

**Piotr L. WILCZYŃSKI**

**Pedagogical Univ. of Krakow, Krakow, Poland**

## ARMS TRADE AND RESOURCES EXPLOITATION - SURVEY OF NEO-COLONIALISM AND NEO-IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

### *Abstract:*

One of the negative effects of globalization is the unequal distribution of wealth. This is reflected in an economic system in which the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Accordingly equalizing opportunities for increased wealth has become a popular agenda. These problems are caused by neo-colonialism and imperialism present among the poorer countries of the world. With these concepts in mind, it is worth examining the present situation in the poorest part of the globe. The production activities of corporations concentrated upon mining within certain countries can serve as an example of neo-colonialism, while the dependence of poorer countries on arms trade with wealthier countries serves as a characteristic indication of neo-imperialism. This paper examines the existing data on the mining activities in Africa, with appropriate maps included. Also this paper examines a list of arms sales of the last decade as well as the largest dealers. Thanks to conducted research, this article also presents which countries constitute the most influential in the process of neo-colonization and in the context of trade. Also examined is the growing influence of China and past colonial powers.

---

### *Key words:*

Africa, resources, arms trade, neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism, dependence, globalization, exploitation, mining, arsenal, weapon

---

## **INTRODUCTION**

The growing influence of China on economy and politics in many African countries put a question of negative effects of

neo-colonialism and neo-imperial policies. This paper has as one of its goals the verification of the popular thesis so present in the media, that China will consume Africa economically (Edoho 2011). In addition, the much talked about negative impact of globalization, such as neo-colonialism, at times referred to as "colonialism with white gloves" will be examined. Also neo-imperialism, that is the building up of trade empires, not by countries, but instead by capital gathered by corporations will be examined (Cheru, Obi 2011; Payne, Veney 1998).

Following the economic crisis of 2007-2008, China surpassed the United States in GNP growth. Many commentators at that time raised the alarm that the Communist government of China had begun increased activity upon the African continent, not only in a desire to gain steady sources of raw materials for its own markets, as well as the development of new markets for its products, but also in a desire to increase its political influence upon the continent. Such assertions became a standard point of reference by observers... assertions which were often accepted without question. But upon verification of the amount of invested capital by the Chinese in the mining industry of Africa shows that the influence of the Chinese upon the continent was exaggerated. And so begs the question, since Chinese neo-colonialism has not resulted in dominance of the mining industry so pivotal in its importance in the Sub-Saharan economies, which countries can claim the title of neo-colonial powers upon the African continent? (Besada, Martin 2015).

## **NEO-COLONIALISM AND NEO-IMPERIALISM DEFINITIONS PROBLEM**

It is exactly in mentioned context, that there arises a conflict in definitions, for there exist many definitions of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism (Spivak 1991; Robertson, Pinstup-Andersen 2001). This research will not delve into which of these academic views are correct and which are incorrect in their definitions. Here it is accepted to hold to the view that neo-colonialism stems from economic and political

influences which in turn are a direct result of the overtaking of entities of production within the strategic business sectors of given countries (Rahaman, Yeazdani, Mahmud 2017; Uzoigwe 2019). This control then allows powerful nations through their corporations to influence the for-profit assets of the colonized country, as well as its use of raw materials, its manufacturing potential and its work force as well (Langan 2018). Thus in effect, the colonial power along with international corporations, can reap benefits similar to the colonial metropolis of a by-gone era, without being accused of using abusive economic tactics (Ogar, Nwoye, Bassey 2019).

It is a similar situation when dealing with the concept of neo-imperialism (Alam 2006), which also can mean different things to different specialists (Wigell 2016). Differing somewhat from neo-colonialism which is dependent upon the overtaking of for profit entities of a given country, neo-imperialism seeks to reach its goals through legal means such as international agreements, lobbying but also through corrupt practices such as blackmail and forcing weaker nations to purchases which are not beneficial for the weaker nation. Such purchases are often dependent upon credit and other forms which result in debt for the weaker nation. The most serious forms of neo-imperialism stem from arms sales and other influences upon a country's ability to defend itself and to self-govern. In effect then, the best way to examine neo-imperialism is to examine the arms-sale contracts of a given nation (Grant 2007; Stavrianakis 2013; Stilwell, Jordan, Pearce 2008; Lumumba-Kasongo 2011).

The two remaining sections of this article are analytical in nature, gathering statistics which provide an overview of the mining industry ownership as representation of neo-colonialism, and arms sales as exemplification of neo-imperialism policy in the Sub-Saharan region. This information is presented in graphs representing both neo-colonial and neo-imperialistic influences of dominant countries upon others, what allows to define most powerful countries in these terms and answer a question about Chinese real presence on the continent.

## **OWNERSHIP AND EXPLOITATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES**

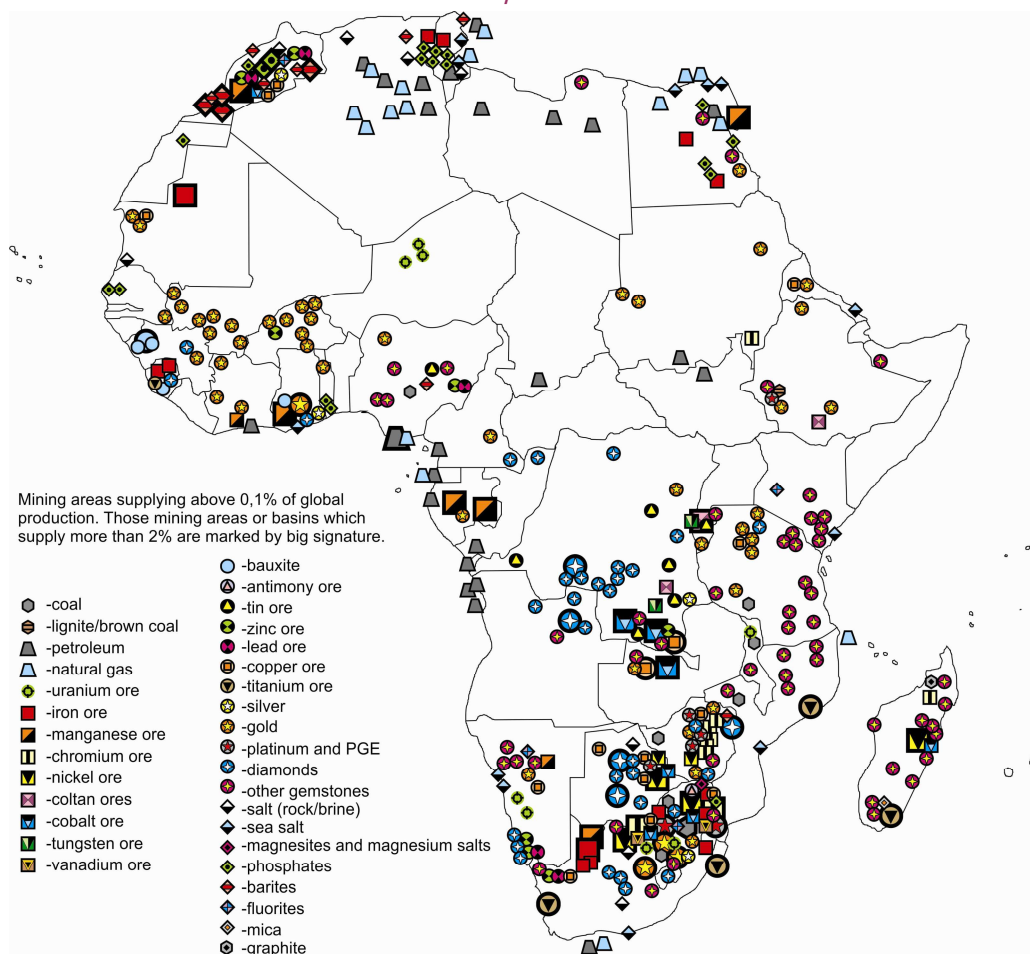
It is a well-known fact that Africa is rich in natural resources, which has led to a greater exploitation of the continent than other regions of the world (Frynas, Paulo 2007). A list of such resources will be presented later in this work, according to the amount of their exploitation (table 1). In this part of the world only asbestos, borax, molybdenum ore, REE<sup>1</sup> ores, thorium ore, sulphur and potassium salts are not mined. Those strategic minerals that are mined, have been represented on map as to better understand the locations of mining activity (fig. 1). Only the most important mines are represented since representing all mines would surpass the limits of such a figure. The map can however give a visual overview of which mineral materials dominate within the borders of certain countries found on the African continent.

