-savagery) weapons of war which can destroy villages, countries or the whole world. Again Europe has set the scale for defining what can be called war and what cannot.

The colonialists and many enlightened Europeans usually claim that they succeeded in putting an end to African tribal warfare through administrative controls and military expeditions. It is also equally true that the colonialists did implement a policy of 'divide and rule' which left the continent in shambles when it gained its independence. Tribal identities which were suppressed and prevented from interaction in order to create nations, came out very forcibly and endangered the unity of so many African countries. It seems that the colonialists have taken away with the left hand what they gave with the right hand. More seriously they have introduced a new dimension to warfare in Africa in the form of modern weapons with high rates of accuracy and technically prone to mass killings and genocide.

Another important point is that political anthropologists often describe the evolution of state societies as one from tribal to chieftainship and from chieftainship to state. Mazrui (1977, p. 8) argues in reply to Walter (1969, pp. 57-58) that,

what distinguishes a state from chiefdom is the nature and means of coercion authorized and exercised in the political community. In contrast to a chief, who can mobilize an armed force if necessary, the head of state claims the legitimate monopoly of force and commands a special body of men organized to use it.

It seems that states both old and new have, to a certain extent, adhered to the principles of exercising the form of political power that can authorize war. However, the difference between the old and the new African states lies more in the structure, nature and means of war rather than the general principles of statehood. There are, nevertheless, more visible differences in the absorption of the new African leadership of and its dependence on structures borrowed from Europe. The weapons, training and combat tactics are nothing but replicas of the European armies both in form and structure. There is, moreover, the difference in technology since the Europeans used advanced weapons systems which are unfortunately capable of annihilating the human race altogether.

In contrast to European armies, the armies in the old African states were equipped with rudimentary and undifferentiated types of weapons as shown in Table 1.

Four comments made by Uzoigwe (1977, p. 48) are of relevance to this discussion: first, precolonial African military technology was very rudimentary and shows more similarities than dissimilarities. Shields, spears, knives, etc. provided the common denominator. Second, in either offensive or defensive war, training tactics, cohesion, leadership, discipline, mutual spirit, numbers, and geography, in varying ways, would seem to be more crucial than technology. Third, firearms were fairly well spread at any rate by the 19th century. However, with colonialism and European expansion in Africa, firearms became decisive weapons in war. Fourth, the crucial point to discuss is not the novelty of the technology available to the state, but more importantly who controlled that technology. The answer to this question is found in Goody (1971, pp. 43–46) who argues that,

the bow and arrow is essentially a democratic weapon; every man knows how to construct one; the materials are readily available, the techniques uncomplicated, the missiles easy to replace (though more difficult with the introduction of iron that affected even hunting people like Hadza of Tanzania and Bushmen of Kalahari). With the technologies of bow and stone-tipped arrow any type of centralization is almost impossible. But with the introduction of iron, kingdoms are on the cards.

Table 1.
The Weapons Used in Traditional African States

<i>State</i>	<i>Technology</i>
Acholi	Shield, spear, knife
Buganda	shield, throwing spear, stabbing spear, (firearms, 19th century)
Bugisu	shield, spear, knife
Bunyoro-Kitara	shield, throwing spear, stabbing spear, bow and arrow (used only by the fishing communities)
Buganda,	(firearms 19th century)
Hausa	shield, horse, sword, bow and arrow, (firearms?)
Igbo	shield, spear, bow and arrow, dagger, spiked club, matchets, steel knife (firearms?)
Ndebele	shield, throwing assegai (spear), stabbing spear, (firearms, 19th century)
Tukulor	Shield, horse, sword, (firearms?)
Yoruba	Shield, spear, bow and arrow, sword, horse (firearms?)
Zulu	Shield, throwing assegai (spear), stabbing assegai, (firearms?)

Source: G.N. Uzoigwe, 1977, *The Warrior and the State in Precolonial Africa*, p. 45)

This point has further been illuminated by Mazrui (1977, p. 797 who asserts that, the old days of military democracy, when everyone passed through the warrior stage, and when the weapons were the simple ones capable of being manufactured by the warrior himself, are now replaced by the era of military professional specialists with weapons required high technological skill to manufacture and specialized training to use.

