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ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENTS IN DEVELOPING POOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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Supervised by Dr Aribiah David Attoe

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Abstract

There is a moral and ethical obligation for the rich and developed nations and their business corporations to invest in and trade ethically with Africa. This moral obligation extends to African leaders and elites who facilitate the continued exploitation of Africa and corruption in the post-independence period. To reveal this obligation and its basis, I begin by reviewing and exploring the history of African colonialism in pursuit of capital profit maximization within the imperialist framework and its consequences, focusing on its immoral and unethical practices. I then show that the moral foundations of colonialism and post-independence African leadership have not been considered in understanding African underdevelopment in relation to the prosperity of other nations, and the role of African leaders. Finally, I argue there are morally right actions that can plausibly change this. I explicate this using three moral philosophical approaches – Kantian, Utilitarian and Ubuntu African relational ethics.

Keywords: Africa, Business, Kantian Ethics, Ubuntu, Utilitarianism

Chapter 1: Introduction.

Background to the Problem

The colonization of Africa, like the colonization of other parts of the world, was a capitalist-driven process, always with the sole intent of profit maximization for the benefit of the colonists and their mother countries, at the expense of the economic well-being of the African countries, thus resulting in the degradation of their peoples, cultures, and environmental and economic well-being. Indeed, the social and material interests of the colonized people in Africa and their moral autonomy were never taken into account by the colonizers and enslavers right from the time they arrived on the African continent.

There was a minority of Europeans who were opposed to the perverse, egregious, cruel, and immoral practices against the colonized. For example, the Dominican Friar Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolome de Las Casas objected to the treatment of natives in the Americas Davis (2004, p. 388). But this objection did little, or nothing, in stopping the colonizers from treating Africans as mere means to certain ends — maximization of profit, without any humanity or deserved autonomy.

In the Preface of Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth,* Jean-Paul Sartre paints a gruesome picture of this inhuman treatment of Africans under the colonial rule thus:

> In the case of forced labor, it is quite the contrary. There is no contract; moreover, there must be intimidation and thus oppression grows. Our soldiers overseas, rejecting the universalism of the mother country, apply the "numerus clausus" to the human race: since none may enslave, rob, or kill his fellow man without committing a crime, they lay down the principle that the native is not one of our fellow men. Our striking power has been given the mission of changing this abstract certainty into reality: the order is given to reduce the inhabitants of the annexed country to the level

> of superior monkeys in order to justify the settler's treatment of them as beasts of burden (Fanon, 1963, p. 14)

He continues:

> Violence in the colonies does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm's length; it seeks to dehumanize them. Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours. Sheer physical fatigue will stupefy them. Starved and ill, if they have any spirit left, fear will finish the job; guns are leveled at the peasant; civilians come to take over his land and force him by dint of flogging to till the land for them. If he shows fight, the soldiers fire and he's a dead man; if he gives in, he degrades himself and he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces. The business is conducted with flying colors and by experts; the "psychological services" weren't established yesterday; nor was brainwashing. And yet, in spite of all these efforts, their ends are nowhere achieved: neither in the Congo, where Negroes' hands were cut off, nor in Angola, where until very recently malcontents' lips were pierced in order to shut them with padlocks (Fanon, 1963, p. 14).

The above extracts show how the colonists stripped Africans of all humanity and treated them like animals. Africans were whipped, flogged and forced to till the soil for the colonists' profit maximization. African oppression and plunder were not only a European colonizer's practice. Long and vicious enslavement of Africans was practised by Arab Islamic people. John Alembillah Azumah (2001) writes about how Islamic Arab people enslaved and traded Africans as chattel many centuries before European colonialism and enslavement started and were the last to abolish slavery in the 20th Century. He reports how Arab enslavement of Africans included some of the most pernicious and depraved practices; enslavement of women and girls for sex purposes as concubines and laborers and the castration of black African males. He estimates that over 80 million Africans were enslaved in this bloody Arab Islamic practice.

Capitalism has always aimed at maximizing profits at the expense of the working class. Karl Marx (1991, p. 958) articulates this point thus: "[We also saw that capital, in the social production process appropriate to it - and the capitalist is simply personified capital, functioning in the production process simply as the bearer of capital - pumps out a certain specific quantum of surplus labour from the direct producers or workers, surplus labour that it receives without an equivalent and which by its very nature always remains forced labour, however much it might appear as the result of free contractual agreement ."

Forced labour was always a primary and dominant feature of slavery and feudalism. This was no different during the centuries of colonial plunder and domination. It is still the same today, though it is modified by means of contractual arrangements, freedom of choice and association, as espoused in many modern constitutions and international treaties. In pursuit of profit maximization and accumulation, capitalists have used and applied every means at their disposal to extract the largest portion of available profits for themselves. These included slavery, serfdom, brutal wars, conquests, fostering unrest and colonialism. Today, these measures include neocolonialism, Western global hegemony, one-sided trading and investment treaties and bullying practices such as economic sanctions, invasion and blockading of smaller countries, playing divide and rule, foreign currency dominance and weaponizing of the reserve currency status of the United States dollar in international trade and finance to undermine the autonomy and sovereignty of independent nations. In *The Looting Machine*, Tom Burgis (2015) discusses some of the one sided treaties that exploit Africa(ns). He asserts that:

> there were other aspects to Newmont's deal in Ghana that the company was less keen to publicize. It was paying a meagre 3 per

> cent in royalty on the gold it mined, and like other foreign mining companies across the continent, it had secured a ‘stabilization agreement’ guaranteeing that its payments to the state were kept low. The result is like an inverted auction, in which poor countries compete to sell the family silver at the lowest price" (Burgis, 2015, p. 164).

In addition to the one-sided international treaties, there is a lack of enforcement of the countries’ regulations due to pressure from powerful corporations and their foreign governments and politicians, thereby undermining Africa’s sovereignty, progress, and development.

Additional to the colonizer's negative practices in Africa are the behaviors and practices of African government leaders, politicians, and business people that are characterized by corruption, selfishness, and immorality that were, and still are, equally responsible for reducing and stripping Africans of all dignity, humanity, and entrenching continental degradation. Like the capitalist colonizers, African leaders and elites have used every trick to loot and usurp the resources of Africa for their personal benefits and aggrandizement including embezzlement, theft, tribalism, religion, divisions and wars to get power and remain in power to the neglect of Africa’s development and the well-being of its peoples.

Olumuyiwa Adebanjo Falaiye (2012, p. 27), delivering his Inaugural Lecture at the Lagos University emphasizing this point, posits, “George Ayittey and my humble self have shown in more ways than one that the nationalists who took power after independence and the military despots who overthrew them have proved themselves to be even worse than the colonialists that they replaced.” Indeed, in Africa today, one can argue that the continent has

regressed and is worse off, especially in terms of development, compared to other continents that were similarly colonized for centuries.

In the initial stages of colonialism, the Christian God was used as a justification for forced labour and the domination of Africa by European colonizers. As G. Scott Davis (2004, p. 388) italics mine, posits "[n]ot only for this tradition did the Pope and Emperor overstep their authority in claiming *dominion*, but the conquests carried out on their behalf were manifestly unjust." By "dominion," Davis meant that the Pope could empower a political leader to act in the church's and its subjects' best interest, including confiscation of land and property and the forced conversion of the alleged pagans. The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire thus became the first institutions that pioneered and supported exploitation by colonization. They were also the leading institutions in the justification of conquest and colonization worldwide. In addition to the Papacy and the Empire, the leading intellectuals of European countries added their voices for the gross support of conquest, its encouragement and promotion. For instance, "[t]he Dutch lawyer Hugo Grotius (1583-1645 CE) led the way in subverting the Aristotelian and Thomist argument against conquest […], in English-speaking lands, by John Locke (1631-1704CE), whose justification for the British usurpation of North America lay in the absence of widespread native agriculture " (Davis, 2004, p. 388). Similarly, John Stuart Mill (1989, p. 14) maintains that "despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement and the means justified by actually effecting [of] that end." Therefore, not only was this oppression justified by the capitalists but it was also promoted and encouraged by learned enlightened opinion-makers of the time.

Of course, colonialism was then justified as a necessary component for the improvement of Africans who were considered barbarians/pagans. In truth, colonialism is a specific variant and practice of the ideology and system of imperialism whose primary role itself is the perpetuation, justification, and projection of the power of capitalism, wherever profits are to be found. There are different interpretations and understandings of these terms, but what is always clearly understood and agreed by most scholars such as Henry Veltmeyer and James Petras (2015), Karl Marx (1991), Kwame Nkrumah (1965), Tamas Szentes (1983), and Walter Rodney (1973), is the intrinsically intertwined and symbiotic relationship of capitalism and imperialism. They are both characterised by the plundering of resources, labour exploitation, human oppression and domination of others and their lands in pursuit of maximum profit accumulation. Henry Veltmeyer and James Petras (2015, p. 2) assert that "…capitalism and imperialism are intimately connected but engage distinct dynamics in the geog-economics and geopolitics of capital that need to be clearly distinguished." Colonialism, then, like imperialism, is a class construct that involves internecine continuous class struggles wherever and whenever the ruling classes weaponize the state as the instrument of capital accumulation, while the working class/labourers are systemically exploited for surplus value.

However, today the external causes lie partly in the huge financial debt burdens as well.

Today, all African countries are mired in debt obligations from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other private banks from Western countries, for which they pay endless debt burdens that keep on increasing. In Nigeria for example debt servicing costs have reached crisis proportions. According to Olanrewaju Oyedeji et al. (2023), projections are that the country will pay 76% of its revenue servicing debt by 2025. They report that between 2015 and the third quarter of 2022, Nigeria's external debt servicing grew by 631,924%. These

loan repayments cost these countries funding and independence to pursue development. It is however not necessarily that the lenders are always at fault. Sometimes the loans and repayments are misused and mismanaged. African countries are asked under threat of sanctions of different types, including disinvestment, recalling of loans and disbarment from Western markets to open up their economies to foreign private entities; reducing or removing altogether subsidies and support mechanisms for their indigenous companies and to privatizing the state-own entities without any protection for their economies and businesses. This stands in contrast to common practice in Western countries where industries like farming and fishing receive huge protection and subsidies from governments, thus putting African agricultural and fisheries exports to Western countries at a huge disadvantage. These policies further compound the challenges in Africa. Championed by the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Group of Seven (G7) countries, these policies are forced onto African countries. If these policies are not complied with, African nations generally get targeted for verbal and media attacks, vilification and threats. In some cases, military intervention by the Western countries is employed, as it has been in the Sahel region and other northern regions of Africa today.

The Western corporate entities, as outlined earlier, with the support of their governments, also engage in many unethical activities to exploit African people and their resources. For instance, Ed Pilkington (2009) in New York, reported in The Guardian that Shell International paid out $15.5 million over Ken Saro-Wiwa's killing. This was a settlement over the accusation that Shell, a global petroleum corporation, collaborated in the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other leaders of the Ogoni people of Southern Nigeria. According to The Guardian article “[T]he company was alleged to have provided the Nigerian army with vehicles, patrol boats and ammunition, and to have helped plan raids and terror campaigns

against villages." This complicity of Shell and the Nigerian government against its people is a consistent and regular golden thread that runs through the Neo-colonial *modus operandi* among African countries. African people and their environments can be killed and poisoned for corrupt profits. According to Amnesty International (2017), Shell was involved in numerous murders, tortures and rapes carried out by paramilitary organizations in Nigeria. These were directly funded by Shell.

Additionally, according to Pilkington (2009), Shell continuously avoids paying fair and legal taxes in the African countries where it operates. The Guardian reports that Shell received net tax refunds in both the UK, the US and Germany in 2016. This is done by shifting its tax-residence status to the more tax benign climates and moving its valuable brand ownership to other jurisdictions. These are aimed at reducing its tax burden. These arrangements are ethically questionable since they reduce or hide real taxes payable to African countries where they get their resources, damage the environment and exploit cheap labour.

In Zambia, one of the poorest countries in Africa but with large copper resource deposits, the Western governments support their international corporations in carrying out illegal and immoral business practices. According to WarOnWant, a non-government organization (NGO), Zambia loses up to $ 3 billion a year to tax avoidance and transfer pricing mechanisms while the company leaves a poisoned environment that kills children and damages communities where it derives its profits (N.D). WarOnWant (N.D, p. 3) observes, "[T]he country is being drained of resources by the ability of multinational companies to avoid paying tax, sometimes facilitated by the global structure of tax havens," an invention of global capital and their governments. Among the Western conglomerates that loot Zambian copper and leave a trail of destruction are Glencore International and Barrick Gold through

their operating subsidiaries in the country. According to WarOnWant (N.D, p. 3), when the Zambian government attempted to reform the tax regime to address tax avoidance, these were “powerfully opposed by mining corporations. They threatened to cut thousands of jobs and billions of dollars on investments. The IMF also expressed concerns about the impact of proposed measures. This pressure all had an effect, and the government rolled back on the proposed new measures.” Zambia continues to face enormous economic and social challenges, and without international support, its position is weak and impossible to resolve. Being on its own against such major international organizations Zambia could do nothing much. The looting of its resources, exploitation of its people and government resources continues unabated.

