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METAMORPHOSIS OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA: SLAVE TRADE, COLONIAL TRADE, AND BRAIN TRADE IN CONTEXT

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Abstract
The history of Africa cannot be disconnected from the plagues of the European imperialism at different points in time. Starting with the emergence of Atlantic slave trade, imperialism persisted till the late 18th century during the colonial era. Despite the independence of African nations in the late 19th century, European imperialism still continued in the form of neo-colonialism. The continuity of European imperialism till this present moment attests to its dynamics and rebranding across different eras, notably the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era. In view of this, this paper studied the dynamics of European imperialism in Africa within the historical context of 18th century slave trade, 19th century colonial trade and the 21st century brain trade.
Data used were obtained from secondary sources, including journals, articles, magazines, newspaper, web pages etc. Using Prebisch's Dependency theory, the paper analysed how the modern day brain trade in Africa is emblematic of European imperialism as witnessed during the 18th century slave trade and the 19th century colonial trade, with Africa being incorporated into the world capitalist system as a cheap supplier of labour.
The paper revealed that European imperialism in Africa is a dynamic process that has undergone different degrees of transformation or metamorphosis at different times in history, starting with the transatlantic slave trade from the 15th to 18th century, transcending to colonial trade from late 18th to late 20th century, and still manifesting in the 21st century as brain trade. Hence, irrespective of the differences in the mechanism of enforcing European imperialism at different times or era in Africa, the article concluded that European imperialism in Africa is the same yesterday, today and forever.

Keywords: European Imperialism, transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, brain drain, Dependency theory

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA: AN INTRODUCTION

Ancient philosophers (namely Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Plato and Adams Smith, just to mention a few) have written wide on the conflictual nature of human relations. Adams Smith, in his work titled '***Wealth of Nations'***, noted that the scarcity of human resources coupled with the ever unending desire, crave, struggles, and greed for material resources make it imperative for humans to engage in unethical behaviour just to meet their daily needs. In tandem with this view, Aristotle argued that human beings (also described as '**political animal')** have huge tendency to act ***ultra vires*** in their struggle and quest for power, authority, human and material resources. This very common statement is presented as the conclusion of the first set of arguments that Aristotle developed in the second chapter of his book, titled ***Politika (Politics)*** (Knoll, 2017). However, it should be stressed that this struggle and quest for limited resources transcend individual relations and it is also evident at the state, national and regional level: Nations also go up against each other in their quest for natural resources, socioeconomic benefits, international relevance and global influence. Borrowing from George Howells' classical theme, the world all over can be described as **'an animal kingdom where only the fittest survive'**. George Howell's postulation became more evident in the 19th century when Europe embarked on a aggressive mission of exploring and (in the process) maintaining spheres of influence in far-away geographical zones, majorly, Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the desire to exploit the human and material resources found therein. The exploitative move of Europe in the 19th has been termed as ***imperialism*** in many literatures.

One variation of this imperial belief was Rudyard Kipling's idea of the ***White Man's Burden***. Seen from this perspective, the White man had the burden and responsibility of bringing the blessings of their superior civilization to the savages of the non-European world, the black race (Africa) in particular. Ubaku et al (2015) maintained that Africa has a long and diverse history of contact with the outside world. As a result of the contacts, the activities of the Muslims, Christian missionaries, and the European traders were felt in the continent in different times of history (Ikenga, 2014). The establishment of trade contact with Africa by the Europeans, following the need to establish overseas markets for European finished goods during the period of Industrial Revolution, marked the commencement of European imperialism in Africa

Starting with the emergence of Atlantic slave trade in which million of Africans (young and able bodied) were forcefully migrated from the shores of Africa to work as slaves in European colonies in America, imperialism persisted till the late 18th century when European imperial powers took charge of political and socio-economic structure of their former African colonies in aftermath of the Berlin conference where the black continent was ***'sliced'*** and ***'shared'*** among the imperial powers. The independence of African nations in the late 19th centuries did not translate into total freedom of the black race from the imperialists' web, neither were the newly independent African states immune from the external control and invisible hands, as European enterprise on African still continued, but in a different, serpent like and subtle manner. Viewed from this perspective, European imperialism in Africa can be grouped under three broad historical epoch or era: pre-colonial era, colonial era, and post-colonial era.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA: TRANSTRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE AND COMMODIFICATION OF THE BLACK RACE

From trans-atlantic slave trade to colonialism; from colonialism to Neo Colonialism; from westernization to the encroachment of African cultures and values, and from slave trade to brain trade, Africa seems to be entangled in the web of European imperialism. The first evidence of European imperialism in Africa was the triangular trade (also popularly known as the transatlantic slave trade). Asiegbu Martin (2009) contends that the theoretical justification of the slave trade can be traced to the age of enlightenment, when the Africa was conceived as an inferior race to Europe. Since the Enlightenment period, the West has perceived Africans as sub-humans. These Enlightenment philosophers not only bought into the popular conception of Africa as the 'inferior' and 'sub-human', they also provided philosophical arguments to prop up popular negative outlook of Africa. For philosophers of the Enlightenment, the African was as good as non-existent. He was a sub-human, not merely inferior to the paragon of rationality – the European. In his contribution to the Enlightenment philosophers' perception of the African, Montesquieu (1952: 110) argued that:

> "…the African was not as yet a human being for the Church to preoccupy herself with saving his/her soul. Since to be saved, one must, first of all, possess a soul. The African had none – no soul. Accordingly, nothing African was good enough, and nothing good could be African (cited in Asiegbu M. F, 2009**)**

Writing on the beginning of the slave trade, Babacar (2006) submits that the Transatlantic slave trade was initially a small commercial system based on the exchange of African material or human capital, such as gold or slaves, with few European material goods, such as guns and silk. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, this trade became a large market that promoted the barbaric capture and transportation of millions of Africans to the Americas. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, millions of Africans were forcefully sold and transported to European colonies in America as slaves.

