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Review paper

## MECHANISMS OF ESTABLISHING NEOCOLONIAL DOMINATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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*Abstract:* This paper discusses six different mechanisms by which the former colonial powers together with the United States maintain Sub-Saharan Africa in a state of controlled dependence and underdevelopment. The struggle for democracy and human rights has become a screen to establish a new system of exploitation, which, unlike colonialism, abolishes the perpetrator from any responsibility, given that the exploited countries are now sovereign independent states. Specifically, these are the development aid programs, the structural adjustment programs (SAPs), the World Trade Organization policies, the activism of non-governmental organizations, military interventions and the ‘colonization of the mind’. These mechanisms work individually, but also in a synergy creating a complex system of economic, political and cultural barriers that prevent the construction of local institutions which should create a functional political and economic system in African countries.

*Key words:* Africa, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, aid, structural adjustment, World Trade Organization.

### INTRODUCTION

Sub-Saharan countries gained their independence in the late fifties of the twentieth century. Immediately afterwards, the international community engaged to accelerate the development of newly emerging countries and help them catch

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up with the rest of the world. However, in more than half a century of independence, the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa remained among the least-developed countries in the world. The implemented development concept is incompatible with African society and development strategies have become strategies for imposing neocolonial exploitation. In this paper, we will discuss six ways in which the so-called First World continues to hold the Sub-Saharan region in a subordinate position, although the epoch of colonialism has long ended.

### **‘TOXIC’ AID**

There are three different types of aid: emergency aid, which is applied immediately after humanitarian disasters; humanitarian aid granted by different organizations (Red Cross, UNICEF, etc.); and systemic aid to promote the development of a country (Moyo, 2009, p. 21). In this section, we analyze whether systemic aid is helping Sub-Saharan Africa.

The main goals of systemic aid are long-term and aimed at raising the level of economic growth, reducing poverty and improving health care. Concretely, through development assistance are financed infrastructure projects, projects for mass immunization of the population and mass promotion of education. Donors mostly prefer the direct effects of development aid because such effects are easily measurable. The direct effects include: increasing the number of educated, the kilometers of built roads, reducing the number of people affected by infectious diseases. These goals are reached almost without exception and they signify a positive side of development aid. On the other hand, infrastructure projects that are being implemented forcefully relocate the population and destroy the ecosystem (Glennie, 2008, p. 26-27).

Regarding the macroeconomic impact of systemic aid, donors are trying to achieve a rapid development by making a ‘big push’ that would trigger the economic growth of Sub-Saharan Africa. Aid is thought to accelerate the annual growth by 1%. In July 2005, the G8 summit was considering doubling development aid in order to further increase the growth effect that aid creates. However, the law of diminishing returns applies to development aid as well, thus by doubling aid, it is not possible to double the growth. According to Collier (Collier, 2008, p. 100), when the level of aid reaches 16% of the recipient’s GDP, aid ceases to be effective. There is also a negative impact from aid dependency. In the 1960s, the share of aid in the GDP of Sub-Saharan Africa was 2.3%, in the 1980s it was 7.2%, and in 2008 it was 9%. Some countries like Gabon and Nigeria maintain a low level of the received aid of 3%, while in some countries (such as Malawi, Sierra Leone and Burundi) the percentage of aid in GDP significantly exceeds 20% (Glennie, 2008, p. 22). Aid dependency produced the effect of the ‘Dutch disease’ because the countries that received aid neglected the development of the economy. Aid is treated as a natural

resource and can cause conflicts over the control of such a resource (Collier, 2008, p. 40). Many countries finance a large part of their public spending through development aid. Such a mechanism of functioning is unsustainable because aid will stop at one point and the public finances will experience collapse.