As a result of these abuses WarOnWant made the call demanding that “Northern governments, including the United Kingdom, to address the ways in which the international tax system they support undermines Zambia’s ability to raise a fair share of the tax from the multinationals operating in Zambia” (N.D). WarOnWant further recommends the following changes to ensure that the UK government acts ethically in its relations with Zambia.

- First, it proposes closing down of tax havens.
- Second, ensure that UK tax rules do not allow companies to avoid tax in developing countries.
- Third, support the establishment of a United Nations body to lead the rewriting of global tax rules.
- Finally, launch an investigation into UK multinationals’ corporate tax practices in Zambia.

In 2018, Anglo-American, another global mining behemoth that originated from South Africa’s colonial mining days, and five other mining companies agreed to pay about R5 billion

to settle a class suit by former gold miners in South Africa suffering from respiratory disease silicosis Shonisani Tshikalange (2023). The same Anglo-American is again being sued in Zambia for alleged mass lead poisoning of children (The Guardian, 2020 October). According to The Guardian, Anglo American failed to prevent widespread toxic lead pollution in the Zambian town of Kabwe, which further exacerbated pollution leading to deaths of people.

At this point, it might be fair to argue that the Neo-colonial plunder of Africa and its resources is made possible by the assistance of some African governments, business enterprises and wealthy elites. African countries like Angola, South Africa, Nigeria, Sudan, Zimbabwe and many more are governed by African elites that are corrupt and self-serving, with barely an interest in providing worthwhile socioeconomic benefits for their citizens. They protect the interests of foreign investors against their peoples and engage in an industrial scale of looting of the continent as has happened in the state capture in South Africa today.

During the proceeding and the final report of the South Africa State Capture Commission of Inquiry, it was revealed that Bain & Company, an American International Management & Strategy Consulting firm, together with McKinsey & Company and the Boston Consulting Group, were all involved in the corrupting of the South African state institutions in what is locally called “state capture.” State capture involves private interests influencing state decisions, corrupting tenders of the state institutions, and literally inserting criminal networks inside the state institutions and state enterprises to do their corrupt bidding and perpetrating fraud and looting. These are achieved with the help and collaboration of government leaders, including officials and senior bureaucrats (Nugent, 2018).

From the above, it may be assumed and accepted that colonialism by the external foreign Western powers was the only major cause of Africa's underdevelopment, poverty and backwardness that we see today. However, as briefly mentioned above, the available literature firmly confirms that a lot of damage was also caused by the African leaders and elites themselves, by their extensive involvement in acts of corruption such as nepotism, looting of resources (usually money), and fueling of divisions and wars. It is my claim that corruption itself is any form of dishonesty or criminality undertaken by a person or group of people entrusted in a position of authority with a fiduciary duty to act in the best interest of others in order to acquire illicit enrichment and abuse of power for self-enrichment. These corrupt actions are a result of immorality practised by African leaders.

According to Evaristus Okechukwu Ekwueme (2014) moral ethical beliefs and insights are gained through cognitional processes that include trial and error, self-correction and reflection leading to consciousness and awareness of behaviour and leading to knowing the distinction between right and wrong as part of knowledge and wisdom seeking that is unique to human beings. He claims that corruption of this cognitive process cycle results in a corrupt agent. Thus, Ekwueme (2014, p. 54) asserts that "[t]he corruption of [the] process of self-correction and appropriation inevitably leads to corruption of experiencing, understanding, judging, deciding and acting. Unlike the moral agent, the corrupt agent's cognitional process mired all relevant questions of attentive experiencing, questions of intelligent understanding, questions of reasonable judgement, questions of loving and responsible deciding and acting." This agent is then blind to the wisdom of what is right, fair and just. The agent will not ask altruistic questions about society. She ignores her moral obligation to the society at large focusing only on personal and familial interests. Given the

corruption of the process of self-correction, immoral and illegal activities are easily committed including promotion of self-enrichment, nepotism, tribalism and deliberate wars.

It is from this history of both colonial and African corruption and exploitation that the literature on African underdevelopment is viewed from primarily two contrasting points of view by many African thinkers and historians: the Internalist perspective and the Externalist perspective. Externalists see the problems of Africa and its underdevelopment as coming solely from outside forces primarily due only to European colonialism, slavery and exploitation from the West and other highly developed nations. For Internalists, the source of African underdevelopment comes from within Africa itself, including from its venal, uneducated, untrained, corrupt leaders and elites who wreak havoc and underdevelopment in a majority of African countries.

Today, colonists have been replaced (since African countries are now supposedly "independent") by global multinational businesses or corporations, mostly originating from Europe and America with an increasing contingent from Asia, especially China. What is referred to today as globalization is in essence an extension of colonialism on an international scale with America leading the Western hegemonic domination and attendant exploitative relations that benefits developed rich nations and their corporations at the expense of peripheral African countries and others.

According to Paula Slier (2013) global corporations like BHP Billiton, Anglo American, Xstrata, etc., exploit African resources, leaving behind diseases, environmental damage and health hazards from their mining activities while reaping billions of dollars in profits. For instance, radioactive dust and pollution persists for decades after mining has closed in the local environments such as Gauteng where gold was mined and in Zambia's Kwabe district where

copper was mined. Rivers, dams and other waterways, and the air are polluted with lead, mercury and radiation, resulting in chronic diseases throughout the affected communities. Copper and lead mining in Zambia has resulted in wide spread pollution of soils and waterways due to chemicals used in mining processes. Boris Ngounou (2018) reports that cobalt dust is a major air pollutant for children, plants and soils in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the Kasulo mining districts. These global companies refuse to fully comply with government regulations that aim to protect the environment and populations. They corrupt government officials and politicians by bribing them to avoid compliance with environmental protection laws and their stated Environmental Social and Governance policies. An Interpol International report indicates that there is evidence implying a clear link between corruption and C02 emissions, improper land use and environmental degradation and lax oversight is increasing (Nelleman et al, ND)). It further claims that companies paying bribes often produce lower quality products, thus leading to liability over its products. A specific example is that of Glencore International that entered guilty pleas for foreign bribery and market manipulation. These payments were made to a number of corrupt officials in Nigeria, Cameroon and Ivory Coast, according to the US Department of Justice (2022). They cheat and deceive both governments and communities in order to reduce their costs and avoid responsibilities. This failure to comply with environmental legislation and international best practices often leads to a lack of enforcement, resulting in externalization of negative impacts while leaving behind non-rehabilitated mines, poisoned water sources and widespread proliferation of certain diseases. It is, therefore, from this neglect, deceit and cheating that they make super profits. According to the National Whistleblower Centre (2018), in the forestry sector bribery may be used in order to obtain permits, process or trade logs and convince officials to turn a blind eye to evidence or to avoid prosecution.

Based on this centuries-long, sustained and unjust exploitation and domination of Africa by foreign powers and the internal corruption perpetrated by African governments, political, business and community elites, my aim in this research report is to explore the ethical valuation of the relationship between developed first-world countries and their business corporations (in their investments, trade and relations) and African elites, and poor underdeveloped African countries and their peoples today.

Statement of Problem

The problem for this research, and the gap that it fills, becomes quite clear. The role of ethics and moral behaviour has not been given a sufficiently important role in socioeconomic development and good governance practices. This neglect in our literature lead to failure in identifying the full picture of potential solutions to African underdevelopment. Readers need to be informed about this lack and the importance of ethics, ethical conduct and continuous teachings on morally right actions within our societies and how they can contribute to clean governance and prosperity.

With the development of technology and cross-pollination of peoples, norms and ideas there is a perceived reduction of the importance of morality globally. There is a perception that morals do not matter anymore in our multicultural world and institutional arrangements that are anchored on the pursuit of individual and country's interest as a priority. Given the behaviour of countries like the USA, Belgium, Germany, Britain, France and others towards the developing countries in instigating wars and elimination of leaders they do not approve of in their pursuit of their natural riches, there is scepticism about morality in international relations. Joseph S. Nye, Jr (2020, p. 9) in the preface of his book asserts that "The reasons

for skepticism seem obvious to many." What this means is that our individual, governmental, and corporate behaviors do not display ethical standards and morality. There is a clear moral decay displayed at both local and international levels by those in power and in control of capital and resources. Morals and ethics need to be brought to the fore of human behaviour in international relations, social relationships and social activism.

I therefore further aim to extend this ethical valuation to the African political and business elites that have, since colonial times, been the collaborators and facilitators of the (neo)colonial agenda of plunder and self-enrichment against their countries and peoples. Also, they have on their own engaged in corruption and many other acts that have pulled the continent backward into instability and deeper underdevelopment.

For most individuals, there ought to be an understanding that there is a moral obligation for developed countries and multinational companies to invest ethically with developing poor African countries. What proceeds from this understanding is the question why this is the case - that is the question of what ideas justify the assertion that business/investment relationships between developed countries and developing poor African countries should be ethical? This research seeks to respond to that question by drawing from Kantian, Utilitarian and Ubuntu African relational ethics. The reason for focusing on these theories is that they represent some of the dominant ethical theories in the Euro-American and the African philosophical tradition. They represent the philosophical traditions of many developed countries in the West and developing countries in Africa.

I will reveal how Kantian, Utilitarian and Ubuntu relational ethics plausibly justify the need for ethical investment/trading relationships between developed investor countries, as well as their multinational organizations, and developing poor investee countries in Africa.

As indicated above, together with the intuitions of many people I argue that the rich countries and their institutions and the multinational corporations together with the African leaders of government and business and elites have moral obligations to invest in developing African countries, act, lead and behave in morally permissible ways. I will base my argument on Kantian ethics, Utilitarian ethics and African Relational ethics of Ubuntu.

Kantian ethics refers to the deontological ethical theory of Immanuel Kant (1785/2019) that asserts that good will is the only thing that can be considered inherently good on its own. Utilitarian ethics on the other hand is a moral theory that asserts that right action is based on its promotion of the greatest number of good consequences. The African relational theory of Ubuntu is based on the African philosophy and world view that sees humanity and thus morality linked to the connectedness and cohesion among all human beings. These ethical theories promote dignity, harmony and respect in treating all persons and communities as human beings with intrinsic value by ensuring and encouraging cooperation, cohesion and harmonious relationships within communities and respect and protection of the environment they inhabit.

Basing my argument on these ethical theories, I will equally highlight the need for ethical behaviour and ethical relationships from African leaders towards their communities and people and secondly to governments when they interact and engage in agreements with foreign investors. These African elites in government and business often engage in immoral and unethical behaviors that further hinder Africa's development. By outlining first the slave trade, colonial and Neo-colonial system and its current one-sided investor-investee relationships and the African corrupt and poor leadership, I aim to link them to show that all these are characterized by exploitation, immoral and unethical behaviour. Such behaviour is

the golden thread that runs from those who ruled Africa in the past to the current plunder by Africans and foreign investors alike. Thus ethical and moral investor-investee relationships, governments and African leadership relationships are all important in equal measure in this research report in accounting for Africa's poverty and underdevelopment.

In this research report, I will use conceptual analysis to argue out my claims and I would employ library research exploring various journals articles, books etc as the relevant data for my research. This method entails collecting non-numerical data to understand concepts, opinions and experiences of people particularly as a systemic inquiry into social phenomena, conditions and behaviour. Through this method I will demonstrate how both the African elites and the external foreign investors have exploited and underdeveloped Africa and oppressed its peoples.

This approach allows me to focus on the content of each source consulted and reviewed. Secondly, it allows me to get a better understanding of the origin and essence of colonialism as a subject matter. Thirdly, it allows me to engage with the ethical foundations of foreign investment and African leadership in developing Africa.

In this research, I use the method of Historical Materialism to analyse, understand and explain the historical developments of society with changes in social and economic systems through precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Africa. I focus on the following aspects of colonialism and the related and intertwined phenomena of capitalism and imperialism:

1. The origin, development and evolution of colonialism and its capitalist basis;
2. The political economy of underdevelopment in the context of globalization;
3. The objectives and consequences of colonialism;

4. The systematic and pervasive pursuit of profit and its dialectical connection to all stages of human historical development;

5. The impact on human beings and humanity based on moral and ethical standards in colonial and colonizing countries and their justification(s).