According to Jeremy Ball (2000), calculating the exact number of slaves traded from Africa to European plantation in the Americas is difficult owing to its breadth across time and space. The first comprehensive estimate of the trade was Phillip Curtin's ***The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Census***, published in 1969. Curtin used actual port and shipping records to estimate the number of Africans landed (alive) on American shores as approximately 9.5 million (Jeremy Ball, 2000). Curtin's path breaking research stimulated further work. In 1982, Paul Lovejoy, using Curtin's figures as a starting place, estimated a larger figure of 11, 698, 000 slaves. Today Lovejoy's estimate is generally accepted as the best estimate available (Jeremy Ball, 2000).

The Atlantic trade affected the lives of millions of Africans who came from such diverse regions such as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, West-Central Africa, South-East Africa, the Bight of Benin, the Gold Coast, and the Bight of Biafra. The trade brought about enduring insecurities, economic chaos, and political disorders in Africa. It arrested its development by exploiting its technological, agricultural, and cultural skills for the development of the West only. It hampered Africa's mercantilist economy by halting its capacity to be transformed into a capitalist economy (Babacar 2006). These disruptions prevented Africans who were not involved in the slave trade from doing business in peace and security without the threat of being kidnapped and sold to Europeans. Inikori (1976) laments that it is difficult for any kind of economic growth to take place under the conditions of violence and insecurity that characterized the transatlantic slave trade.

The socio-political impact of the transatlantic trade is visible in the changes it wrought in African societies. It subverted the existing political balance in traditional African societies. Since slavery became a dominant source of revenue in the continent, personal wealth was thought to derive from one's ability to help capture and sell one's neighbors or criminals to strangers. By abducting and selling Africans to Europeans, the African social networks, supported by African political leaders, became agents of tyranny and social insecurity against Africans. As a consequence, the black continent turned to an animal kingdom in which Africans became wolves preying on one another. According to Babacar (2006), increase in the profitability of slave raiding induced elites to raid for slaves rather than build powerful states, further exacerbating the destabilizing effects of slave production on Africa's socio-political structures. The Atlantic trade led to the formation of semi-feudal classes in Africa that collaborated with Europeans to sanction the oppression of their own people. These classes came from the African aristocracy and middlemen who facilitated the capture and sale of Africans and made substantial gains from the trade.

Furthermore, the slave trade started the systemic and continuous process of economic exploitation and social and political fragmentation that Europeans later institutionalized through colonization and neo-colonization. Finally, the slave trade opened up the black continent for subsequent subordination and domination. The slave trade ate deep into the socio-cultural, economic and political fabrics of Africa, left the black continent unguarded, made the continent so vulnerable to external aggression, and prepared the ground for the next stage of imperialism (i.e. colonialism). As a result, when the slave trade was stopped finally in the nineteenth century, Africa did not enjoy sufficient breathing space to recover and embark upon its own development. In the same century, European imperialism raised its head with Africa as its primary target, leading to a European scramble for Africa and the eventual partitioning and colonization of Africa by European powers.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA: **COLONIAL TRADE IN PERSPECTIVE**

The Slave lave trade was eventually abolished, not out of good intention; but as a recent of the gradual decline in the demand for human labour caused by the industrial revolution of the 19th century. Following the industrial revolution occasioned by numerous technological breakthroughs that graced the 19th century, natural resources and raw materials were more in demand than human labour. Hence, the labour market became downsized, just as manpower was being replaced by machineries. It was believed that the slave trade was an obstacle in accessing Africa's natural resources, and Africans had to be kept in Africa to dig the ground for the imperial whites. Hence, the slave trade was thereafter replaced with colonial trade.

Colonialism is a form of imperialism characterized by the domination of a nation or group of people by a foreign power. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) define colonialism as the direct and overall domination of one country by another on the basis of state power being in the hands of a foreign power (for example, the direct and overall domination of Nigeria by Britain from 1900 to 1960). According to them, the first objective of colonialism is political domination. Its second objective is to make possible the exploitation of the colonized country. Colonialism in Africa was direct form of imperialism which took place between 1800 to the1960s, as a result of changes in the mode of production in Europe conditioned by the emergence of industrial revolution. The slave trade later gave way to era of colonial trade and Africa became a source of raw materials for the rapidly industrializing European powers.

Colonial trade in Africa particularly was characterized by the extensive production of cash crops that could be exchanged or sold for imported European goods. These goods literally greased the wheels of the industrial revolution and were used in Europe to increase the efficiency of machine production as well as in the production of consumer goods. Because of the necessity of African natural resources to the industrial growth in Europe, it became so expedient for the Europeans to intervene in African local politics in order to secure, guarantee and control the supply of these African goods in favourable terms (price). Similarly, the European colonizing powers sought to control the economics of Africa more and more in order to have unhindered access to African resources. To do this, power was wrested from local control and in 1880, the partition of Africa began in earnest (Settles, 1996).