An additional problem with aid is that policymakers prefer to choose ‘quick victories’ instead of a comprehensive long-term approach for reasons of publicity and ease of justifying financial resources (Glennie, 2008, p. 20). Neoliberal economists, who manage the ‘recovery’ of Sub-Saharan Africa, ignore the fact that the GDP growth does not guarantee a poverty reduction. In Tanzania, in the period 1990–2000, the growth was on average 4% annually. In that decade, the Tanzanian population grew by 3.5%. Due to inadequate economic policies, the number of the poor has increased regardless of a solid GDP growth. Another example is Angola, which in the period from 1998–2006 recorded the economic growth between 7% and 8% annually. However, this growth did not contribute to the improvement of living standards because it originated from the offshore oil sector, which was completely detached from the rest of the economy. In 1994, average the GDP growth in the region was 1.9%, but GDP *per capita* fell by 0.9% (World Bank Development Indicators). In general, the GDP growth in Sub-Saharan Africa does not create new jobs, as this growth comes from capital-intensive extraction sectors. In order to reduce poverty, a growth is needed in the agricultural sector in which the majority of the population work – unfortunately, this is not happening.

On the microeconomic level, systemic aid can also produce negative effects. Food delivery is most often associated with urgent humanitarian aid, but it is often included in systemic aid. The influx of aid in large quantities destimulates the production of local farmers by decreasing the prices with the excessive supply. In this way, in the long run, humanitarian aid contributes to the causes of hunger, although (in the short-term) it saves lives (Glennie, 2008, p. 15-16). The damaging impact of systemic aid on small entrepreneurs was best described by Dambisa Moyo (Moyo, 2009, p. 44), citing an example of a local African mosquito nets producer that was going out of business due to a malaria program that included giving nets for free. A similar situation exists in the entire textile industry.

The next effect we are considering is the impact of aid on the recipient country’s public policies. The local administration is often conditioned by the implementation of reforms or even blackmailed. Guinea officials received an ultimatum that unless they build the oil fields for exploitation a single dollar would not be given to the fight against the poverty. By conditioning the way in which money will be spent, the imposition of a neoliberal ideology is being indirectly enforced (Glennie, 2008, p. 37). The aid represented a carrot and the structural adjustment program (SAP), a stick in a well-known ‘carrot and stick’ mechanism. This kind of blackmail policy results in the degradation of local institutions. In 2003, the Government of Ghana increased customs duties on imports of rice and livestock to protect domestic

production. After pressure from the IMF, that decision had to be changed and the customs tax was returned to the previous level (Glennie, 2008, p. 55).

In order to be successful, systemic aid should not support the budget of Sub-Saharan countries because it creates a great potential for corruption; this aid is used by autocrats to finance armies and suspicious projects for personal enrichment. Development aid was granted to Zaire (now the DR Congo) where the level of corruption was very high. International institutions turned a blind eye on corruption as long as the privatization was carried out. How is it possible that aid is given to such highly corrupted countries? The answer to this can be found in the fact that until 1997 most of the OECD countries did not forbid the bribery carried out abroad. Experts dealing with corruption research sometimes ‘clumsily’ forget that bribery has two ends, donors and recipients, and that African countries are always the recipients in that chain (Collier, 2008, p. 137).

## **DEBT CRISIS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES**

When they gain independence, the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa tried to change the state of economic dependence on natural resources. There were different development strategies, such as import substitution and infrastructure construction. Such investments require a significant amount of capital that Sub-Saharan countries did not have. That is why politicians resorted to borrowing in order to raise the capital necessary for the launch of the economy. From 1974-1994, the debt level of the Sub-Saharan region increased from 15% to 90% of the GNP. The debt amounted to \$ 221 billion, and 21% of exports was spent each year to service that debt (Thomson, 2010, p. 194).

There are several reasons for this debt-increasing trend: (1) In the beginning, the countries of the region were borrowing on the basis of the future revenues from the sale of primary products. When the price of primary products fell and the price of oil suddenly jumped in the seventies, there was great pressure on the budgets of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa; (2) the overall increase in interest rates in the eighties also had an adverse effect on debt level (Haynes, et al., 1987, pp. 344-352). The negative impact that terms of trade have produced on Sub-Saharan countries is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that in 1960 for a ton of sugar one could buy 6.3 tons of oil – and in 1982 only 0.7 tons of oil. (World Bank, 1981, p. 18).