According to Maurice Cornforth (1962), Historical Materialism is a general theory of the motive forces and laws of social change developed by Karl Marx's discoveries. It was arrived at by applying the materialist world outlook to the understanding and solutions of social and economic problems. Historical Materialism identifies class struggle as the motive force of history. Historical Materialism is both a method to understand and interpret the world and also a guide to changing the world we live in.

This report is primarily a conceptual work aimed at examining and exploring Kantian ethics, Utilitarian ethics and African relational ethics of Ubuntu as plausible ethical foundations for international investment in developing African countries in a changing and unbalanced developing world.

In order to achieve my aim, I have structured this research report into five chapters. In Chapter 1: African Underdevelopment and Ethical Conduct. I provide an introduction and background to this research report. I raise some important questions that this research will address. Further, I discuss the qualitative method, specifically the Historical Materialist approach, of my research report and how I will employ it throughout my research. Finally, I provide a brief synopsis of the structure of the chapters of this research report.

Chapter 2: Capitalism in Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial African Countries. This focuses on the *modus operandi* of exploitation under colonialism and after independence. Exploitative and corrupt investor-investee relationships are also investigated and analyzed to

demonstrate how these relationships are anchored on exploitation within the history of capitalism and colonialism.

Chapter 3: Ethical Foundation for International Investment in Africa describes and examines, in detail, the three major ethical theories that could plausibly under gird investor-investee relationships in a fair and just society. I explain and demonstrate how each of the three theories of Kantian ethics, Utilitarian ethics and African relational ethics of Ubuntu should be understood both in theory and practice.

Chapter 4: Debating the Moral Obligation for International Investment in Developing African Countries. Here I highlight some of the duties and principles extracted from the three ethical theories that are outlined in Chapter 3, explaining how they can practically help us in our quest to have moral investor-investee relationships. I anticipate possible objections that could be raised against my arguments and respond to them.

In the final chapter (Chapter 5: Conclusion), I provide a summary of the chapters of my research report, provide some recommendations and suggest some areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2: Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa.

Colonialism involves the domination, subjugation and dehumanization of the colonized and exploitation of their countries by the colonizers. It is a policy and practice that aims to acquire and usurp both political and economic control over another country leading to its occupation by settlers with the aim of economic and cultural domination for exploitation. Stephen Ocheni and Basil C. Nwankwo (2012, p. 46) explain further that colonialism is "a phenomenon which is part and parcel of another phenomenon called imperialism.

Colonialism is a direct form of imperialism." In essence, colonialism is the complete domination of one country and its economic system leading to the exploitation and underdevelopment of the colonized countries. Underdevelopment is understood here as a social and economic state of a society that is oppressed and exploited by another society, characterized by poverty, lack or poor quality of social services; absence or inadequate infrastructure, dependence and poor governance, with the inability to act autonomously in pursuit of its best economic and financial interests within the global community.

Walter Rodney (1973) arguing from the externalist perspective sees underdevelopment as caused by exploitation of one country by another country as a consequence of colonialism and neocolonialism that results from the absence of direct political and economic control of Africa by Africans. According to Rodney, this absence of political control by Africans ensures that foreign investors, their countries and their corporations use African natural resources and its labour to produce economic value as wealth that gets lost to the continent. From his point of view, development is achieved only by the increasing ability of individuals and

societies to use nature, their skills, knowledge and their labour to produce such wealth primarily for their country and people's benefits. Development and acquisition of skills and experience be they technical, ethical or social institutions are critical in providing the necessary labour to use nature for development. It is these skills that colonialism has denied Africa and destroyed those that existed in Africa. This exploitation is in the form of unequal terms of trade that favors one nation over the other and the ownership of African resources by developed nations and their international corporations.

Capitalism, a driving force for both colonialism and neocolonialism, is an economic and sociopolitical system in which a country's trade and industrial activity are controlled and owned by private owners for private profit and capital accumulation. On the other hand, imperialism is the practice and policy of extending and imposing a country's power and influence through military force, colonialism, culture and other means to achieve the domination and exploitation of another country.

Olumuyiwa Adebanjo Falaiye (2012, p. 19) arguing from the internalist perspective posits that first Africa is failing and underdeveloped because "[t]he ideas, skills and expertise required to wage a successful liberation struggle are not the same as those needed for successful economic development." In essence, after independence, the African leaders were not ready, capable and skilled to lead and guide the economic and social development of African countries. Another point he makes is that corruption prevalence perpetrated by African leaders themselves against their people and the unwillingness of African leaders to relinquish power through a democratic process is a second crucial cause of underdevelopment.

For both their dehumanizing nature and opposition by the humanitarian movement, serfdom and slavery had to be abolished wherever the capital had its sway and prospects. The profits made from slavery were invested for even higher profits in the capitalist economy with increased efficiencies and increased profits given the improved capitalist technologies and motivations of profits and wages. Further by removing the burdens of slave ownership and extracting more surplus value from the free easily dispensable labour, they rendered their labour power a tradable commodity available for exploitation with less moral opposition. Sampie Terreblanche (2002) highlights that the removal of African indigenous people from their lands by force of arms, reducing them to laborers with no rights, made their labour a cheap commodity that intensified their exploitation. For instance, millions of indigenous people were forcibly removed and pushed to work in the mines and farms under capitalist South African colonial industries. This was a practice throughout colonized Africa.

From its early beginning, capital accumulation often involved vicious and cruel dispossession of lands, water sources and other natural resources, theft, forced labour, peonage and violence in pursuit of profits. This capital and its process has grown and evolved through slavery and colonialism to the current imperialist neo-colonial global capitalist and corporations that dominate international trade using the one-sided trade and investment policies and treaties linked to corrupt underhanded practices identified by Burgis (2015) above.

Capitalist development and exploitation are not only foreign forms of social economic organization. In Africa, capitalist accumulation has a precolonial history, demonstrating that capitalism predates colonialism and was not necessarily only a product of western influence. Emmanuel Akyeampong (2015) demonstrates that a vibrant capitalist class was

established and highly developed through trade, mining and manufacturing from the fourteenth century, at least two centuries before European colonialism of Africa. The expansion of political influence by African kings in terms of acquisition of more territories went hand in hand with capitalist tendencies that were indigenous to the continent. There was therefore a reciprocal capitalist force from African traders that facilitated the successful entry of western capitalists into the African market. The entry of western capitalists into the African economy exacerbated the situation.

Even after the end of the colonial era and up to this day, the former European colonizers of Africa are still unwilling to release their hold on the African continent and its resources and peoples. The capitalists still viciously pursue the exploitation of Africa. Emphasizing this point, Amy Niang (2022, p. 5), writing on the conditions of the prevalence of coups and unrest in the Sahel region of Africa, demonstrates the attitude of France toward her former colonies thus, “France is neither ready nor willing to deal with its former African colonies on equal footing.” She further adds that “[f]or a long time, it has relied upon clientelist relations to ensure sustained access to African minerals for [an] unfair price.” With their numerous natural resources, African countries serve as raw materials to Europe and other rich nations. These nations take these natural resources to develop their countries by using their advanced skills and knowledge and the cheap labour of Africans. They possess these resources and whatever value is produced is shipped out of Africa. They occupy large tracts of African land and natural resources, acquiring them at very low prices they determine and control because of their political domination of Africa. The result is underdevelopment of Africa (Rodney, 1973).

At this point, it is crucial to comment on the role of finance in fueling and growing capital accumulation from the era of the slave trade to colonialism and post colonialism. From the beginning of capitalism, particularly in Europe, different mechanisms and financial instruments of funding capitalist investments were used, including interest-bearing debt , equity funding receiving dividends, self-help schemes and peonage. These financial instruments also included banking and insurance to fund and protect the shipping trade, ships and slaves, as these represented highly valuable assets and products. The creation of the Bank of England in the 17th Century, as Baruch Hirson (1991, p. 14) claims, "Provided the basis for the British control of world trade and the regulation of the money market. Exports and imports with colonies, from inception, went hand in hand with the expansion of financial institutions." Today, the global financial institutions stand shoulder to shoulder with mining, trade, manufacturing and technology corporations in the domination of the global economy. At the apex of their global order is what Burgis (2015, p. 157) calls "the stewards of the global economic order - the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund…" The International Financial Institutions, both public and private, permeate all industries as their lifeblood and fuel through banking, loan funding, credit lines, investments, advisory services, etc.

Highlighting the strong association of capitalism and imperialism with colonialism, Ocheni (2012, p. 47) asserts that "[i]t was during this process of investment of surplus capital that imperialism emerge[d]." This capital had to be transported and invested in other countries where it could earn increased profits from abundant natural resources and cheaper productive labour forces and open up new markets. As colonialism ushered in superior production factors, ideas and capabilities, it also introduced the international division of

labour that persists in the form of developed, developing and underdeveloped countries. Developed countries mainly include the rich Western sovereign nations that are highly developed including, Germany, the USA, Canada, Japan and others. Developing countries are also sovereign states like developed countries but with less developed industrial bases and a lower Human Development Index. Developing countries include, for example, China, India, South Africa and most South American countries. Underdeveloped countries are characterized by widespread chronic poverty and far less economic development for example Afghanistan, Benin, Burundi, Cambodia, etc.

This classification is of course not clear-cut or absolute. It is more like a rule of thumb.

Today, imperialism separates countries into two groups: core and peripheral countries. On the one hand, peripheral countries are mainly former colonies such as African countries that supply primary goods, raw materials, and cheap, unskilled labour, and markets with their economies linked to the advanced core countries that are developed like those of Europe, Canada, the USA, etc. that control the production of manufactured goods, new and cutting edge technologies, skilled labour and finance capital. Note these are not necessarily all former colonizers. On the other hand, core countries include all developed and wealthy nations such as some European nations, the USA, Australia, Japan and Canada. They are all characterized by high levels of development, high *per capita* incomes and well-educated populations. They control and benefit substantially from the global market at the expense of peripheral countries. According to Oxfam's 2023 report, since 2020, the richest 1% have captured almost two-thirds of all new wealth - nearly twice as much money as the bottom 99% of the world's population. It observes further that billionaire fortunes are increasing by $2.7 billion a day. Food and energy companies more than doubled their profits in 2022,

paying $ 257 billion to wealthy shareholders, while over 800 million people went to bed hungry.

This was also replete during colonialism, where the colonial peripheries like Africa served as the source for raw materials and workforce to the colonial core. With the profits from exploiting colonial peripheries, the colonial enterprises that started as charter-owned and merchant enterprises speedily grew as capital accumulated and flourished. They ultimately evolved into huge multinational corporations that dominate many primary industries, creating many meaningful and high-quality jobs in colonial countries only (Williams, 1944). These colonial enterprises and their employees pay taxes to their mother countries while impoverishing Africa. In this way, and through the practice of cheap forced labour, imposition of taxes, monetization of African economies and exporting of natural resources, the colonizers made sure that Africans actually financed their oppression and laid the foundation for the fast development of the rich European nations that we see today, with their high standards of living. The high quality of development and human flourishing in Western and richer nations glaringly contrasts strongly with African underdevelopment furthered by this global division of labour. Expatiating on this international division of labour, Szentes (1983, p. 148) asserts "[…] but rather the building up of the colonial system, *the economically established colonialism* (i.e. the colonial of […]) that played the decisive role, therefore when exploring the present state of developing countries, we must also direct our attention to the latter, more precisely to the international division of labour and the changes brought about in it by colonialism."

Examples might suffice here to explain this point. It has been shown in the literature that the profit made from the slave trade and colonialism is one of the building blocks of some

globally visible and successful multinational corporations. Eric Williams (1944, p. 101), illustrating how capital accumulation from the slave trade offered numerous benefits to England and other Western countries, mentions some of their dominant companies like Barclays Bank and Lloyds of London, the banking and insurance behemoth respectively, and Unilever, whose roots go back to the Royal Niger Company founded during slave trade and colonialism in Africa. There are many more such examples throughout Europe and the Americas today.

With the demise of colonialism that stripped European colonizers of their total control over Africa and its human and natural resources, they faced the challenge of sustaining their multinational corporations in their mother countries dependent on capital accumulation from Africa. Risking losing all the resources and the related future profits, the former colonizers with the help of the USA, engineered the era of neocolonialism in post-independence Africa and after the end of World War 2, led by this Euro-American liberal alliance.