The impacts of colonialism on Africa have been extensively discussed by scholars in many literatures. Most scholars (especially the ones of African extraction) argue that colonialism was an asymmetric (biotic) engagement between Africa and Europe, which favoured the whites greatly, while halting the blacks. Colonialism impaired the demographic structure of Africa, leading to the arbitral partitioning of Africa with little or no respect for people's cultural affiliation (e.g. dressing, language, traditions, customs, market days), historical links and socio-political ties. The demographic ambiguity caused by colonialism makes it difficult to differentiate a Northern Nigerian from Nigerrien; or a Nigerian from Cross River from Cameroonian. Jutta Bolt (2013) cites instances of a part of Western region in Nigeria and the Republic of Benin sharing similarities of the Egun ethnic group, and a part of Northern Nigeria and Chad also having same similarities with the Kanuri Shuwa ethnic group. According to Jutta Bolt (2013), the Ewes can be found both in Ghana and Togo; and the Yorubas in Benin, togo and Nigeria. Citing more examples, Ndege (2009) states that the colonialists were responsible for dividing single communities such as the Maasai and Kuria between Kenya and Tanganyika (later, Tanzania); the Somali among Kenya, Somali and Ethiopia; the Luo, also among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; and the Teso and the Samia between Kenya and Uganda. Having same cultures, traditions, similar market days, similar marriage traditional styles, customs, beliefs among others, the only differentiating factor is the border which is seen as a major barrier.

Colonization also brought about the devaluation of traditional political structures in Africa. The traditional system (e.g Yoruba's kingship system) was abandoned and a new set of ruling elites emerged, leading to the stratification of African societies. The newly emerging ruling class, petty bourgeois and intelligentsia operated to widen social gaps and emphasize class differences (Toritseju, 2013). Biko (1987) once wrote that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed". As such, the greatest "weapon" of the colonialist is his ability to control and transform the way people think about themselves and others, their environment and their way of life. Abdi (2006) argues that, "the 'deculturation' of African education systems was an important catalyst in the magnitude as well as the qualitative aspects of the current regimes of underdevelopment in the continent". In the social sphere, African knowledge systems were not only devalued but they were also replaced by so called "civilized" Western values. Traditional names were replaced with English names by way of brainwashing (Nyamnjoh, 2012). People's ways of life were condemned as dark, evil and meaningless (Wa Thiong'o, 1986). African traditional religions (ATRs) were considered as satanic, while African languages were displaced of their social, economic, and political functions.

Colonialism transformed the local economic structure into a capitalist one, centered on the mass generation and accumulation of capital in the hands of a few. This system displaced previously existing forms of distribution (Nyamnjoh, 2012). The pre-colonial African economic system was based on trade by barter. However, the colonizers eventually replaced this economic system and lauched full scale monetization and commercialization of African societies towards the eventual integration of Africa into the global market system, in which Africa functioned primarily as a source of raw materials for Western industrial production (Samatar, 1996). In his book titled ***'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa'***, Rodney (1982) asserts that the plunderage and systemically corrupt enterprises established in the colonies to expropriate natural resources in Africa to Europe have facilitated under-development of Africa, while it engendered the development of Europe.

The impacts and influence of colonialism did not end with the independence of former African colonies in the 1960s. Even long after independence, impacts of colonialism still continue to be felt in almost every sphere and domain of former African colonies. To a very large extent, the West (particularly, Europe) still maintains her hegemony on black soil and Africa continues to remain Europe's backyard and sphere of influence. The continued propagation of European influence in independent African nations attests to the re-institution of imperialism in the post-colonial era.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA: NEO-COLONIALISM IN DISCOURSE

Africa's decolonization has been described as a mere **flag independence** because the expectation that political independence would change the situation in Africa has not been fulfilled to any appreciable level. The present continent's situation is not significantly better than it was during the colonial era due to numerous reasons, prominent among which is the continued interference of the former colonial masters in the affairs and administration of the former colonies: a situation which has been termed as Neo-colonialism in many literatures. The term got international attention with the publication of Kwame Nkrumah's (1965) ***Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism***, which documented the existence of an ongoing dependence of the newly independent countries and denounced the strategic machinations of external powers in attempting to maintain control over African former colonies (Diana, 2011). According to Nkrumah, the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political polity is directed from outside' (1965: 9). Primarily, Nkrumah argued that erstwhile colonial powers would seek to reconfigure political influence over newly 'liberated' territories via the activities of their corporate entities.

Babatola (2013) writes that neo-colonialism perpetuates an imbalance relationship between a former coloniser and her liberated colonies by providing a superstructure with irresistible economic relations and potentials to further exploit and extract the economic resources of the latter largely through provision of capital, accumulation of profit and expansion of her home economy from the exploitative gains under the guise of running through a less direct means and mechanism of global competitive market. Viewed from this perspective, Neo-colonialism entails the use of subtle mechanism to enforce the continued domination of independent states by their former colonial masters. One of subtle mechanism of Neo-colonialism in recent times is induced labour migration, technically known as brain drain.

BRAIN DRAIN AS A MECHANISM OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN POST COLONIAL ERA

The independence of the former African colonies did little in changing the status quo, as the colonial powers kept pursuing their imperial (neo-colonial) agenda towards Africa through subtle means, among which are asymmetric trade agreement, foreign investment and aids, military pacts, and most importantly, brain transfer (also known as brain drain). In several literatures, brain has been conceptualized in monetary terms and values as a human capital. From time to time in the history of economic thought, economists have included human beings, or their acquired abilities and skills (Brain) as a component of capital, and have also recognized the importance of investment in human capital (i.e. knowledge and skills) as a means of increasing the productivity. According to Hull (1899), one of the earliest attempts to estimate the monetary value of human brain was made around 1961 by Sir William Petty. Labour to him was the '**father of wealth'**. Therefore, it must be included in any estimate of national wealth.