Within the Sub-Saharan region the Republic of South Africa (RSA) plays a dominant economic and military role. It also plays a dominant role in the area of mining. This country has one of the world's largest concentrations of hard coal, iron ore, manganese, chrome, nickel, titanium, diamonds, gold and platinum. The RSA also boasts of numerous mining companies of its own, and is one of a small number of countries in Africa, which invests in the exploitation of raw materials in other countries.

The remaining countries of the African continent can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those countries where mining is at a low level of technological development and is conducted by local residents and small firms (Bancgirigah 2006; Bryceson, Geenen 2016; Hilson, Yakovleva, Banchirigah 2007; Luning 2014). Mining of metals and gemstones dominates in these countries which do not possess the proper infrastructure for mining on a larger scale. Such countries include Mali, Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Burkina Faso.

---

<sup>1</sup> REE – the rare-earth elements, also called the rare-earth metals.



**Fig. 1. Main mineral resources exploitation areas of Africa. Source: Author's elaboration.**

**Table 1. List of strategic mineral resources mined in contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa**

Mineral resource	Place of production by volume
<b>Energy resources:</b>	
- coal	South Africa (RSA) (mainly Middelburg Basin), Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Niger and Botswana.
- lignite/brown coal	Ethiopia.
- petroleum	Nigeria (Niger Delta Basin), Angola, Sudan, South Sudan, Congo, Gabon, Dem. Rep. of Congo (DRC), Eq. Guinea, Chad, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, RSA.
- natural gas	Nigeria (Niger Delta Basin), Ivory Coast, Eq. Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, Congo.
- uranium ore	Niger (Arlit, Akouta), Namibia (Rössing), Malawi (Kaleyeckera), RSA.
<b>Iron and ferroalloys ores:</b>	
- iron ore	RSA (Shishen, Kathu, Kolomela), Sierra Leone (Tonkolili), Mauritania (Fdajrik Basin), Nigeria, Uganda.
- manganese ore	Gabon (Ndjole, Moanda), RSA (Hotazel), Ghana (Nsuta), Ivory Coast, Namibia.
- chromium ore	RSA (Rustenburg Basin and Drakensberg Basin), Zimbabwe (Ngezi), Madagascar

	(Bemanevenika), Sudan.
- nickel ore	RSA (Rustenburg Basin and Drakensberg Basin), Botswana (Selebi-Pikwe, Francistown), Madagascar (Ambatovy), Zimbabwe.
- coltan <sup>2</sup> ores	Rwanda, DRC, Burundi, Madagascar, Nigeria.
- cobalt ore	DRC (Katanga-Shaba Basin), Zambia (Copperbelt Basin), Madagascar (Ambatovy), RSA, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Uganda.
- tungsten ore	Rwanda, DRC, Uganda, Burundi.
- vanadium ore	RSA (Rustenburg Basin and Drakensberg Basin).
<b>Other basic metals:</b>	
- bauxite (aluminium ore)	Guinea (Sangaredi, Debele, Fria), Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mozambique, Tanzania.
- antimony ore	RSA.
- tin ore	DRC, Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi.
- zinc ore	Namibia (Scorpion Mine), Burkina Faso, RSA, Nigeria, DRC.
- lead ore	RSA, Namibia, Nigeria.
- copper ore	DRC (Katanga-Shaba Basin), Zambia (Copperbelt Basin), RSA, Botswana, Eritrea, Mauritania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Tanzania.
- titanium ore	RSA (Richards Bay, Brand se Baai), Madagascar (Mandena), Mozambique (Moma), Sierra Leone (Sierra Rutile Mine).
<b>Precious metals and gems:</b>	
- silver	Burkina Faso, DRC, RSA, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Niger, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Botswana, Namibia.
- gold	RSA (Witwatersrand Basin, Vaal Basin, Welkom Basin), Ghana (Gold Coast Basin), Mali (Luolo-Goukoto, Sigiri), Tanzania (Geita), Burkina Faso, Sudan, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Ethiopia, Guinea, Senegal, Togo, Eritrea, Zambia, Burundi, Zimbabwe, DRC, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Namibia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Niger, Kenya, Mozambique, Madagascar, Botswana.
- platinum and other PGE <sup>3</sup>	RSA (Rustenburg Basin and Drakensberg Basin), Zimbabwe (Ngezi, Unki, Mimoso), Botswana, Ethiopia.
- diamond	Botswana (Orapa, Jwaneng), DRC (Tshikapa, Mbuji-Mayi, Tshibue, Kapopo), Zimbabwe (Marange, Ventia, Murowa), Angola (Catoca), RSA (Kimberley, Finsch), Namibia (Mittag), Sierra Leone, Lesotho, Cameroon, Ghana, Tanzania, Congo, Guinea, Liberia.
- other gemstones	DRC (Katanga-Shaba Basin), Zambia (Copperbelt Basin), Madagascar, Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia, Kenya, RPA, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda, Angola, Malawi, Botswana, Ivory Coast, Uganda, Lesotho, Burundi, Eswathini.
<b>Chemical resources:</b>	
- sea salt	Namibia, Kenya, RSA, Mozambique, Eritrea, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea, Angola, Madagascar, Mauritius, Somalia.
- rock/brine salt	Botswana, RSA, Mauritania, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Mali, Djibouti.
- barites	Zimbabwe, Nigeria.
- fluorites	RSA (Rust de Winter), Kenya (Kimwarer), Namibia (Okorusu).
- phosphates	Togo (Akoumape, Hahotue), Senegal (Taiba), RSA (Phalaborwa), Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mali, Tanzania.
- graphite	Madagascar, Zimbabwe.
- magnesite	RSA.
- mica	Madagascar, Sudan.

Source: Author's elaboration based on most recent data mainly from British Geological Survey (BGS), US Geological Survey (USGS) and many governmental and corporate data reports.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Coltan is a mineral of niobium and tantalum.

<sup>3</sup> Platinum group elements (palladium, iridium etc.).

<sup>4</sup> A table and the following was analysed according to British Geological Survey reports are available at: *World Mineral Production 2015-2019*

<<https://www2.bgs.ac.uk/mineralsuk/statistics/>> (3 February 2021), and similar for US Geological Survey: *International Minerals Statistics and Information*

The second group of countries is made up of those which possess nationalized mining or mining operated by military forces. Comprising this group are countries having strong governmental focus for central economic planning. There are fewer and fewer such examples but Cameroon or Togo (Pedersen, Jacob 2017) could fit well into this category. Such countries are more likely now to sell already existing firms, increasing their level of debt, which is one of the characteristics of emerging neo-colonialism (Ogar, Nwoye, Bassey 2017; Segell 2019). Within this context China plays a growing role along with other countries with rising economies (Deych 2019; Obi 2019; Olivier 2019).

The third group of countries of Africa is made up of those whose raw material and mineral resources have been bought and exploited by third-party countries or by international corporations. Exemplifying this group are Nigeria, Guinea, Gabon, Zambia, the DRC and others. They are countries whose exports are dominated by mineral commodities.

At this point in the article it is worth noting the origins of such companies and where their investing capital originates. This will allow one to recognize which nations stand out as neo-colonialist in the African Sub-Saharan region. In Southern Africa, as already mentioned the largest economy is that of the Republic of South Africa, which itself conducts neo-colonial activity within other countries of the African continent. Table 2 presents mines and their owners denoting their national origins. Corporations are listed according to their ranking in the markets which pertain to them.

In the RSA, most mining activity is in the hands of their own, native corporations and thus it would be difficult to speak of neo-colonialism in such a context. One can not say the same when speaking about countries neighbouring the RSA. In Lesotho for example, there exists only a few diamond mines. They in part belong to the government which owns from 20% to 30% of their shares. But the largest company which mines diamonds in Lesotho is Nakamwa Diamonds from the Republic of South Africa. Smaller mines belong to Kimberlite Investments (USA), Gem Diamonds (UK), Firestone Diamonds

---

<<https://www.usgs.gov/centers/nmic/international-minerals-statistics-and-information>> (3 February 2021).