Neocolonialism refers to the state where former colonized countries after their independence are still in the thrall of their former colonizers that continue to exert economic, political, cultural and other pressures to their own benefits. Kwame Nkrumah (1965), describing neocolonialism, states “The essence of Neo-colonialism is that the State which is subjected to it is, in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.” It has been argued that the objectives and intent of neocolonialism were simply to use every means to keep control of Africa’s natural and human resources to ensure continued maximum profits for the Western capitalists at all costs. For instance,

Malcolm Ray (2021, p. 254) argues that “Washington’s readiness to fill the vacuum created by the end of colonialism […]” was aimed at the capture of strategic resources vital to US economic and national interest. He further argues that Euro-American neo-colonialists deploy their corporate enterprises and middlemen to enforce neocolonialism in Africa. For example, during the mid-1950s, a Belgian-American diamond middleman, Maurice Tempelsman, profited handsomely from exporting diamonds from Africa to America, which opened doors for the plunder of Africa’s raw resources by Americans (Ray, 2021, p. 254). According to Nkrumah (1965), following the Second World War, the USA became the foremost neo-colonial power globally using varied and subtle means including economics, politics, religion, ideology, and culture. Through global tentacles, Wall Street, the Pentagon, global Western monopoly corporations, the CIA and others constituted what he termed “Invisible Government” where measures like high-interest rates, multilateral aid through the IMF, preferential treaties in aviation, currencies, foreign exchange and worldwide shipping were used as mechanisms of neo-colonial exploitation of Africa and other continents.

In Africa, the period after World War 2 opened up further struggles for independence and created more violence and strife against the colonial powers. In Angola and Mozambique, major anti-colonial wars against Portugal intensified to gain independence. At the same time, there was strife and conflict among African politicians to gain control of the spoils of newly liberated countries that were suddenly available to Africans. In Nigeria, the civil war of 1967 broke out after formal decolonization from the United Kingdom in 1963. In Algeria, the war of independence against France and the process of decolonization were violent and plagued by war crimes. In Morocco, the “Revolution of the King and the People” brought back the then exiled King but did not end the French presence and influence in the country

including the right to station a French army in Morocco and a say in Moroccan foreign economic and financial policies (Susan Gillian Miller, 2013).

The majority of African countries were struggling with underdevelopment and poverty, which some African leaders believed to be caused solely by colonialism, capitalism and neocolonialism (Ray 2021). African leaders, like Patrice Emery Lumumba, the first prime minister of the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kwame Nwai Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and others rejected capitalism and neocolonialism in favour of socialism. In Ghana and Tanzania new approaches and systems of development were instituted. In Tanzania the communal system of Ujamaa was implemented as a socialist system where village cooperatives were established based on equality of opportunity and self-help to generate wealth in rural areas (Kibona *and* Woldegiorgis*,* 2022). This was based on the ideology on which social and economic nationalization would develop and increase the level of self-reliance and return to precolonial modes of socioeconomic development as opposed to the capitalist system and urban ways of life introduced by colonial powers. In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah introduced the philosophy and ideology for decolonization and development of Africa, based on a materialist conception of life, called Consciencism (Kwame Nkrumah, 1964). This has a particular reference to African revolutions and is based on egalitarian African societies. Nkrumah believed that philosophy was aimed at addressing social issues, be they economic or political. Consciencism was then aimed at addressing the pressing developmental needs of Africa, taking into account the histories of Islam, Christianity and capitalism plus the original African egalitarianism that had influenced it aiming to take the best and most useful aspects from all the influences.

Aside from the internal challenges (like undermining the differences that cut across Africa and its people) that these ideologies faced, it has been argued that they failed to live up to their promises because the Euro-American neo-colonialists promoted capitalism, globalization and democracy in order to sustain neocolonialism in postcolonial Africa (Ray, 2021). According to Ray (2021), these Euro-American neo-colonialists sometimes engage in open conspiracies to overthrow and assassinate the leaders of newly independent African countries; replacing them with compliant individuals that they will control to protect their capital interests and profits as was the case during the previous colonial era. He mentions the likes of Mobutu Sese Seko (1965-1997), former president of Zaire (today known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Joseph Kabila (2001-2019) former president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Moise Tshombe (1958-69) as such compliant individuals and puppets. Sese Seko in his engagement with his Belgian puppet masters realized the richness of African resources and their value to their economy. He was exposed to the fact that Africa has been exploited and plundered. He saw how his country was plundered to the benefit of Belgium. However, when he finally took over to lead the country, he continued the plunder. His cronies enriched themselves at the expense of the Congolese people, destroying the state's capacity while presiding over a corrupt system. During his tenure of 32 years leading the country he is reported to have embezzled between
$4 billion and $ 15 billion.

Perhaps the most important and pernicious feature of neocolonialism after independence was the use of financial and trade instruments, treaties and phony aid interventions, whose primary aim was to continue the enslaving of African countries and in most cases with the support of their governments, business and political elites under the weight of global

financial policies and corporations. However, these financial and trade instruments, treaties and phony aid interventions, first, were based on false premises and promises such as that exporting of raw materials and privatizing government assets will ultimately lead to African development. Secondly, instead of delivering their supposed benefits to African countries, they engendered more poverty and underdevelopment through aid, expensive loans from the IMF, IFC and private bankers, one-sided trade and investments, agreements and treaties leading to neo-liberal privatization programs. In fact, some of these are criminal scams, phantom transactions and outright manipulation of African economies to syphon billions of dollars' worth of African assets to foreign lands.

Richard Drayton of The Guardian (2005) states: "It is remarkable that none of those in Britain who talk about African dictatorship and kleptocracy seem aware that Idi Amin came to power in Uganda through British covert action, and that Nigeria's generals were supported and manipulated from 1960 onwards in support of Britain's oil interests." In equal measure Patrick Bond (2006, 34) has shown that "…debt relief was provided in such a way as to deepen, not to lessen, dependence and Northern control of Africa." Of course, they were ultimately backed by the Western countries' direct and proxy armies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the French army, and NATO. According to Professor Jean-Emmanuel Pondi of the Cameroon Institute for International Relations, Western nations were "above all vexed with Gaddafi because he refused to play the diplomatic game and sometimes embarrassed them in public" (Pondi, 2013). Therefore, they sent their army to overthrow and kill him. Since then, Libya has been engulfed in violent civil war and destruction.

Most of the valuable and large African resource deposits are owned by a few foreign global conglomerates with full backing from their governments despite their exploitative practices in Africa. For instance, Barrick Lumwana is “one of the four foreign companies that account for 80% of Zambian copper production” (Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, 2019, p. 7). Itself a subsidiary of Barrick Gold with major global interests, the company is fully backed by the Canadian government in its Zambian operation (Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, 2019). The benefits are always skewed in favour of the foreign companies and their governments using many underhand and exploitative schemes, including “wage disparities, tax incentives and capital flight through profit repatriation and offshoring” (Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, 2019, 22). All these sustain the exploitation of Africa.

At the same time, some African governments seem unable to protect Africa’s riches and defend their people’s interest against this Western and Asian looting. In many cases, some African governments, politicians and elites, it is claimed by Dambisa Moyo (2009), are willing conspirators in this looting by stealing and transferring millions earned from natural resources like oil and gas to foreign private banks through embezzlement, transfer pricing and under-invoicing within group companies. While this may not always be true, there is ample evidence such as claims by Transparency International (2019) that several Chinese companies have been accused of bribing senior government officials in Chad, Kenya and Uganda.

While US-lead Western liberal hegemony has been preaching investments, aid and growth in Africa, the reality and their practices are quite the opposite. Patrick Bond (2006, p.
37) points out that “[t]he role of the US in Africa – prior, during and after the Cold War

– is invariably tied to the corporate extraction of resources and backed by military might." The investments are usually one-sided and only aimed at extracting resources from Africa for exports to Western countries to enrich these foreign lands and their peoples.

It is the same with debt and loans, which leave African countries with endless repayments with interest and many other charges. As Bond (2006, p. 39) claims, "…Africa now repays more than it receives… so the Ponzi continued." Indeed, some major African banks including African Development Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, Zenith Bank, etc. are linked to international financial institutions through loans and shareholding or global regulations, and provide loans to local companies at usurious rates giving them huge returns and leading to further alienation of fruits of Africans' labour and the looting of Africa's resources Nqobile Nhlapo (2020). In so far as aid is concerned, Dambisa Moyo (2009) sees aid to Africa as including concessional loans and grants, because of their impact on Africa and having led to ruin of Africa. Moyo strongly suggests that, instead, aid should be replaced by trade and enterprise development. She claims that aid grew in parallel with corruption in countries that received it. Dictators received aid from the developed nations with no accountability leading to the looting of the aid and oppression of the African people. Indeed, Moyo (2009) believes that aid distorts markets, crowds out enterprises and leads to further poverty. In a similar vein, William Easterly (2006) sees aid as regressive and doing very little good primarily because it imposes top-down solutions that do not address the needs and requirements of small indigenous entrepreneurs. Foreign direct investment into Africa leads to benefits that accrue only to the foreigners, with little benefits for Africa and development. It is my claim that profits and proceeds from foreign investments as equity and debts are in any case always repatriated to Western and other countries in the form of

dividends, interest, fees, etc. Thus, most foreign investments today are not geared towards developing Africa but are geared towards further entrenching foreign economic domination and almost guaranteeing continued underdevelopment.

A similar thing happens with donor aid. It is always tied to vicious conditions that end up impoverishing the countries accepting it. These conditions may include reducing subsidies, privatization of state-owned entities and signing of unfavourable treaties. As Bond claims (2006, p. 33): "[I]ndeed, aid and arms spending are integrally linked, given that untied money is 'fungible': that is, what comes in for one purpose (such as housing or food) permits African states to increase spending for military or repressive purposes." Such arms would be used by some African political and business elites to suppress the poor and struggling African populations on behalf of foreign donors. Of course, some aid has positive and developmental impacts for the poor. Peter Singer (2019) posits that some aid has been successful in saving lives and improving the conditions of the needy. He states the requirements are that the aid must be managed and implemented properly without ulterior motives and must be directed at the right targets. Peter Singer identifies some private non government charities as the best run and effective in providing aid as opposed to the government organizations. In this regard, he states that these private charities are focused and transparent in pursuing their objectives of saving people's lives. .

Singer singles out certain private charities that do a number of things effectively and cheaply for the good of mankind by alleviating pain and suffering. Writing about this good aid, Peter Singer (2019) includes the following areas of charity as making a difference in the lives of people and thus making the world a better place for the poor: preventing malaria,

provision of Vitamin A supplements, prevention of malnutrition, and blindness prevention. His argument is that we ought to do more to save lives and prevent misery.

Many solutions including more foreign direct investments into Africa, increasing export of mined natural resources, ensuring installation of clean governance mechanisms, quality education and training and reduction of poverty and unemployment have been proposed from all sides, though with little attempt at implementation or commitment to them. Where they have been implemented enthusiastically, they lead to more underdevelopment. Foreign direct investment in Africa is itself corrupted and one sided and does not lead to quality jobs (Moyo, 2009). It is mainly aimed to extract cheap labour and natural resources at the cheapest prices, thus further impoverishing Africa. Incompetent and corrupt governance is encouraged by the investors themselves and is by and large perpetrated by the African corrupt government leaders who do not want to leave government positions and oppose democratic systems that will lead to clean governance (Bond, 2006). These solutions are merely publicized, ignored and forgotten. Indeed, Africa is said to be suffering from "the resource curse" (Burgis, 2015). This is not the truth but an excuse. Instead, the challenges facing post-independence Africa are caused by both internal and external forces. While the internal forces are corrupt African political leaders and some business and wealthy elites, the external causes are Euro-American neocolonialists and, recently, China, that loot African natural and human resources. As Burgis (2015, p.7) claims, "The resource curse is not merely some unfortunate economic phenomenon, the product of an intangible source; rather, what is happening in Africa's resource states is systematic looting." This implies that 'systematic looting' of Africa's resources instead of a resource curse is at the forefront of Africa's challenges. As already indicated, this looting is perpetrated by both the African leaders in

government, its officials and the investors who pay the bribes avoid taxes and export large parts of our natural resources at below market prices.

Examples of the internal causes of Africa's challenges are replete in social media and literature. On the 16th of August, 2012, the South African police shot and killed thirty-four mine workers at Lonmin Platinum mines in Marikana, near Rustenburg (South African History Online, 2012). Marikana is a poor black community where workers of this giant global platinum miner, Lonmin Platinum, which is listed on the London Stock Exchange, were protesting and striking for higher wages, improved working conditions and decent housing. This massacre hit international headlines for its brutality and scale. What was barely mentioned was the fact that most of the miners of Lonmin Platinum were migrant workers that were recruited on contract from poor rural and former homeland areas of old white South Africa, where millions of Africans were restricted by successive colonial and apartheid governments and prevented from legally residing and owning property in the 87% of South African land reserved for white people. Just as it was in the early colonial era, African mine workers are recruited and removed from their rural homes to work as cheap labour in the mines of global companies in places like Kimberly (for diamonds), Johannesburg (for gold) and Rustenburg (for platinum), where there are no adequate social and family amenities provided for African low wage workers (South African History Online). In fact, then and now, they are housed in hostels that are more like prison camps than dignified human dwellings (Jodi Pelders *et al.,* 2018).