Brain drain, within the context of European Imperialism, can be conceived as depopulation of Africa of its human capital and resources. Tracing the historiography and etymology of brain drain, Carrington (1999) submits that the term was coined by the British Royal Society to describe the outflow of scientists and technicians to the United States and Canada in the 1950s and early 1960s. By the 1970s, brain drain came to be associated with the flow of skilled individuals from the developing world to Western Europe and North America. Since then, brain drain discourse began to gain recognition from scholars who have offered different interpretations and definitions of the concept. Docquier and Rapoport (2006) describe Brain drain as the international transfer of knowledge and resources in the form of human capital and applies to the migration of academics, skilled professionals, technical manpower and experts from developing to developed countries. UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation) defines brain drain as 'an abnormal form of scientific exchange between countries, characterized by a one-way flow in favour of the most highly developed countries'. Viewed from historical perspective, brain trade can be considered as a resemblance of the transatlantic slave trade that robed the black race of her of manpower and labour. The two (i.e. slave trade and brain drain) serve the same imperialistic goal of integrating Africa into the global capital system as a cheap supplier of human resources (i.e. slaves during the slave trade era in the 19th century, and well trained professionals in the 21st century). In tandem with this view, the 21st century brain trade can be considered to be a subtle form of the 19th century slave. Better still, the present 21st century brain drain is a re-enactment or renaissance of the long abolished 19th century slave trade.

For several logical reasons, most brain drain take South-North outlook (i.e. movement from less developed nations to developed ones) because of the wage differentials between North and the South, the demographic surplus (labour or brain surplus) in the South vis-a vis the demographic deficit (labour shortage) in the North, socio-political deficits (e.g. poverty, ethnic crisis, political crisis, racial attacks etc) in the South, as well as better living and employment prospect in the North. For instance, Education skill, which represents investment in human capital, is usually cheaper to acquire in poorer, labour abundant countries, since its provision is usually a labour intensive activity. Those with the skills or education then move to more developed countries where the return for their human capital is higher. Brain drain mostly occurs because the technical and economic backwardness of poorer countries means that job opportunities are limited or non-existent. Differences in salaries and research facilities, together with the over-supply of specialized graduates in less developed countries, has brought about this increase in the South-North (e.g. African to Europe) migration of human capital.

LABOUR MIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE IN POST-COLONIAL ERA

Africa is known for its long history of migration and has been tagged in literatures as a continent on the move. Migration in Africa has taken different patterns in different time frames, such as large population movement in the pre-colonial era caused by transatlantic slave trade, trans-saharan trade, and the holy pilgrimage to Mecca; labour migration during the colonial era; and the recent migration trends in post colonial era. Migration in Africa occurs through several pathways, namely South-South routes (such as regional integration and migration into/from nation-states with same developing status), the South-North routes (migration from the developing nation-state to the developed countries), and the North- South routes (from the developed countries to the developing nation-states). While South-South movement (i.e intra-African migration) accounts for greater percentage of the total migration in Africa, the South-North movement, especially to Europe, is gradually gaining momentum and on the increase in Africa. Africa has the longest colonial experience than any other continent, and shares a history with Europe for many centuries. While the colonialism era officially ended in the 1960s, Europe still constitutes the first main destination for African migrants. In 2000, more than 60% of African migrants live in Europe, while only 31% live in North America (Lessault and Beauchemin, 2009).

Post independent Africa still maintains close economic, political, cultural and linguistic relationships with former colonial powers (France, Belgium and United Kingdom, Germany) up till this day, and therefore enjoys special privileges for travels, study and business opportunities. European census data show that 14 percent of the foreign-born people living in the EU were from Africa, forming the second largest group of immigrants (Katseli et al., 2006). In contrast to the European census data, De Hass (2007) writes that African migrants account for some 17% of the total foreign population in Europe, of which 43.3% reside in France. While International Organization for Migration (IOM) puts the number of African immigrants in Europe at 4.6 million, the International Policy Institute suggests that illegal African immigrants are double the number – between 7 million and 8 million. Of all African immigrants in Europe, two-thirds are North Africans, numbering higher than migrants from other regions in Africa. As for the countries of origin of African migrants in Europe, De Hass (2007) reveals that 65% of African migrants come from the three Maghreb states of Morocco (36%), Algeria (20%) and Tunisia (9%). Relatively few migrants in Europe originate from Egypt (2.3%) or Libya (0.5%). On the average, Sub-Saharan migrants represent 34.2% of all African migrants residing in Europe. De Hass (2007) maintains that the most prominent sub-Saharan countries of origin of migrants in Europe are Ghana (2.8%), Somalia (2.8%), Senegal (2.7%), Nigeria (2.6%), South Africa (2.0%), Cape Verde (1.5%) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1.4%). Spain has one of the fastest growing African populations, due mainly to the 2005 regularisation programme. In his own account, Lucas (2013) writes that a greater percentage of SSA (Sub-Sahara African) Migrants stay in France (274,538) and England (249,720), and, on a smaller scale, in Germany (154,564) and Italy (137,780)8.

However, these figures are probably grossly underestimated, as they do not take account of the majority of unauthorized Africans living in the EU. According to estimates of the Migration Policy Institute, there are some seven to eight million irregular African immigrants living in the EU, mostly in its Southern parts.

The large influx of Africans to Europe has so many social and economic implications, one of which is the brain drain syndrome. As African migrants move in search of greener pastures in Europe, they equally move with their skills, experience, worldview, culture, technical know-how. Hence, each migration exercise represents a huge loss to the source countries in terms of skills, potentials, manpower and economic values of the migrant. However, the loss of the sending countries is the gain of the receiving/destination countries, as each migrant (especially the skilled ones) adds to the manpower base and the socio- cultural enrichment of the receiving countries at the detriment of the source countries. Because of the resourcefulness of skilled migrants to the social, political and economic growth of receiving countries, developed countries in the West are scrabbling (hunting) for Africa's brains (i.e. professionals) by engaging in strategic means of attracting and absorbing skilled migrants to their respective countries, through different programmes such as visa lottery, issuance of work permit to foreign nationals etc.

