Historical Development of African Political Thought: A Thematic Review

By

Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen

Department of Political Science, Al-Qalam University, Katsina. Katsina State.
Email: abdulrasheedabdulyakeen90@gmail.com; 08033628063

Abstract

Political leadership in the Africa sub region is characterized by disregard of the yearnings of the people and a violation of the constitution they swear to protect. In the quest to remain in power at all cost, all forms of manipulations are employed. This may include manipulation of ethnic differences, religious and political yearnings. In pursuance of selfish agenda, nothing is spared as long as the aim is achieved. The art of self-succession is the name of the game in the sub region except for some isolated cases. The paper examines the Historical Development of African Political Thought. To understand and provide possible solutions to this phenomenon, theoretical and empirical approaches were used to gather data needed for this work. Findings of the study revealed that African political thought provides practical solutions to political, economic, social, and cultural problems, and it varies according to historical circumstances and a constantly changing African and world political environment. Findings also revealed African nationalism is a desire for personal emancipation a search for equality, rights, self-respect, and full participation in the society. It is a continuous effort to rescue Africans from perceived inferiority as a result of colonialism. For over fifty years, the African quest for development had only marginal success. Most African countries are worse off than they were, health and nutrition problems are wide spread, infrastructure is eroding, coups, ethno-religious conflict, and corruption, poverty, and unemployment and diseases are the basic features that dominated the third world nations. The paper concludes that the time to make a blueprint of our political aspirations so that all who are interested in the formulation of the political reconstruction program of this continent will read, mark, learn and inwardly digest what the awakened African thinks and feels of the Africans of tomorrow. The leaders of the success stories in Chile, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan; all demonstrated strong commitment to development, with clarity of vision and of goal

Keywords; *Colonialism, Development, Equality, Political Thought, and Pan-Africanism.*

Introduction

Most western political thought centered on the contributions of Eurocentric political philosophers, political theorist neglecting the contributions of numerous political thinkers of Africa, Asian and Latin American origin. Also observed by Bullock (2002:30-31)" the standard story of History in western literature treats history of political thought" as the narrative of a western mainstream and the non-western as nonexistent or peripheral to it". When indeed the so-called western political thought is not the only political thought. It is not even the universally accepted global political thought for qualifying and measuring the value and integrity of other political thoughts which could be much older and richer than the western political thought. The western political thought is a single tradition out of very many political thoughts.(Bako:76-77) The African Political thought which is also very rich has been reflected by the

articulate section of the community comprising of its leaders ,statesmen, writers, poets, social reformers etc .through various line of transmission and assuming different forms like written texts of literature such as essays, poems, songs, drama in cultural celebrations and rituals, artistic expressions in paintings and sculpturing; abstract and concrete symbolic images and in the memories and genealogies of historical narrations, praise-singers and story tellers. A significant aspect of the African political thought was the one centered on nationalism.

It is said that necessity is the mother of invention. Adversity generates ideas. The collapse of the Greek city states and Alexandrian empires in the ancient times and its attendant depressing social environment arising from the breakdown of social order led to the formulations of philosophies like Cynicism, Stoicism, Epicureanism, Hedonism, and Skeptismetc (Uduigwomen, 2006, p.35).

> Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke were inspired to profound their political theories because of the socio-political climate of their time marked by insecurity, devastation and anarchy (Nesbit, 1983, p.24).

The situation of general hardship during these times inspired philosophers to formulate philosophies of how men should respond to these adverse situations and achieve peace, security and general wellbeing for the people. It should be noted that not only in and around the Greek City State of Athens or Europe that political thinkers emerged, these classes of intellectual thinkers also emerged in Africa (Ajom, 2006).

Therefore, colonialism during it reign, was a political activity that was conceived and understood as a problem to Africa by political thinkers such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius K. Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Nnamdi Azikiwe among others. This therefore, influenced the thinking of these (Kwame Nkrumah, Julius K. Nyerere, SekouToure, NnamdiAzikiwe……,) Africans to come up with strategy and approach towards combating colonialism and ensuring political independence to the then African colonies. However, where there are political problems which calls for political solutions, thought which proceeds action is employed. Just like in other fields of study, sources of Africa political thought are historical, sociological and nationalistic (Ajom, 2006).

From the forgoing, it becomes a challenge to philosopher of all aged to put forward philosophical ideas that will positively change the face of their society. Philosophies that will guide policies and practice that will guide the moral behavior of individuals as well as influence public life (OwanEnola, 1996). It is in this sense according to (Mutiso & Rohio, 1987) that we maintain that most African political thought has been nationalistic

Conceptual Clarification on African Political Thought

For any student of African political thought, the most important and even striking theme or issue to examine is about individual political theorists or thinkers of Africa origin, in their own merit and within the popular debate of the context and import of such thinking and theorizing. The most poignant issue is to examine the contention and controversy regarding whether there is anything called Africa political thought or Africa philosophy". To put the question literally and perhaps even embarrassingly: does African political thought/philosophy really exist? If not, why? And, if it does exists, how does it look like? In other words, if African political

thought/philosophy actually. As is interestingly being claimed. In this study, exists, what are its nature and character, substance, essence and message? Answering this controversial and perhaps Eurocentric, bias, and poisonous question require establishing the context of African political thought and philosophy.

African Political thought reflect the views, ideas and thought of African system-builders, political thinkers and philosophers on African political problems (i.e. racial discrimination, exploitation, colonization, negritude and absence of freedom and independence) with the aimed at offering proper solution. African political thought refers to the original ideas, values, and blueprints for a better Africa that inform African political systems and institutions from ancient period (Kush, sixth century BCE) to the present (Martin, 2012). He further argued that African political thought dwells on political theories and ideologies developed by various African scholars and the statesmen, as enunciated in their speeches, autobiographies, writings, and policy statements, the main focus here being on the ideas rather than on the individual (Martins, 2012).

In addition to that perhaps because of its apparent diversity and broadness, African philosophy, like its western counterpart, is loaded in mythologies, approaches and concepts. Understanding of these issues would help to accept that African philosophy is not myth. Consequently, what is it? Political thought is always better described than defined. African political thought or philosophy has been rooted in language and in thinking about religion, cultures, civilization and in defining a unique character about life and living as ingredients of building a desirable society.

Classification of African Political Thought

African political thought was divided into three classes: (1) ancient political thought (2) modern political thought and (3) contemporary political thought. These thought was emanated from ancient thinkers and political leaders in Africa down to the contemporary thinkers. The ancient thinkers began since before the advent of colonial intervention. This refers to the ancient era whereby the geographical entity of Africa was based on empires, kingdoms and regions with their traditional political system as enshrined in their customs, creed and culture. This was described as golden age of African historiographical era, this involved the struggle of African ancient scholars such as Ibn Khaldun, Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio, Mansa Kansa Musa of Mali Leo africanus among others as well as the proto nationalist like SamoraToure of Medinkan Empire, King Attahiru of Sokoto, Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itshekeri and Kosoko of Lagos etc. these were among the personalities used their intellectual wisdom to integrate African political and socio-religious affairs.

Indeed, this era refers to the governance of ancient kingdoms and empires (such as Egypt, Kush/Nubia, Axum, Ghana, Mali Songhai, and Kanem Bornu), and was developed by scholars like Ibn Khaldun, Al-Bekri, Ibn Battuta, Uthman Ibn Fodio, Mansa Kansa Musa of Mali and Leo Africanus, and it is associated with indigenous Africa Political system and institutions (Martin, 2012).