One can easily juxtapose this unethical practice of Lonmin Platinum with the Jameson war that was perpetrated by Cecil John Rhodes in 1890 against the Ndebele people and their leader King Lobengula in pursuit of gold minerals and lands in the area that is Zimbabwe

today (Matthew Blackman *et al.,* 2021). Scores of Ndebele people were killed and removed from their land, which was eventually given to white settlers. As was common then, this was a private army pursuing not only Rhodes' profit motive but also enjoying the expressed support of the British and Cape Colony governments. Matthew Blackman and Nick Dall (2021, p. 93), writing on these events, recount: [a]nother writer at the time, Wilfred Blunt, referred to the Matabele War as the 'slaughter for trade'." Indeed, continued Blackman and Dall, "after Jameson's war, the farms, gold and cattle were divided among his men." In both examples cited above it is clearly demonstrated that both the Western colonial powers and the post-independence African leaders and their states were engaged in similar practices of social destruction and resource plunder against the interests of African people. Thus, both the external and internal causes are shown to have been devastating to Africa in comparable measures.

The corruption and incompetence of some current post-liberation governments and leadership all over Africa contribute to the destruction of the continent. Some post liberation governments loot income from oil, gas and minerals in their countries. Nigeria, for example, was known for its flourishing indigenous textile and cotton farming industries, significantly contributing a large chunk to its GDP, job creation and exports up to the late 1990s. In the mid-1980s, according to Burgis (2015), Nigeria had 175 textile mills. These mills were sourcing their cotton from Nigerian farmers. By the 2000s, only about 25 mills were still operating. Burgis (2015, p. 65) further states that "of the 350 000 people the industry employed in its heyday, making it comfortably Nigeria's most important manufacturing sector, all but 25 000 have lost their jobs. Imports comprise 85 per cent of the market, despite the fact that importing textiles is illegal." This is the result of the corruption of the African governments, their collaboration with the African business elites and the globalized

impact of importing cheap Chinese textiles at the expense of protecting and supporting African industries, exports and jobs. The Nigerian textile industry has almost collapsed. Burgis continues: “[A]bout half of the million farmers who used to grow cotton to supply textile mills no longer do so…” This is a similar situation in Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly the Belgian Congo/Zaire), Angola and many other African countries with huge natural resources. Despite these countries having large agricultural land, excellent climate conditions, rich and diverse soils, and excellent rains, agriculture has been destroyed together with any potential processioning industry that agriculture can support.

Furthermore, the corrupt African elites in business and government have demonstrated a most uncaring and selfish ethic to the broader society. They have led by appalling examples where they only use their positions and powers to amass resources for their personal enrichment in the form of theft, deceit, nepotism and favouritism with utter disregard for merit in employment and tenders. As leaders, elites and role models in society, they have infected the whole moral ethos with these behaviors. They have eroded the society's trust and confidence in them and the institutions they lead. Their actions demonstrated to the broader communities that, in the newly liberated democratic countries, crime pays and that if you are a member of the ruling elite, you can commit any crime with impunity. These elites became role models for selfish unbridled corruption, encouraging and promoting the breakdown of all moral norms and laws against corruption and crime. This descent into lawlessness and immorality directly destroys harmony, cohesion and belief within the community. Thus, it is the norm today in South Africa to see community members stealing electricity, destroying railway lines and electricity cables and looting schools and clinics because they know they can get away with it. Many of them, hoping to hide their criminal

and immoral actions, blame fellow African migrants and engage in outright xenophobic utterances in a vain attempt to hide their crimes with little, or no, consequences. Mozambique's African News reported in December 2019 that twenty civil servants were detained for over $6.4 million ghost payments. In 2010, a former minister was sentenced to 20 years for involvement in a $1.7 million theft of government money, again in Mozambique. In Angola, the National Asset Recovery Service reported in 2023 that the government recovered over $5 billion in embezzled assets in and outside the country. The Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune reported in January 2023 that about $36 billion in embezzled funds were recovered from a family home.

As an example from the Nugent Commission of Inquiry, Bain & Company (Bain) was involved in dismantling and corrupting the South African Revenue Services; the tax-collecting arm of the state. Bain started by securing the tender contract through fraud, corruption and preferential treatment by the government and senior SARS leadership. Having secured the corrupt tender, Bain hid a number of serious transgressions, masterminded the state capture in SARS and repurposed the state institutions to its advantage and that of its acolytes in government. Bain colluded with the President of the country and his acolytes to capture the state institution for corrupt profits Beth Timmins (2022).

The above dire situations in Africa need moral overhauling. Both internal and external causes of African underdevelopment like corruption and capitalist neo-colonialist exploitation are the result of moral decadence. Many writers and thinkers including Karl Marx (1991) and H.G Wells (1895) believe that capitalism and access to unfettered power necessarily lead to social disparities within communities, creating classes directly causing moral decadence. Thus, both internal and external causes of underdevelopment in Africa are the results of

moral decay. Moral decadence is a state of decline and decay in morality and ethical standards in society particularly by those in power and wealth, and it is characterized by selfishness, self-indulgence in luxury, abuse of power, behavioral depravity and total disregard and contempt of the poor and weak. Capitalist (neo)colonial exploitation and African elite leadership corruption are classic symptoms of this moral decadence. With good moral and ethical standards, good governance and leadership within and among the global corporate and African business leaders, the continent could be the breadbasket of the world and commence its long road to fair economic and social development for the benefit of its people, environment and the world at large.

Chapter 3: Plausible Ethical Foundations for International Investment in Africa.

In this chapter, I will critically engage with three ethical theories that would plausibly under gird moral and mutually beneficial relationships between African countries and rich foreign nations trading and investing in Africa. The overall objective and benefit of my critical engagement is to elucidate their theoretical frameworks, suggest possible applications, consider possible criticisms of each and respond to such criticisms and show why they are important to this research. I have selected among many theories the three most commonly known in sub-Saharan Africa and Anglophone countries. These three theories are Kantian ethics, Utilitarian ethics, and the African relational ethics of Ubuntu. These ethical theories provide a robust framework for making ethical decisions and judgments.

In structuring this chapter I will proceed as follows. I will define each of the theories, tabulate what each states, elucidate its key principles, discuss how it could be applied and how it can be transgressed in practice. Finally, I will give practical examples on how and where it has been transgressed and how it can be implemented and its requirements.

3.1. Kantian Ethics. The Kantian ethical theory stipulates that the morality of an action depends on duty that is based on the principles that each of us must have to be human. This duty is universal and absolute. Kant argues that right actions are morally permissible if they are made out of commitment and sense of duty. Secondly, Kantian ethics demands that such an action be applied universally without discrimination. The key idea of Kantian ethics is that of the Categorical Imperative. Kantian ethics is deontological as opposed to consequential. Thus, it is the characteristics of the action and not the outcome that matters in Kantian

ethics. The Kantian ethical theory was developed and espoused by Immanuel Kant, a German philosopher and an important enlightenment thinker. His influence still persists in the philosophy of morals to this day.

Kantian ethics focuses on setting down specific rules that a rational agent ought to comply with in acting morally. It prescribes how we ought to live as human beings in explicit terms. As a deontological normative philosophy it rejects the Utilitarian premise that right action is a function of the goodness of its outcomes. It is based on motives rather than outcomes and actions. It states that we should treat everyone, including ourselves, as ends in themselves, not as mere means or tools at our disposal without their consent. It further requires that we transcend ourselves and overcome our self-interested limits by adopting a larger perspective that includes concern for other human beings. Such an approach recognizes the intrinsic value, dignity and autonomy of rational human beings with consciousness and agency. Explicating this point, Allen W. Wood (2008, p. 85) asserts that "In Kantian ethics, the fundamental value is humanity or rational nature as an end in itself." This is the essence of Kant's Categorical Imperative from the *Groundwork for The* Metaphysics *of Morals*. The Categorical Imperative in one of its formulations states: Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or anyone else's, never merely as a means, but also always as an end.." Immanuel Kant (2019, p. 42). This means that at all times you ought to treat not only yourself but everyone else with respect, dignity and recognize their inherent value as human beings. Avoid abusing, cheating and using other people without their consent at all times in your interactions.

Four moral principles are central to Kantian ethics. These principles are: individual autonomy of the human being, the rationality of the human being, the humanity of the human being and the idea of the Categorical Imperative. Firstly, the principle of autonomy is

regarded as the freedom to act without coercion but within the laws that a given community has rationally agreed upon collectively. This is binding to the members of the community in a positive light. It gives moral authority to certain agreed principles and norms of behaviour and actions. From this comes mutual respect and cooperation among community members as rational agents.

Secondly, the principle of rationality is the ability to act with reason and common sense, fairly and justifiably. It is the capacity for a person with autonomy, first to act freely for a reason and, secondly, responsibly. Rationality is fundamental to a human being, and uniquely differentiates her from other non-human sentient beings. On the two principles, Russ Shafer-Landau (2012, p. 171) asserts, “Kant argues that rationality and autonomy support the dignity of each human being, and that everyone is owed a level of respect because of these traits.” It is therefore rationality and autonomy that imbues us with dignity as human beings and, thus, with our humanity.

Thirdly, the principle of humanity encompasses the intrinsic value that human beings have by virtue of being humans thus recognizing and accepting that humans have value above all other sentient beings. It encompasses the human rational nature and her reflective consciousness from which we perceive our value as human beings based on our rational nature. This principle demands of us that we rise above our self-interests and overcome the limits of individualism and our desires based on humility and respect for humanity. In Kantian terms, this is self-transcendence and valuing humanity above all else. Clarifying this point, Robert Stern (2015, p. 63) asserts “We are now in a position to see what that modest transcendental argument is meant to be, where all that it intends to establish qua transcendental argument is that we must value our own humanity.” We, therefore, value our

humanity first before we can value the humanity of others as equals deserving of respect, dignity, fairness and equal treatment.

Fourthly, the Categorical Imperative commands us to; "Act only on that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it should be a universal law" (Kant, 1785, p. 30). In essence, it demands that what you do must be tested against the wish that it can be done to you too in a universalized manner. Thus, Norman E. Bowie (2017, p. 9) posits that "the categorical imperative functions as a test to see if the principle (maxim) on which an action is based is morally permissible." If the Categorical Imperative principle is satisfied then that action is permissible morally, and in other words you are treating other people and yourself with respect and fairness.

There are criticisms to this principle of the Categorical Imperative, one of which is that it is rule-based and thus formulaic, prescriptive and rigid (O'Neil *et al.,* 2011). However, as a result of this rule's rigidity, I assert that it removes the role of human bias, emotions, and personal relationships by insisting that we treat everyone in an impartial manner irrespective of the relationship and conditions we find ourselves in. This is a good thing, because it advocates for dispassionate, equal treatment of people. In fact, it ensures impartiality and fairness which is what we seek by the right action. It prevents us from acting inhumanely even unto our enemies. This may be difficult to accomplish in emotional situations because we must treat with dignity and respect even those who have oppressed and killed our people, otherwise we will end up having rules and morals applicable to our friends and others applicable to our enemies. This will be morally impermissible and unjust.

Treating people with respect and dignity as an end in themselves means that we must not deceive them, we must not use coercion or force them to do or act involuntarily against their

best interests as this will be using them as tools. We must not engage in acts that will endanger their lives and lead to their misery. These are the practical implications of the Categorical Imperative.

For my research, this matters because both the international investors and African leaders have not applied this principle of the Categorical Imperative in dealing with Africa and its peoples. They have taken advantage of African peoples through exploitation,
coercion deceit and violence.

Global mining and finance corporations like Glencore International and Barrick Lumwana, as in the Zambian case below for example, dictate terms of trade to weak African countries, refusing to pay fair taxes, using tax avoidance and transfer pricing measures. According to WarOnWant “In 2011, five Non Government Organizations (NGO) filed a complaint to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) against
Mopani, claiming that Glencore’s activities were violating the OECD’s Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. Yet the OECD’s final ruling was inconclusive.” They force on them terms and policies that are largely not to the benefit of the African countries that they do business with. Illuminating this, and using the World Bank mid-2005 Report, Bond (2006, p. 56) posits: “A slight upturn… should not disguise the profoundly unequal and unfair system of export-led growth, which has impoverished Africans in many ways […] the Bank calculates that much of Africa is poorer, not wealthier than it would have been without this emphasis on the export of primary products.” Most Western and foreign corporate entities emphasize and insist on export-led growth for the development of Africa, despite the shortcomings identified by the World Bank above. They do this while insisting that the government must not interfere in free enterprise activities and that they must leave everything economic to

the market and emphasizing exporting raw materials from Africa that benefit only themselves and the Western foreign nations at the expense of Africa (Burgis, 2015).