BRAIN DRAIN AND THE SECOND SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

Developed countries in Europe have designed strategies and migration policy of throwing carrots (visa lottery) to lure the unsuspecting Africans to migrate to Europe. The African brain drain to developed countries, with Western Europe being the main destination, has substantially increased in recent years in response to the high demand for skilled labour in the West. Such a high demand for African brains stem from demographic changes in industrialized countries of the West that have resulted in aging populations and a reduction in the availability of young people to fill the gap in the workforce (manpower deficit). The majority of the populations in the different EU countries are rapidly ageing, hereby leading to shortage of manpower in key sectors. One critical response to this manpower deficit is termed as replacement immigration: immigration policies focused on the inflow of young people, who would help to balance the unhealthy age pyramids.

Apart from the Australian immigration replacement policy cited earlier, other examples of these targeted migration include the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program (otherwise known as the Green Card lottery) and the point systems in Canada, New Zealand and the UK, to name a few, as well as the Fresh Talents Initiative in Scotland (Ikenwilo, 2007). Another example is the UK's "Highly Skilled Migrant Programme", which is targeted at persons with high human capital in general. Jordan and Diivell (2002) also give account of some immigration replacement schemes in other European countries. According to the duo, Germany launched green card system in August 2000, which targeted ICT specialists from non-EU countries. De Bruijn et al (2004) further notes that other European countries have introduced similar measures. These include the issue of work permits without the requirement of labour market tests, as is the case in the Netherlands and in Denmark. In the Netherlands, labour market tests for spouses of foreign highly skilled have also been abandoned. Ireland has lowered its requirements for some categories of the highly skilled, particularly in-company seconded staff.

Apart from the visa lottery, offering of scholarship opportunities is another means of depleting Africa of her best brain and future manpower. According to UNESCO (2008) cited in Mba and Ekeopara (2012), the number of Nigerians studying abroad increased from 10,000 to 22,000 between 2000 and 2006. Due to the deteriorated state of some African countries' higher education quality and lack of education infrastructure at home, thousands of students have to be sent to countries with better universities, such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom etc. Despite the fact that these students are expected to return when they finish their degrees, many of them, however, decide to stay permanently in the West because they can easily find jobs with higher salaries and better working conditions instead of returning to their home countries to join the labour market without any certainty of being employed. Hence, in most cases, ***Africa does not***

gain the benefit from the brain train because the 'brains' refuse to come home after the 'train'. Conclusively**,** the strong powers in the West are deploring several demographic strategies and mechanism to lure specialists from Africa and other poor regions. Through their policy of talent hunting (or battle for brains), thousands of Africans, the more intelligent, the highly qualified professional are attracted to fill the labour gap in Europe. This endeavour, however, has further depleted Africa of the human resources needed to develop the black race.

THE EU AND THE BATTLE FOR AFRICA'S BRAINS

The European Union (EU), as a regional blog, is also actively involved in the expatriation of skilled migrants from Africa to Europe. Writing on the attempt of EU to recruit manpower fro Africa, Adepoju (2008) notes that in January 2007, the EU immigration commissioner unveiled a pilot project for a new 'guest worker' scheme for Africa that aims to boost local economies, enhance the earnings of potential migrants and (hence) stop or very significantly reduce irregular migration. The scheme was designed to coordinate job offers in the EU with job seekers in Mali, for a start. The pilot project allows workers to develop skills and earn money, while filling jobs in areas of labour shortage, such as agriculture, construction and sanitation services (as well as seasonal tourism). The scheme was modelled after a project in Spain's southern province, which receives 1,000 temporary agricultural workers from Morocco for six months each year (Adepoju, 2008).

In past years, there have been several arrangement between the EU and AU as regards labour migration from Africa. Koser (2003) avers that from 2005 and onwards, numerous EU-African declarations, partnerships, and cooperative frameworks (e.g. the European Neighborhood Policy) have been created in order to establish a mutually beneficial 'management' of African migration. Koser (2003) gives a detailed account of the European Commission's meeting with the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa in October 2006, through which the Commission presented a package of proposals which capture the migration policy that the EU wants to pursue toward Africa in the years to come. According to Koser (2003), the Commission made it plain to its African partner that the EU has a great demand for migrant labour and that it is willing to increase labour migration from unemployment-ridden countries in Africa. However, the Commission was equally clear in pointing out that the EU will be the one calling the shots as to who will be admitted and when and where the migrant labour will be needed to fill positions (Brostrand, 2006, cited in Koser, 2003).

The EU thus wants to import labour from Africa, but the EU also wants full liberty of choice in deciding who and how many to admit so as to effectively calibrate migration to those sectors presently suffering from labour shortages. In order to assume such control of the migration flows, Brussels considers it an absolute necessity to step up the fight against illegal immigration. Given that labour demand in many sectors may fluctuate quite rapidly, the EU also wants to guard itself against a situation where newly arrived labour migrants are out of work all of a sudden. It is by recommending temporary and circular migration, as well as preparing for an active return policy if jobs should dry up, that Brussels wants to obtain instruments to avert such a situation. Taken together, Muenz (2006) concludes that the EU's migration policy towards Africa is not emblematic of EU-African win-win dynamics and African development gains, but rather of how Brussels, in a practical sense, believes itself capable of generating a win-win approach of filling the labour deficit in Europe. In sum, Muenz (2006) contends that it seems as if the **EU wants Africa's labour, but not the Africans in person**.