(UK) and Luconna Diamonds (Canada). So it is plain to see that the majority of the profits from the mining of diamonds flows out of the country and into the earnings of foreign concerns. In the case of Lesotho, the earnings are reaped primarily by the RSA and Great Britain. It is a similar case with Suazi, (known as Eswatini since 2018). The Anglo-American Corporation of Great Britain and the RSA owns one mine of iron ore, which presently serves mostly as a tourist attraction. Other mines being actively exploited for hard coal belong to Chancellor House Holdings which has its headquarters in the Republic of South Africa with the RSA holding a majority of shares in the company and with smaller shares held by small companies. A second mine in Eswatini worth mentioning is mined for gold. It belongs to SDZ Holdings LLC from Austria, and Ingweyama Corp from the RSA. The government also holds some shares in this endeavour.

**Table 2. Ownership of RSA mines**

Mines of:	Owners ranking:	Origin:
coal	1) Exxaro Resources	RSA
	2) Sasol	RSA
	3) South32	Australia
	4) Tegeta Exploration & Resources	Switzerland
	5) Glencore Xstrata	Switzerland/RSA
	6) Umcebo Mining	RSA
	7) Shanduka Group	RSA
	8) Wescoal Holdings	RSA
	9) Kangra Group	India
	10) Keaton Energy Holdings	RSA
	11) Imbawula Group	RSA
	12) Mbuyelo Coal	RSA
	13) Universal Coal	UK/RSA
	14) Kuyasa Mining	RSA
	15) Vunene Mining	RSA
	16) Coal of Africa	RSA
petroleum and natural gas	Petroleum Oil and Gas Corporation of South Africa	RSA
uranium ore	1) AngloGold Ashanti	RSA
	2) Sibanye-Stillwater	RSA
iron ore	1) Kumba Iron Ore	RSA
	2) Assmang	RSA
	3) Palabora Mining	RSA
	4) Evraz Group	Russia
	5) Glencore Xstrata	Switzerland/RSA
manganese ore	1) BHP Billiton	Australia
	2) Anglo American	UK/RSA
	3) Majestic Silver Trading	RSA
	4) Renova Group	Russia
	5) Assmang	RSA
	6) Tshipi e Ntle Manganese Mining	RSA
	7) Asia Minerals	China (Hong Kong)
	8) Samancor Manganese	RSA
chromium ore	1) Glencore Xstrata	Switzerland/RSA



	2) International Mineral Resources	Netherlands
	3) Merafe Resource	RSA
	4) Tharisa Minerals	RSA
	5) Mitsubishi	Japan
	6) Assmang	RSA
	7) International Ferro Metals	Australia
	8) Lonmin	UK
	9) African Rainbow Minerals	RSA
	10) MMC Norilsk Nickel	Russia
	11) ASA Metals	Canada
	12) Eastern Platinum	Canada
	13) Afarak Group	Finland
	14) Bayer	Germany
	15) Anglo American	UK/RSA
nickel ore	1) Anglo American	UK/RSA
	2) Nkomati JV	RSA
	3) Impala Platinum	RSA
	4) Lonmin	UK
cobalt ore	Nkomati JV	RSA
vanadium ore	1) Evraz Group	Russia
	2) Glencore Xstrata	Switzerland/RSA
	3) Duferco Group	USA
	4) Vametco Minerals	RSA
antimony ore	Stibium Mining	RSA
lead-zinc ore	Black Mountain Mineral Development	RSA
copper ore	1) Palabora Mining	RSA
	2) Anglo American	US/RSA
	3) Nkomati JV	RSA
	4) Impala Platinum	RSA
	5) Black Mountain Mineral Development	RSA
titanium ore	1) Rio Tinto	UK/Australia
	2) Horizon Investments	USA
	3) Exxaro Resources	RSA
	4) Mineral Commodities	Australia
silver	Black Mountain Mineral Development	RSA
gold	1) Sibanye-Stillwater	RSA
	2) AngloGold Ashanti	RSA
	3) Harmony Gold Mining	RSA
	4) Gold Fields	RSA
	5) Pan African Resources	UK
	6) Gold One International	Australia
	7) DRD Gold	RSA
	8) Village Main Reef	RSA
	9) Anglo American	UK/RSA
platinum and PGE	1) Anglo American	UK/RSA
	2) Royal Bafokeng Nation	RSA
	3) Aquarius Platinum	UK
	4) African Rainbow Minerals	RSA
	5) XK Platinum Partnership	RSA
	6) Impala Platinum	RSA
	7) Lonmin	UK
	8) Mvelaphanda Resources	RSA
	9) Sedibelo Platinum Mines	RSA
	10) Glencore Xstrata	Switzerland/RSA
	11) Atlatsa Resource Group	RSA
	12) Eastern Platinum	Canada
	13) Tharisa Minerals	RSA
	14) Nkomati JV	RSA
	15) Platinum Australia	Australia
	16) Sylvania Platinum	UK
diamonds and other gems	1) Anglo American	UK/RSA
	2) Petra Diamonds	UK

	3) Diamond Corporation	Canada
	4) Jagersfontein Developments	RSA
	5) Trans Hex Group	RSA
	6) Batla Minerals	France
salt	1) Salt Refiners and Packers	RSA
	2) Swarkops	RSA
	3) Dwaggas Salt Works	RSA
magnesite	Chamotte Holdings	RSA
phosphates	Foskor	RSA
fluorites	Minerales Y Productos Derivados	Spain

Source: Author's elaboration based on most recent data mainly from US Geological Survey (USGS) and RSA Department of Resources and Energy.<sup>5</sup>

There are countries to the north of the RSA which are also under the influence of South African capital. Namibia for example has many mines. All copper and pyrites (iron ore) mines of the country belong to Weatherly International of Great Britain, while the majority of diamond mines in the country belong to De Beers Group, also a British concern. The only fluorite mine in the country belongs to the Solvay Co. of Belgium, while the gold mines found there are mined by B2 Gold of Canada and QRK of Great Britain. The mining of lead and silver in Namibia is in the hands of Encore Xstrata from Switzerland and the RSA. Manganese in Namibia is being mined by Purity Manganese of Israel, while salt is mined by Walvis Bay Salt Holdings of the RSA, Guangdong Nuclear Power Group of China and Rio Tinto of Great Britain and Australia own uranium complex. Zinc is mined in Namibia by Vedanta Resources of India. In summary, over 40% of Namibia's mining concerns are in British hands with firms from the RSA also holding a large percentage.

In Botswana, mining activity is dominated by the extraction of diamonds. The majority of these diamond mines belong to Debswana Diamond Company, a British and Botswanian in origin. This same company is also responsible for the mining of coal. The firm Agate Botswana dominates the industry in the mining of precious stones. The owner of the country's only gold mine is Galane Gold of Botswana and the RSA, while mines for nickel, cobalt and copper are held by BCL a national concern. Salt in Botswana is mined by Chlor-Alkali

<sup>5</sup> US Geological Survey: *International Minerals Statistics and Information* <<https://www.usgs.gov/centers/nmic/international-minerals-statistics-and-information>> (3 February 2021); RSA Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, <<https://www.dmr.gov.za/resources>> (4 February 2021).

Holdings of Great Britain and the RSA, and silver is mined by Global Natural Resource Investments of Great Britain. Botswana owns the majority of its mines in the form of governmental co-ops belonging to its national treasury.

Of interest is the situation in Zimbabwe where many mines were nationalized and subsequently failed, only to be saved thanks to the efforts of local miners and small enterprisers. Zimbabwe mines a healthy amount of chromium ore while the firm Hwange Colliery extracts a good amount of coal. The co-op RioZim (Zimbabwe), Senzile Resources (RSA) along with a few other concerns also function in this regard. Cobalt and nickel are mined almost exclusively by Asa Resources Corp. of London, while the mining of copper along with platinum are also mined by companies in foreign hands with Impala Platinum and Sibanye-Stillwater (RSA) playing a dominant role. Of course the mining of diamonds comprises an significant role as a source of income for this part of the world. The largest diamond mine in Zimbabwe is found in Murowa with its owner being RZ Murowa Holdings, a firm supported by British capital. A second firm, Zimbabwe Consolidated Diamond Company (ZCDC) plays a more limited role in diamond production, although the company owns some mines. The mining of gold in Zimbabwe is largely in the hands of locals who engage themselves illegally in this endeavour. The largest legal gold mine is found in Bindura and belongs to Asa Resources Group of Great Britain. Mitallon Corp also of Great Britain constitutes the second largest company involved in the mining of gold. Zimbabwe German Graphite Mines is a German-Zimbabwean company engaged in the mining of graphite. The mining of tungsten lies in the hands of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund, a national concern. Generally speaking then, Zimbabwe possesses a good amount of mining activity conducted by related national firms. The mining of gold and chrome however is thanks to the activities of small family-run firms who work according to traditional methods. Those firms earning the most income from their mining activities in Zimbabwe are from Great Britain with the Republic of South Africa coming in second.