Treating someone with humanity and respect on the basis of the Categorical Imperative engenders justice and fairness, as stated above. Such treatment seems to be lacking in some Western foreign investments in African countries that sometimes impose their will and power on Africa, thereby fostering unequal relationships and undermining Africa's sovereignty. The danger of this unequal relationship is that it not only threatens Africa's autonomy to make decisions regarding their natural resources without external interference, but it also creates an unfair and unjust atmosphere where Africa and its people are treated as mere means to access cheap raw material.

At this juncture, it is important to ask: How would Kantian ethical principles of autonomy, rationality, humanity, and the Categorical Imperative ensure a morally acceptable investor-investee relationship in Africa? If we were to create an equal and equitable investor-investee relationship in Africa that would affirm Africa's sovereignty, the four Kantian principles become crucial. The following are plausible ways in which these principles could ground foreign investment in developing African countries.

First, Western nations and their corporate business entities that operate in Africa ought to accept the autonomy and rationality of African governments and their people. Secondly, there is a need to accept the humanity of Africans as equal to the humanity of any other group since we all share a common humanity. Thirdly, there ought to be an end to the unequal and unfair treatment of African people and countries by Western and global corporations and their leaders and boards of companies. Fourthly, African leaders and elites likewise should treat African people with respect and dignity. They should work towards the

well-being of the African people they lead, stop plundering and looting African resources for their own needs, and stop fanning wars and divisions among its tribes. They must consult with the people they lead and subject themselves to the democratic processes, decisions and will of the people. Above all, they should strive to use their countries' resources for the benefit of all citizens and use the governments they lead as protectors of the interests of African people.

However, humans are not automatically inclined to act morally and ethically simply because of their autonomy and rationality. We have our desires and inclinations that can prevent us from acting morally. These can make us act in selfish ways just as global corporations are doing to African countries. These corporations are driven by greed for huge profits and share prices while their executives and boards are driven by large salary packages, fees, bonuses and share options available to them as incentives based on company profitability. Acting morally and ethically requires effort and work. This means that rational steps need to be taken to act morally. In this case, the practical steps that can be taken to address this can include the following:

a) Direct benefits to the communities in the form of jobs, services and taxes. Fair and equitable remuneration to the employees of the company. Ensuring that the firm activities do not damage the environment it operates in and where this happens corrective and preventive actions are taken.

b) Opening up to transparency and scrutiny all the agreements, incentives and bonuses of management and tying these directly to the impact of the company on the community where it operates, and the positive or negative impact it makes to the environment.

c) Concerted efforts must be made to educate and train the management and employees of the companies in ethics and moral principles and monitor the practices of

the global corporations to ensure that unethical behaviour is prevented and effectively punished.

The Categorical Imperative also implies the avoidance of injustice both in practice and in the design and implementation of social and economic policies and programs by governments and other authorities. Policies should foster dignity, justice and fairness among people. These policies should not and cannot ignore the economic and social interests of the society at large. We know that injustices, poverty and unfairness originate from the lack of economic opportunities and skewed distribution of natural and economic resources. Therefore, a state should not ignore such a vital component of a society when in many cases it is the only institution that can take action against exploitation, unfairness and injustice in accessing economic benefits.

A legitimate state, through its leaders and officials, has a moral duty, power and authority to act decisively to ensure that the economic interests of all its citizens are provided for equitably and fairly, and that citizens are equally protected against exploitation and abuse to ensure transparent and equal playing fields within society. These are some of the ways in which the government can avoid a state of general injustice against the majority of its citizens.

We, therefore, have to act rationally based on our experiences and collective knowledge as human beings, crafting our laws so that we can live together in a just and fair society. Such a society would not discriminate against, vilify, oppress or exploit other human beings, but give just and fair treatment to all according to commonly agreed moral norms and interests.

Onara O'Neil argues that we must conceive of ourselves as moral agents with free will to act within the environment we live in to improve our collective lot as humanity. For him, "Kant

argues that free will and natural causality are compatible, provided that human freedom - the capacity to act autonomously - is not taken to be an aspect of the natural world" (O'Neil, 1993, p. 176). However, this line of reasoning is controversial and hard to understand. It is my claim that human freedom is an aspect of the natural world, along with rationality and morality.

With the above in mind, I turn now to the business perspective of these Kantian laws.

Norman E. Bowie (2017) sees in the firm a moral community founded on the principle of The Kingdom of Ends formulation of the Categorical Imperative. He contends that, in the firm, like in society at large, human beings interact as individual persons in many cooperative ways but also most importantly as moral agents with autonomy, rationality and demonstrating mutual trust within their collective. These factors are a prerequisite for success in their objectives that must be agreed among themselves. Bowie (2017, p. 82) then asserts "This means that an organization, whatever its purpose, should be governed by morality." Being a moral community, every business should be governed by laws made by human beings. These laws are self-legislated and publicly acceptable in the community and institution, be it business or country. With this position then, self-legislation and acceptance of the laws are taken to be morally binding. Bowie (2017, p. 82) then asserts that "[w]hen the rules that govern the organization are acceptable to all, everyone in the organization would be sovereign with respect to the law. However, since the laws that govern the interaction of the members of the organization apply to all persons, members of the organization are also subject to the law." In this way, the organization is a moral entity because it satisfies the first two formulations of the Kantian Categorical Imperative : First, always treat persons, including yourself as ends in themselves, never merely as a means to

your own ends; and, secondly, act only on that maxim that you can will it to be a universal law. Therefore, if these laws are publicly acceptable, “they can be objective for every rational being.” Bowie (2017, p. 83). Meaning that they will be justifiable as rational and ethical by all.

Illustrating these Kantian ethics in practice, Bowie outlines the following principles for what he calls a “Moral Firm”:

- In any decision it takes the moral firm must consider the interests of all affected.
- All those to be affected by any policy must be consulted in the determination of the policies to get their endorsement as stakeholders.
- No one stakeholder should have their interests take priority over those of any other.
- Transparent procedures are needed to govern relationships of stakeholders in terms of justice and fairness for all involved.
- Managers of a profit making Moral Firm have a duty of beneficence to society at large to practise corporate social responsibility.

3.2. Utilitarian ethics. Utilitarian ethics is a variant of consequentialism, an ethical approach that considers the morality of an action to be based on the results or consequences of such an action. For Utilitarian ethics, the motive of an agent does not matter. Utilitarian ethics were developed and espoused initially as an ethical theory by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. It stipulates that an action is morally right if its outcome promotes goodness or pleasure for a maximum number of people affected by the action. As opposed to Kantian ethics, motive or duty of the agent does not matter when determining the rightness of an action.

Utilitarian ethics focuses on the outcome or consequence of an action. The theory posits that an action is right and morally permissible if and only if it maximizes benefits and good

for the most affected people. According to Robert E. Goodin (1993, p. 245), “When our actions will affect various people in various different ways, it is the characteristically Utilitarian conclusion that the right action is that which maximizes utility.” Therefore, such consequential benefits must be spread equitably among the maximum number of persons. There are different types into which Utilitarianism is categorized, including Act Utilitarianism, Rule Utilitarianism and Preference Utilitarianism. Act Utilitarianism is based on the outcomes of individual actions assessing them on their expected benefit. It assesses each action separately considering its effect on happiness or pleasure to be achieved. Act Utilitarians aim for an action that will give maximum utility therefore it seeks the best results for each action for all in an impartial manner. Rule Utilitarianism, on the other hand, adopts a two part approach. First, it aims for an action that conforms to a certain moral rule. Second it recognizes the need to maximize utility over all other actions possible. Thus, in this case, the moral rule and the outcome of the action are equally important considerations. Preference Utilitarianism, unlike the first two types of Utilitarianism that value outcomes or consequences of actions, values the actual action that maximizes desired satisfaction. There is a prior specific desired result that is aimed for that is specifically preferred by a group of to be affected people in this case.

The following are the main fundamental principles of Utilitarian ethics. First, it focuses on the consequences of an action, not necessarily the action itself except in the case of Preference Utilitarianism. Secondly, Utilitarian ethics aims at maximizing good outcomes. Thirdly, such outcomes must be shared equally among all those affected by the action without any bias. In essence, it means that all people must be treated equally without discrimination. Indeed, Peter Singer (2009, p. 5) asserts that “[t]he principle of the equality

of human beings is not a description of an alleged actual equality among humans: it is a prescription of how we should treat human beings." The fourth principle is that the welfare of all people is equal and that this welfare or good is the only intrinsically valuable thing. William Shaw (2006, p. 10) posits that Utilitarians consider "happiness or, more broadly, well-being to be the only thing that is good in itself or valuable for its own sake." For the Utilitarians, according to Shaw, the well-being of any person is neither more nor less valuable than the well-being of any other person.

This prescription, according to Singer (2009), is that we must afford to each individual moral consideration not because they are human beings *per se,* not because of their rationality, but because of their legitimate interests and resultant needs. Singer further claims that all sentient beings deserve moral consideration because they can suffer pain and experience joy. It is this ability for pain and joy that gives them moral standing. At the heart of this moral consideration is the protection and defence of those interests and their needs, whatever they may be.

Each animal, each person, each society and each nation have different interests and needs that must be protected. The Utilitarian theory of right action prescribes that these interests ought to be given equal moral consideration even though they may differ widely. Europeans have interests and Africans have their own interests. All these do differ and may coincide and/or conflict, but all ought to be given equal moral standing and consideration. That is the heart of the Utilitarian view.

My focus here is on the Preference Utilitarianism of Peter Singer. Preference Utilitarianism posits that the greatest good or happiness will result from an action that satisfies people's preferences. Even in the case of Preferential Utilitarianism, the preferences of different people count equally. No preference of anyone counts more than the preferences of others.

Indeed, the fundamental problem of the capitalist system that spawned colonialism, neocolonialism and globalization is this lack of moral consideration of the interests of other peoples, societies and nations. The preferred interests of external Western peoples and their corporations and the internal African leaders and elites are regarded as more important than the preferred interests of African people and their countries. From the Utilitarian ethical standpoint, there is a need to overhaul both this capitalist system and the corrupt leadership ethos of African leaders and elites to treat all interests and individuals equally and fairly. That overhauling would alleviate the suffering and pain that arises from the lopsided relationships in the capitalist system in which Africa only produces cheap raw and human resources.

Furthermore, Singer (1972) argues that we have a moral obligation to prevent pain and suffering whenever they occur without sacrificing anything of comparable moral worth. As he puts it, Singer (1972, p. 235) asserts "[I]f it is in our power to prevent something very bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything else morally significant, we ought, morally, to do it." By extension, I argue that this obligation heavily lies on those that benefit from such suffering and pain in pursuit of their interests. On this ground, the Western nations and their global corporations, whose actions exploit and plunder Africa's raw and human resources (see chapter 2 of this research report), have the moral obligation to end such suffering and pain. Doing so will not result in them sacrificing anything of comparable moral worth. As Singer (1972, p. 237) points out: "[F]rom the moral point of view, the prevention of the starvation of millions of people outside our society must be considered at least as pressing as the upholding of property norms within our society." This argument applies equally to the corrupt African leaders that disregards the interests of the African

people, looting their countries to the detriment of Africa benefiting only themselves, their families and few acolytes. African leaders today cause millions of their compatriots to die of hunger, in wars they create and by corrupt decisions and actions.

There are a number of criticisms that are usually cited against Utilitarianism. First, because it focuses on total utility it is said to be partial against the minority because it puts the interest of the majority above those of the minority during moral consideration. The minority who may lack some capability may therefore not get justice (Amartya Sen, 2004). Preference Utilitarianism is still consequential, but relative. It aims to achieve the preferred interests of those directly affected and thus the right action impacts directly the conditions and preferences of those involved. In this way, the gap between the majority and the minority may be filled by satisfying different preferences. Given that preferences differ widely even the minorities that may not be satisfied by act and rule Utilitarianism will find their preferences addressed to some extent. An example here is that of the prohibition of killing. For someone who is terminally ill, it may be morally right to allow voluntary euthanasia if the terminally ill person prefers to die rather than stick to the dogma of “thou shall not kill ” and endure a traumatic and painful life. Secondly, another variant of Utilitarianism, Act Utilitarianism, may approve of acts that are clearly wrong, for example killing one individual to benefit the majority. It is also regarded as too demanding as it requires an excessive level of sacrifice.