It could not be expected that Sub-Saharan countries would develop and at the same time repay huge debts. In exchange for further debt relief, African governments had to change their economic and other public policies. The evaluation of the countries in the debt relief program has been measured by a set of criteria favoring liberal approaches in the macroeconomic, fiscal and trade policies followed

by smaller government spending. 'In practice, in order to fully utilize the debt relief program, the governments of Sub-Saharan African countries "mortgaged" their sovereignty' (Thomson, 2010, p. 203). The debt relief programs, development aid and sometimes humanitarian aid were conditioned by the implementation of structural adjustment.

After the debt crises in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the only thing left to do was to seek assistance. Since other sources of funding did not exist, help was requested from the international financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank. They started SAP characterized by the universal scheme of liberalization-standardization-privatization. In the mid-nineties, most Sub-Saharan countries joined the SAP on a voluntary basis.

Structural adjustment is a conditional aid program. In order to obtain a new loan, African countries were obliged to drastically change their economic policy: to liberalize their economy, demonstrate openness to foreign capital, and reduce the role of the state in the economy.

After independence, the economies of African countries were governed by large state-owned enterprises. International institutions have insisted on the liquidation or privatization of these companies, and intended to introduce a free market principle into the economy. An 'ineffective and interventionist state' was solely blamed for the failure of the economy in the previous period. The SAP advocated urbanization of Sub-Saharan states, although the main driving force of the African economy was the villages. The capital was drained from the villages and pumped into the cities.

In particular, SAP consisted of three reform programs: the first referred to the change in the agricultural policy. During African socialism, farmers were paid less than market value in order to finance the import substitution. After structural adjustment, the import substitution strategy was abandoned and farmers were paid the full price for their products. It was thought that this would increase their income, increase production and exports. In fact, the Sub-Saharan agriculture was transformed into a monocrop economy that insisted on growing export-oriented agricultural crops, while at the same time the local population did not have enough food for normal life.

The second part of SAP implied the liberalization of the exchange rate and the abolition of customs duties. The abolition of protectionism and the establishment of free competition could not bring anything good because Sub-Saharan Africa had almost no comparative advantage. The workforce was cheap, but unskilled and uncompetitive.

A public sector reform was the third segment within the framework of SAP. The concept of efficiency represents the 'sacred cow' of neoliberal dogma, therefore, insisting on a more efficient public sector is an integral part of all reform

programs implemented by the IMF and the World Bank anywhere in the world. Given the lack of qualified personnel, one could wonder if it is realistic to even expect from the public administration in Sub-Saharan Africa to be effective. A public sector reform also implied reducing the role of the state in the economy and a reduction in public spending. However, regardless how small is public spending, if a state is corrupted money will always first be spent on corruption. In the previous section, we noticed that humanitarian and development aid served as a reward for the implementation of structural reforms. If the implementation of structural adjustment is missing, then the necessary aid is missing. This fact must be kept in mind when considering the issue of voluntariness concerning the SAP (Thomson, 2010, p. 197-199).

Regarding the economic aspects of the structural adjustment results, the World Bank states in its conclusions that African countries have made great strides in improving public policies and restoring growth. In six countries that have fully implemented SAP in the period from 1987 to 1991, the growth of GDP was over 2% annually (World Bank, 1994, pp. 131-132). However, the United Nations found that other nations (which did not implement the programs) had identical or even better results in the same period (UNECA, 1991, pp. 11-17). Later, the World Bank recognized that only 6 countries made a significant progress, 9 countries made a minimal, and in 11 countries the economic conditions worsened. The question arises whether the downturn would be even greater if the program was not implemented, but definitely one cannot speak of spectacular success.