BRAIN DRAIN AND ITS EFFECTS ON AFRICA

Considering the huge number of Africans leaving the continent for Europe, it becomes imperative to look into the effects of the discussed migration trends (i.e. brain drain) on Africa. As people migrate, technical know-how and skills, financial assets, culture and experience are also being transferred from one location to another. Hence, migration has consequences for the individual, the area of origin and the area of destination, on the family, household, society, the economy and development as a whole. According to the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) (2000), African continent has lost more than one-third of its human capital, especially the skilled labor and the trend is moving at the geometrical rate. Ironically, African continent is being deprived of the very skilled professionals it needs the most for social, economic, technological and scientific development. The incorporation of Africa into the global system as a supplier of cheap labour could also alter the ability Africa's educational system to meet up with the demands of labour market. Writing on the economic and cost effect of brain drain, Constant and Tien (2009) maintains that the outflow of highly skilled Africans constitutes loss of educational investments and a heavy financial burden to their respective native countries.

The cost of education in Africa is very huge and burdensome to the government, most especially in countries where there is free education at primary and secondary levels and subsidized education at the tertiary level. According to the 2001 report of the UN Development Program, in Kenya, 'it costs about $10,000 to $15,000 to train a student for four years…it can cost nearly $40,000 to educate a physician" (El-Khawas, 2004:46). Other reports estimate that it takes US$ 60,000 to train a general practitioner in kenya, a huge number of whom end up migrating and working in the West (Ntuli, 2004). Kirigia et al (2006) also give a close estimate of the cost implication of medical professionals leaving Kenya. According to their study, the total cost of educating a single medical doctor from primary school to university in Kenya is US$ 65,997; and for every doctor who emigrates, Kenya loses about US$ 517,931 worth of returns on investment.

Similarly, the total cost of educating one nurse from primary school to college of health sciences is US$ 43,180; and for every nurse that migrates, Kenya loses about US$ 338,868 worth of returns on investment.

Apart from Kenya, other African countries are also badly affected. In Malawi, the total cost of education from primary to university of a non-specialist medical doctor was estimated at US$56,947 (Muula and Panulo 2007); many of whom end up leaving the country. Mugimu (2010), in his submission, notes that the financial cost due to the migration of 600 South African medical graduates to New Zealand was estimated at US$37 million. African countries get little return from their investment in higher education, since a significant number of trained professionals end up leaving the continent for the West where there is abundance. Brain drain can also be seen as a loss in term of money used to employed skilled manpower from developed societies to replace migrated manpower in underdeveloped countries. In light of a dwindling professional sector, African institutions are increasingly dependent on foreign expertise. To fill the human resource gap created by brain drain, Africa employs up to 100,000 foreign expatriates at a cost of US$4 billion a year (Woldetensae, 2007). Getting these expatriates is expensive as they are paid in hard currencies and in many circumstances, African governments do not have a say in the condition of their employment. According to Goodman (2008), cited in Omonijo et al (2011**)**, 35% of total ODA to Africa is spent on expatriate professionals from the West. Adepoju (2003) discloses that the acute shortage of doctors, as a result of the mass emigration of trained health workers from South-Africa, has forced the government to recruit foreign doctors, especially from Cuba.
Most obvious consequence of brain drain is the dearth of qualified professionals in the vital sectors such as health, education, science and technology, business and governance. In the **educational sector**, the emigration of qualified teachers and academics has led to the decline in the quality of education received. It has also stagnated the process of knowledge production (Adepoju, 2008). At all levels, whether primary, secondary or tertiary, the quality of education has been compromised. **In the healthcare sector**, brain drain has resulted in the inadequate delivery of healthcare services (Adepoju, 2008). Brain drain of health care professionals leads to under provision of vital health care services and also to immense pressures and workload demands on those who stay behind. The disparity in the ratio of health professionals to patients is disturbing. According to Ikenwilo (2007), a total of 38 out of 47 sub-Saharan African countries fall short of the minimum World Health Organization (WHO) standard of 20 physicians per 100,000 people in the year 2000. Malawi is in the Guinness World Records as the country with the lowest per capita doctor population, while 1 in 5 doctors and 2 in 5 nurses from Malawi are emigrating to the UK every year. Citing the WHO, Zambian Medical Council (2007) discloses that the Zambian Medical Council registered 800 doctors in 2000, while 1,500 were needed. In terms of the direct

consequences for the well being of Ghanaians, Ghana's 2003 Demographic and Health survey indicated that Ghana's infant mortality and under-five mortality worsened between 1998 and 2003, a period characterized by a rapid emigration of health professionals from the country.

ANALYSIS OF DEPENDENCY THEORY AS THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF EUROPEAN IMPRIALISM IN AFRICA.

The dependency theory emerged during the 1950s in response to concerns of the gap between rich and poor countries and became increasingly popular during the 1960s and 1970s. According to Namkoong (1999), Dependency theory became an important tool to analyse underdevelopment in Latin America due to the influence of foreign economic as well as political influence. Dependency theory is the result of an extensive search to find a theoretical framework to sufficiently analyze and explain both development and underdevelopment within the international system by considering how external control of politics, economy and culture influence and alter development policies of certain countries in the third world. Studies carried out by the proponent of dependency theory, Raúl Prebisch, the then Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UNECLA) and his colleagues suggested that economic activity in the advanced countries did not benefit the poorer countries, but often resulted in serious economic challenges in poorer countries as well as the dependence of less-developed countries on developed ones (Ferraro 2008). One of the founders of the dependency theory is Theotonio Dos Santos, a Brazilian social scientist, who offers a deeper definition of dependency as:

According to Randall and Theobald (1998), the thrust of the dependency theory is the position that third world or peripheral countries are underdeveloped and poor because their economy are fused into the center capitalist economy through historical processes (slave trade and colonialism), thereby leaving them dependent on the core economies. Historically, third-world economic dependence is tied to Western European capitalist expansion and Imperialism. European capitalist expansion was necessitated primarily by the internal contradictions of capitalism in Europe, or what Lenin (1917) referred to as the crises of profitability (Jack et al, 2016). The panacea for these profitability crises, according to Lenin (cited in Jack et al , 2016), required economic expansion overseas to open up new regions for investments, which will in turn guarantee cheap source of raw materials, access to cheap foreign labour and access to new global consumer markets.

