

United States Imperialism in North Africa: Continued Military and Economic Subversion

From Egypt to Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya, Washington seeks hegemony over land and resources

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Note: This paper was presented in part at a public meeting held by the Communist Workers League (CWL) in Detroit. In addition to the presentation by Abayomi Azikiwe, Yusuf Mshahwar, a student at Wayne State University, spoke on the current situation in Syria and the role of the United States. Also Randi Nord, co-founder of Geo-Politics Alert website, spoke on the ongoing imperialist war against Yemen and its implications for the balance of forces in the region. Jerry Goldberg, a lawyer and member of the Moratorium NOW! Coalition, gave a report on the anti-imperialist conference hosted by the Republic of Cuba earlier in November in which he had attended along with more than 1,200 other delegates from throughout Latin America and the world.

Since late 2010, the political atmosphere throughout North Africa and contiguous regions has been volatile, shaking the foundations of various fragile states and arousing the sentiment of the masses of workers, farmers and youth.

This area of the continent has been a source of United States and European imperialist interventions for many years. Such involvement by Washington and other Western capitals should be of no surprise considering the vast natural resource wealth and geo-strategic significance of the region and its connection with West Asia and the Mediterranean states of Southern Europe as well as the rest of the African continent.

The U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) was established nearly twelve years ago in February 2008 when the Pentagon enhanced its military presence across the continent. We were the only political tendency inside this country and one of the few in the world which recognized early on the ominous threat these developments posed to the people of Africa.

At that time in February 2008, we held a day-long conference on "U.S. Imperialism and Africa" where we examined the history of Washington's role in the region and the necessity to organize and mobilize against it based upon a scientific analysis utilizing historical and dialectical materialism. Our conclusions were that the stated purpose of AFRICOM was not altruistic. Its aim was to enhance the capacity of the Pentagon, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to conduct operations on the continent so that the ongoing exploitation and oppression of the people could be carried out with greater efficiency.

In a public call for the "U.S. Imperialism and Africa" Conference it stated clearly that:

"The Michigan Emergency Committee Against War & Injustice (MECAWI) is an anti-war and anti-imperialist coalition that opposes United States military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, MECAWI has responded to further interventionist maneuvers by the Bush administration in Somalia, Haiti, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela and other geo-political regions of the world. Based upon recent political events on the African continent such as:-the US-backed invasion of Somalia in 2006;-the escalation of destabilization efforts against Sudan, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Chad;-as well as the much publicized American plans to establish military bases on the continent through the Africa Command (AFRICOM) that is directly administered from the Pentagon, many of us in the anti-imperialist and anti-war movements see the mounting danger of greater United States military intervention in Africa."

This same document goes on to emphasize:

"Recent Bush administration plans to implement AFRICOM has been met with rejection among various African countries. Two of the largest nations in Africa, Nigeria and South Africa, have refused to allow the American military to set up AFRICOM bases in their respective territories and have come out solidly against any other country allowing such intervention. Consequently, MECAWI is holding a conference to address the political and historical context in which these events are occurring in Africa and to discuss action proposals to ensure that these concerns are fully addressed by the anti-war and peace movements here in the United States. In addition, we wish to advance activities that will express solidarity with the peoples of Africa and other regions that are subjected to imperialist intervention and manipulation."

Since 2008 we have witnessed this process unfold. There has not been greater security and stability in Africa as the U.S. had falsely stated. Despite the inherent reluctance by the overwhelming number of African states during the time period in question, a series of events has prompted a deeper penetration of the continent by the Pentagon.

On the economic front, the U.S., its imperialist allies in Europe and their surrogates within the region, have implemented policies which have in fact weakened the ability of Africa to determine its own destiny through the utilization of its resources for the benefit of the majority of people. The prices of natural resources and agricultural commodities have overall declined precipitously while the share of the international market has been marginalized for these assets.

Such a set of circumstances can easily be associated with the socio-economic uncertainty of the working people, peasants and youth throughout Africa. Despite the phenomenal growth within these states over the last two decades as manifested through the proliferation of telecommunications technology, further discovery of strategic minerals and resources, along with the greater political consciousness of the people, the imperialist centers of the world system are determined to crush the popular aspirations of the masses in order to fortify the West and its interests.