My response to criticism of Utilitarianism is that it does not mean that we must suspend judgment as rational agents. Thus, the context of each situation needs to be taken into account and each agent is required to apply moral rational judgement and not just follow the given principle or rule slavishly.

However, I support and agree with the criticism that Utilitarianism can be partial as it focuses on the interest of the majority at the expense of the minority in its maximization of goodness. A minority interest may not be satisfied by an action. In this case the criticism may be valid in many situations where even Preference Utilitarianism may not fill all the gaps.

3.3. The African Relational Ethics of Ubuntu.

The African relational ethics of Ubuntu encompasses a wide range of belief systems of the peoples of (Southern) Africa. According to Mogobo Ramose (1999), Ubuntu is both the source and embodiment of ethics of Bantu speaking people and is about being human. Being human is to affirm one's humanity by recognizing others' humanity. This reciprocal process is continuous, endless, and evolving and is part of the history of the African people. Ubuntu is understood as "be-ing" human and often expressed as "umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu," meaning "a person is a person because of other people." For Ramose, Ubuntu demonstrates African rationality, authentic identity and cultures. Ramose posits that Ubuntu should be presented as a hyphenated word: "ubu-ntu," with "ubu" meaning the idea of "be-ing". Similarly, Ndumiso Dladla (2017, p. 50) construes Ubuntu as "be-ing Human or humanness rather than humanism" and is the philosophical foundation of African philosophy among Bantu speaking people. According to him, Ubuntu is simultaneously gerund and gerundive.

In South Africa, the primacy of Ubuntu as a way and value of life encompassing humanity, justice and humaneness has been espoused and propagated by luminaries such as Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu (Buckingham, 2022) and Yvonne Mokgoro (1998) among others.

African relational ethics of Ubuntu posits that in a moral and fair society, the individual is the product of the society to which he/she belongs, in addition to his/her innate character as a

unique individual. It, therefore, focuses on social cohesion and harmony as its major objective and on seeing individuals as integral parts of their society and the environment. Proponents of this ethical view like Ramose (1999), Douglas Taylor (2014), Dladla (2017) and Thaddeus Metz (2017) claim that at the heart of Ubuntu is the importance of the individual as a person, the society where the person belongs and the overall environment they inhabit. Equally important is the requirement that one ought to treat other individuals in a way that expresses social solidarity, cohesion and the common good. The key emphasis of all these authors is the survival of all of the community within their environment and the cooperation of individuals in it. This cooperation and interdependence encompasses individual persons, the community as a whole and their natural environment, including both animate and inanimate spheres.

At the core of Ubuntu is the implicit and explicit recognition of the idea that it is the individual's relationship with his/her community, culture, knowledge systems and history that shapes her personhood. The reverse is also true; the community expects a person imbued with personhood to contribute positively to shaping the community and other people in the community. Personhood encompasses a moral system and disposition for evaluating human lives with virtue or moral excellency in the African tradition of Ubuntu. The thriving and faltering of the individual is interlinked with that of his/her community and vice versa. This creates mutual interdependence of the individual, community and environment at large.

In this sense, separating the individual from the community is impossible and vice versa. They are seen and should be seen as integral and mutually connected. The community, its

culture and systems of society contribute not only to the values and outlook but also to the person's identity.

In his essay, "Defining Ubuntu for Business Ethics: A Deontological Approach," Taylor (2014, p. 338) articulates and formulates an Ubuntu theory of right action thus: "An action is right insofar as it promotes cohesion and reciprocal value among people. An action is wrong insofar as it damages relationships and values of any individual or group." In other words, a morally good action is one that improves individual members through strong communal bonding/relationship, and collective conditions of the whole community and ensures that the environment is protected. Also, Metz (2017) formulates a theory of right action that states: "[A]n action is right just insofar as it promotes shared identity among people grounded on good-will; an act is wrong to an extent that it fails to do so and tends to encourage the opposite, relationships of division and ill will." This theory emphasizes harmonious relationship, friendship, solidarity, and "shared identity."

What is central to both Taylor's and Metz's Ubuntu theory of right is communal relationships. In a way, a right action promotes harmony (shared identity and solidarity) in communal relationships, and a wrong action is the one that fails to do so. This differs from the dominant Western approaches, where the focus is on the individual and his/her autonomy as divorced and separated from his/her community and environment. In pointing out this difference, Metz argues that Ubuntu is not welfare promotion like Utilitarianism but aims to realize one's humanity and valuable nature, especially his/her ability to engage in friendly communal relationships. He maintains that each person has an obligation to support and help others as a way of solidifying, identifying and sharing goodwill with others. This shows that while some dominant Western ethical theories emphasize individual welfare, the

African relational ethics of Ubuntu emphasizes friendly communal relationships. The African relational ethics of Ubuntu is a collective, interactive and mutually influencing process between individuals and their community. It entails compassion and caring for the interests and lives of others while prizing communal relationships. Also, it promotes harmonious relationships among humans and their natural environment, communal cultures and traditions.

A number of criticisms have been leveled against Ubuntu. The first is that it lacks a solid foundation and framework making it vague and unclear in meaning. Foremost among these critics are Nyasha Mboti (2015) and Christian B. Gade (2012). Secondly, it is criticized for focusing on collectivist needs at the expense of individual freedoms and interests. Thirdly, its critics posit that it is anachronistic as it belongs to a period and conditions of the past with no relevance to the current contemporary situation, and thus it is misplaced. The proponents of the anachronism critique of Ubuntu include Bernard Matolino and Wenceslaus Kwindingwi (2013) who argue that Ubuntu is not viable as a political model and is an “outdated form of life that is suited to undifferentiated, small and close-knit communities.”

I disagree with these criticisms and find them to be unfair and biased with no justification on the following grounds. First, I claim that like any philosophy Ubuntu is based among others on the study and understanding of basic ideas about knowledge, meaning and nature of life and existence. Secondly, Ubuntu like other philosophies seeks knowledge and appreciation of the right and the wrong practices in a given society. Thirdly, Ubuntu as a philosophy is therefore an expression and perception of history, worldview and experiences of its peoples, cultures and how they progressed and survived. Ubuntu is cumulative in content

and subject to continuous adaptation as it evolves. This reflects its many foundations at many points in its historical times and different locales. Therefore Ubuntu, intimately linked to its languages, is necessarily open to argumentation, development and exploration in endless streams of knowledge and knowing.

I reject the criticism of the lack of foundation. Ubuntu has a solid foundation based on the history, culture and ways of living and survival of the African people. Part of the culture of African people is its philosophy that includes its ethics, norms and customs. The evolution and development of African peoples and societies are reflected as part of the culture that includes their philosophy.

I also reject the criticism of vagueness. Ubuntu is a distinct and clear philosophy that has a history. It may be that the apparent vagueness is due to the changes that have taken place over time due to industrialization and urbanization imposed by other cultures and philosophies from foreign lands dominating our social system. Colonialism, racism and other forms of domination have had a negative impact on Ubuntu, stunting and perhaps reversing its development. However, that does not mean it is vague as a philosophy.

Ubuntu has many variants, and African philosophers also bring their individual nuances and emphases to their interpretations. For example, I prefer the interpretation and articulation of Taylor (2014, p. 338) to that of Thaddeus Metz (2017, p. 115) for the following reasons. First, I believe the concept of 'shared identity' in Metz's formulation is restrictive to humanity and may have discriminatory overtones. Not all identities are shared even among Africans because people come from very different histories, backgrounds and ways of living, including different religions. People differ in languages, cultures, social norms and belief

systems. All of these contribute towards different identities. All of these make for various identities that are not always shared within the same community.

On the basis of many variants of Ubuntu and different emphases, I accept the conceptions of Ubuntu as articulated by Taylor. In my view, person hood is drawn from both individual and communal influences. Communities are made up of different people who may identify differently with some of the aspects or values of the community, but those still make up part of that community irrespective of their different values that may not be shared by all in every respect. A case in point all over the world today is the issues of discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community. Certain communities reject them and act to exclude and harass them. At the end of the day, though, they are part of our communities and have been for a long time. Some, even the majority, may not share and approve of their identity and practice, but that does not exclude them from our community, because they remain our children, parents or siblings .

Chapter 4: **Debating the Moral Obligation for International Investment in Developing African Countries and African Leaders.**

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In this chapter, I will extend my argument to demonstrate that international investors have a moral obligation to invest in African countries for Africa's development. I will draw from the ethical theories discussed in the previous chapter to argue for an ethical investor investee relationship in Africa. This must also include moral and ethical obligations by African leaders towards their peoples and countries.

It is now over 530 years after European slavery and colonialism began, and Africa ranks as one of the least-developed continents in the world (Mutuku 2018). According to some scholars, economists and historians, including Kwame Nkrumah, Patrick Bond, Tom Burgis, Sampie Terreblanche and Walter Rodney, from the inception of the colonial era, Africa has been growing poorer relative to all other continents that have been continuously and progressively developing, such as Asia and South America, which were, like Africa, colonised. This is despite the proven rich natural resources and human endowments, such as its growing youthful population, that are present in Africa. According to Burgis (2015), it is the richest continent in natural resources but also the poorest in development, with 30% of the world's oil and minerals, 14% of the world's population and 43% of the world's poor population. Demonstrating this regression, Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson (2017, p. 81), when assessing the history and impact of colonialism globally, assert: "[R]etracing our

steps 500 years […] we see little inequality and small difference between poor and rich countries (perhaps a factor of four). Now the differences are a factor of more than 40, if we compare the richest to the poorest countries in the world; African countries seem to be the most economically affected." This means since initial colonization Africa has regressed in terms of development by all measures.

At the same time, Africa has a large complement of natural resources, with many international corporations holding large investments in the continent's vast stores of oil, gas and many other natural resources. As shown in earlier chapters, these resources have been exploited through colonialism, unfair trade and investment agreements and relationships, globalization, neocolonialism and continuous destabilization of African countries by rich foreign nations to develop and enrich their countries to the detriment of Africa. As Acemoglu and Robinson (2017, p. 81) posit, "[t]he immense economic inequality we observe in the world today didn't happen overnight, or even in the past century. It is […] one of the most important of which has been European colonialism." This means that Africa's underdevelopment has man-made causes including, among others, enduring colonialism, poor leadership and corruption.

However, this lopsidedness of international investment should not call for the end of existing foreign investment in African countries. It should also not mean that African countries should stop allowing foreign investment in Africa. While one might argue that these would be a quick fix to the one-sided international investment in African countries, I contend that African countries need foreign investment for the continent's development, albeit not in its current form. I argue that this one-sided international investment calls for an ethical overhaul (see chapters 2 and 3 of this research report) that would promote moral investor-

investee relationships through fair trade in Africa. In the following, I will demonstrate how Kantian ethics, Utilitarian ethics and African relational ethics of Ubuntu would promote a moral investor-investee relationship in Africa aimed at developing African countries.

4.1.0. Ethical Obligations from the Kantian Perspective

From a Kantian ethical standpoint, the failure of large and global corporations to listen and consult the employees and communities in which they do business, as well as customer and worker exploitation through, for instance, poor product quality, lower salaries, poor working conditions and disrespectful treatment are contrary to the principles of humanity and the Categorical Imperative discussed in Chapter 3 of this research report. Also, by deceiving workers, customers and communities through practices of poor working conditions and environmental damage. Likewise, the refusal to acknowledge damage to the environment and the source of its inputs; treating workers and surrounding communities with disrespect and enforcing one-sided rules and policies on African governments and employees are all practices that are directly opposite to the principles of rationality, autonomy and humanity. These actions would be morally impermissible from the Kantian ethical perspective because they undermine Africa's sovereignty and the autonomy of its people, thereby continuously degrading them.

The principles of Kantian ethics include recognizing each person's intrinsic value, humanity and rationality while treating them with dignity and respect at all times (see chapter 3 of this research report). On this ground, Africa, its people, communities and environment ought to be treated as an end in themselves and not as mere tools at the disposal of global

corporations and African leaders. Further, foreign investors ought to consider the interests of Africans in all matters that affect them and respect the autonomy and sovereignty, African nations.

Also, fair treatment in wage and salary determination and good employment practices ought to form the basis of the leadership and overall strategy of foreign corporations in African countries. This is important because many corporations exploit African workers through poor working conditions and lower discriminatory payments by race or gender (see Chapters 1 and 2 of this research report). This is exemplified by the case of Lonmin Platinum in South Africa where Africans were killed while striking for better wages and living conditions (see chapter 2). There are many more such foreign corporations that often engage in damaging action including polluting the African environment in which they operate, leaving behind damaging mining dumps and mines, poisoned waterways, soils and air pollution. These are examples of unfair treatment on a community scale.