This process culminated to the integration of the hitherto self-sufficient third world countries into the world capitalist system and subsequent exploitation and underdevelopment of the third world. However, on the flip side, this same process aided the growth of industrial capitalism in the West at the expense of the third world (Jack et al, 2016, citing Webster 1989:70). In examining this dynamics, Frank (1981) asserts that "development and under development are two different sides of a universal historical process”. To him, the same process of capitalist expansion which led to development in Europe, led to underdevelopment in the third world. Jack et al (2016) writes that Webster Andrew (1989) and Kwame Nkrumah (1965) delineated this process into historical epochs namely: Mercantile Capitalism (1650-1850); Colonialism (1850-1960s) and Neo-Colonialism (Post Independence). In attempting to extrapolate the rationale behind the poor economic performance of Latin American countries and other less developed countries by extension, Prebisch (1968) argues that the rapid industrialisation of the North as well as export competitiveness created a divide between the global North and South, resulting in declining terms of trade for the South and eventually dependency of the South on the North. Mahbub ul Haq (1976: 3) expresses similar concerns regarding this disparity between the Core-North and the Pheriphery-South in the opening chapter of his book titled ***The Poverty Curtain*.** He writes that:

> “A poverty curtain has descended right across the face of our world, dividing it materially and philosophically into two different worlds, two separate planets, two unequal humanities, one embarrassingly rich and the other desperately poor.”

is bi-polar division (global North vs global South, or core vs peripheral) has further been expanded by recent theorists to include more sub divisions. According to (Scott, 2007), recent dependency theorists also describe the interaction of more than just the core (global North) and periphery (global South). They argue that states perform different functions within the world economy, which are divided into four groups: ***center of the center (CC), periphery of the center (PC), center of the periphery (CP), and periphery of the periphery (PP).*** For example, the CC consists of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. The PC includes advanced and industrialized countries, such as Canada, Japan, Italy, and Spain. Countries within this group have less global power and wealth than the CC countries. There are also CP countries, such as South Africa, India, Brazil, and Saudi Arabia. These countries have a reasonable amount of wealth despite the fact that they are still undergoing processes of development. PP countries are the poorest countries of the world and are the least advanced; They include the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Zimbabwe, and Burundi, among many others (Scott, 2007)

In addition to this regional segregation (i.e. the division of world into unequal parts), dependency theorists also argue that that there is also evidence of division of labour and functions among these unequal states. While the periphery functions as supplier (of raw materials), the core acts as manufacturer (of finished products). Dependency theorists argue that the third world countries had been incorporated into international system as cheap suppliers of labour and raw materials, which are then being used by the industralised nations of the West to manufacture consumers' product, luxuries and services. The West, in turn, sells these manufactured products to the South (i.e. less developed countries) at a very high price. In other words, division of labour in the international system entails unequal exchange in which the South sells underpriced raw materials to the North, but end up buying over-priced finished products from the North. This unequal exchange occurs primarily because the West enjoys the monopoly of fixing the prices of raw materials and finished products at the international market. The unequal exchange is characterized by monetary devaluation of the South's raw materials and hyper-valuation of the North's finished products, which ultimately results in trade-deficit, imbalance import – export ratio and the depletion of foreign reserve for the global North. The ultimate effect of this unequal exchange is that the poor countries of the South keep getting poorer, while the rich countries in the North keep getting richer.

Dependentists' position is that underdevelopment in third world countries can be linked to the expansion of the world capitalist system, which puts the third world countries at a disadvantaged position. To the dependentists, world system is based upon the international division of labour between the producers of manufactured goods (the Global North) and the producers of primary goods (The global South), allowing development in some nations whilst limiting it in others (Motolani and Petri, 2017). In trying to capture the degeneration and under-development of the third world countries, Frank formulates the concept of "***the development of underdevelopment"*** to denote that underdevelopment is not a natural condition but an artifact created by the domination of the South by the North. In his view, the development of the rich nations and the underdevelopment of the poor ones are two sides of the same coin, as underdevelopment of some nations has made development for other nations possible and the development of other nations made the underdevelopment of other nations possible. Frank's (18884) opinion coincides with Ruskin's view that "***the art of making oneself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally necessarily the art of keeping one's neighbour poor"*** (Reid, 1995:137). Since the advancement of one takes place at the expense of the other, dependency theorists put forward a simple rationale that development and under-development are relational, i.e. development is a result of under development and under development is also a result of development (Matunhu; 2011: 65-72).