Modern African Political thought emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's and was developed by African scholars and political stakeholders such as James Africanus Horton, Edward Blyden, Leopord Sedar Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, among others. The backbone of modern African Political thought is from cultural nationalism, negritude and pan Africanism which was emanated from great African Political thinkers such as William Du Bois and Marcus Garvey down to the other African Political thinkers of 1940s, 50s, 60s, and 70s. (. i.e. Kwame Nkrumah,

Kenyatta, Ki-zerbo, Busia, Zik, Awolowo, Nyerere and Nelson Mandela etc.).

Indeed, it was from their intellectual polemics and political thinking that gave birth to "African political thought".

More so, the contemporary African political thought emerged within the realm of intellectual contribution and consciousness of African scholars to the patriotic state of the continent. The contribution of Cheikh Anta Diop, Walter Rodney, Ali Mazrui, Victor Dike, Samir Amin, Professor PLO. Lumumba, Abdulkareem Bangura among others. These scholars fight for the development of African political system in post-colonial era down to the contemporary African position through their intellectual discourse and academic contribution in the field of knowledge. Cheikh Anta Diop was described as the founding father of Afrocentricity that emphasized on Nilotic origin of global civilization (Mazrui, 2010).

Subsequently, the role of Kenyan Former Director of Anti-Corruption crusade, African nationalist and also a Professor of Law, P.L.O. Lumumba who engage in liberating Africans on contemporary challenges such as bad governance, corruption, underdevelopment and maladministration across the continent. Furthermore, the giant intellectual contributions and awareness campaign of Professor Samir Amin, Ali Mazrui, Abdul Kareem Bangura, Umar Johnson, Affiong L.Affiong among others would be taken into consideration.

It is in consonance with the aforementioned, that this study focuses on the historical development of Modern African Political Thought and it relevant to today's African politics.

Historical Development of African Political Thought: A Thematic Review

A majority of modern African thinkers ground their thought at the socio-cultural (sociological) level. This is partly as a result of the colonial confrontation which took place on the sociological level. African political thought as socially grounded since it reflects international situations. Such as those between the colonizer and the colonized, between tribesmen and non-tribesmen, between power holders and non-power holders etc. The most prominent phenomenon in, modern Africa politics has been nationalism, whether one views nationalism either as a social movement or as a mode of thought. It is in this sense that we maintain that most African political thought has been nationalistic (Ajom, 2008; Chinonye, 2007; Mutiso & Rohio; 1975).

Just like the European/German political thought toed the lines of Romanticism, radicalism, republicanism, socialism, Marxism and Utilitarianism, African political thought of the time in question has been organized under eight headings as follows.

1. Cultural nationalism
2. Plaintive nationalism
3. Radical nationalism
4. Race and colonial imperialism
5. Pan African nationalism
6. Neo-colonialism
7. Ideological and integral nationalism
8. African non-alignment.

The eight points "structure" as indicated above reflects a general sequence in the historical development of African politics of the modern times. African political thinkers considered race and colonial imperialism as a common problem that required a coordinated strategy on a continental wide-scale. The philosophical thought

sought to generate moral, political and material assistance to the freedom fighters.

Cultural Nationalism

Modern African political thought started with cultural nationalism. This is explained by the fact that the Europeans colonizer of Africa was justified in terms of the cultural inferiority of Africans or the non-existence of African culture. As a result of this it become necessary for the colonized to turn the argument of the colonizer against himself. Hence the colonized argued that he had a culture that had to be taken into account in colonial rule. In this sense, cultural nationalism was nothing more than the colonizer's plea for acceptance by the colonizer as a cultural man rather than a cultureless beast (Mutiso and Rohio, 1975, Ajom, 2008).

In his writing, Blyden (1975) extracts covered many aspect of African nationalism such as the common destiny of the Negro peoples, the distinctive mentality of the Africa, the place held by religion in his life, the immanently socialist nature of African society and the concept of Africa for Africans (Frankel, 1974). Senghor (1965) explains the characteristics and virtues of the African culture and the significance of articulating and defining them. He establishes the uniqueness of the African culture by discussing in details African metaphysics, emotions, religion, conception and apprehension of reality and democracy.

Kenyatta (1975) argues that the Gikuyu 'Nation' not only had a viable political system but also had a democratic process. Molema (1975) although arguing for patriarchy, shows like Kenyatta that Black South Africans had viable systems before they came into contact with the mission systems before they came into contact with the missionaries or any other civilizing influences. Sithole (1968) tries to determine the presence or absence of freedom and democracy before white people came to Africa. He endeavors to answer two major questions: Are freedom and democracy indigenous or alien to Africa? And Was the African struggle for independence something that was there before or after European occupation? The report by the 'Lulua Ethnic Association' illustrates cultural nationalism in action in the Belgian Congo (Lulua, 1975).

Many African writers wrote extensively on cultural nationalism. These among Nkrumah (1961) and Ki-Zerbo (1975) explain the nature of the cultural personality of the African. The presumption here is that there is a culture which is charactiscally African, a thesis which is found in the extracts by Diop (1975) Quaison-Sackey (1963) and Senghor (1975). Little wonder therefore that political consciousness fast developed in Africa, thereby leading to political sovereignty in the latter days (Ajom, 2008, Mutiso and Rohio, 1975).

Molema (1969) in his writings: The Bantu-Past and Present, considered the South African Bantu under the three ethnical groups into which they resolve themselves, it is convenient at this stage to enquire into their usages and their manners. In so doing, we shall speak in the past tense, as the condition of the Bantu before they came into contact with the missionaries or any other civilizing influence is that considered.

The Government of the Bantu was essentially patriarchal. The chief was the head and father of his tribe. He was, at the same time, commander-in-chief of his armies, judge, and high priest. Below him were petty chiefs-heads of affiliated smaller tribes; and still lower were petty chiefs over the clans of the mother tribe; and so on down to a family- the unit-whose chief was the father. Thus the government was composed of regularly graded executive powers, represented by chiefs, each responsible to his immediate senior, the whole

organization of the Bantu state thus forming an elaborate system of responsible government. Molema (1975).

The Bantu among themselves never dreamt of much less experienced, any highly centralized form of government, no larger 'administrative unit than a tribe forming the Bantu State. The citizens of the tribal state lived in villages whose populations ranged from 50 to 500- much less often 1000 or more souls. Each village was more or less an entity-independent of other villages socially, economically, and, to a much less degree, politically. The administration of the village was in the hands of a Headman who was a vice-roi-a representative of the supreme ruler of the tribe. The village in which the chief himself lived formed of course, the tribal metropolis, the administrative headquarters (Molema, 1969).

According to Sithole (1959) argues many westerners have argued again and again that freedom was introduced to Africa by the white man; that democracy was also European-introduced; that the African clamour for freedom and for democracy was but a clamour for 'the things of the white man'. My main task therefore is to try to determine the presence or absence of freedom and democracy before white people came to Africa.

The concept of African personality generally refers to the manifestations of cultural uniqueness among Africans as reflected in their behavior, social norms, customs, values, beliefs, religious zeal, attitudes, explanations of the cosmos and the supernatural social and political systems historically or in the contemporary (Tembo, 1980).

In his writings, Blyden covered many aspects of African nationalism (personality) such as the common destiny of the Negro peoples, the distinctive mentality of the Africa, the place held by religion in his life, the immanently socialist, nature of African society, and the concept of Africa for Africans (Frenkel, 1974).