The weapons Europe left behind or continued to export to Africa did have the grievous impact on the African societies; the most immediate of these impacts is the restructuring of the social values related to peace making and conflict resolution. As Goody has shown the relationship between the level of technology and social relations is very intimate. In the particular African context institutions began to erode and gave way to modern administrative structure with

more relevance to the new systems of government than to the populace.

Although Fukui and Turton (1977, p. 9) were right in arguing that, "the consequences of the introduction of military technology in the tactic and organization of warfare, will depend upon underlying political and economic circumstances", they ran short of emphasizing the devastating impact of firearms on African communities. The scale of loss of human lives and animals caused by the possession of firearms is certainly greater than any traditional tribal warfare. Consider for example the Tutsi/Hutu (Rwanda), the Dinka/Humr (Sudan), Dassanetch/Nyangatom (Ethiopia) and the Ogaden/Ishaq (Somalia) conflicts and the scale of destruction they have inflicted upon the peoples of these tribal groups².

There is no war without an end as many anthropological works have attempted to show us. Likewise there is no war without peace as we have always been told about belligerent warring tribes for whom war is a profession that eclipses daily life activities. There are, of course, tribal institutions for conflict resolution ranging from the leopard skin chief of the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1940) to gada of the Boran (Baxter, 1978), the Barotse intricate system of councils of elders (Gluckman, 1965) and so on and so forth.

One of the features which are no longer part of modern wars in Africa is the power of dance and ritual. There are very scanty reports suggesting that dance is a "multimedia thought, emotion, motor for aesthetic capability to create moods and a sense of situation for performer and spectator alike" (Hanna, 1977, p. 111). There were also reports suggesting that some African tribes went for war for days while only two or three peoples were killed and a few scores injured.

Modern inter-tribal warfare is more than often being ordered by the political elites, both traditional and educated, for ideological reasons which heavily taxed ethnic sentiments and utilize them for political gains. The very reasons that mitigated raid and conflicts have changed and became more and more interlocked with problems of national and international power interests. For example, the conflicts between the ethnic groups occupying the borders of different states, share the same grazing lands and for whom seasonal movements across such borders are essential for their survival and the survival of their animals. Peace making in such situations involves nations and regional authorities which is true for conflicts across the border between Sudan and Ethiopia or between tribal groups in the Ogaden across the Ethiopian/

Somali border. The traditional systems of conflict resolution are increasingly retreating and giving way to modern systems which have alienated the tribal groups involved and made them feel less receptive to calls for peace which does not include their social values and ritual practices.

Considering the pervasiveness of the effect of the modern European political systems on Africa, it would only be fair to conclude this section by the powerful remark which is made by Anver Versi (1987, p. 116):

The Africans knowledge of the outside world depended almost exclusively on his grasp of European languages. His economy had become inextricably linked with the western-dominated world commerce. The concepts of government, power and administration all came from Western Europe or – as in the case of Nigeria's Second Republic – the United States. The entire state apparatus was inherited from the departing colonial power, often imposed, with no basis in society,

and so is the making of peace and war in Africa. However, an attempt has been made to highlight some of the problems incurred by the introduction of firearms in Africa and their impact on African polity and society. Such elements do have a crony relevance to the European involvement in war in Africa.

4. The Silent War: Africa and Europe from Mandatory to Independence

While prior to the 1800s the imperial power could expand in Africa with less possibility of armed conflict between the contesting parties, the post Berlin Conference 1884 and the partition of Africa meant that any attempt of expansion would inevitably mean war. According to Padmore (1972, p. 47),

It was precisely to avoid such a conflict that the Allied Powers, led by England and France, combined themselves in the League of Nations to guarantee the spoils of the World War, and to prevent Germany from reasserting herself as a dominating power in European affairs... Not without reason, Linen described the League of Nations as a 'Thieves Kitchen'.

African colonies were drawn into the Second World War with the promise that they will be given the right of self-determination if the Allied forces of which they were part won the War. Africans in the uniform fighting for their colonialists could be seen as far as Mexico and India. The dream of immediate self-determination after the war did not come true and the colonial deception had yet succeeded in aborting the African

aspirations. Hence, the post-Second World War marked the rise of Britain and France as the main imperialist powers holding between them about 30 percent of the surface of the earth. They conspired and came up with the idea of Mandatory System which is described by Padmore (p. 178) as,

conceived in sin and born in inequity. It was a huge fraud; the culmination of four years of hypocrisy, deception and dishonesty practised by the Allied statesmen upon the toiling masses of their countries who had been led to believe that they were fighting for 'democracy', 'self-determination', and war to end all wars.