The SAP was aimed at attracting foreign investments. However, this did not happen because multinational corporations did not want to invest in an unstable environment. An additional problem for the arrival of investors was created by the reform itself, imposing a flexible exchange rate regime. Currencies of African countries constantly oscillated. This was a risk to the business, which multinational corporations were not willing to afford. International institutions have insisted on the liberalization of the African market, but the western markets have remained closed for the agricultural products from Sub-Saharan Africa under the pretext of food safety regulations.

By reducing social benefits, the SAP has caused a significant decline in standard of living. In Zambia, 8,500 workers were laid off because 47 textile factories had closed since they were unable to withstand international competition after the market liberalization. The national bus company, airline company, as well as the national hotel chain, were also liquidated. This contributed to the appearance of an army of 85,000 unemployed in Zambia in the period from 1991-95. (Simutanyi, 1996). The allocations for health and education have been drastically reduced. Certainly, the most severe consequence of structural adjustment was the abolition of food subsidies. We have already pointed out that the SAP favored urbanization, i.e. they advocated the development of the city at the expense of the village. New

urban population faced poverty because in the cities there was no way to earn a living because the people were mainly skilled to work in agriculture. By abolishing food subsidies, the newly established city class has been brought to the edge of existence. Food riots became an integral part of city life. Therefore, without previously planned, the programs for poverty reductions were included in SAP (Thomson, 2010, p. 201).

The SAP has disrupted the *modus operandi* of the political system of Sub-Saharan Africa. By reducing the role of the state, the oligarchs who worked in the public sector no longer had the money or power to maintain their clientelistic network. The weakening of clientelism also caused the loss of the legitimacy of the state (Ibid, p. 202-203).

After all, we can conclude that the SAP has contributed to further impoverishment and marginalization of the local population, thereby increasing the economic inequality.

### **THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION POLICY TOWARDS SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

Regarding trade, Sub-Saharan Africa has no competitive advantage. The market in the region is still small, unintegrated and has a low capitalization rate. Such market conditions, combined with poor infrastructure, raise transport costs and further reduce competitiveness. The labor power is cheap, but it is also very unskilled. The lack of industry and technological advancement has resulted in a significantly lower productivity of the local workforce compared to the workers from the developed world. Technological progress reduces the price of raw primary products, which are the main export items of Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, different income levels affect the different preferences of the inhabitants of the sub-Saharan region and the rest of the world. Thus, the rest of the world is not interested in the products (except for some exotic products) from Sub-Saharan Africa (Geda, 2002, p. 53-56).

The decision-making mechanism and the complaint process within the WTO is not favorable to underdeveloped countries because of the generally opposed interests of developed and underdeveloped countries in the world. Namely, undeveloped countries are often marginalized without an adequate participation in discussion and decision-making. Complaints processes require considerable costs, most notably in the form of trips related to work within the WTO, which is the disadvantage for the poor countries. In addition, developing countries are not adequately represented in the WTO by geographical principle. Developed countries, in line with their stereotypes, observe all underdeveloped countries as one monolithic block, ignoring the diversity and very often the mutually opposed interests of underdeveloped countries (Mshomba, 2009, p. 50-53).

The members of the WTO have the right to use safeguards if some of the other member states raise customs duties or introduce non-tariff barriers. However, this mechanism does not benefit Sub-Saharan countries. We will hypothetically consider an example of a trade between Ivory Coast and France. The main export product of the Ivory Coast is cocoa, while Ivory Coast imports cars and ship equipment from France. If France suddenly increased its import duties on cocoa from Ivory Coast, the Ivory Coast would have the right to take reciprocal measures. However, such a move from Ivory Coast would only make it difficult for its citizens to acquire quality cars and for their entrepreneurs the acquisition of ship equipment. France would, however, easily address the need for cocoa in another country of the region, for example, Ghana. An identical situation applies in the case of the introduction of sanctions. The possible sanctions of the Ivory Coast towards France would be counterproductive as it would not harm France, whose main focus is the EU market, while the Ivory Coast would lose its second-largest importer.