The argument about the African Personality arises mainly from two schools of thought. One the Western and Western oriented a scholar who expresses the view that the African does not exhibit Western traits of thought and culture because he is not yet civilized. Therefore, believed that what is needed is to provide him with Western knowledge and culture so that eventually he will become like the Westerner. The other school of thought maintains that African behaves, thinks, and lives as he does because he is unique. It holds that western education and culture should be used to enhance further his uniqueness. Therefore, the former is termed as anti-African personality and the latter the pro-African personality (Tembo, 1980).

The Pro-African personality school of thought is sympathetic towards the African and seeks to analyze the issue as a genuine and authentic subject of social inquiry. The proponents of this school of thought generally maintain that the African social consciousness owes its origins to the rapid and mostly destructive effects of slavery, colonialism and, in contemporary times, neo-colonialism. The African social consciousness has been described as a unique and genuine system of social thought and character arising from social environmental conditions and historical experiences which are predominantly different from those of Asia, Europe and the United States. Among the proponents of more abstract theories of African personality are Senghor, Mbiti and Cesaire (Tembo, 1980).

Negritude is a philosophy of African being. It seeks to define the African's personality in terms of his total response to the environment; his emotions, responses to nature, speech, communal existence, explanations of the cosmos and beliefs in the

supernatural. Quite simply, negritude is the sum total of the values of the civilization of the African world (Tembo, 1980).

Senghor (1965) explains the characteristics and virtues of the African culture and the significance of articulating and defining them. He establishes the uniqueness of the African culture by discussing in detail African metaphysics, emotions, religion, conception and apprehension of reality and democracy.

Potter (1970) explains the African's social consciousness and its uniqueness in the modern world in terms of the traditional concept of time in Africa and how this has changed radically under modern conditions. This change did not occur under normal and usual circumstances where creativity, assimilation and accommodation were possible. On the contrary, colonialism and racial myths that Africa had essentially neither a culture nor a history because of technological backwardness made the African society's adoption of modern or Western concept of time in such a way that it has produced perverted features in Africans.

Plaintive Nationalism

This is the period in which the colonized thought that the colonizer was convinced about his culture. It was then time to plead for cultural rights. The essence of plaintive nationalism was a request for assimilation into the colonizer's society in the colonies. This marked the emergence of plaintive nationalism, which prevailed for the most part during the period between the World Wars. This is documented by the nature and demands of the cultural associations and religions associations of the inter-war years. Little wonder therefore of the high level of cultural and religious associations that emerged in Nigeria. After all, Nigerian soldiers fought side by side with the British soldiers in the First and Second World Wars and in many instances, Nigerian soldiers fought better than the British soldiers particularly on the hills valleys and swamps.

In his writing, Awolowo (1975) like John Locke in Britain addressed himself to the "inequalities of economic opportunities" and suggested the way of correcting them. Azikwe (1968) and Awolowo (1960) reasoned that there was the need for African political participation in her politics and the expansion of economic opportunities and educational opportunities for the African colonial elite.

Awolowo (1960) in his writing: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo outline the principal aim of the Nigerian Youth Movement is the development of a united nation out of the conglomeration of peoples who inhabit Nigeria. It shall be our endeavor to encourage the fullest play of all such forces as will serve to promote complete understanding and a sense of common nationalism among the different elements in the country. We will combat vigorously all such tendencies as would jeopardize the unifying process. While pursuing this great principle with consistency as its chief aim, the Movement declares itself, in its short-range policy, as a constructive critics of the Government as at present constituted. That criticism it offers in a spirit of constitutional opposition. It shall also work for the removal of inequality of economic opportunities as well as for the correction of those abuses which militate against the cultural progress of our people in Nigeria. The Youth Charter will therefore be divided into three sections namely, the Political Charter, the Economic Charter, and the Cultural and Social Charter.

The Political Charter: The goal of our political activities is a complete autonomy within the British Empire. We are striving towards a position of equal partnership with other member States of the British Commonwealth of Nations… The Movement aims at the abolition of property or income qualification for the exercise of the

franchise and the substitution of universal suffrage. We believe that every person within the community has the inalienable right to representation and should be given a vote. We will therefore press forward for a vote for every person in Nigeria who is above the age of 21……For better and more satisfactory administration of justice, the Nigerian Youth Movement believes that a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive is absolutely necessary. For this end the Movement pledges to work. The Movement will also advocate and press for more use to be made of Nigeria barristers for judicial and legal appointments……

The Economic Charter: We pledge ourselves to demand for our people economic opportunities equal to those enjoyed by foreigners. We will therefore strives for the economic progress of our people and oppose all forms of privileges. In fact, we will urge on the Government to protect our people against unequal competition, if necessary, by legislation. We pledge ourselves to encourage and to support all forms of local industries. It shall be our duty to protect all Africans in industry and to resist every attempt by foreigners to oust them out of the field….

The economic and physical welfare of the African workman in the employment of industrial firms is our concern. We will work consistently for the steady amelioration of such welfare. We shall demand for him better wages and better conditions of service. It is our duty to champion the good cause of the laborers employed under the railways, at the docks and workshops of the Government, at the colliery at Enugu, at the tin mines of the Bauchi Plateau and on the gold fields. We will strive for the better regulation of the conditions of work for themining laboureres so that they may obtain better wages and better compensation in case of accidents and better relief in case of illness due to their work…

We stand for

(1) Better pay for Africans in the civil service-particularly in the clerical and less subordinate branches;
(2) Higher executive appointments for Africans within the service;
(3) More use being made of Africans in forming the personnel of the administrative branch of the service.

We are opposed to all discriminate emoluments within the service as between Nigerians and Europeans. We believe that salaries should be attached to the work done and do not to individuals and that the criterion of selection should be nothing more than ability to hold the job down…We will advocate a careful compilation of the cost of living and the equation of the minimum pay of Junior Clerks to that cost plus a margin. Such margin will encourage thrift and efficiency…

Cultural and Social Charter: We believe that mass education ought to be the true pivot of the educational policy of our Government. We will therefore urge on the Government to make elementary education progressively free and compulsory…..

The Movement in general will interest itself in all affairs which make for the political, economic, and cultural progress of Nigeria. It will co-operate with all bodies whose aims and aspirations are similar to its own. It aims at establishing branches throughout Nigeria and integrating both the branches and the affiliated bodies into a central executive in Lagos. The Movement has never been more convinced of the justice of a cause than it is of its aims and objects. It has the highest hopes of success and looks forward to co-operation from all sections of the community.

Jabavu's (1975) Native Unrest is an account of the African's socio-economic conditions in South Africa and a plea for equitable opportunities within the South African multi-racial system.

Jabayu (1920) in his writing the Black Problem, Lovedale, South Africa The Bantu people through the union of South Africa are in a state of positive discontent in the white man's lordship, loss of faith in his protestation of just intentions, and loss of confidence in the old-time kindly protection of the British Constitution. These feelings are largely not expressed, for the Native is not given to confiding the secrets of his inmost feelings to Europeans, as in many cases he dare not; but nevertheless the feelings are there, and are seething like molten volcanic lava in the breasts of these inarticulate people. He further retreat unless something is done at once to mitigate the causes of present dissatisfaction it will not be very long before the whole white community must deal with a situation overwhelmingly beyond their control.