For instance, according to Phenny Mwaanga *et al* (2019), Glencore International, through its Zambian copper mining subsidiary Mopani Copper Mine, left pollution and acid rain and acidic topsoil in large areas of Zambia. Today, one of the glaring examples of how workers are treated as mere means are the practices meted out to the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo mining areas where cobalt is mined. Thousands of people work in cobalt mines in slave-like conditions where child labour, dangerous working conditions and hand mining with no personal protective equipment are the norm, without care about the dangers that such practices pose (Kara, 2022). Exploiting Africa's human resources, these foreign companies perpetuate poverty in Africa. In a YouTube podcast, Siddharth Kara (2022) describes the situation created in the Eastern Congo by Chinese cobalt companies as

“modern-day slavery.” Kara narrates the case of Shabara, where over 15000 persons engage in hand digging of toxic cobalt with no personal protective equipment in exchange for a pittance in wages from a foreign firm. Indeed, child labour, in this mine, is the norm. Their humanity, intrinsic value and respect are totally disregarded. Kara claims that human rights and safety are an afterthought, with many Chinese companies and Glencore International, a giant Swiss-based multinational commodity mining and trading corporation, engaged in cobalt mining.

From the Kantian standpoint, I argue that all forms of oppression and exploitation of Africa, its raw materials and human resources, including unfair international business practices in the continent are morally impermissible. Kantian ethics abhors the exploitation of African countries and their natural and human resources since it dehumanizes Africans. Building an ethical investor-investee relationship on Kantian principles would promote the sort of relationships that allow for the achievement of autonomy, independence, mutual respect and self-sufficiency, which would eliminate unequal structures and relationships between African countries and their foreign investors.

At a minimum, acting morally requires companies like Glencore International, Barrick Lumwana and all other mining companies to provide all workers with personal protective equipment to give them safety and security when working with toxic products. Additionally, it means consultation and engagement on working conditions, fair and transparent wages, allowing workers trade union rights, removing all oppressive and exploitative practices for workers, and abiding by basic human rights and accepted international labour practices. It also means that all companies operating in African countries ought to adhere to the

internationally accepted minimum standards and norms. These standards may include the following:

- Equal Treatment and Equal Opportunity Policy
- Workplace Health and Safety
- Company and Employee Code of Conduct Policy
- Employee Complaints Policy
- Workplace Security Policy
- Work Schedule and Rest Period Policy
- Ethics Policy

There are at least two objections that can be raised against my argument here. The first is that Kantian ethics, because it prescribes rules, is doomed to be empty and formulaic.

The second objection may be that because Kantian ethics focuses on obligations, rights and justice, it inevitably neglects other ethical categories like virtues.

I will dismiss both objections as untenable. Granted, these are principles. But what we are concerned about here is at the level of action that needs to be done to comply with Kantian principles in each of the given problems. What is required therefore is to take each situation and identify what actions must be taken. The right actions in each case will be found in the policies and standards that will be set. A company, for instance, ought to design and implement policies that will ensure there is no discrimination or unfair labour practices, workers are free to organize themselves into unions of their choice and the firm pays market-related wages and provides a safe working environment. All these are prescribed as morally right actions for a firm in line with Kantian ethics of treating each person with dignity and autonomy and as ends in themselves, not as mere means. If these policy actions are taken and implemented consistently throughout the firm the Kantian ethics will no longer

be formulaic but will be a living example of the pursuit of justice and a practical expression of the Categorical Imperative. Virtue ethics, like other ethical categories, are aimed at achieving justice and fairness among people in a society. Thus, implementing policies and practices based on Kantian principles will in no way detract from virtue ethics. I contend that it will in fact enhance and promote it.

4.1.1. Ethical Obligations from the Utilitarian Perspective

From the Utilitarian ethical perspective, equitable maximization of the good and the well-being of the greatest number of affected persons is the overriding objective (see Chapter 3 of this research report). In business contexts, Utilitarianism prescribes that fair living wages are paid equitably to all with no discrimination. Secondly, the employer provides a safe and secure working environment, including personal protective equipment, to prevent foreseeable harm and ensure that everyone is treated fairly, with all their individual interests and needs taken into account. It aims to ensure that the community and vicinity where the business operates are not degraded, oppressed and damaged by the business operations. If that happens, effective rehabilitative measures are put in place to prevent further damage to the environment and community.

However, these Utilitarian business virtues seem to be lacking in foreign investment in African countries where rich developed nations and their corporations benefit through neo-colonial and globalizing practices to the detriment of Africa's development. Samirul Ariff (2018), writing for The Edge Malaysia newspaper, posits: "[T]hus it can be suggested that globalization is a form of Neo-colonialism or a politically correct term for imperialism." Like in colonialism, there exists a political and economic reality of dependency and exploitation between the northern hegemonic nations and their corporations and other rich nations

against the poor nations of the south including Africa. Additionally, Tim Dunne (1999, p. 22), quoting Martin Khor, asserts that “Globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization.” In essence, both colonialism and globalization involve the exploitation of the poor and the weak by the rich and powerful in pursuit of profit. They both work by dominating the political, social and economic institutions of the weak by the strong through morally impermissible practices.

As illustrated above, in the cases of cobalt mining in the Congo, the poor wages paid to workers and the poor working conditions are contrasted negatively to the huge profits and values created for the companies that sit at the top of the cobalt value chain.

Cobalt is primarily used to manufacture batteries, Electric Vehicle batteries, cell phones and many other energy-consuming electronic products. High-value products are made from cobalt, which companies, including Apple, Samsung, Tesla and many other global iconic corporations, demand; thereby making huge profits from the misery of the lowest producers of cobalt.

I argue that incorporating Utilitarian business ethics into foreign investment in Africa would reduce the pain and harm caused by the one-sided investor-investee relationship. Doing so would ensure a level ground for equitable investment, maximize Africans’ well-being and guarantee development in African countries.

The obligations from the Utilitarian ethical perspective may include the following towards Africa and its employees.

- Payment of globally market-related wages and salaries for its African work-force
- Provision of globally accepted working conditions for its African workforce

- Payment of taxes that are fair and in line with international standards
- Provision of similar education and training standards for its workforce as provided for its workforce in rich countries so that the African employees can compete equally for available jobs
- Set similar and international compliance standards for environment, governance and employment

Some objections to my argument can be raised on the following bases. The first may be that Utilitarianism allows people to be treated as instruments, thus treating them as mere means to achieve the maximum outcome of good rather than properly valuing them as ends in themselves consistent with the Kantian principle (Richard Chappel *et. al.,* 2003).

Secondly, it can be objected that Utilitarianism is too demanding because of its impartial best outcome requirement. Therefore, it can bring unaffordable costs to people, making it impossible to achieve.

My response to the first objection is that, intuitively it is possible to think so, but I reject it outright as an inaccurate interpretation of Utilitarianism. The interests of everyone involved as a matter of principle are always counted in each case. So all affected people are treated equally morally. At the end of the day we may have to work with what is practical in dealing with a given situation. The principle itself is impartial in application.

To the demand objection, my response will be that this is a speculation and does not always play out in reality. Demandingness is also relative to what one can afford versus what one does to help. It is the principle of Utilitarianism that you are not required to do more than you are able to do such that you damage your own equivalent interest in acting morally. There is a limit based on individual circumstances. As Singer (1972) argues, if it is in your power to prevent something bad from happening you ought to do it. This implies that if it is not in your power you are not compelled to do it.

4.1.2. Ethical obligations from the Ubuntu perspective

Ubuntu is based on the following basic principles. First, communal harmony and cohesion among members of the community. Second, humanity, humaneness and person hood. Third, group solidarity, survival and mutual dependence. Fourth, mutual respect and diverse identity recognition among people, community and the environment.

As reported in Chapter 2 above, the common features between the Marikana massacre and the Jameson war are the destruction of community, social harmony, cohesion and wanton killing of the African poor in pursuit of profit for the rich Western nations' corporations in collaboration with local African elites and governments. This is totally against the principle and practice of Ubuntu since such actions damage relationships, destroy communities and communal values for the benefit of foreign capital interests against those of the African people and their communities.

Based on the principle of Ubuntu, we are, therefore, to treat everyone with compassion, empathy, respect and tolerance to ensure harmony and cohesion in the community irrespective of our differences, whether in race, creed or colour or any other applicable identity.

African leaders should aim to build cohesive and harmonious business relationships with foreign governments, investors and local employees and their communities. Top among these is the recognition of the interests of the communities of African and foreign investors to live together harmoniously, respecting the environment and each other. Fighting against corrupt practices in our government, communities and businesses is vital. They should

ensure that both the interests and needs of the investors and investees, together with those of the workers, are protected.

An objection that could be raised against my argument here is that the "...talk of justice is only plausible and feasible within a bound society" (Badru, 2017, p. 86), which seems not to be the case with foreign investment and its proponents. This thesis is also known as the national affinity thesis. It rejects that there is a moral obligation for the rich nations and their corporations to engage in morally right actions with the poor African nations because there are no national ties between them and the Africans. As Ronald Badru (2017, p. 87) argues, "[d]espite the present day globalization and its engendered transnational institutions… the fact is still that the values of ontological rationality and extendedness, basic to a cohesive rather than a merely cooperative collective of peoples at the global level, are grossly lacking."

However, this objection does not challenge my argument in this research report. Since my argument stems from the universalizing character of the African relational ethics of Ubuntu that considers not national ties but the communal relationships that ought to exist between human beings *qua* human beings. Thus, there is only one human family, owing moral treatment to each other across borders, encompassing both rich and poor nations and peoples worldwide. This captures the essence of my thesis and demonstrates the importance of my research report outcomes.

The second objection can be that Ubuntu is vague and anachronistic and therefore impossible to implement in a modern commercial and industrial environment, particularly where large international corporations operate (Mboti, 2015; Gade, 2012).

This objection should be rejected as untenable and defective. Ubuntu is about treating people with respect and safeguarding their interests. Every environment must be designed to uphold the dignity of people that inhabit it. This can be done by enacting and implementing suitable policies that will promote and protect such dignity and interests. The Ubuntu principle of creating respect and harmony among people can be observed in every environment.

It is my strong attitude and firm stance that ethics and morality have a role to play in addressing the existing impermissible actions and preventing future ones, thus taking part in constructing a better society. Brian Berkey (2021), having looked at the practices and policies of multinational corporations, also concludes that these corporations have positive duties to the global poor.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Summary

5.1 Conclusion

In this research report, I discussed the colonial and neo-colonial history of Africa and its history since independence. I focused on the role and objectives of the key leaders and their attitudes toward Africa, its peoples, and its development from the moral and ethical points of view that guided their strategies and practice. I demonstrated that both the colonial capitalists and the African leaders that replaced them after independence were corrupt, immoral and incompetent with no interest in African development. I concluded that their actions were equally irrational and morally impermissible. I conceptually situated this lack of morality and irrational behaviour as a primary cause of Africa's underdevelopment.

Given this unethical and immoral history demonstrated in this research, I also critically engaged with three ethical philosophical theories. The Kantian theory, the Utilitarian theory and the African relational theory of Ubuntu. Despite the differences between them, I argued that they can jointly provide plausible ethical foundations for international investment relations and trade in developing African countries given the diverse histories, cultures and attitudes of African peoples.

5.2 Summary

The following points summarize my findings:

- Colonial capitalism and African leaders post-independence were immoral and unethical in their actions. Thus, underdevelopment is caused by both internal and external actors. The internalist versus externalist dichotomy is unwarranted and unhelpful in identifying the complete cause of Africa's underdevelopment and thus it has no prospect in

developing lasting effective solutions. Solutions to African problems of underdevelopment will need to address both these factors in an impartial and objective manner.

- There is an urgent need to train, educate and engender moral and ethical behaviour among Africans and investors in Africa.
- More research is required to determine the importance of ethics and morals in social and economic development generally and in Africa specifically.

It is therefore imperative that part of African solutions for development must be found by addressing the moral decadence that exists within those that wield power and control capital and the continent's resources.

5.3 Further Research

In this research report, I identified the decline and absence of ethics and moral behaviour as a contributor to the underdevelopment of Africa. Further research is required on the following aspects of ethical conduct:

- What kind of ethical conduct is desirable to development for society and what should be its origin and basis?
- How to inculcate and educate society on ethical conduct and what should the content of such ethical principles be based on?
- How can ethics be integrated into the whole fabric of social development and all its institutions and people? What instruments ought to be used in this pursuit?

Unless Africa fully develops its human resources and natural endowments with all skills required including educational, technical, social and ethical, we are not going to start developing our continent for our benefits. Without those qualities, we will forever be dependent on other nations who will not prioritize our interests but continue to exploit us with the help of some African leaders elites.

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