Another problem which the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa face within the WTO is patent and intellectual property protection. The problem of Sub-Saharan Africa is not related to the unauthorized use of copyright but to the pharmaceutical industry. After the Uruguay Round of negotiations, the rules for the export of generic drugs to African countries were strengthened by extending the validity period of patents. Consequently, effective and cheap medicines remained inaccessible to sub-Saharan countries (Mshomba, 2009, p. 127-129).

The third issue between the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and the WTO is the agricultural negotiations during the Doha Development Round. Agriculture is the most important branch of the economy because on average agriculture in the Sub-Saharan region accounts for 16% of GDP and 21% of exports. The Doha Development Round was aimed at liberalizing the agricultural sector and lifting domestic subsidies. Such a request is an expression of the hypocrisy of developed countries, given that the EU and the USA have the highest subsidies in this area. Although after the Doha Development Round the market was open to products from Sub-Saharan Africa, farmers from the region failed to compete with European farmers due to high EU subsidies. The EU further aggravates the development of agriculture in the Sub-Saharan region by placing surpluses of the agricultural products in order to reduce storage costs. Greater supply cuts the price of agricultural products and discourages the production of local farmers (Ibid, p. 163).

## **NGO ACTIVISM**

Since the implementation of structural adjustment and reduction of the role of the state, the non-governmental sector enjoyed the largest benefit. Officials of international institutions have welcomed the collapse of some Sub-Saharan states because they were able to rebuild the concept of the market economy without



interruption. ‘The liberation of a civil society from the grip of the state has become an ideological project of the hegemonies of our time’ (Carmody, 2007, p. 12). An important factor in the civil society system is represented by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have significant financial resources that often outweigh the GDP of some African countries. It is estimated that in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, NGOs employ 5% of the total workforce (Dicklitch, 1998, p. 24). Officially, their goal is to fight poverty and help build a stable, just and democratic society. However, their latent goal is to replace the missions that were there in the past and to fill the gap created by the abdication of most of the functions of the state. The term ‘civilizing mission’ is no longer used because it is not politically correct, but NGOs still strive to form an African society as they see fit and impose neoliberal capitalism as the only correct value system. All significant cash flows are taking place through NGOs, which further demotivates African governments to fulfill their obligations. Such organizations play the role of a distribution channel for money that comes in the form of international aid, also it gives them the tremendous power to determine the distribution criteria of aid funds (they assess who is suitable to receive the funds). In a way, it can be said that the governments of Sub-Saharan states and NGOs have changed places (Ćirjaković, 2013, p. 193-195). The typology of NGOs is very extensive; the type of NGOs that is especially worth highlighting is non-governmental organizations working for the government (GONGO). Due to the lack of professional staff, the authorities are forced to entrust the work of the energy, environmental protection agencies, etc. to the international non-governmental organizations. The space for malversation appears exactly in the two mentioned sectors, as these agencies should control the multinational companies that exploit natural resources.

NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa perform three roles in social processes: firstly, they organize democracy schools with the goal of educating participants in the political process. These workshops discuss the importance of tolerance, ways of resolving political conflicts, the importance of compromise. Participants who are expected to become a future political elite are predominantly young. The second function of NGOs is to represent the rights of discriminated social groups. In Sub-Saharan Africa, this is most often the case with the female population and ethnic and religious minorities. The third role of the NGO sector is to supervise the political process (Dicklitch, 1998, p. 12-14).

In the area of Sub-Saharan Africa, along with NGOs, there are also ‘non-governmental individuals’. Famous people often help using their publicity in resolving humanitarian problems; however, sometimes there are bizarre situations that a whole African country is identified with a particular celebrity - thus Madonna is in charge of Malawi, and Angelina Jolie of Ethiopia. The pinnacle of ‘Celebrities Colonialism’ represents the fact that George Clooney became the main analyst for Sudan’s problems. It is devastating that the Internet buzzes with statements and

analyses by a famous actor about the Sudan, which many journalists cite as credible. 'Not on our watch,' a catchphrase of the famous actor became a symbol of American interventionism, but also the subject of many criticisms after the fiasco of the intervention in Iraq (Clarke, 2009, p. 327).