In his writing Political Blueprint of Nigeria Azikwe (1943) opines is the time to make a blueprint of our political aspirations so that all who are interested in the formulation of the political reconstruction program of this country will read, mark, learn and inwardly digest what the awakened Nigerian thinks and feels of the Nigeria of tomorrow. This political blueprint which I am about to published is based on previous views espoused by me in the newspapers and other mediums for the expression of public opinion and it is in accordance with some resolutions and manifestoes issued by certain groups and individuals who had given this subject serious study and deep thinking.

I will concede the following:

(1) Democracy as a political philosophy is the goal of progressive humanity; it appreciates the worth of the individual and seeks to crystallize in any aspect of human society this way of life.
(2) Indigenous political philosophy of Nigeria, in the main, is essentially democratic, it respects the will and wishes of the masses, and seeks to promote the welfare and well-being of the many, through ministers (not autocrats) of the State.
(3) The professed goal of British connection with Nigeria is said to be self-government.
(4) There have been contradictions between principle and practice towards the realization of self-government in Nigeria.
(5) The period of tutelage and condition for emancipation from political servitude is yet to be stated in categorical terms.
(6) A workable formula for attacking the vagaries which are inherent in such a system of government and administration is a desideratum.

The facts postulated above being self-evident truths, therefore, he submitted the following as foundation for the erection of a political structure, which progressive dreamers and schemers should bear in mind in planning a free Nigeria.

Radical Nationalism

This was a level of political consciousness in which the African political thinkers for the first time rejected the colonial society and white superiority. After World War II it was quite clear to the African political thinkers that he was still living in a racial and colonial-imperialistic world. How now had to reassess his strategy and tactics for dealing with the colonial situation. This necessitated radical change in his ideas. He began to demand the end of colonialism and imperialism in Africa and made it clear that Africa must be for Africans (Mutiso and Rohio, 1987).

Toure (1959) is one of the few radical nationalists in Francophone Africa; gave his account of how he organized the Guineans for the uprooting of French colonial-imperialism in Guinea. Fanon (1965) explain the importance of spontaneity and violence in the process of radicalizing decolonization.

Sithole (1959) and Kaunda (1975) gave an account of the radicalization of African nationalism in Central Africa. Nkrumah (1962) discusses the tactics which were applied in Ghana and prescribes strategies for other African countries which got independence after Ghana. Azikwe (1968) relates how the youth was to be organized in Nigeria for the purpose of uprooting colonial imperialism. Mboya (1963) gave account of tactics of decolonization in Kenya.

Toure (1975) gives an account of the contradictions and problems of assimilationist colonialism in Guinea and he suggests ways of combating colonialism. The conferences of Negro writers and artists at Paris and Rome give the views of African writers and artists on the shameful practices in the twentieth century which are colonialism, the oppression of the weaker peoples and racialism. These writers and artists maintain that African cultural growth requires the end of colonial-imperialism.

In his writing Africa in Renascence Azikwe (1937) inform Renascent Africans that the New Africa is not a movement. Just as the Kingdom of God cannot be reckoned along material lines, so too must they not fall into a common error of expecting a new continent, geo-physically. The New Africa is a state of society where the mind is brought into harmony with matter. And when such co-operation exists the old order (where matter is master of the mind) will have passed away. It is therefore a psychological conception which is deeply rooted in a material environment.

To achieve mental emancipation, the apostle or disciple of the New Africa must hurdle over barriers of race or tribe. One must be willing to be called names and to suffer persecution so that truth may be allowed a chance to flourish on the earth. In other words, the disciple must forsake mother and father and relatives and friends, and even homes, so as to leave Nazareth for Jerusalem and proclaim the truth from Mount Olives, if even though the goal may be Calvary. There is no better means to arouse African peoples than that of the power of the pen and of the tongue. The Press is more potent avenue for this particular mission. And the pen is said to be mightier than the sword (Azikwe, 1975).

Where there is no spiritual balance, social regeneration, and economic determinism he submit that people who are strangers to one another cannot experience mental emancipation, much more economic emancipation. If the New Africa must be realized, then the Old Africa must be destroy because it is at death-grips with the New Africa, which should guarantee to Renascent Africans the enjoyment of life more abundantly. Sacrifices must be made. I may as well be offered as an oblation to usher in the New Africa.

For the sake of fairness to all parties concerned, a review of the fundamental bases of the philosophy of the New Africa as indicated in the preface of this book is essential. (1) The cultivation of Spiritual Balance; (2) The Experience of Social Regeneration; (3) The Realization of Economic Determinism; (4) The Creation of Mental Emancipation; (5) The Expectation of Political Resurgence. These bases were further developed as follow:

1. **Spiritual Balance**. Respect for the opinion of others; conceding to others the right to state their opinion while admitting one's right to state their opinion. Cultivation of a

spirit of tolerant skepticism for the views of one's antagonists remembering the ideal set by Voltaire.

2. **Social Regeneration**. The jettisoning of all forms of prejudice, be they racial national, tribal, societal, religious, political, economic, or ethical; the realization that an African is an African no matter where he was born, whether at Kibi or at Zungeru, Navrongo or Cape Coast, Bathrust or Accra, Brazil or Manyakpowuno, Patagonia or Tuscaloosa, Mepom or Kukuruku, Nairobi or Amedica, etc, the breaking down all barriers of tribal prejudice, be they inter-tribal or intra-tribal, which so far, has postponed social unity of African peoples.
3. **Economic Determination**. Realization that economic self-sufficiency on a sane basis is the ultimate means to the salvation of the Renascent African. No matter how educated Africans may be; they may go to Switzerland, Cambridge, Birmingham, Heligoland, Oxford, Copenhagen, etc., for education; unless they are economically deterministic they will fail to realize a stable society.

Under the circumstance, it was suggested that Africans should consolidate their interests towards an economic renaissance so as to prevent an over-production of any particular type of professionals. It was suggested that education was useless it was an avenue for adaptation to environment, and since earning a livelihood was a form of adaptation, failure to provide employment for sons and daughters of Africans was to dent African social fabric. Economic determinism was, therefore, a way out.

4. **Mental Emancipation**. The African has not been in a state of incunabula throughout history, there is no scientific proof to sustain the idea of superiority or inferiority of any race, physically or mentally. For the African to cultivate an inferiority complex that he is inferior to other races is to sign the death warrant of Africans. As emancipation is therefore essential. Let the African know that he had a glorious past and that he has a glorious future. Teach the African to know his capabilities and his role in the scheme of things. Let the African realize that Burns was right when he said, 'A man's a man for a 'that'.

   Rid the African of all complexes which would retard his growth towards manhood on the theatre of nations. Let him follow Socrates: Gnothl seaution (know thyself), and like a sleeping giant let him awake and harness his power for his own good and for the good of mankind. This will create mental emancipation, for mental slavery is worse than physical slavery.

Political Resurgence. The expectation of political Risorgimento is not far-fetched if the Renascent African had cultivated spiritual balance, had experienced social regeneration, had realize economic determinism, had created a condition whereby he is mentally emancipated to appreciate his manifest destiny in the world. Politics is a means to an end which is more glorious than the means through which this end must be attained. Individually, the means are indeed glorifying. Sociallly, the end is a guarantee of social security, and a right to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, just as do other people.

Race and Colonial-Imperialism

Africa had been bedeviled by contending forces of liberalism and conservatism. By the time of World War 11, the politics of plaintive nationalism had not succeeded. The demands of the colonized had not been met by the colonizer for two basic reasons. First, the demands presupposed racial equality between the colonize and the colonized;

because the colonizer believed in white superiority, the colonized had to justify his culture. Second, the demands could not be met by the colonizer without denying colonialism and imperialism which the colonizer had to maintain and augment. In other words, the colonizer could not give the colonized the rights of man and at the same time maintain the colonized.