The same deception and hypocrisy were practised against Africans who fought with the Allies in the hope of gaining self-determination. What they received was a Mandatory System. Although the Mandatory System declared the prohibition of slave trade, trafficking in arms and liquor, forced labour (except for public services!) and to refrain from the militarization of the blacks (so that they do not revolt against their colonial masters), it also came with the most inhumane policy decorations inside the African colonies. Consider for example the fact that Africans living under colonialism were subjected to pass laws, residential restriction ordinances, Masters and Servants Acts, which make them punishable by six months imprisonment for each of the following offences: 1) failure to begin work after signing a contract with a white man, 2) neglect of duty; 3) refusal to carry out master's orders, 4) drunkenness at work; 5) insulting an employer, his wife or daughter; 6) supplying false information; 7) using the masters' property without his permission; 8) absence from work without leave, which is considered desertion. In short, the Mandatory System has delegated the control of the African colonies to national collaborators while maintained its grips over the actual control of the army, the police, foreign policy and commerce.

When independence came to the rest of Africa, many Africans considered it partial victory since the same colonial mandatory policies are still practised in South Africa, thus giving those with the lust for dominating and subjugating others to their might a place in Africa. The old imperial objectives can still be served under the camouflage of independence through external pressures and the imposition of exploitative economic policies.

The USA and the USSR also began to emerge in the picture mostly guided by economic and political interests. The 1970s, according to Käkönen (1988, p. 165), were characterized by two features of international system,

first, the US system cycle had come to a low and second, the cycle of developing countries was rising. It is also important to bear in mind that in the 1970s at least those European states that had figured prominently in African history were now challenging the economic hegemony of the United States. This means that US involvement in African conflicts has essentially been motivated by its ambitions to maintain its hegemony. The main concern of European states has been to establish a basis for new expansion, which in the African context has led to mounting tensions between imperialist powers.

Such tensions between European powers, I believe, were often solved either by magnanimity or through aiding the national conflicting groups to serve their interests. This argument also suggests that although conflicts have changed their nature and magnitude after independence, they were actually taking the dimension of internal conflicts of interest or inter-state conflicts.

Sanctions more than military force is more in use since the African countries are still economically dependent on Europe. Instead of sending the paratroopers, except in the case of the US air raid of Libya in 1986, the shooting of the Libyan fighter planes in 1989, the French intervention in Chad, the use of the fist of the IMF and the World Bank and other European financing institutions or trade barriers are more and more in the use. Yet another form of a silent war against the disobedient and non-conformist. In short, apart from the visible or conventional wars (in Chad, Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique, the Spanish Sahara) that have ravaged Africa, there are also the invisible wars between the continent and the increasing external influences of the multinationals and the debtors over its resources³. There was the trade war in which the African producers of raw materials and primary products are continuously selling more and buying less.

Wright (1987, 3) summarizes the Africa/European relationship during the 1980s as follows:

While superpower rivalries continue to express themselves in areas such as North Africa, the Horn of Africa, other major powers have also been able to maintain a foothold on the continent... This presence is represented by the French in Chad during 1984 which has also maintained military forces in a number of former colonies as well as wide economic influence over a group of others. Britain's presence in Africa, in contrast, is not as evident, although its economic interests remain substantial. Its influence is aided by the commonwealth connection, while British military personnel in countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe provide continuing evidence of the colonial legacy.

An increasing differentiation and a widening economic gap between the rich and the poor worldwide and at the national level in Africa led some scholars to acknowledge the existence of a silent war between poor and rich classes and various interest groups. Some of the political unrests which have spread in most African countries cannot be separated from the genesis of economic hardship and IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes which cut subsidies on food, social services and other essential commodities.