Egypt: U.S. Militarism and Economic Dependency

Since the ascendancy of the government of now President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi in 2013, the

Egyptian political status remains in close coordination with that of the U.S. The president, who transformed himself from a military field marshal to a head-of-state, is now the Chair of the African Union (AU).

The Egyptian state-controlled media agencies are filled with articles on the purported growth within the national economy. There is much discussion on the rebuilding of the tourism industry in the aftermath of a tumultuous past decade where longtime leader President Hosni Mubarak was overthrown by the military amid mass demonstrations and strikes during the early months of 2011.

In recent months there have been demonstrations in Egypt against the government. These are the first significant protests since the crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood and Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) supporters in the aftermath of the July 2013 military coup. Since this time period the military and its allies within the civilian population have dominated Egyptian politics.

A <u>recent article</u> says of the demonstrations and the designated leader:

"Almost two months after prompting rare demonstrations in Egypt, former army contractor Mohamed Ali says he will leave no stone unturned to push for the departure of President Abdel-Fattah al-Sisi. In an interview with Anadolu Agency in Barcelona, where he lives, Ali claims massive corruption in Egypt under al-Sisi's rule. Ali has posted several videos from exile, in which he accused the military of corruption, while al-Sisi denied the accusations as 'false' and a 'conspiracy'. In the interview, Ali, a businessman and actor, says he plans foreign tours to expose the financial irregularities in his country. The Egyptian opponent says he receives 'constant threats' from the regime, but he hopes to unify the Egyptian opposition abroad and heal the rift within the Muslim Brotherhood group."

With the failure of the alliance with Washington to provide an enhanced standard of living for the majority of the population, Egypt continues to have economic and social problems. Poverty is rampant and the need for infrastructural development is imperative.

Consequently, there has been no fundamental change in the foreign policy of the Egyptian state since in most instances the domestic situation is a determining factor in international relations. The agreements made with the State of Israel have remained in force. There is no apparent shift towards viewing the liberation of Palestine as a primary state priority.

As it relates to the role of Egypt as Chair of the AU, they have been involved in the negotiations surrounding the creation of a new political dispensation in neighboring Sudan. Even though former President Omer Hassan al-Bashir was overthrown in a military coup in April of this year, the country is still struggling in an attempt to stabilize the domestic situation. As far as relations between Egypt and Sudan are concerned, there does not appear to be any major shifts in policy orientation.

A potentially explosive diplomatic row with Ethiopia has not been resolved. The issue stems from the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam Project which Egypt charges will redirect waters from the Blue Nile potentially creating a social crisis for Cairo. Negotiations surrounding the dispute are continuing while U.S. President Donald Trump has offered to assist in the discussions.

Sudan: Revolution or Counter-Revolution?

The Republic of Sudan is another important state in Africa and the areas known as the Middle East. These geo-political regions have been inextricably linked historically while remaining so today in the 21st century.

Since the second term of former U.S. President Barack Obama, there has been a concerted effort to undermine the economic growth of the emerging states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This aspect of U.S. energy policy has had a profound impact particularly on oil and natural gas producing states in the Global South.

With specific reference to the Republic of Sudan, the partitioning of the country, previously Africa's largest geographical state, created an immediate economic crisis. Much of the oil produced by Sudan had its origination in the South which separated to form an independent state in 2011. A brief conflict over the control of oil in one of the key border regions ended with both sides facing a much weakened position in regard to oil production and export capacity.

Later there was a split within the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army between President Salva Kiir and Vice-President Riek Machar. These issues are still not resolved and the U.S., of all governments, has threatened sanctions against the South Sudanese leadership if they do not create a unified administration. It was the U.S. and the State of Israel which encouraged the SPLM/A to realize its grievances with Khartoum by creating a new country.

As has been stated before, it remains to be seen whether the Republic of South Sudan can become a viable state. Over the last eight years the stability of the Juba government has not been in evidence. The responsibility for this situation cannot be assessed separately from the foreign policy of Washington, the former colonial power of Britain and the ongoing interference by Israel, which has provided the South with military and political support.