The situation concerning the mining of gold and gemstones in Mozambique is very similar to that of Zimbabwe,

with the extraction of these resources being dominated by small, local micro-firms. The most active in the area of mining in this country is that of titanium ore, with the largest such mine being in the hands of Kenmare Resources, an Irish firm. Also the mining of hard coal by the Brazilian firm Vale plays a great role in the mining industry here. Other mining companies of much lesser profit margins include: Mina Alumina, a Mozambique firm mining bauxite, Sasol, a South African firm involved in natural gas production as well as the British company Noventa which extracts niobium and tantalum. British and Irish firms hold the largest earnings in the area of mining in Mozambique.

In Madagascar, cottage industry mining is also very common. It is responsible for extracting their renowned gemstones. Small, family run mining firms sell their mined gems directly to the government or to large companies such as Norcross Madagascar Group, a French company. The most lucrative mined substance in Madagascar is nickel and cobalt, extracted by Ambatovy in which the Canadian company Sherritt International owns many shares, as well as Sumitomo of Japan and Kores of Korea. Due to the division of shares, neither of these three companies constitute the largest of mining firms in Madagascar, although they own the largest mines in the country. The second largest mine in this country is in the hands of Rio Tinto, a British-Australian firm extracting Titanium ore. Also in Madagascar chrome is mined by the government while graphite is mined by Etablissements Gallois, a French concern, and Graphmada Equity of Singapore, mica by GA Mineragrex of Great Britain as well as by local firms, crude oil by the Singaporean Company Madagascar Oil, rock salt by Compagnie Salinière de Madagascar of France as well as many local micro-firms. Taking profit and investment capital into account no clear leader emerges even though 80% of the shares in mining result from foreign investments. Approximately 15-20% of these are French or Singaporean. The remaining island countries of the Indian Ocean such as the Comoros Islands, Seychelles Islands the Island of Mauritius as well as the colonies of Mayotte and Reunion do not possess mines other than local de-salination plants, most often belonging to local, family-owned firms.

The majority of Eastern African nations have also become dominated in their mining industries by foreign entities. In Tanzania, the most lucrative mining activity centres around gold, which is mined in many locations in the country. The largest of these mines belongs to the AngloGold Ashanti Company from the RSA. A few smaller mines with greater productivity are owned by Barrick Gold of Canada. A large amount of gold is also extracted by individual miners. This is also true with the mining of diamonds and other precious stones in Tanzania. The largest company involved in the mining of diamonds there is Petra Diamonds of Great Britain. Other companies conducting mining activities in the country are as follows: coal – Intra Energy of Australia, copper and silver – Barrick Gold of Canada, natural gas – Etablissements Maurel et Prom of France, Wentworth Resources of Britain and Orca Exploration Group of Canada, and phosphates and rock salt – MAC Group from the USA. Generally, the largest holding in Tanzanian mining are owned by Canadian and British firms.

Neighbouring Kenya possesses a much scantier mining industry. The mining industry in this country is mainly concentrated upon the extraction of fluorite, sea salt and gemstones. While the mining of fluorite is presently in the hands of the government, rock salt and gemstones are mined by locals and locally owned, small firms. Small amounts of gold are also mined in this way. Iron ore is mined by the Kenyan firm Wanjala Mining, while an Australian firm called Base Resources mines titanium. Kenya remains a country free of neo-colonial pressures which seek to buy up deposits of rich natural resources.

In Uganda the main natural resource mined is tungsten. The entire enterprise involved in the mining of this natural resource is in the hands of KI3R Minerals, a British concern. Uganda also possesses a limited amount of iron ore production, all in the hands of local firms. The country also produces salt and gold, the mining of which is in the hands of private exploiters. The only mine in the country functioning on an industrial level is one mine extracting tungsten.

Neighbouring Rwanda is one of the world's major producers of niobium and tantalum. These mines, of which there are many, are found in the Rwandan basin and are

generally run by small firms belonging to local businessmen. Those natural resources representing a higher level of industrialization in Rwanda are tin and tungsten. The British company of Tinco Investments owns the largest of such mines. An additional and important source of income for Rwanda is found in the mining of gemstones. This industry exists on a small scale by local firms which do not operate at an industrial level. Other natural resources of interest in Rwanda include deposits of natural gas, which is extracted by Contour Global, a British company. British capital dominates the Rwandan mining scene.

Burundian mining is also dependent on a few international firms, as well as local companies. The primary resource mined is gold, which is mined by locals and not on an industrial scale. There also exist small mines in the country extracting tin, tungsten, niobium and tantalum. The majority of this mining activity is conducted on the local level. The largest government-run mining concern is Tantalum Mining Company (TAMinCO).

The main source of income in mining for Malawi is in the area of gemstones, the majority of which is conducted on the local level. Two largest firms are: Mzimba Gemstone Mining Cooperative Society (a Malawian firm), and Silver Hills Gems from the RSA. A large amount of effort also goes into the mining of coal and is conducted by CPL Industries, a British firm, Intra Energy of Australia, and by Allied Procurement, an American company. Malawi is also a major producer of raw uranium. The Australian firm, Paladin Energy is involved in its extraction. Phosphates are mined in Malawi by Optichem, a Malawian owned firm supported in part by capital from the United Arab Emirates. An assessment of Malawi earnings from mining show that despite the activity of foreign firms, it is the wide variety of local, Malawian owned firms which dominate numerous mines, but most earnings eventually find their way into the hands of foreign companies, especially those from Australia.

Neighbouring Zambia possesses rich deposits of copper and cobalt and the list of mine operators is a long one. Among those entities mining these elements are: African Rainbow Materials (RSA), Vale (Brazil), ZCCM-IH (Zambia/RSA),



Jinchuan Group International Mining (China), NFC Africa Mining (Austria), First Quantum Materials (Canada), Vedanta Resources (India), Barrick Gold (Canada), Glencore Xstrata (Switzerland/RSA), Nonferrous Metal Mining (China). Among these entities, Canadian companies are the most dominant. Aside from copper and cobalt in Zambia, a large amount of gold is mined there, mainly by First Quantum Minerals, while precious stones are mined primarily by Gemfields PLC of Great Britain. To a lesser degree coal is mined in the country by Nava Bharat of India as well as by the earlier mentioned ZCCM-IH. The mining of manganese is conducted primarily by Kaboko Mining an Australian firm. Generally speaking, after summarizing of incomes, one half of the mining industry profits in Zambia are under Canadian interests.

The mining industry in the next country of Angola depends primarily on the extraction of oil and diamonds. Angola has also sold mining rights to international concerns. In the area of oil production the following companies dominate: Ajoco Exploration (Japan), Angola Consulting Resources (Angola), AP Moller-Maersk (Denmark), BP (Britain), Canadian Natural Resources (Canada), Chevron (USA), Devon Energy (USA), Eni (Italy), ExxonMobil (USA), Falcon Oil (Ireland), Force Petroleum Group (Canada), Gulp Energía (Portugal), Gema Group (Australia), Ina-Industrija Nafta (Croatia), InterOil (Norway), Marathon Oil (USA), Naphta-Israel Petroleum (Israel), Occidental Petroleum (USA), Odebrecht (Brazil), Petróleo-Brasileiro (Brazil), Prodoil SARL (Angola), Roc Oil (Australia), Sinopec (China), Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis de Angola (Angola), Sociedade Petrolífera Angolana (Angola), Soco (Taiwan), Statoil (Norway), Teikoku Oil (Japan), Total (France), Tullow Oil (UK), Vaalco Energy (USA). Somewhat more modest earnings in Angola are derived through the mining of diamonds. The largest such enterprise Catoca, is responsible for 80% of diamond mining in the country and is mutually owned by Endiama (Angola), Alrosa (Russia), Daumonty Financing Co. (Panama), and Odebrecht (Brazil). Compiling the total earnings gained from the mining, although Angolan capital dominates, the majority of earnings go to foreign concerns, the largest part of which originate in the USA and France.



The neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is in possession of rich deposits of cobalt and copper, found primarily in the Katanga-Shaba basin, along with diamond deposits in the south of the country. The economy of the country depends on these deposits. The cobalt and copper mines of the country belong to different consortia of which many international companies have shares. The main companies tied with the mining of copper and cobalt are: La Générale des Carrières et des Mines (Gécamines) a state-owned concern of the DRC and the Swiss-South African concern Glencore Xstrata. Much of the capital comes from Chinese, American and Dutch sources as well. The largest group involved in diamond mining is made up of independent miners which extract 70% of the diamonds mined in the country. The largest foreign investor is Anhui Foreign Economic Construction Group (China) and the Congolaise d'Investissement Minier, another state-owned DRC company. Other mining endeavours in the country do not bring about great profits. The mining of coal lies in the hands of Gécamines, a national concern, while the mining of precious stones is performed by a small number of private exploiters. The same is true with the mining of gold, but the largest gold mine in Ituri province belongs to the RSA companies. Raw niobium, tantalum, tin and tungsten are also mined by independent miners. Modest amounts of oil is extracted by the English-French firm Perenco Oil, and the local firm Congolaise des Hydrocarbures (Cohydro). The Canadian firm Anvil Mining is most involved in the mining of silver while tin is mined by the local company La Société pour le Traitement du Terril de Lubumbashi (STL). An examination of the revenue generated by mining shows that Chinese companies have the upper hand while local companies come in second and in third place companies of South African origins.

Neighbouring Congo is much poorer in natural resources. It possesses primarily oil and diamonds. Petroleum is mainly extracted by the Italian firm Eni and the French firm Total. Thanks to this, these companies comprise the largest firms in the country. The mining of diamonds and gold is totally in the hands of small local enterprises often family owned.

In contrast, Gabon has rich deposits of manganese ore. Mines belong to the French firm Eramet and to Citic Dameng Holdings of China. Petroleum in Gabon is mainly extracted by the Chinese firm Sinopec and the French firm Total. From mining endeavours in Gabon one can assess that the most profits go to Chinese and French firms. Small amounts of gold are mined by the Moroccan concern Managem, by individual miners and small, family firms as well.

Equatorial Guinea's economy is dependent upon the exploitation of petroleum and natural gas. In addition, small amounts of gold are extracted by local miners. Natural gas is extracted mainly by the American company Marathon Oil and petroleum by Exxon Mobil (USA). Neighbouring islands of St. Thomas and Principe escape mention here, since they do not possess a mining sector.

In Cameroon mined resources include petroleum, gold and diamonds. Gold and diamonds are generally extracted by local miners and firms. Petroleum however is exploited by the state-owned Société National des Hydrocarbures. It is worth noting that among African nations, Cameroon has remained independent of neo-colonial attempts at seizing its mineral riches through foreign investments.

Neighbouring Nigeria boasts of rich oil deposits, with the Niger Delta Basin hosting the largest number of oil wells on both land and sea in Africa. Nigeria owns 40 percent of these reserves through the NNPC (state-owned company), while more than half are owned and operated by foreign corporations, mainly from the USA (Chevron, ExxonMobil, Esso), France (Total), Netherlands (Shell, Phillips) and from Italy (Agip). Natural gas comprises Nigeria's second most exploited natural resource. 40 percent of profits from natural gas is in Nigerian hands through the NNPC. The largest foreign exploiter is the USA by the American companies mentioned above. Fewer profits are gained through the mining of other raw materials in Nigeria. Coal mining is in the hands of the French company Lafarge, while iron ore is mined by the Nigerian Treasury Enterprise. Mines of lead, zinc, niobium and tantalum are operated by private, Nigerian businesses. Gold, tin and precious stones are extracted by informal, local entities. Thus Nigeria does profit from the mining of its raw materials, but a

large percentage of the profits go to the USA as well as to other countries.

Located next, Benin does not conduct any mining, but neighbouring Togo has developed a mining sector. The most important source of profits in the sector derives from the extraction of phosphates, which remain in national hands. A second source of profits comes from the mining of gold and diamonds, mostly by individuals at the local level. The only iron mine in Togo is in the hands of a private local firm.

Ghana, known in colonial times as the Gold Coast, earns the most income through the mining of gold. The government owns 10% of the activity in this sector. The Canadian firms Golden Star Resources, Keegan Resources and Kinross Gold, are the most active of the Gold Coast Basin firms. Near equivalent profits are had however by the South African firms of AngloGold Ashanti and Gold Fields along with the American firm Newmont Mining. Australian and British firms also play a role in this sector. The second source of earning in Ghana's mining industry is in the mining of manganese ore. The owner of a vast mine of this type is the British firm Consolidated Minerals. The mining of bauxite is conducted by the Chinese firm Bosai Group. Diamonds and precious stones are mined from small deposits, their extraction being conducted by locals. The British company Tullore Oil, the main firm of a consortium of companies, is primarily responsible for the extraction of petroleum from the ocean shelf. Salt is produced from the ocean by a private Ghanaian co-ops. After summarization the largest profits from Ghana's mining sector goes to Canadian and South African firms. American and British firms also earn a large share.

The Ivory Coast earns much less from mining than does Ghana, with the most frequently mined material being gold. The majority of the gold in this country is mined by the British-South African firm Randgold and by the Australian firm Newcrest Mining. The second most profitable area of the Ivory Coast mining industry is found in the exploitation of petroleum from the shelf of the Bay of Guinea. Dominating the scene in this endeavour is the Canadian company Canadian Natural Resources and the state-owned Société Nationale d'Operations Pétrolières de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ivory Coast also has two mines of

manganese. First one belongs to the state-owned Société pour le Développement Minier (SDM), and to the China National Geological and Mining Corp., second to Dharni Group of India. Profits from Ivorian mining production go mostly to five countries: UK, Canada, Australia, RSA and to state-owned corporations of Ivory Coast. The rest has minor share.

In Liberia, at present the most important material being mined is gold. The largest mine for the extraction of gold is conducted by the Canadian firm Aureus Mining. Large amounts of diamonds and gold are extracted by independent locals. The second most often mined material is iron ore. One such mine is owned by ArcelorMittal, an international concern with capital largely garnered from India. A second such mine, a much smaller one, is operated by Wuhan Iron and Steel (WISCO) from China. Barite in Liberia is mined by the Swiss firm Steinbock Minerals. The majority of profits from mining in Liberia remains in Canadian and Indian hands.

In Sierra Leone the most important material mined is iron ore. Its extraction is under the auspices of African Minerals, a British firm, and Shandong Iron and Steel Group of China. The mining of diamonds is conducted by the Israeli firm Beny Steinmetz Group and is the most profitable mining endeavour in Sierra Leone. Bauxite is mined by Vimetco from Netherlands and titanium by Iluka Resources from Australia. The latter comprises the second most profitable mining firm in Sierra Leone.

Mining in Guinea is dominated by the exploitation of bauxite, with significant share owned by the Russian firm Rusal. The government of Guinea however owns most of the shares in this area of the country's mining industry. In the mining of diamonds, the company Buona International, a national firm excels. Gold is mined in Guinea mainly by the South African firm, AngloGold Ashanti and a few other foreign firms, in addition to local miners. More than half of the profits from mining in Guinea go to foreign investors, the largest of which are Russian Rusal and AngloGold Ashanti. Nearby Guinea Bissau, Gambia, and the Republic of Cabo Verde, do not possess a developed mining sector on the industrial level as part of their economies.

The next nation to be mentioned is that of Senegal. Mining in this country centres around the mining of phosphates. This mining endeavour is in the hands of three Indian entities, The Archean Group, The Indian Government and The Indian Farmer's Fertilizer Cooperative. The Government of Senegal also plays a role. The mining of gold in Senegal, is conducted primarily by Teranga Gold of Canada. Senegal also mines deposits of titanium and salt. Indian and Canadian investment plays the most important role in the mining industry in Senegal.

The nation of Mauritania possesses rich deposits of iron ore. It is exploited by government firms in cooperation with investors largely from Arab countries. The second most important material mined in Mauritania is gold. The owners of such mines are the Canadian firms Kinross Gold and First Quantum Minerals: the second of which also operates copper mines. Mauritania also exploits petroleum in which the Malaysian firm Petroliaam Nasional Berhad plays a major role. Rock salt is also mined with the national firm Société Mauritanienne des industries du Sel dominating. Mauritania holds most profits from its mines.