Africa's move from mandatory systems to independence also signalled the transformation of such silent wars into military confrontations led by ethnic sentiments since the African states are too weak to manage survival let alone to realize development. One can make the hasty conclusion that most of the ethnic wars of Africa are a result of unequal access to power and resources and are not wholly based on the glorification of ethnicity. One cannot also be naive not to think that some of these wars have been supported by competing European states representing the Eastern or Western block. While USSR supported Ethiopia, the Western Powers supported the Eritreans and the Tigre liberation movements. The USA is supporting the Sudan against the Ethiopian/USSR support to the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA); a Southern movement fighting against Northern Political and economic domination in the Sudan etc.⁴

The conventional and silent wars in today's Africa and the direct and indirect European involvement in them indicates that the move from Mandatory Systems to independence is not more than a move from colonialism to neo-colonialism. The possibility of calling the present situation of hopelessness in Africa a mandatory system is not remote. Whereas it gave the African educated and political elites the impression that they are now in control of their states and resources, they have in fact been mandated by the European powers to govern their excolonies on their behalf.

5. *The Europeanization of War in Africa*

The Europeanization of war in Africa has taken three pervasive avenues: first, through the dominance of European military technology, organization, training, tactics and combat. Second, through European political support to African regimes of their liking and their supply with arms, paratroopers and professional personnel for training and transmission of military skills.

Third, the penetration of European values related to the creation of such military organizations and their role. However, the African military has exceeded the European by its direct involvement in politics through manipulation and military coups. The Europeanization of war in Africa, I believe, has started since the continent was conquered and brought under colonial dominance and the creation of national defence systems loyal to the colonial and neo-colonial powers. The recent forces which militated Africa's dependence on Europe economically and for defence purposes are summarized by Shaw (1987, pp. 18–31) as follows:

Fragility is central to Africa's political economies and is related to a major contradiction, one which both limits the development of Africa's own capabilities and perpetuates its dependence of external supply: 'exploitation'. On the one hand, metropolitan countries and corporations extract as much surplus as possible from African economies, while on the other hand they expect strategic stability. With insufficient resources remaining at the national level, African regimes tend to be unreliable allies at the international level. So metropolitan interests may be in contradiction to each other, with economic profitability undermining strategic reliability, alternately. Such a combination of relations serves to perpetuate Africa's economic and strategic dependence, recognizing the inter-relations between the two.

In this way Africans have assembled a lot of economic and military chunk in the form of weapons and underutilized factories mostly imported from Europe without a clear objective as to what such imports are going to yield. Hence one can argue that the relationship between arms and African development or underdevelopment is rather visible.

Arkhurst (1972) has set the stage for such debate in the first Pan-African Conference. The view that the defence expenditure of African countries is detrimental to development is not new since scarce resources are allocated to the war machine rather than to the badly needed health, educational and other public services. There is also the view that African armies should accept their role in the society as subordinates to the civilian authority and to have an enlightened role in making specific contributions to economic development.

Table 2 shows world arms deliveries to sub-Saharan Africa, 1976–1980. However this table can be better read in connection with Table 3, which shows the increase in African arms imports and military budgets. The picture is somehow frightening when measured against two drought phases during 1970s

Table 2

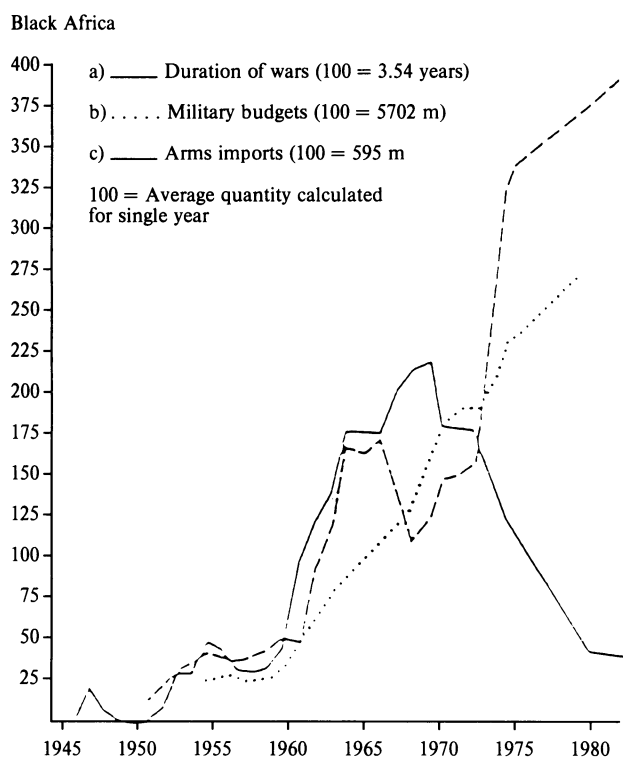
World Arms Deliveries to Sub-Saharan Africa, 1976-80 (in million current dollars)*