In the Republic of Sudan in the North, this economic crisis engendered by the volatile nature of the international energy market, triggered a social crisis due to the decline in foreign exchange revenues largely garnered from the export of oil and natural gas. The economic decline in Sudan influenced the foreign policy trajectory of Khartoum.

Sudan became involved in the genocidal Washington-directed war against the people of Yemen since March 2015. Hundreds of thousands of people have died in Yemen in order to prevent the consolidation of power by the Supreme Revolutionary Committee allied with the Ansurallah. The western corporate and governmental media outlets have sought to frame the Yemen war as a bulwark of defense against growing Iranian influence in West Asia.

As Marxist-Leninists we see the struggle within the context of imperialism in its quest for world domination in opposition to the genuine resistance forces among the people. This war was initiated by the U.S. The Pentagon and the CIA supply the ordnances, targeting and refueling technology along with diplomatic cover for Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) which is bombing Yemen on a daily basis. Relief agencies have stated that the situation in Yemen represents the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today.

Demonstrations which erupted in Sudan in December of 2018 were sparked by the rise in

consumer prices. Soon enough the demands escalated for the removal of the National Congress Party (NCP) government under former President al-Bashir. On April 6, an alliance of opposition groups and parties known as the Forces for Freedom and Change (FFC) began a sit-in in front of the Ministry of Defense in Khartoum.

Just five days later, a Transitional Military Council (TMC) seized power and placed President al-Bashir under arrest. Opposition groupings demanded the relinquishing of power by the TMC and the transferal of leadership to a government selected by them. These disagreements led to a series of strikes and violent clashes. Eventually, through the mediation efforts facilitated by neighboring Ethiopia and Egypt, the military leadership agreed to the creation of an interim transitional government.

This interim government has selected Economist and former Deputy Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, to lead the transition process. Nonetheless, these developments have not resolved the contradictions in Sudan. There are opposition parties which have refused to join the Sovereign Council now ruling Sudan in alliance with the military. Of course there are divisions within the military as well which has manifested itself through purges.



The Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) has maintained a critical posture towards the FFC and Sovereign Council leadership. Although the SCP is a signatory of the Declaration of the Forces for Freedom and Change, it has rejected any governing alliance with the military.

In a recent statement the SCP called for the transitional government to take control of gold resources in North Darfur which they claimed were outside the purview of the national state in Khartoum. They went further to allege that the economy is under the control of unlawful forces operating within society.

An <u>article published earlier this week</u> explained about the organization that:

"Another economist and member of the Communist Party, Abdelmunim Hasan, said at the press conference that 'the Sudanese economy is dominated by criminal networks formed in the earliest era of the integration of banking

capital into commerce, and over time shifted to a criminal networks trading the country's strategic resources.' He attributed the deterioration of the economy to the lack of control and to smuggling, and pointed out that Sudanese goods are sold on the world markets as products of other countries after being smuggled from Sudan. In the end of October, the Sudan Democracy First Group (SDFG) released its latest report, 'Insurance Sector in Sudan – Islamization and Corruption', which is part of a series of studies on corruption in Sudan. The Sudanese activist think-tank asserts that lack of transparency and corruption was inherent of the operation of the public and private sector during the Omar Al Bashir regime (1989-2019)."

Moreover, the continuing talks in Juba between the interim Sovereign Council and the alliance of armed groups in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, known as the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF), has brought into focus the potential for resolving these conflicts. An agreement was signed in late October which was described in a report in Dabanga as follows:

"The political agreement also includes an agreement renewing the cessation of hostilities for humanitarian purposes. The government will also deliver humanitarian assistance from inside and outside Sudan to conflict-affected areas. The parties agree to negotiate all issues related to the Sudanese crisis, including areas of armed conflict, national issues, and specific issues. The government is holding separate talks with the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) faction, led by Abdelaziz El Hilu. On Friday the SPLM-N El Hilu and the Sudanese transitional government reached an agreement on a roadmap for peace negotiations concerning South Kordofan." (see this)

One glaring aspect of the Sovereign Council and TMC foreign policy is that they have not pledged to withdraw the Republic of Sudan and its military forces from Yemen. This is a critical issue that will determine the political character of the government going forward.