Therefore, the history of African political thought will be incomplete without nothing even briefly the reactions against the phenomena of nationalism and Nationalists Movement (Ogueri, 1978). Among the political thinkers closely associated with the above were (Fanon, 1983) The ordeal of the Black Man which he explains why Africans tend to accept the Europeans nonsensical claim that Africans are (Awolowo, 1947) argument for Empire is a critique of the justifications of British imperialism, whose aims are the attainment of Britain ends. Lumumba (1962) argues the pros and cons of Belgian imperialism in Africa; he examines the economic and humanitarian claims of Belgian colonial-imperialism and rejects its racial basis. Nyerere (1969) give account of racial conflicts in colonial East Africa, which is an appeal for the creation of a multi-racial society and a rejection of white supremacy. Busia (1962) treats the same problem as Nyerere in the Ghanaian context. Mondlane (1975) gives an account of race relations in Mozambique, but unlike Lumumba, argues that in spite of Portuguese claims of racial tolerance their colonial imperialism was predicated by racial considerations. A similar thesis is advanced by Wina (1975) which discusses racisms in colonial Central Africa (what is now Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia). Mboya (1962) explains the nature of colonial-imperialism in Kenya and the political uses of African trade unions in colonial Kenya.

There was therefore a clear need for a political thought in Africa during this time because “practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty”. (Nkrumah, 1978).

The concept of liberation expresses the experience of majority of human beings consisting in the struggle to break chains of domination and exploitation, as well as to overcome the subsequent poverty. In Latin America this expression favors the concern for the “poor” as a category of victims of the ruling system (Dussel 2002), while in Africa, this notion refers first of all to the idea of national sovereignty. Let’s explore some of its penetrating formulations: African “désaliénation”, African humanism, African socialism, and Pan-Africanism. Fanon and the «Désaliénation» of Africa. Fanon’s impact on African philosophy is noticeable (Hallen 2009, 98-99, Keucheyan 2010, 281).

He was persuaded that colonization caused deep traumas in African people. In order to promote a new African society, Fanon aimed at the purification of mind of former colonized people from negative representations of themselves inherited from colonization. Works such as Peau noire, masque blanc (1975) and Les damnés de la terre (1979) are instructive in this respect. Fanon distinguishes individual alienation from collective alienation. The former focuses on individual sphere as it deals with the assimilation of stereotypes and prejudices by Individuals. Such is the case concerning, for example, the myth of superiority of white man, and reversely the idea of inferiority of black people (Fanon 1975).8 The latter refers to social sphere, to African collective life. For Fanon, many African leaders and members of labor unions, for example, have a deep complex towards their fellow countrymen, particularly to peasants and illiterate (Fanon 1979).

Considering this double this context, Fanon thinks that African emancipation cannot be a simple permutation of roles between colonizers and colonized. It rather implies a radical change: the exorcism of African mind. African Humanism. It is worth noting that the idea of African humanism doesn’t fully coincide with Western

perception of humanism. If these two approaches consider the human being as their starting point, they interpret it differently. The Western perspective puts emphasis on human being as an individual being; the individual is viewed as able to perform and acquire knowledge about different aspects of human life as well as to manage, by virtue of his/her reason, a political order that is useful to his/her own self-realization as a human being (Spitz 1996). African conceptions of humanism insist on human being as a social being. For this approach, the individual is a relational being; he/she is viewed as a "bridge maker" or a "hyphen" between different beings.

The Zambian leader, Kaunda (1914 -) develops his humanist vision on the basis of two roots: Christian faith and African cultural heritage (Smet 1980, 54). For him, human being is the final purpose of all political initiative. He declared: "I am deeply concerned that this high valuation of Man and respect for human dignity which is a legacy of our [African] tradition should not be lost in the new Africa. However "modern" and "advanced" in a Western sense the new nations of Africa may become, we are fiercely determined that this humanism will not be obscured. African society has always been Man-centred. We intend that it will remain so" (quoted in Eze 1997, 42).

For Senghor, human being remains also the measure of everything. It is on account of this premise that he criticized Marxism to stress on "materialism and determinism, praxis and means, to the detriment of dialectics and ethics (…) to the detriment of man and his freedom". (Senghor 1964, 76; quoted in Taiwo 2004, 246). Senghor describes African humanism as follows:

"Thus, though our humanism must have West African man as its major objective. It cannot, without peril, end with West Africa, not even with all of Africa. An effective humanism must be open; it obviously includes not only Malianism (…) but also nationalism and pan-Negroism, (…) Pan-Africanism and, with greater reason Pan-Arabism. The one "Pan-isme" that meets twentieth-century requirements is (…) pan- humanism- a humanism that includes all men on the dual basis of their contribution and their comprehension (Ibid.). It also is advisable noting the emergence of the concept of Ubuntu as an expression of African humanism. This idea has been popularized by the Anglican Archbishop Tutu within the framework of his responsibility as the head of Justice, Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. For Tutu, the concept of Ubuntu can be considered as "a central feature of the African Weltanschauung (…) Ubuntu is very difficult to render into Western languages. It speaks of the very essence of the human being. When we want to give high praise to someone we say, 'Yu, U nobuntu'; 'Hey, he or she has ubuntu'.

This means they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say, 'a person is a person through other people'. It is not 'I think therefore I am'. It says rather: 'I am human because I belong.' I participate, I share." (Tutu 1999, 34 – 35. Underlined in the original).

Most Africans were marginalized. The marginal African later formed a common front to make their grievances known, which cumulated to protest. Some of them were made through books, newspapers and leaflets. Africans who were given education, with the help of their counterparts in other continents, protested against the colonial order by publicizing the corruption and injustice perpetrated by the colonial master. Also the contribution of Africans during the first and second World Wars demystified the claim of superiority of the colonial master. For instance, N. Sithole wrote:

> World War II. Has a great deal to do with the awakening of the people of Africa. During the war the African came in contact with practically all the peoples of the earth. He met them on a life and death struggle basis. He saw the so-called civilized and peaceful and orderly white people mercilessly butchering one another just as his so-called savage ancestors had done in tribal wars. He saw no difference between the primitive and civilized man. In short, he saw through European pretensions that only Africans were savages. They had a revolutionizing psychological impact on the African (Sithole, 1984:32).

The Second World War came as a factor of enlightenment for the struggle of the Black man for his independence. During the struggle for freedom, especially cultural freedom, Africans were confronted with certain challenges expatiated by Ashby in the following words:

> More and more in proportion as we adopt Western manners and the Western way of life, the native cultural patterns lose their sharpness…. Are we to abandon all the values of our traditional life for those of the alien culture? …… The best thing is …… to try to have it both ways. We must accept the lingua franca that history has already forced upon us but we must fight tooth and nail to preserve our own languages in all the instinctive aspects of our culture (Ashby, 1964:43).