There is nothing wrong with the fact that famous people with their publicity help to solve an acute problem. The troubles, however, arise from the fact that due to ignorance and lack of information, the priorities are wrongly determined. Thus, the conflict in Darfur has sparked much more attention than the conflict in the DR Congo, although it was much milder in intensity and number of victims.

If the role of multinational corporations is reflected in the privatization of the African economy, then the role of NGOs and non-governmental individuals is 'the privatization of African society'.

### **MILITARY INTERVENTIONS AND CHANGES OF LEADERS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

We can divide military interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa into three categories. Firstly, we will discuss the Cold War period operations. After the Second World War, European countries gradually lost interest in their colonial estates and allowed their colonies to become independent. The USA and USSR used the new situation to gain new members in their political bloc. Angola became a fertile soil for the Cold War conflicts. The Soviet Union armed MPLA via Cuba and the USA armed UNITA via the South African Republic (Collier, 2008, p. 124). DR Congo was the second destination of the Cold War conflict and the place of the most brutal change of a democratically elected leader of a state in history. The most famous Belgian financial institution *Soci t e G n rale de Belgique* controlled 70% of the Congolese economy. After Patris Lumumba came to power, the Belgian government did its best to keep control over the Congo economy, including the sponsorship of secessionist movements in two provinces rich in natural resources (Katanga and Kasai). When Lumumba, with the help of the Soviet Union and the UN peacekeeping mission, succeeded in neutralizing that plan, the process of his removal began - the Western powers could not allow the largest country and the richest in resources to fall under the influence of the Soviet bloc. Today it is widely known that Belgium and the CIA had an active role in the assassination attempt on Lumumba and even the role of executors.

France allowed the independence to its colonies, but kept them in economic and often military dependence. The French army carried out over thirty military interventions in the territory of Sub-Saharan Africa. France regarded these interventions as its natural right. The French expanded their influence on the former Belgian colonies (Rwanda, Burundi, Congo). During the Nigerian Civil War of

1967-70, France was the main weapons supplier to secessionist Biafra. France strongly supported the dictatorial regime of Mobutu in the then Zaire. In addition to Zaire, they also intervened in Chad, the Central African Republic, Gabon and Niger. In all these interventions, the goal was to preserve the regimes that allowed the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources; more precisely, the goal was to preserve the dominance of the former colony (Schmidt, 2013, pp. 165-166). After the 1990s, the French did not want to use their military contingent due to pressure from public opinion, which did not want a costly military intervention in former colonies. For example, they allowed a small group of soldiers to make a military coup in 1999 in Ivory Coast because they believed in the general and his promise to organize elections after three months. In the end, the French troops made a buffer zone between the two warring parties in a conflict that lasted for several years. Also, the French troops were left once again with the 'empty guns' during a military coup in Mauritania in 2005 (Collier, 2008, pp. 129-130).

The last type of military intervention is peacekeeping missions. Currently, eight peacekeeping missions are underway in Sub-Saharan Africa under the UN mandate, while in the past there were twenty (UN, 2013). However, peacekeeping missions, whether carried out under the UN mandate or unilaterally (most often under the USA leadership) had enormous omissions and inconsistencies.

After the operation in Kuwait, military interventions were considered the axiom used in resolving conflicts. The USA forces overconfidently entered into the intervention in Somalia. The operation started with one day of delay in order for journalist teams to arrive on site. Everything was ready for the Hollywood blockbuster - live! However, the entire operation turned into a media fiasco: the USA forces withdrew from Somalia in October 1993 with a balance sheet of 18 killed soldiers, 2 shot down helicopters and several destroyed armored vehicles. After Somalia, a completely opposite stand toward military interventions has been taken - never to intervene! In less than a year, the genocide in Rwanda proved wrongness of that decision. Fear for the lives of peacekeepers and poor publicity outweighed the need to save between 800,000 and million lives. The absence of the intervention in Rwanda again caused the negative publicity and another dogmatic overturn happened. Military interventions once again became the dominant choice of resolving conflicts (Collier, 2008, p. 125-126).