In addition, elements within the FFC and even some opposition parties are calling for ousted President al-Bashir to be turned over to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, Netherlands. The ICC has been under constant criticism from African people and their allies due to its almost exclusive preoccupation with events on the continent while taking no effective action against the imperialist powers of the U.S., Britain, France, and the Netherlands as well for their historical and contemporary crimes against humanity, primarily those genocidal actions taken against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Tunisia: A New Government amid a Neo-Colonial Continuing Crisis

It was in Tunisia that the uprising of 2010-2011 began which were characterized as the "Arab Spring." Yet Tunisia is in North Africa where some of the earliest world civilizations were formed thousands of years ago.

The popular rebellions and general strikes in Tunisia and later Egypt set the stage for other forms of mass demonstrations and social unrest which unfortunately were misdirected due a political vacuum created in the absence of no single or multiple political parties' alliance of revolutionary forces, which could have provided leadership for a transformative, anticapitalist and socialist-oriented movement which is very much needed in the region.

Events in Tunisia and Egypt provided a rationale for the imperialists to intervene in Libya

during February of 2011. A counter-revolutionary rebellion against the Gaddafi government was framed in the same vein as the "Arab Spring", a purported form of democratic renewal for the masses. Nonetheless, the CIA deployed hundreds of operatives in Benghazi to coordinate the putative "revolutionaries" fighting against the Jamahiriya political system which had transformed Libya into the most advanced and prosperous state in Africa, with a standard of living for the masses which outstripped many of the states in Southern Europe.

Tunisia and Egypt in a revolutionary sense were never fully transformed in the interests of the workers, farmers and youth. In the most recent elections in Tunisia, the new president has tapped into the discontent which has arisen to the continued pro-western orientation of the political elites. Interestingly enough, when the leader was elected, thousands of people went into the streets of Tunis chanting for the liberation of Palestine. This clearly illustrates the revolutionary sentiment still in existence among the masses where the creation of a Palestinian state resonates in the hearts and minds of the people.

The formation of a new government in Tunisia has been given back over to the Islamist Ennahdha Party. Nonetheless, the question remains as to what can this incoming administration actually do to improve the conditions for the unemployed and other exploited and oppressed groups in the North African state?

An <u>article published by Tasnim News Agency</u> says of the current situation:

"Tunisia's recently elected President Kais Saied has tasked agricultural engineer Habib Jemli with forming a government after the Ennahdha party nominated him for the prime minister's job.... Tunisia's new Parliament on Wednesday (Nov. 13) elected Ennahdha's Rached Ghannouchi as its speaker after the rival Heart of Tunisia party backed him, opening the way for a possible coalition government between them."

However, with the international financial institution making claims against the Tunisian government it will be extremely difficult under the present circumstances to foster growth and genuine development inside the country. All of the independent nation-states in Africa have been adversely affected by finance capital including both the U.S.-based International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

This same report mentioned above continues by stressing that:

"Analysts say the new government will need clear political will and strong backing in Parliament to push through economic reforms started by the outgoing Prime Minister, Youssef Chahed, who is acting as caretaker during coalition talks. Chahed's cabinet has focused on spending cuts backed by the IMF to bring Tunisia's hefty deficit and public debt under control while raising spending on security to woo back tourists to the country. Economic challenges – unemployment of 15 percent nationally and 30 percent in some cities, inflation of nearly seven percent and a weak dinar – have plagued Tunisia since its 2011 revolution, which spawned democracy and sparked the 'Arab Spring' that swept across the region. Those problems, alongside deteriorating public services and a public perception of widespread government corruption drove voters to reject the political establishment in this autumn's presidential and parliamentary elections."

Therefore, the process of indirect rule through the financial machinations of the global

banking interests continues to stifle growth, development and the much coveted political stability needed to implement reforms. The new administration will not be able to address these concerns without a mass movement committed to reversing the system of dependency inherited from the colonial period where the existence of these territories were exclusively for the benefit of imperialism.