A lot of credibility and support was accorded to this idea of African Nationalism during the days of the liberation struggles of the different African countries and was, arguably, relevant for the time. It could be said that 'organized' African Nationalism began to be evident as from the late nineteenth century and gained momentum during the twentieth century thus forming itself into a movement of Africans fighting against white oppression of African people. On the other hand, there is a school of thought that has taken a much broader and consequently more radical approach to the concept, namely that African Nationalism takes on board the entire African Nation. Admittedly this school of thought finds itself faced with the question of addressing whether indeed the African Nation exists or not? In order to trace whether indeed the view that an African nation exists or not, it is necessary to briefly examine the idea and therefore evolution of the word 'nation'. Everyone in the world is presumed to belong to a nation, in the sense of being a citizen of a particular country. Nationhood and nationalism, in the manner that the world generally understands them to be now, are relatively new concepts, which have their genesis in the historical realities of Europe and America (Bjornson, 1991). The word nation derives from the Latin word nasci (to be born) and was generally used with reference to people who were born in the same place, geographically. It is interesting to note that in Medieval European Universities the word nation was used with reference to students from a particular region. It was only in the late eighteenth century that the word nation acquired the meaning that it is generally assigned today. Voltaire's definition of nation was, in many ways, confined to the self-conscious elite that were capable of influencing the intellectual and political movements that decided a people's future. Rousseau and other eighteenth century thinkers, on the other hand, popularized the notion that a nation should represent the all-inclusive choice of the people that lived within its borders (Bjornson, 1991). An insight into the French

Revolution of 1789 will reveal that it was at this stage in Europe that the idea of nation found its fullest expression when the French soldiers were shouting "long lives the nation" (Senghor, 1964).

Pan-African Nationalism

According to Microsoft Encarta Premium (2009) Pan-Africanism is the philosophy that is based on the belief that African people share common bonds and objectives and that advocate unity to achieve these objectives. It has been applied to all black African people and people of black African descent; to all people on the African continent, including non-black people or to all states on the continent.

Pan-Africanism is an ideal and movement designed to regroup and mobilize Africans in Africa and the diaspora against racial discrimination, foreign domination and oppression, and economic exploitation. Thus pan-Africanism has three different dimensions; cultural, political and economic. Culturally, it aims at reclaiming Africa‟s heritage, culture and traditions. (i.e. Negritude movement). Politically, pan-Africanism is linked to African nationalist struggle for independence. Economically, is linked to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and globalization that is western strategies of "divide and rule" that resulted in the balkanization of Africa (Chip man, 1989 quoted from martin, 2012:57).

Pan-African thinking originally began in the new world becoming articulate during the century starting from the American declaration of independence in 1776. It represented a reaction against the maltreatment of the Blackman and the racial doctrines that marked the era of abolitionism (Esedebe, 1978).

After the less success or complete failure in the areas of plaintive and radical nationalism, race and colonial imperialism, African political thinkers perceived race and colonial imperialism as common problems requiring a coordinated strategy on a continent-wide scale. Automatically, this meant the emergence of a pan unity movement in a place of Pan-African nationalism. Pan-Africanist had at least one thing in common namely, that Africa should be free. However, they had differences as to the kind of Africa they would have after independence. Like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in the Ancient Greece (The City-States), the medieval political thinkers like St. Thomas Aquinas and Niccole Machiavelli, the Roman political thinkers like Polybius, Cicero, even St. Augustine of the early fathers' days to the modern political thinkers represented by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, J.S. Mill, to the German political thinkers like Immanuel Kant, Hegel and Marx who had differences in the nature and purposes of state and the rights of citizens. Indeed, African political thinkers also disagreed on many issues and approaches on how to achieve their aims particularly on the type of Africa they would have after independence. Some of the thinkers who are commonly referred to as "radicals" wanted a politically united free Africa. Others commonly referred to as "functionalist" who wanted a free African which would be in functional way united. A third group, commonly referred to as "Regionalists" wanted a piecemeal approach to African unity. In other words, in African political thought with a focus on the struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialism and the struggle for the proper enthronement of African culture, African personality and the independence; there existed three schools of thought with their followers. (i) The Radicals (ii) The Functionalists, (iii) The Regionalists.

Toure (1975) asserted for a continental approach to African Unity. Kaunda () argues the case for a functionalist and regionalist approach to Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah (1975) justifies the continental approach to Pan-Africanism Nkrumah gave a theoretical base for

national liberation movement in colonial countries. He discussed political freedom, democratic freedom and social reconstruction and pointed out that "that which is to be done" He further noted that the unevenness of development in African, both political and economic, is a major problem. The obvious solution is unity, so that development can be properly and conclusively be planned (Nkrumah, 1964).

The proponent behind cultural pan Africanism movement were Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X and Nyerere etc while, in Political Pan African movement are W.E.B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, H. K Banda of Malawi, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, Zik of Africa, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria etc. while those who struggle for economic independence are Franz Fanon, Amicar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Nkrumah of Ghana, Steve Biko of South Africa to mention a few.

Emergence of Pan-Africanism

Pan-African thinking originally began in the new world becoming articulate during the century starting from the American declaration of independence in 1776. It represented a reaction against the maltreatment of the black man and the racial doctrines that marked the era of abolitionism (Esedebe, 1978).

In the new world, particularly in the United States, the Afro-American suffered disabilities by which he was reduced to an inferior citizen. While settlers who had made the American Revolution on the ground that 'all men are created equal' refused to apply this 'self-evident truth' to Negro-slavery, the greatest of human inequalities. To say, this is not to deny that even before the revolution philanthropists like the Quaker Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia seized every opportunity to expose the iniquity of slavery. Anti-slavery societies were also formed including the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the oldest organization of its kind in the world and of which Benjamin Franklin became president in 1787. Similarly, during the revolution, men like George Mason, co-author of the constitution of Virginia, and John Jay, who was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the confederation, campaigned vigorously for the termination of slavery (Esedebe, 1978).

The expression of Pan-Africanism however, came into use in the beginning of the twentieth century when Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad, and William Edward Burghardt DuBois of United States of America, both of African descent used it at several Pan-African congresses which were attended mainly by scholars of African descent of the new world. A notable contribution to African nationalism and Pan-Africanism was the 'Back to Africa' movement of Marcus Garvey (Nkrumah, 1975).

Paris held the first pan-African congress in 1919, while the peace conference was in session, the then French Prime Minister, Clemenceau was asked of his thought regarding the holding of the congress. He remarked that 'don't advertise it, but go ahead'. The idea was so strange that it seemed unreal and yet at the time perhaps potentially dangerous. Fifty-seven representatives from African Colonies, United States and West Indies were in attendance. They drafted variousproposal among which was the establishment of a code of law for international protection of the natives of Africa (Nkrumah, 1975).

The second Pan-African congress was in London in 1921. The then British government was tolerant, and one-hundred and thirteen (113) delegates attended. In a declaration to the world drafted at the closing session, it was stated that 'the absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of the world and human advancement (Nkrumah, 1975).

In the 1923, the third congress still held in London. Among the resolutions passed was one which asked for voice of Africans in their own governments and the rights and access to land and its resources. The political aspect of social justice was beginning to be understood. But progress was slow despite the efforts of DuBois and others and the movement lacked fund and membership (Nkrumah, 1975).

The fourth Pan-African congress took place in New York in 1927, with 208 delegates in attendance after which the movement seemed to fade out for a time. A non-party organization, the International Africa Service Bureau was set up in the 1937, which was the forerunner for the Pan-African Federation. It aim was to promote the well-being and unity of African peoples and peoples of African descent throughout the world and to strive to cooperate between Africans and others who shares its aspirations (Nkrumah, 1975).