## **THE 'COLONIZATION OF THE MIND'**

The colonization of the mind is a form of epistemological violence, which is one of the worst attainment of colonialism. The colonization of the mind involves interference of an external factor (colonizer) into the mental sphere of a colonized subject. This intervention affects the mental structure of the colonized subject, changing both the content and the *modus operandi* of the thinking itself. The effects

of this process are long-term and irreversible. The colonization of the mind is manifested through various forms of everyday life, such as cultural and religious patterns, language, fashion, social habits, political attitudes, etc.

One of the properties of the colonization of the mind is mimicry<sup>2</sup>. Africans who want to become Europeans have actually become a thorn in the eyes of African national leaders and other ‘Afro-optimists’, suggesting the idea that European thinking is better than African. However, ‘imitators’ are not aware that they will never be full members of European society since mimicry can never be completed due to racial differences (Ferguson, 2006, p. 159).

The colonization of the mind is usually done by Africans trained in Europe or in European schools in Africa; most often, they themselves became educators on different levels. The colonization of the mind is most easily carried out on children and youth because their personalities, attitudes and beliefs are not yet formed (Cooper, 2014, p. 3).

Knowledge is presented as a commodity that everyone wants because it is in the nature of the human mind to strive for new knowledge. In most cases, the educators who carry out the colonization of the mind through knowledge do not have full awareness of the harmful consequences of their actions. On the contrary, they think that they are helping the colonized subjects by providing them with better systems of knowledge and value systems, which enable them to cope better in the modern world. Most often, the educators themselves, at one point, completely unconsciously underwent the same process.

The process of colonization of the mind cannot succeed if it is based exclusively on fear and coercion. It is a process of ‘cognitive persuasion’ between the colonizers and the colonized. The initial advantage to the colonizer is provided by the inference methodology (specifically *modus ponens* and *modus tollens*) implicitly accepted at the beginning of the process. Unable to comprehend the principles of propositional logic (which they have never encountered before), the colonized accept the position of the colonizer. Then, the colonizer makes a comparison between the old and the new value system, immediately labeling the old way of thinking as obsolete, retrograde, even primitive, while newly-acquired (his own) is described as advanced and civilized. The colonization of the mind occurs when a colonized subject agrees to that offensive comparison.

Cultural violence is also a feature of the colonization of the mind. The process of ‘deculturalization’ of Africans takes place in three steps: (1) the colonizers persuade Africans to be ashamed of their own culture and heritage (because of

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<sup>2</sup> Mimicry denotes the ambivalent relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The colonized are trying to mimic the colonizers by adopting its cultural patterns. The result of this process is always a camouflage, an inferior copy of the colonizer.

poverty and crime, wars and war crimes, lack of education). (2) After that, they are suggested perceiving the white people as the super-ego and seeing them as a symbol of progress, development, happiness and good life. (3) Those who successfully master the previous two stages will receive the awards if they continue to expand the indoctrination.

Of course, there is always the possibility to avoid the colonization of the mind. However, for those rebellious individuals, a problem arises if they live in a society, which in principle and in the majority accepts the colonization of the mind. They usually get isolated, sometimes self-isolated from the society.

Rejecting the colonization of the mind causes discomfort also to the colonizers who are offended by the rejection of their 'superior' system. Their superficial goodwill rapidly gives way to scorn because they cannot accept the fact that someone so inferior and retrograde refuses to accept an advanced system of values. As proof of superiority, the colonizers emphasize their industry that has enabled them to afford many (material) goods. The fact that their subjects are primitive does not pose a problem to the colonizers (because by adopting a new system of values and thinking, with a lot of work, they will also become advanced), but the problem is in their laziness because of which they refuse to accept a transformation and modernization.