	Global	U.S.	USSR	France	UK	FRG
GRAND TOTAL	8395	385	3870	875	285	545
CENTRAL AFRICA	1470	50	635	180	10	15
Angola	950		550	10	10	10
Burundi	20		10			
Cameroon	20	20				
CAR	10					
Congo	70		60			
Equatorial Guinea	20		10			
Gabon	110		5	60		
Rwanda	30					
Sao Tome/Principe						
Zaire	240	30		110		5
SOUTH AFRICA	1220	20	400	210	90	10
Botswana	20				20	
Lesotho						
Malawi	30			10	10	5
Mozambique	280		180			
Namibia	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
South Africa	460	20		200		
Swaziland						
Zambia	340		220		20	5
Zimbabwe						
(Rhodesia)	90				70	
EAST AFRICA	4415	270	2480	100	65	385
Comoros	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Djibouti	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ethiopia	2300	80	1900	10		5
Kenya	180	50		30	40	
Madagascar	80		60	10		
Mauritius						
Seychelles	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Somalia	750		150	40	10	10
Sudan	575	140	10	5		360
Tanzania	470		320	5	10	
Uganda	60		40		5	10
WEST AFRICA	1245	45	355	385	120	135
Benin	30		20			
Cape Verde	50		50			
Chad	10		5	5		
Gambia	5					
Ghana	130				5	50
Guinea	50		50			
Guinea-Bissau	30		30			
Ivory Coast	250			200		
Liberia	10	5				
Mali	120		110			10
Mauritania	90			40		
Niger	40			40		10
Nigeria	330	40	90	50	110	50
Senegal	70		30			
Sierra Leone	5					
Togo	40			20		5
Upper Volta	30				5	10
(Bourkina Fasso)						

Source: ACDA, World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1976-1980, Washington, D.C., 1983.

* Statistics cover only arms, spare parts, ammunition, and support and other equipment considered primarily military in nature.

Table 3.
Time trend of wars in black Africa, military budgets, arms imports



Source: Kende, p. 133.

and 1980s, the famines which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands, malnutrition, and a declining rate of economic growth and worsening social conditions.

At the time when the superpowers and specially USSR are contemplating unilateral reductions in arms to provide better social conditions for their populations, the African countries have doubled their arms imports at a time of extreme economic hardship.

The view that superpowers reduction of arms would save sufficient resources to develop the Third World countries has been negated by Arkhurst (1972). He has correctly predicted the need for such funds to solve social problems within the disarming nations contrary to the view held by some optimistic observers who naively thought that such savings will benefit the Third World. Arkhurst (pp. 19–20) made the point that,

the conventional illusion among developing countries that superpower disarmament should release vast resources for aiding world development... there is no firm indication that the release of such

resources would even lead to the diversion of these resources toward socially oriented development in some of the disarming countries.

This view is so evident in the extremes of resource allocations that one notices in the United States of America where problems of poverty, the homeless and drug addicts are pressing for funds that surpasses budgets of a whole bunch of African states. Again Africa is still overwhelmed by war, famine, drought and general underdevelopment than by peace and development. Such wars to say the least, are Europeanized in the sense that any observer cannot avoid pointing out to an European hand indulging in such wars for strategic or national interest. Such is the case in Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique, Angola and the Spanish Sahara.

Another dimension to the Europeanization of war in Africa is the emergence of potential nuclear powers. Harkavy (1981), Henderson (1981), Shaw and Dowdy (1982) have all shown that there are indications that many developing countries including African states are opting for developing nuclear deterrents. Shaw (1987, p. 29) has particularly pointed out that,

In response to such global concerns, African (and Afrikaner?) nationalists tend to be fearful of new imperialisms, respecting the Maoist argument that the multilateral nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and unilateral nuclear safeguards are merely attempts to divide the World into nuclear 'haves' and 'have nots'.