APPLICATION AND RELEVANCE OF DEPENDENCY THEORY TO IMPERIALISM DISCOURSE AND BRAIN DRAIN SYNDROME IN AFRICA

Dependency theory bears some similarities with Marxist theory of imperialism because of its emphasis on the domination and exploitation of the third countries by the West. Both dependency and Marxist theory of imperialism adopt economic approach to North-South asymmetric/imperial relation. Just like Marxist theory of imperialism, the straightforward logic of dependency theory asserts that

developing countries sell raw materials to developed countries that use those materials to manufacture "value-added" products which are then sold back to the developing countries at a higher price (Ferraro, 1996). Finished goods cost more than raw materials; thus developing countries cannot accrue enough income from their exports to pay for their imports, resulting in debt and decrease of economic growth (Ferraro, 1996). This unequal trade relation makes it difficult for under-developed countries to exert substantial influence over the basic decisions affecting their national economies: the issues of what to produce, how to produce, and for whom; all these decisions are shaped directly or indirectly by international structures and processes controlled by the West.
In view of this, dependency agree that the economic system of capitalist world is organized to ensure a perpetual domination of the periphery by the core and dependence of the periphery on the core, thereby ensuring a continual flow of economic surplus from the satellite/periphery to the metropolis/center (Eme, 2013). In lieu of these similarities, Obisesan (2020:106) asserts that the core of the dependency concept is derived and updated from Leninist/marxist theories of imperialism, and remains essentially economic in character. As a theory that explains global inequality and exploitation, the scope of dependency theory can be expanded to account for European imperialism in Africa. The relevance of dependency theory for understanding North-South inequalities becomes more visible when examining the continuous outflow of trained manpower from Africa to the West (Europe, in particular). Walter Rodney (1972: 2005), with reference to the African experience, posits that "the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent. The drained wealth, in this instance, could be in form of human capital or train manpower. Hence, Western imperialism and exploitation, as captured by dependency theory, has several manifestations in the third world; one of such manifestations is brain drain.

Some scholars have tried to quantify roughly in monetary terms the amount involved in education of an African graduate. Okeke (2008) highlighted that it costs about USD40,000.00 to train a medical doctor, and USD10,000 – USD15,000 to educate a university student. A 1979 report by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimated "a cash value of $184,000 on each African professional migrant in terms of funds invested in that individual's education and training (Oyowe, 1996:59). Citing York (2011), Toritseju (2013) argues that Britain and some other countries in the West have saved a total of $4.5 billion through the recruitment of African doctors. In 2004, Ghana alone lost approximately £35 million spent on training of health professionals who left the country for the UK. In contrast, the recruitment of Ghanaian doctors resulted in approximately £65 million of savings in training costs in the UK between 1998 and 2002 (Mills et al. 2008). From the point of view of the receiving countries, Saraladevi et al. (2009, p. 62) note that in the United Kingdom, "each qualifying doctor costs £200,000–£250,000 and 5–6 years to train, so in economic terms, every doctor arriving in the United Kingdom is appropriating human capital at zero cost for the use of the UK health services. Thus, African countries pay the price of producing human capital for use by richer countries, while their own development goals are severely constrained by the outflow of scarce skilled manpower (UN, 2006).

In less than forty years (1970-2008), the African continent has lost about US$700 billion in capital (Africa Focus, 2011). In his own estimate, Oyowe (1996) extrapolates conservatively that Africa lost more than $1.2billion of investment on the 60,000 professionals who left the continent between 1985 and 1990. This is a loss of human capital and a wasted investment in education from the standpoint of the home African countries, but a huge gain to the draining countries in Europe. Based on the postulation of dependency theory, Africa has been incorporated into the world capitalist system. In addition to Africa's role as a supplier of cheap raw-materials in the capitalist system, Africa now assumes a role of being a supplier of cheap labour to imperial powers in the West. The changing roles of Africa in the capitalist system follow the dynamics of European imperialism. Just as dependency theorists predict that North-South inequality will increase and continue to be more intense, the marginal roles of Africa in the capitalist system has increased from being a supplier of only raw materials to being a supplier of both raw materials and manpower in recent times. Hence, dependency theory captures the dynamics of European imperialism in Africa.

CONCLUSION

European imperialism in Africa is a dynamic process that has undergone different degrees of transformation or reformation at different times in history, starting with Transatlantic slave trade from the 15th to 18th century, transcending to colonialism from late 18th century to the 19th century, and still manifesting in the 21st century as brain drain. Hence, this paper argues that any discourse on European imperialism vis -a -vis Africa's under-development must be rooted in a historical context. Nelson Mandela (1996:3) gives an insight into historical link or connection between the present day slavery (i.e. the 21st century brain drain) and the age-long Transatlantic slave trade of the 18th century. Mandela, in his submission, writes that:

> "For centuries, an ancient continent has bled from many gaping sword wounds. At an earlier time, it [Africa] lost millions of its most able sons and daughters to a trade in slaves, which defined these Africans as fit for slavery because they were Africans. ***To this day, we continue to lose some of the best among ourselves because the lights in the developed world shine brighter*" (1996:3).**

The outflow of Africa's labour and human capital (the youth and professionals) to Europe can be considered as a resemblance of the old slave and colonial trade, but in another 'sugar-coated' guise. A detailed comparison of the trades (i.e. the slave, colonial and brain trades) depicts that the real difference between the three forms of trade lies with their nomenclature (i.e. their names). While Transatlantic slave trade and colonial trade were direct and straight forward, the modern slavery is being disguised and hidden in sugar coated and euphemistic terms, notably brain drain, brain outflow etc. Indeed, the pre-colonial and colonial slave trade of the 18th century has metamorphosed into the modern-day brain drain (i.e. the enslavement of human capital and intellectual resources).

In the light of this, it is logical to conclude that brain drain is the modern day slave trade. It can also be rightly concluded that European imperialism in Africa is spherical in direction, rather than being linear. It revolves from point A back to A along a spherical circuit, rather than moving from point A to B in a linear order. In biblical tone, European imperialism is the same yesterday, today and forever. What changes is not the content of Imperialism, but its mode of manifestation in different time-frame. In the most precise and concise language, imperialism is imperialism **at all times!**

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