In Mali, despite recent civil war, the mining of diamonds and phosphates continues. In the mining of gold, six main corporations have made investments in the industry. More than half of the gold extracted is by Randgold (Britain/RSA). The remaining companies involved are listed according to profits: Resolute Mining (Australia), Anglo Gold Ashanti (RSA), Endeavor Mining (UK), Iamgold (Canada), and Avnel Gold Mining (UK). One phosphate mine is operated in the country by Toguna Groupe, a Malaysian corporation. Britain and South Africa profit the most from the mining sector in Mali.

Mining in Burkina Faso is concentrated upon the extraction of gold. The largest investor is the Russian Company, Nord Gold, two Canadian companies Iamgold and Semafo, as well as the British firm Avocet and Endeavour Mining. Zinc, lead and silver mine is owned by the Swiss/RSA firm Glencore Xstrata. The mining of manganese is in government hands as is 10 percent of mining for gold. Russia and Canada are the countries which reap the most profits from the mining industry in Burkina Faso.

To a large extent the mining sector in Niger is nationalized. The most important material mined is uranium of which one third belongs to the Société de Patrimoine des Mines du Niger (SOPAMIN), a governmental entity. The mining of coal belongs entirely to the Nigérienne de Charbon (SONICHAR). The French company Areva is the largest foreign company exploiting uranium. Japanese and Spanish firms also hold shares in this endeavour. The exploitation of petroleum in Niger is of lesser importance and is in the hands of the Chinese. Phosphates are mined by Malaysia. Foreign companies dominate half of the profits stemming from mining in Niger, with Areva being the largest.

The nation of Chad possesses few oil reserves, Sinopec (China) and Esso (USA) dominate in its exploitation. The government along with the companies Glencore and Petronas also play a lesser role. The mining of gold also exists in Chad but not on an industrial level. The same is true with the neighbouring Central African Republic, where civil war is still taking place.

In Sudan, mining is conducted in the area of gold, petroleum and chromium ore. More than 90% of the gold mined is in the hands of individual exploiters. The largest gold mines on an industrial level is in Jebel Amir. Remaining mines are in governmental hands. The exploitation of oil in Sudan is dominated by the Chinese firm Sinopec, although a few other foreign firms play a role, along with the government of Sudan. The mining of chromium ore is entirely in governmental hands. Other raw materials mined, such as mica and manganese are also in the hands of the government. The mining of salt is conducted by a company from the United Arab Emirates. Most of the profits from the mining industry in Sudan are in Chinese hands.

In South Sudan the only raw material mined on the industrial level is petroleum. Sinopec of China is responsible for 40% of oil production. The second largest firm in oil production is the Malaysian firm Petronas Carigali Overseas Shd. Bhd. The third largest such firm is ONGC Videsh of India. In addition, gold is mined in South Sudan to a minimal degree by individual locals.



The mining industry in Ethiopia has access to many varying raw material of which gold is the most profitable. Most of the gold in this country is mined by individual locals. The only large gold mine is operated by Midroc, an interesting Swedish/Yemeni/Ethiopian firm. The exploitation of brown coal is in the hands of Ethiopian firms such as Delbi Coal Mining Share, as is the mining of silver. The mining of precious stones as well as salt is conducted according to traditional methods, by individuals and family-run firms. This is also true with the mining of platinum. The majority of profits from the

**Fig. 2. Profits largest shareholders of mining in Africa**



Source: author's elaboration based on latest data from many available companies reports and governmental sources.



mining sector in Ethiopia remains in Ethiopian hands, with capital from Sweden and Yemen also playing a role.

A small number of mines in Eritrea produce finds of gold, copper, zinc and salt. The mining of gold earns the most profits. The Chinese company China Shanghai Corporation for Foreign and Technological Cooperation operates one large mine. Salt is mined by local, private firms. The mining of silver, copper and zinc are confined to one mine of which the owner is Nevsun Resources of Canada. Profits earned in Eritrea is not much more than that brought in by China. In neighbouring Djibouti only salt is mined according to traditional methods. It is also the case in Somalia. Here individual miners extract small amounts of beryl and other precious stones. While this article touches mostly upon the subject of the mining sector of Sub-Saharan Africa countries, fig. 2 also presents information in this light of the remaining countries of the African continent.

## **DEPENDENCE BASED ON ARMS SALES**

Neo-imperialism as a geopolitical problem, differs somewhat from neo-colonialism (Meyer 1989; Okeke, Cilliers, Schoeman 2018) and enjoys great interest as a subject of inquiry and study. Much has been written on the subject by experts at the beginning of the twenty first century, especially in the context of the financial crisis of 2007-2008 (Ikegami 2011; James 2008). The creation of dependency of weaker nations upon the world's major powers through the sale of armaments has played an important role upon the African continent. In this section of this article, the direction of arms trade as concerns the countries of the Sub-Saharan region will be analyzed, all with the goal of establishing which world powers are attempting to create dependency among its weaker African counterparts through deliveries of ammunition, explosives, military training and the signing of agreements of cooperation. At the conclusion, an analysis will be offered, resembling the visuals presented above on fig. 2.

In order to accomplish this, statistics available from the Stockholm Research Institute (SIPRI),<sup>6</sup> concerning the armament of the countries to be analyzed will serve as stepping stones. Only the armaments and worth of contracts were taken into account, excluding the costs of ammunition, consumables and changeable parts as well as small weapons in order to reach conclusions. On this basis it was possible to create a list of the main suppliers of arms. The analysis was limited to the years 1999-2019. Reciprocal production was not taken into account. Instead of a detailed description, due to text volume reduction need, statistics are provided in table 3.

**Table 3. Major suppliers of military equipment to Sub-Saharan states in 1999-2019 period**

Country	Supplier	Contracts	Classes of military equipment bought
Angola	1) Belarus	15	aircraft, artillery, IFV <sup>7</sup> , tanks, rocket launchers
	2) Russia	8	aircraft
	3) Bulgaria	8	artillery, tanks, APC, <sup>8</sup> rocket launchers
	4) Ukraine	5	IFV, aircraft, APC
	5) Slovakia	4	aircraft, tanks
	6) other	35	artillery, aircraft, naval ships, rocket launchers, APC, IFV, radar systems
Benin	1) Belgium	3	aircraft, aircraft, APC
	2) France	2	aircraft, naval ships
	3) other	2	APC
Botswana	1) France	7	aircraft, APC, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft systems
	2) USA	3	aircraft
	3) other	9	tanks, APC, aircraft, anti-aircraft systems
Burkina Faso	1) Russia	3	aircraft, anti-aircraft systems
	2) France	3	APC, aircraft
	3) RSA	3	APC
	4) other	14	artillery, aircraft, APC, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft systems
Burundi	1) USA	2	APC
	2) Ukraine	2	APC, aircraft
	3) other	2	APC
Cabo Verde Rep.	1) Netherlands	1	naval ships
	2) other	3	aircraft
Cameroon	1) China	8	aircraft, anti-aircraft systems, artillery, APC, IFV, radar systems, naval ships, anti-tank guns, aircraft
	2) Israel	7	artillery, APC
	3) USA	6	aircraft, APC, UAV <sup>9</sup>
	4) other	16	naval ships, aircraft, APC, artillery
Central African Rep.	1) USA	1	aircraft
	2) other	2	APC, aircraft
Chad	1) Ukraine	12	aircraft, APC, IFV, aircraft, anti-aircraft systems
	2) China	5	rocket launchers, APC
	3) France	4	APC
	4) other	16	APC, artillery, aircraft
Comoros	1) Brazil	1	aircraft
	2) Ukraine	1	aircraft
Congo	1) RSA	6	aircraft, naval ships, APC

<sup>6</sup> SIPRI, 'Arms Transfer Database', <<https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>> (12 February 2021).

<sup>7</sup> Infantry Fighting Vehicles.

<sup>8</sup> Armoured Personnel Carriers.

<sup>9</sup> Unmanned Aerial Vehicles.