The fifth congress held between 15th and 21st October, 1945 in Manchester, England. The congress at this point called the intellectual and professional classes of the colonies to awaken them to their responsibilities. It was at this very congress that Pan-Africanism and African nationalism really took concrete expression. For the first time the necessity of well-organized, firmly knite movement as a primary condition for success of the national liberation that is, struggle in Africa was stressed. A definite programme of action was agreed upon. Basically, the programme of action centered on the demand for constitutional change providing for universal suffrage. The methods to be employed were based on the Gandhist technique of non-violent, non-co-operation. That is, the withholding of labor, civil disobedience and economic boycott. There were variations of emphasis from territory to territory according to different circumstances. But the fundamental purpose was identical which was national independence leading to African unity. The limited objectives were combined with wider perspectives (Nkrumah, 1975).

At the end of the congress, having agreed on the programme for Pan-African Nationalism, a working committee was set up with DuBois as the Chairman and Nkrumah as the Secretary. The congress headquarters was moved to London and shortly afterwards the West African National Secretariat was also established (Nkrumah, 1975).

Neo-Colonialism

Immediately after independence in most African countries it dawned upon African political thinkers that independence in Africa was merely juridical. That is to say the African independent states were, to quote Nkrumah, 'client states with political independence minus economic independence; one might add that they lacked cultural independence. This meant that the African political thinker discovered neo-colonialism

Nkrumah (1965) explains the nature of neo-colonialism and prescribes methods of dealing with the phenomenon. Oginga Odinga and Julius Nyerere actually joined Nkrumah in this school of thought as staunch opponents of neo-colonialism. The three African thinkers clearly associated neo-colonialism with international finance and capitalism (Odinga, 1968). They also made attempt to link neo-colonialism with all forms of external dependency (Nyerere, 1968).

It was noted that the greatest danger facing Africa is neo-colonialism and its major instrument, is balkanization. The latter term is particularly appropriate to describe the breaking up of African into small and weak states since it arose from the actions of the colonial powers when they divided up the European part of the old Turkish Empire.

In his book, I speak of Freedom published in 1961, Nkrumah said:

> For the first time, I think in the history of this great continent, leaders of all purely African states which can play the independent role in international affairs will meet to discuss the problems of our countries and take the first steps towards working out an African contribution to international peace and goodwill. For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons (Mutiso and Rohio, 1975 p. 57).

According to Kwame, Nkrumah (1965:P.1),

> Africa is a paradox which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from above and below her soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's improvement. Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer it, it means exploitation without redress.

Like other Marxist- political economists Ake (1981), believes that the end of colonialism in parts of Africa did not mean automatic and of foreign economic domination and exploitation. By the misadventure of imperialism and colonialism, Africa states achieved political independence without economic independence. This gap between politics and economics in post colonial African states has been largely responsible for the weak and unproductive states structures, dependence in trade finance, technology and distorted social relations of production. For the most parts of Africa, the persistence of crisis and underdevelopment is a function of neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism is now manifested through many means in the African continent, military control, economic control, communication, political manifestations, multi-national cooperation's, IMF, World Bank and cultural neo-colonialism (Mazi, 2012).

Gavin Williams's points out that colonial political economy established the material and institutional foundation for the development of the neo-colonial political economy. For instance, in Nigeria the integration of local producers into the international exchange economy expanded the internal market to the point of sustaining the development of capitalism in Europe. The establishment of Marketing Boards during World War 11 years provided the institutional framework for the appropriation by the state of the surplus value of peasant production. Gavin (1980).

Neo-colonialism or what Frank prefers to call neo-imperialism view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world (Andre, 1972). The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities and cheap labor and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies and manufactured goods. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states towards the outside; money, goods and services do

flow into dependent states. But the allocation of these resources is determined by the economic interests of the dominant states, and not by the economic interests of the dependent states. This division of labor is ultimately the explanation for poverty and there is little question but that capitalism regards the division of labor as a necessary condition for the efficient allocation of resources (Marx, 1853).

According to Dos Santos, Africa economy is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected (Dos Santos, 1971). Ian Roxborough sees African dependency as the obverse side of a theory of imperialism. To him, there are two sides to it, one representing the colonial powers and the other the imperialized countries. In the same vein, in consonance with that, Walter Rodney's thesis, which is central to the understanding of this school of thought, believes that the ideas of underdevelopment is a comparative one whose component expresses a particular relationship of exploitation i.e. the exploitation of one country by other (Rodney, 1972). To this extent, all the countries named as underdeveloped in the world today are exploited by others. On his own part, VI Lenin being the first theorist to use this term observed that, not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning colonies themselves forms of dependent countries which politically are formerly independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency (Lenin, 1971).

The above observation merely captures the nature of dependence as a logical manifestation of imperialism in Africa. Shading more light to Lenin's observation. Bill Warren articulates that; Dependency in Africa represents the complex politico-economic relationship that binds the advanced countries of the 'center' and 'periphery' such that the movements and structures of the former decisively determines those of the latter in a fashion somehow detrimental to the economic progress of the Latin American countries(Warren, 1974).

Warren's view appears not far from Galtung's theory where he argues that the world is divided into two ; the center and the periphery. According to him, these two relate but in an asymmetrical (unequal) basis. With America and the other European countries are at the 'centre" and Africa and other developing countries at the 'Periphery'. Yet the centre has the centre of the centre and the periphery of the centre. In the same way, the Periphery has the centre of the Periphery and the Periphery of the Periphery. The division goes on and on.

Late Pope John Paul 11 during his visit to Nigeria in 1982 said;

> It is my conviction that all Africa when allowed to take charge of its own affairs, without being subjected to interference and pressure from any outside powers or groups, will not only astound the rest of the world by its achievements, but will be able to share its wisdom, its sense of life, its reverence for God with other continents and nations, thus establishing that exchange and partnership in mutual respect that is needed for the true progress of all humanity

Ideological and Integral Nationalism

Political thinking become complicated by the failure of the original Pan-African thought movement, the efforts of neo-colonialists to keep Africa balkanized and the need of the national leaders to maintain

themselves in power. This led to the need for ideological and integral nationalism. The political thought which this predicated deals with various schools of African Socialism, the one party state and other national ideologies. It also deals with various strategies for integrating individual independent states and consolidating newly gained political power. This is, incidentally, a negation of the original Pan-Africanism.

The ideological and integral nationalism deal mainly with two themes, the organization of authority and of African Socialism. Basically the debate on organization is whether to organize authority through a single party system or a multi-party system. Thinkers such as Ndabaningi, Sithole, Kenneth Kaunda, Sekou Toure, G.A. Nasser and Bechir Ben Yahmed, favour the single-party system. They argue that democracy is not incompatible with one-party statism. The balance of the readings deal with African Socialism. Others are Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya argues along the same lines as K.A.Busia (Mutiso and Rohio, 1974).

African Socialism: Putting Theory into Practice.

All four of these leaders, Ghana's Nkrumah, Guinea's Sekou Touré, Senegal's Senghor and Tanzania's Nyerere, professed 'African socialism'. And though their African socialism shared commonalities, there were also important differences. These attempts at African socialism, Mercer Cook points out, were 'bitter gall to the communists, who are taught to take their Marxism straight, without ice cube or aspirin' (Senghor 1964: xi–xii). But these leaders insisted on having not only their socialism but an African socialism.