There have been reports about South Africa's possession of nuclear weapons. Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria are considered potential nuclear powers, etc.⁵ Hence, these developments indicate nothing less than the unfortunate predicament that the Europeanization of war in Africa is taking the dangerous passage of Africa becoming involved in nuclear power. This is yet another example of the deep penetration of the European war values into Africa and the African response to them. A crisis continent with unprecedented economic stagnation, staggering rate of population growth, famine and natural disasters should be using its meagre financial resources to remedy such a tragic situation rather than wasting its energy in acquiring the tools of destruction.

6. Conclusions

This article represents a humble contribution to the on going debate amongst some educated Africans in response to the recent economic, political and social crises from which their continent suffers. European

readers may find it harsh on their history and an unpleasant reminder of the genesis of the present African turmoil. Others may attempt to dismiss it either in favour of a new world image which has put behind all the miseries of the past or as part of their non-commitment to the African cause. Either way this debate is important in two respects: First, Europe has a tremendous impact on African societies. It is, therefore, inconceivable to limit such a discussion to issues of development and underdevelopment since there are also some other sectors of society which are hard hit by the exportation of European military technology. Second, development in its wider context is a pervasive activity which includes the military impact on society as well as the impacts of technology, economic and political institutions and cultural patterns. It is unfortunate that the most visible impact of military development in Africa is its brutality vis-à-vis the African population. This suggests that the African military are developing after the image of the 1930–1940 European fascist and Nazi systems whose history they grasped through European education. This to my mind represents a dangerous development in Africa as it moved from its traditional military democracy to the European military structures and organizations.

However, the main objective behind this exercise is to draw attention to the negative influences of the Europeanization of war in Africa. It is not a secret today that the military technology in Europe and the world in general claims substantial portion of the budgets of the countries in war as well as in peace. The African countries which are in internal or inter-state wars have squandered their meagre resources both through development failures and military ventures. The fact that Europe is behind most of the African wars cannot be ignored. History has vividly shown that Europe was always quick to define war from the time when it distinguished it from 'primitive fighting' to today's prevalence of nuclear weapons. The attempts of some African countries to acquire such weapons is considered by some African educated elites as the only answer to European arrogance and lack of consideration towards a continent which they bled to death and humiliated through the years. This article negates such propositions and deems them irresponsible gestures which, if realized, in its consequences would lead to a non-inhabitable world – if not its destruction altogether.

Again the Europeanization of war in Africa has resulted in the most heart-bleeding stories of genocide and abuse of human rights. The internalization of

some of the ugly passages of the European history, both through the colonial experience and the atrocities of the First and Second World wars, represents a ready experience from which African military have learned to worst from their European counterparts and even exceeded them in their lust for power and involvement in politics.

The question is whether such an argument will draw the attention of the African peoples and leadership to the dangers of following the European footsteps. Or whether the Europeans would keep their weapons to themselves and do away with trading in arms with poor continents. It is now obvious that arms sales to Africa add another dimension of desolation to the already suffering millions who die in thousands every year of famine and starvation.

NOTES

1. For more material on the horrors of slave raiding, see Anene Brown 1966 and Bennett 1975.
2. Rodney 1972, Amin 1974, 1977 and Frank 1978 are still among the classic readings on the issues of underdevelopment, dependence and unequal exchange. It seems that many political economists have not transcended the ideas posed in these works.
3. For more material on these tribal wars, see Salih 1979, Tornay 1977 and Markakis 1987.
4. The first civil war in the Sudan continued from 1955 to 1972 and the second from 1983 to-date. In addition to religious and ethnic differences between the South and the North, the Muslim North dominates the economic and political institutions in the country. The South is fighting under the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement which according to its Manifesto is fighting for equal distribution of the factors of development and equal rights of citizenship.
5. Shaw (1987) provides a comprehensive list of the economic and strategic factors which mitigate the competition between South Africa and Nigeria on the one hand and the co-operation between South Africa and Israel on the other.

REFERENCES

- ACDA 1983. *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1976–1980*. Washington.
- Alexandrowic, C., 1973. *The European African Confrontation*. Sijthoff/Leiden.