Algeria: The Dialectics of Armed Struggle, Mass Demonstrations and Electoral Politics

France colonized Algeria beginning in 1830 and continued this process well into the 20thcentury when after World War II the people's indignation with the imperialist system boiled over into an independence movement in the form of the National Liberation Front (FLN). Starting in 1954, the FLN initiated an armed struggle against the colonial occupation forces based in Paris.

By 1962, the French recalcitrance to the freedom struggle in Algeria could no longer persist. The independence of Algeria ushered in a period of anti-imperialism and Pan-Africanism. The FLN played a significant role in the ongoing campaigns for the total liberation of the African continent.

In July 1969, the Black Panther Party in the U.S. was recognized as the legitimate leadership of the African American liberation movement. During the same period the Pan-African Cultural Festival (PACF) brought together thousands of delegates from across Africa and the Middle East in order recommit the revolutionary parties, liberation movements and progressive states to the unification of the continent on an anti-imperialist basis.

In recent months Algerian students and professional groupings have been demonstrating against the government calling for the resignation of the former head-of-state President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Even after Bouteflika left office, the protests continued demanding that the entire FLN-dominated government steps down and that the planned elections be cancelled.

Yet the government is by no means interested in suspending the electoral process. Some five official candidates have been placed on the ballot for the upcoming national poll.

<u>France24</u> assessed the situation in an article noting:

"The campaign for the December 12 elections in Algeria was launched on Sunday, November 17, despite popular demonstrations to call for an end to the electoral process. The Hirak, as the protest movement has been dubbed, began February 22 against former President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's bid for a fifth term in office but has so far failed to change the course of the election."

In fact the spokespersons for the Hirak movement seem to have suggested that power be turned over directly to them even prior to the holding of an election. The aims and objectives of this anti-government crusade are not spelled out specifically as it relates to the concrete challenges facing Algeria and the region. There is no articulation as to why the removal of the existing administration is a prerequisite to meeting their demands.

Such a posture harkens back to events in Egypt and Tunisia during the period of 2010-2013 when the milieu of youth and professional associations which appeared to be leading the democracy movement did not have the capacity organizationally and ideologically to make

a bid for the seizure of political power. Algeria during the 1990s was plunged into civil war after an election in 1991 resulted in a majority of parliamentary representatives from the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) poised to take office. The FLN as a party along with the military structures refused to cede control of the state to Islamist party. Thousands died in the nearly decade-long war which resulted in the defeat of the Islamist guerrilla groups and the maintenance of control by the existing FLN party apparatus.

Other factors in the present scenario are enunciated in the same France24 report cited previously:

"On Saturday, the five candidates, including Abdelaziz Bouteflika's former prime ministers, Ali Benflis and Abdelmajid Tebboune, the favorites heading into the campaign, signed a charter on the ethics of electoral practices in Algiers. The charter, drafted by the Independent National Electoral Authority (Anie), 'sets out the guiding principles and specific practices that form the framework for the moral behavior expected of the candidates and persons involved in the electoral process'. It's the first time that candidates for an election in Algeria have signed such a charter....General Ahmed Gaïd Salah, the country's main powerbroker in the post-Bouteflika era, and the military high command have for months refused any way out of the crisis other than a presidential election and rejected the establishment of transitional institutions demanded by the demonstrators."

The outcome of the elections will have an important influence on the direction of political events in Algeria, a large-scale oil and natural gas producer. Overcoming the legacy of colonialism and the subsequent neo-colonial dependency facing AU member-states is not exclusively the burden of Algeria and other contiguous states. This represents a continental and global challenge to the overall struggle against imperialism.

Libya and the Extreme Consequences of Destabilization and Attempted Recolonization

On February 17, 2011, a counter-revolutionary war against the Jamahiriya system in Libya was declared with the open direction and coordination of the Pentagon and the CIA. The project to violently remove Col. Muammar Gaddafi was adopted by the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance along with its allies in Africa and West Asia. Consequently, Libya, a former center for Pan-Africanism and national liberation, is today a major source of instability and underdevelopment throughout the region.