	2) other	9	artillery, APC, rocket launchers, aircraft, naval ships
DRC	1) Ukraine	16	artillery, APC, aircraft, IFV, tanks, rocket launchers
	2) other	7	aircraft, artillery, APC
Djibouti	1) USA	4	APC
	2) China	3	aircraft, naval ships
	3) other	6	aircraft, naval ships, artillery, APC
Eritrea	1) Bulgaria	7	artillery, APC, tanks
	2) other	9	anti-aircraft systems, rocket launchers, aircraft, radar systems
Eswatini (formerly Suazi)	1) RSA	2	APC, aircraft
	2) Taiwan	1	aircraft
Ethiopia	1) Russia	12	artillery, aircraft, anti-aircraft systems
	2) China	5	rocket launchers, artillery, anti-aircraft systems, APC
	3) other	16	aircraft, tanks, APC, artillery, radar systems, anti-tank guns
Gabon	1) China	6	rocket launchers, APC, IFV
	2) RSA	3	aircraft, APC
	3) other	4	APC, aircraft, IFV
Gambia	1) Taiwan	1	naval ships
	2) Georgia	1	aircraft
Ghana	1) China	9	artillery, rocket launchers, aircraft, naval ships, APC, IFV
	2) Russia	3	aircraft
	3) RSA	3	IFV, APC
	4) other	14	aircraft, APC, naval ships
Guinea	1) RSA	2	APC
	2) France	2	aircraft
	3) Ukraine	2	aircraft
	4) other	5	artillery, aircraft, rocket launchers, APC
Guinea, Equatorial	1) Ukraine	12	aircraft, naval ships, artillery
	2) other	9	naval ships, IFV, aircraft, APC
Ivory Coast	1) Belarus	11	artillery, aircraft, IFV, rocket launchers, APC
	2) Bulgaria	7	anti-aircraft systems, aircraft, artillery
	3) other	11	IFV, tanks, naval ships, UAV, aircraft, APC
Kenya	1) China	6	aircraft, APC, aircraft
	2) USA	5	aircraft, UAV, aircraft
	3) other	16	tanks, aircraft, naval ships, APC, artillery, aircraft
Lesotho	1) France	3	aircraft
	2) Germany	2	aircraft
	3) other	3	aircraft, APC
Madagascar	1) RSA	2	aircraft
	2) France	2	aircraft
Malawi	1) RSA	5	APC
	2) other	1	aircraft
Mali	1) France	6	aircraft, APC, aircraft
	2) Bulgaria	6	APC, aircraft, rocket launchers
	3) RSA	4	APC
	4) other	15	APC, aircraft, artillery
Mauritania	1) China	4	naval ships, aircraft
	2) France	3	APC, aircraft
	3) other	12	aircraft, tanks, naval ships, APC
Mauritius	1) India	4	aircraft, naval ships
	2) Israel	2	radar systems
Mozambique	1) China	2	APC
	2) Russia	2	aircraft
	3) RSA	2	APC
	4) UK	2	APC
	5) other	7	aircraft, naval ships
Namibia	1) China	8	anti-aircraft systems, aircraft, APC, IFV, naval ships
	2) other	11	APC, naval ships, aircraft, radar systems
Niger	1) USA	5	aircraft, APC
	2) France	4	aircraft, APC
	3) other	8	aircraft, APC
Nigeria	1) Italy	9	artillery, aircraft
	2) Ukraine	9	APC, IFV, aircraft, artillery, tanks
	3) France	8	naval ships, aircraft
	4) USA	7	naval ships, aircraft
	5) Russia	7	aircraft
	6) China	6	aircraft, naval ships, APC, UAV
	7) RSA	4	APC, naval ships

	8) other	26	aircraft, naval ships, APC, IFV, rocket launchers, tanks, UAV, artillery
RSA	1) France	6	rocket launchers, radar and sonar systems
	2) Germany	5	naval ships, torpedoes, rocket launchers
	3) other	6	IFV, radar systems, aircraft, satellite
Rwanda	1) China	3	artillery, APC
	2) RSA	3	APC, IFV
	3) Israel	3	rocket launchers, artillery, tanks
Senegal	4) other	7	aircraft, radar systems, APC
	1) France	15	aircraft, naval ships, artillery, APC, radar systems, anti-aircraft systems
	2) RSA	6	APC, IFV
	3) Indonesia	4	aircraft
Seychelles	4) other	20	naval ships, APC, artillery, aircraft, rocket launchers
	1) India	6	naval ships, aircraft, radar systems
	2) China	2	aircraft, naval ships
	3) other	2	radar systems, naval ships
Sierra Leone	1) China	3	naval ships, artillery, APC
	2) Ukraine	2	aircraft
	3) RSA	1	APC
Somalia	1) UAE	2	APC
	2) other	8	APC., aircraft
Sudan	1) China	15	tanks, aircraft, IFV, anti-aircraft systems, rocket launchers, UAV
	2) Belarus	15	tanks, rocket launchers, artillery, IFV, APC, aircraft
	3) Russia	13	IFV, aircraft
	4) Ukraine	11	aircraft, IFV, tanks, artillery, rocket launchers, APC
	5) other	16	aircraft, IFV, APC, tanks, UAV, rocket launchers
Sudan, South	1) UAE	2	APC
	2) Ukraine	2	rocket launchers, tanks
	3) Russia	2	aircraft
	4) other	2	APC, aircraft
Tanzania	1) China	14	aircraft, APC, tanks, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft systems, radar systems, naval ships
	2) other	10	aircraft, APC, radar systems
Togo	1) France	4	APC, naval ships, aircraft
Uganda	1) RSA	7	APC
	2) Russia	5	aircraft, tanks, IFV
	3) USA	5	aircraft, APC
	4) Ukraine	5	aircraft, IFV, APC
	5) other	21	aircraft, artillery, APC, rocket launchers, tanks
Zambia	1) China	8	aircraft, APC
	2) Italy	4	aircraft
	3) other	5	UAV, aircraft, APC, IFV
Zimbabwe	1) China	5	APC, IFV, aircraft
	2) other	7	artillery, APC, aircraft

Source: author's research mostly based on data from SIPRI, 'Arms Transfer Database'.

In conclusion, it is of value to note that the bulk of armaments received by the countries mentioned are second-hand. Often they are presented without charge or at a lower cost. These arms then, serve to combat various rebel groups, who could threaten the interests of the specific world powers presented, in the preceding pages of this article. This analysis did not take into account the delivery of arms for light combat, but their costs in the wider picture of things is marginal.

The countries in question can be divided into five groups. The most stable are those countries which possess their own industrial production of arms. Only the RSA belongs to this

category. Even though the RSA produces its own armaments, it also imports a percentage of arms. To the second group belong those countries which have diversified their sources of armaments in case of arms embargos or worsening relations with the country of supply. To the third group belong countries which purchase arms only from a few suppliers. The fourth group is made up of countries who purchase their arms only from one provider. To the fifth group belong countries which in the past 20 years have made no arms purchases. To this group belong the countries such as Liberia, The Islands of St. Thomas and Principe and Guinea Bissau. The graphical presentation of results represents a synthesis of these statistics (fig. 3).

**Fig. 3. Main suppliers of arms for African Countries**



Source: author's elaboration based on data from SIPRI, 'Arms Transfer Database'.

While examining this issue, it is important to differentiate between Russia and the now defunct USSR/Warsaw Pact. By taking into account of USSR arms sales with Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian arms sales taken in sum, one can conclude that Russian neo-imperialism has been a dominant force upon the Sub-Saharan countries of Africa.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND CURRENT NEO-COLONIAL AND NEO-IMPERIAL POWERS IN AFRICA**

At the beginning of this article two questions were posed. The first addressed the question of neo-colonial influences in Sub-Saharan Africa. The results of above analysis show that it is not China who owns the largest share in the mining industry of the region, and thus can not be considered the most neo-colonial power in Africa

Of utmost importance is the exploitation of raw materials related to energy production in the region. The largest deposits of petroleum and natural gas in the region are found on the coast of the Bay of Guinea. The main exploiter of these two raw materials in Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea and Angola is the United States. Thus it is the USA which should be considered the largest neo-colonial power on the African Sub-Saharan region. It is true that large deposits of raw materials in the region is under the control of Chinese interests, especially in Sudan and South Sudan along with the mining of various metals in the DRC and Gabon, but it is important to recognize the influence of the countries belonging to the British Commonwealth including Australia and Canada. To treat the nations of the British Commonwealth and its shared capital investments as an integrated entity is more than justified, since this commonwealth of countries taken together occupy second place on the list of neo-colonialists. Dominating in this are the countries of Liberia, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Eritrea, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda. The Republic of South Africa also wields neo-colonial influence in the region. The capital of the RSA dominates in Mali and Ghana. This places the RSA in

fourth position as a neo-colonial power. The next country of the greatest neo-colonial influence is France. Aside from these countries, additional nations which wield neo-colonial power in the Sub-Saharan Region are: Russia, India, Italy, Israel and Ireland. The main neo-colonialist countries then, in the order of profits are:

- 1) USA,
- 2) British Commonwealth (UK, Australia, Canada),
- 3) China,
- 4) South Africa,
- 5) France.