- Almagor, U. 1977. 'Raiders and Elders: A Confrontation of Generations among the Dassanetch', in Fukui, K. and Turton, D. (eds), *Warfare Among East African Herders*. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka.
- Akinrinade, S. and Falola, T. 1987. 'Berlin and Afro-European Relations', in Sesay, A. (ed) *Africa and Europe*. Croom Helm.
- Aluko, O. 1982, 'Africa and the Great Powers', in Shaw, T. M. and Sola Ojo (eds) *Africa and the International Political System*. University Press of America.
- Amin, Samir 1974. *Accumulation on World Scale and 1977 Imperialism and Unequal Development*.
- Anene, J.C 1966. 'Slavery and the Slave Trade', in Anene, J.C. and Brown, G. *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Ibadan University Press.
- Arkhurst, F.S. (ed), 1972. *The Introduction: Arms and African Development*, Proceedings of the First Pan-African Citizens Conference. Praeger Publishers.
- Austin, D. 'Goodbye to Berlin? The Partition of Africa Reconsidered', in Sesay, A. (ed) *Europe and Africa*. Croom Helm.
- Baxter, T.P.W. 1977. 'Boran Age-Sets and Warfare', in Fukui, K and Turton, D (eds), *Warfare Among East Africa Herders*. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka.
- Bennett N.R. 1975. *Europe and Africa*. New York: Africana.
- Chinweizu, 1975. *The West and the Rest of Us: White Predators, Black Slaves and the African Elites*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Chamberlain, M.E., 1974. *The Scramble for Africa*. Longman.
- Coker, C. (ed) 1985. *NATO, The Warsaw Pact and Africa*. MacMillan.
- Conrad, J. 1970, *The Nigger of the Narcissus, Heart of Darkness and the Secret Sharer*. Washington Square Press.
- Firth, R. 1956. *Human Types*. London.
- Foltz J. & Bienen, 1985. *Military Influences on Africa's International Relations*. Yale University Press.
- Goody, J. 1971. *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- Hanna, J. L. 1977. 'African Dance and the Warrior Tradition', in Mazrui, A. A. (ed), *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*. E.J. Brill-Leiden.
- Harle, V. 1988, 'On Dualism and its Alternatives in International Relations', a background paper presented in TAPRI workshop on European Values and International Relations, Helsinki, 22-25 Sept.
- Kende, Istvan. 'The post-1945 wars of black Africa and the Middle East', in *Economic relations of the socialist countries and Africa, Vol. I: Hungarian contributions*. Budapest: Institute of World Economies.
- Käkönen, J. 1988, *Natural Resources and Conflicts in the Changing International System: Three Studies on Imperialism*. Avebury. Gower Publishing Company Ltd.
- Lefever, E.W., 1970. *Spear and Scepter: Army, Polic and Politics in Tropical Africa*. The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.
- Markakis, J. 1987. *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mazrui, A.A. (ed) 1977. 'The Introduction'. *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*. E.J. Brill-Leiden.
- Mazrui, A. A. 1977. 'Armed Kinsmen and the Origin of the State: An Essay in Philosophical Anthropology', in Mazrui, A. A. (ed) *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*. E.J. Brill-Leiden.
- Nettleship, M.A.R. et al. 1975. *War, Its Causes and Correlates*. The Hague and Paris, Mouton.
- Padmore, G. 1972. *Africa and the World Peace*. Frank Cass, London.
- Ogot, B.A. (ed), 1972. *War and Society in Africa*. Frank Cass: London.
- Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.
- Salih, M.A. Mohamed 1979. *Inter-tribal Conflicts in South Kordofan for Dinka/Humr Dispute*.
- Shaw, T.M., 1987. 'Security Redefined: Unconventional Conflict in Africa', in Wright et al. (eds) *Africa in World Politics*. The MacMillan Press.
- Sesay, A. (ed) 1986. *The Introduction, Africa and Europe: from Partition to Interdependence or Dependence?*. Croom Helm.
- Uzoigwe, G.N. 1977. 'The Warrior and the State in Precolonial Africa: Comparative Perspective', in Mazrui, A. A. (ed) *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*, E.J. Brill-Leiden.
- Wright, S. and Brownfoot (eds), 1987. *Africa in World Politics: Changing Perspectives*. The MacMillan Press.