By March 21, 2011, the United Nations Security Council had endorsed the mandate for a genocidal war of regime-change. During the course of the air campaign, the coordination of the rebel ground war by the CIA along with Special Forces from Egypt and the Gulf monarchial states, underlined the facilitation politically of an international disinformation campaign to vilify Gaddafi. During the eight months war it was reported that tens of thousands of Libyans and other Africans died.

By the end of October 2011, the major urban centers and oil producing areas had been devastated by NATO bombs, some 10,000 in number, while lawless militias armed by the Pentagon and other imperialist governments roamed the cities and countryside enforcing self-serving laws only benefitting their interests. Since this time period there has been no stability in Libya.

At present a protracted and deadly conflict continues over the control of the capital of Tripoli

where the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA and its Prime Minister Fayez Mustafa al-Sarraj is based. The so-called Libyan National Army (LNA) headed by renegade Gen. Khalifa Haftar, a longtime CIA asset, has been attempting unsuccessfully to take control for many months.

Where does the White House stand in this conflict? Washington's position is contradictory where it is stated on the one hand that they back the al-Sarraj GNA regime in Tripoli and at the same time, President Donald Trump has reportedly held telephone conversations with Haftar. The former Gaddafi governmental official, Haftar is a well-known entity to the U.S. having resided in Virginia for many years after he defected from the Libya army in the 1980s during the war in Chad.

For several years the horrendous conditions endured by African migrants in Libya has been a major by-product of Pentagon-NATO war. Africans are being sold in and out of slavery in Libya while thousands are imperiled every month in the desperate attempts to escape on rickety vessels to Southern Europe.

The failure of the neo-colonial scheme in Libya is indicative of the broader chaos created by Washington and its allies in North Africa and West Asia. In every subversive project that the U.S. has embarked upon, the outcomes have been disastrous for the people of these geopolitical regions. From Afghanistan, Iraq, Haiti, Libya, Syria, Palestine and Yemen, the intervention of successive administrations in the U.S. have resulted in hundreds of thousands and even millions of deaths and injuries, the dislocation of tens of millions and the proliferation of armed conflict under the guise of "Islamic terrorism."

These same terrorist groups which the U.S. has repeatedly designated as the principal source of their military operations have their origins within the strategic vision of imperialism. This was illustrated in both Libya and Syria, where Al-Qaeda and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), were armed in order to wage war in alliance with imperialism against the Gaddafi government and the ruling administration in Damascus headed by President Bashar al-Assad.

With specific reference to Libya, Pentagon warplanes routinely engage in bombing missions supposedly in pursuit of ISIS elements in the South of the country. These aerial strikes are said to be successful in killing "Islamist terrorists", yet the war appears to proceed in perpetuity.

This continuing military engagement on the part of the imperialists only reinforces the rationale for the presence of AFRICOM. Meanwhile, the western corporate and governmental news outlets provide virtually no information on the actual situation in Libya approaching nine years since the imperialist intervention to remove the Jamahiriya.

Which Way Forward for North Africa and the AU Member-states?

Even a cursory examination of the present political, economic and social situation in North Africa at the conclusion of the second decade of the 21st century clearly reveals that neocolonialism remains the dominant system on the continent. Although there is the advent of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) initiated in 2018, where plans are enforce to create tariff free exchange zones and enhanced regional economic planning, these valiant and necessary goals cannot be realizable in the contemporary reality of burgeoning U.S. and NATO military involvement.

Compounding and underlying the military presence of imperialist forces is the renewed economic war being waged by Washington against numerous geo-political regions on an international scale. Tariffs leveled at the People's Republic of China, the European Union states and other nations, have not resulted in the dividends sought by the ruling class in the U.S. Warnings of a new recession and the widening gap between the rich and poor, is a reality that cannot be escaped by people both inside and outside of the U.S.

In order to bring stability and prosperity in North Africa and other regions throughout the continent, a protracted struggle must be waged against neo-colonialism and its imperialist underpinnings. This will require the full mobilization and organization of the working class, peasantry and youth into an anti-imperialist movement. Consequently, the unification of Africa and its genuine development are intertwined with the global movement for sustainable peace and social justice.

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