Other countries of influence although not playing a leading role in the region are: Brazil, Malaysia, Morocco and Singapore. There are very few countries of the region which have not relinquished control over their lands and raw materials for exploitation. Such countries as Maghreb countries, Cameroon, Kenya, Ethiopia, Botswana, Burundi and first and foremost the Republic of South Africa have maintained independence in this regard.

By examining the purchasing of armaments by analysed countries one can see that the most neo-colonial influence in this regard is wielded by China. Seven nations have become dependent on armaments from China including: Tanzania, Cameroon, Zambia, Mozambique, Gabon, South Sudan, and Sierra Leone. China is the second largest source of arms sales for many other countries. Also seven countries have obligated themselves to receive post-Soviet armaments from the Russian Federation as well as from the former USSR republics. These countries are: Algeria, DRC, Angola, Ivory Coast, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Equatorial Guinea. A insightful analysis shows a close rivalry in this regard between China and Russia, with neither country taking first place.

The third place power dominating the region in arms sales is the RSA, which possesses its own well developed arms production industry, while remaining a non-nuclear power. Countries taking arms from the RSA are: Mozambique, Ghana, Guinea, Uganda, Malawi and Eswatini. French capital is in fourth place as concerns neo-imperialistic influence in arms sales. Purchasing countries include: Senegal, Mali, Togo, Botswana and Lesotho. Arms sales by the USA finds itself in



fifth place, dominating more the northern regions of the African continent, activity which if taken into account would find itself in first place in arms sales on the continent as a whole. Apparently Sub-Saharan Africa is not an alluring market for the USA as far as arms sales are concerned. The USA dominate only in Niger, The Republic of Central Africa, Burundi and Djibouti. Thus the five most dominant countries in arms sales in the Sub-Saharan region in order of their degree of influences are:

- 1) China,
- 2) Russia,
- 3) South Africa,
- 4) France,
- 5) USA.

Also nations having a dominant role in arms sales in at least one country of the region, in order of ranking are: India, Netherlands, Belgium, Brazil and Taiwan. Also one could include the following countries who play a large role in the export of arms, but who do not play a dominant role. Such countries include: Israel, Germany, UK, Italy and the UAE.

Political decisions play the dominant role in this ranking. It is obvious that much time and effort is needed to develop an armament industry, so weaker, less developed countries depend on imports. The only nation on the African continent able to satisfy the needs of its own armed forces is the RSA. The number of analysed countries which diversify their sources for arms supplies are very few, however to the list of exceptions in this regard includes the countries of Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Kenya, Somalia, Burkina Faso, Congo and Mauritania.

## References

- Alam, M. (2006). *Orwell's "Shooting an Elephant": Reflections on Imperialism and Neo-imperialism*, IIUC Studies, 3, 55-62.
- Banchirigah, S.M. (2006). *How have reforms fuelled the expansion of artisanal mining? Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa*, Resources Policy, 31, 3, pp. 165-171.
- Besada, H., Martin, P. (2015). *Mining codes in Africa: emergence of a 'fourth' generation?*, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 28, 2, pp. 263-282.

- Bryceson, D.F., Geenen, S. (2016). *Artisanal frontier mining of gold in Africa: Labour transformation in Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo*, African Affairs, 115, 459, pp. 296-317.
- Cheru, F., Obi, C. (2011). De-coding China-Africa Relations: Partnership for development or (neo) colonialism by invitation?, *The World Financial Review*, Sep/Oct, pp. 72-75.
- Deych, T.L. (2019). *China in Africa: A Case of Neo-Colonialism or a Win-Win Strategy?*, Outlines of global transformations: politics, economics, law, 12, pp. 63-82.
- Edoho, F.M. (2011). *Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China-Africa Relations*, Africa Today 58, 1, pp. 103-124.
- Frynas, J.G., Paulo, M. (2007). *A New Scramble for African Oil? Historical, Political, and Business Perspectives*, African Affairs, 106, 423, pp. 229-251.
- Grant, J.A. (2007). *Rulers, guns, and money. The global arms trade in the age of imperialism*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Hilson, G., Yakovleva, N., Banchirigah, S.M. (2007). *To move or not to move: Reflections on the resettlement of artisanal miners in the Western Region of Ghana*, African Affairs, 106, 424, pp. 413-436.
- Ikegami, M. (2011). *Neo-Imperialism: China*, Tamkang Journal of International Affairs, 14, 4 (2011), pp. 61-97.
- James, H. (2008). *Globalization, empire and natural law*, International Affairs, 84, 3, pp. 421-436.
- Langan, M. (2018). *Neo-colonialism and the poverty of 'development' in Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Lumumba-Kasongo, T. (2011). *China-Africa Relations: A Neo-Imperialism or a Neo-Colonialism? A Reflection*, African and Asian Studies, 10, 2-3, pp. 234-266.
- Luning, S. (2014). *The future of artisanal miners from a large-scale perspective: from valued pathfinders to disposable illegals?*, Futures, 62, pp. 67-74.
- Meyer, W.H. (1989). *Global news flows: dependency and neoimperialism*, Comparative Political Studies, 22, 3, pp. 243-264.
- Obi, C. (2019). *China, Oil, and Africa*, Insight Turkey, 21, 1, pp. 10-24.
- Ogar, J.N., Nwoye, L., Bassey, S.A. (2019). *Archetype of globalization: illusory comfort of neo-colonialism in Africa*, International Journal of Humanities and Innovation (IJHI) 2, 3, pp. 90-95.
- Okeke, D.C., Cilliers, J., Schoeman, C. (2018). *Neo-mercantilism as development ideology: A conceptual approach to rethink the space economy in Africa*, African Studies, 77, 1, pp. 23-52.
- Olivier, B. (2019). *Decolonisation, identity, neo-colonialism and power*, Phronimon, 20, 1, <<https://www.upjournals.co.za/index.php/Phronimon/article/view/3065/3658>>
- Payne, R.J., Veney, C.R. (1998). *China's post-cold war African policy*, Asian Survey, 38, 9, pp. 867-879.

- Pedersen, R.H., Jacob, T. (2017). *Reconfigured state-community relations in Africa's extractive sectors: insights from post-liberalisation Tanzania*, The Extractive Industries and Society, 4, 4, pp. 915-922.
- Rahaman, S., Yeazdani, R., Mahmud, R. (2017). The Untold History of Neocolonialism in Africa (1960-2011), *History Research*, 5, 1, pp. 9-16.
- Robertson, B., Pinstup-Andersen, P. (2010). *Global land acquisition: neo-colonialism or development opportunity?*, Food Security, 2, 3, pp. 271-283.
- Segell, G. (2019). *Neo-colonialism in Africa and the cases of Turkey and Iran*, Insight on Africa, 11, 2, pp. 184-199.
- Spivak, G.C. (1991). *Neo-colonialism and the secret agent of knowledge*, Oxford Literary Review, 13, 1, pp. 220-251.
- Stańczyk-Minkiewicz, M., Wilczyński, P.L. (2020). *Neokolonializm i neoimperializm w państwach Afryki Subsaharyjskiej*, Przegląd Geopolityczny, 33, pp. 80-101.
- Stavrianakis, A. (2013). *Taking aim at the arms trade: NGOs, global civil society and the world military order*, Zed Books, London.
- Stilwell, F., Jordan, K., Pearce, A. (2008). *Crises, interventions and profits: a political economic perspective*, Global Change, Peace & Security, 20, 3, pp. 263-274.
- Uzoigwe, G.N. (2019). *Neocolonialism is dead: long live neocolonialism*, Journal of Global South Studies, 36, 1, pp. 59-87.
- Vitale, A. (2020). *The rebirth of economic nationalism – from neo-protectionism to the new world geo-economy*, Przegląd Geopolityczny, 34, pp. 36-51.
- Wiejaczka, D., Wilczyński, W.J. (2021). *Strategiczne znaczenie metali ziem rzadkich*, Przegląd Geopolityczny, 36, pp. 32-53.
- Wigell, M. (2016). *Conceptualizing regional powers' geoeconomic strategies: neo-imperialism, neo-mercantilism, hegemony, and liberal institutionalism*, Asia Europe Journal, 14, pp. 135-151.
- Wilczyński, P.L. (2016). *Uzbrojenie armii państw muzułmańskich i ich przemysł zbrojeniowy. Część I – Afryka*, Przegląd Geopolityczny, 16, pp. 59-76.