In what ways can we counter the colonization of the mind and eradicate it? Many prominent Africans advocated a revolution and a radical response. However, in the long run, violence always creates new violence, and therefore it is not a solution. To counteract the process of mind colonization, it is necessary to use a more sophisticated and comprehensive response. Resistance, just like oppression, must be at the epistemological and cultural level. The main goal of the resistance should be the deconstruction of the 'white superiority myth', as well as of all the structures that continue to support the colonial authorities in all aspects of everyday life in Africa.

It is easy to manipulate a man who is torn away from his cultural heritage; therefore, Africans have to reverse the process of deculturalization. It is not possible to remove all the influences of former colonial powers on the African continent, and it is not necessary - it should be kept in mind that many Africans did not imitate Europeans because they wanted to do it, but simply to survive (Ferguson, 2006, p. 157). The only correct way of reducing the effects of colonization of the mind is to preserve one's own identity and cultivate the culture of memory. Against the colonization of the mind, one should fight with its own weapons – education.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this work was to present mechanisms that enable the retention of Sub-Saharan Africa in a subordinate position. In the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, it

has been shown once again that there are no universal solutions. The aid programs, which after World War II revived Europe, have not produced an adequate effect in Sub-Saharan Africa. The debt relief initiative, viewed in the long run, failed to solve the problem of large debts. Structural adjustment has contributed to the minimal economic progress in some countries, but at the same time, it has caused negative effects on the living standards of citizens. Liberalization of the economy of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, on which developed countries of the West insisted, is an act of hypocrisy. Western countries that developed due to protectionism demanded the abolition of the protectionist measures of independent African states, justifying it as equal conditions for all. However, these equal conditions did not mean much to the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, since colonialism, in various ways, prevented the development of the Sub-Saharan region. Expecting Africans to be competitive in a market game with Europeans and Americans is just as good as expecting a 10-year-old child to win a fight against a professional boxer just because they are fighting under the same conditions!

Patent protection programs within the WTO have been implemented at the expense of the Sub-Saharan region, limiting the availability of drugs in the region. Comprehensive military interventions, as well as the removal of unsuitable African leaders, permanently destabilized the region. The non-government sector did and ill turn to Africans by carrying out a number of functions that were necessarily within the jurisdiction of governments, thus further fostering the lethargy of the institutions of African countries. Epistemological and cultural violence is the umbrella mechanism of neocolonial domination. The alienation from its own cultural and historical heritage changes the mentality of the African people: everything traditional is considered primitive, and everything that is new and coming from outside is considered modern and advanced. If such a model of thinking is accepted, a phenomenon of the ‘colonization of the mind’ arises, characterized by auto-chauvinism and fascination with the former oppressors. Sub-Saharan Africa needs new solutions— African solutions!

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### **MEHANIZMI USPOSTAVLJANJA NEOKOLONIJALNE DOMINACIJE U PODSAHARSKOJ AFRICI**

*Apstrakt:* Ovaj rad govori o šest različitih mehanizama pomoću kojih bivše kolonijalne sile zajedno sa SAD održavaju Podсахarsku Afriku u stanju kontrolisane zavisnosti i nerazvijenosti. Borba za demokratiju i ljudska prava postala je paravan za uspostavljanje novog sistema eksploatacije koji, za razliku od kolonijalizma, abolira počinioca svake odgovornosti s obzirom na to da su eksploatisane zemlje sada suverene nezavisne države. Konkretno, radi se o programima razvojne pomoći, programima strukturnog prilagođavanja, politici Svetske trgovinske organizacije, aktivizmu nevladinih organizacija, vojnim intervencijama i 'kolonizaciji uma'. Ovi mehanizmi deluju pojedinačno, ali i u sinergiji, stvarajući kompleksan sistem ekonomskih, političkih i kulturoloških prepreka koje onemogućavaju izgradnju lokalnih institucija koje bi trebalo da kreiraju uređen politički i ekonomski sistem u afričkim zemljama.

*Ključne reči:* Afrika, kolonijalizam, neokolonijalizam, imperijalizam, pomoć, strukturno prilagođavanje, Svetska trgovinska organizacija.

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