Nkrumah, Senghor and Nyerere had encountered leftist ideologies when they were students in Europe or the US, Sekou Touré's rise was as a trade unionist and he was looked down on by the intellectuals within the African Democratic Rally (RDA), the pan-regional political party in French West Africa, because he held only a certificat d'études (Schmidt 2007: 129). Indeed, Sekou Touré seems not to have had a leftist agenda until he was urged in that direction by the young radicals in his country, especially those who had been educated in France. As late as July 1958, Sekou Touré kept pushing for a revision of the constitution and not for independence (Schmidt 2007: 144).

In his book on the Cultural Revolution, written to outline the beliefs, vision and plan of the Parti démocratique de Guinée, Sekou Touré states that the Cultural Revolution is a socialist view that places the improvement of society above individual interest. Colonialism, he said, was an actcultural aggression: All imperialism is always accompanied by a cultural aggression, an acculturation enterprise, and an action of cultural alienation for the purposes of a complete conditioning, necessary for a political and economic subjugation. And this is why, for peoples emerging from colonial enslavement, the task of cultural disalienation for the return to national culture is imperative for the consolidation of national independence and concrete sovereignty, meaning the full exercise of the popular will in all fields. (Sekou Touré 1972: 117)

For Sekou Touré this was not a return to some romantic past. He saw culture as dynamic and he underscored the rationality of the Guinean people in discerning what is right. This led him to disagree with Senghor's négritude, which viewed Africa's contribution to world culture as emotional and spiritual, while Europe's contribution was through critical thinking.7 Unlike Senghor, who sought some union of African and French culture, understandable for someone married to a French woman, Sekou Touré even advocated a return to African languages. Considering that France had ended its presence in Guinea after Conakry's 'no' vote, Sekou Touré's position is understandable. Senghor, on the other hand, was erudite, a product of the Sorbonne

and the first black African to attain the distinction of agrégé, the highest teaching diploma in France. This erudition shines powerfully in his On African Socialism, an intellectual tour de force. He reflected on the parting of ways in 1948 between Senegalese nationalists and the French Socialist Party after the Africans came to appreciate that French workers together with the bourgeoisie were beneficiaries of colonial rule, and that colonialism and the class struggle did not necessarily align. Senghor declared: We are not 'Marxists' in the sense given the word today, in so far as Marxism is presented as atheistic metaphysics, a total and totalitarian view of the world, a weltanschauung. Marx himself once said: 'As for me, I am not a Marxist.' We are socialists. In other words, we shall exclude neither Marx nor Engels from our sources; we shall start from their works as from those of the 'utopian socialists', and we shall add to these sources the works of their successors and commentators. But we shall retain only the method and the ideas: the method, to help us to analyze our situation; the ideas, to help us to solve our problems. (Senghor 1964: 26)

Senghor rightly points out that Marx was a philosopher who became interested in economics because of his interest in the conditions of the European working class. He states, accurately, that: 'We must not consider Marx as an economist like Keynes, but as a sociologist, a philosopher' (Senghor 1964: 33). He clarifies further: 'We are not Communists', and offers theoretical and practical reasons why not. And just in case the West thought they had a convert in the making, he affirms: 'Nevertheless, we shall not be won over to a regime of literal capitalism and free enterprise. We cannot close our eyes to segregation, although the Federal Government combats it, nor can we accept material success as a way of life.' He pronounces: 'We stand for a middle course, for a democratic socialism, which goes so far as to integrate spiritual values, a socialism which ties in with the old ethical current of the French socialists' (Senghor 1964: 46).

Non-Alignment Movement

African non- alignment. The first five readings are by Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, KwesisArmah, and Alex Quiason-Sackey. The latter three represent the Nkrumahistic schools of extra-African relations. K.A. Busia's piece is a critique of the Nkrumahistic school. Tom Mboya argues along the same lines as K.A. Busia. Sekou Toure's extract is an account of Guinean foreign policy and a prescription for humanistic international relations. The section ends eith J.K. Nyerere's evaluation of Tanzania's foreign policy and a restatement of the general principles underlying the making of extra-African relationships (Motiso & Rohio, 1974).

Kenyatta's views Non-Alignment in the party manifesto made it clear that non alignment did not imply non- commitment. Kenya shall not exchange one master for a new master. We intend to remain our own masters forever. Let every nation in the East or West take heed of this warning today (Kenyatta, 1975).

Nyerere asserted that some of the problems of non-alignment. Tanzania has, over recent years, had so many quarrels with big powers which are part of the Western Bloc, that it is useful for us to stress, once again, that we have no desire to be, and no intention of being 'anti-West' in our foreign policies. We shall deal with each problem as it occurs, and on its own merits. We shall neither move from particular quarrels with individual countries to a generalized hostility to members of a particular group, nor to automatic support for those who also happen to be, for their own reasons, quarrelling with the same nations. We wish to live in friendship with all states and all peoples (Nyerere, 1975).

Before independence we had no direct contact with Eastern Bloc countries. After independence we began to establish such contacts and we shall continue to strengthen them. We desire friendship with these non-Western nations as well as with Western states, and on the same basis of mutual non-interference with internal affairs. We shall not allow any of our friendships to be exclusive; we shall not allow anyone to choose any of our friends or enemies for us (Nyerere, 1969).

Africa at Present and current leadership crisis; an Analysis

Scholars across African literatures assert that African politics is characterized by bad leadership, lack of hygiene in African politics, corruption, underdevelopment, and economic dependency among others. Culturally, it has also submitted that to an extent there is cultural decay in Africa. Therefore, this analysis concentrates on the question of development in Africa as to African current leadership crisis.

It is well known that Africa is falling behind the rest of the world in terms of economic wellbeing. Even though global poverty is declining due to rapid economic growth in India, China, and other parts of the world, Africa's contribution to this decline is disappointing. Absolute poverty in many of the African nations is in fact rising (Sachs, 2005).Indigenous Africans are still underdeveloped and impoverished. In this study, underdevelopment is characterized by dictatorship, powerlessness, joblessness, illiteracy, violence, hunger, famine, absolute poverty, disease, and untimely death (Asafa, 2015). Escobar (1995) exposes the failure of the West's models of development that have resulted in further exploitation, underdevelopment and poverty. At the same time, a few Africans who control or have access to the state are getting richer and richer by serving as the intermediaries to the external powers and by looting the resources of the people.

For almost five centuries, European empire builders employed different strategies and tactics in Africa to make money through the ownership of human beings, exploration, evangelization, colonization, commercialization, terrorism, banditry, robbery, and theft. The processes of merchandizing some young Africans, dominating and controlling trade, destroying African institutions, cultures and religions, imposing Christianity, destroying African leadership and sovereignties through establishing colonial governments, dispossessing lands and other economic resources, and transforming Africans into slaves or coerced laborers for the purpose of advancing private profit caused public disasters for Africans and peoples of African origins (Atoubi, 2007).

Issues Associated with Africa's Underdevelopment

For over fifty years, the African quest for development had only marginal success. Most African countries are worse off than they were, health and nutrition problems are wide spread, infrastructure is eroding, coups, ethno-religious conflict, and corruption, poverty, and unemployment and diseases are the basic features that dominated the third world nations (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013). The study focusses on political instability and other related crisis such as poverty, corruption, conflicts, poor democratic governance, and terrorism among others.

Political Instability in African Countries

It is not a deniable fact that, in terms of political instability and its attendant's consequences, the African countries had some difficult moments during the last fifty years or so. In this context most of the third world countries have seen its freedom heroes turn into dictators,

while plunder of natural resources, politics of exclusion and deprivation to run the balance of power continues to dominate the public sphere. Political instability and crisis in the African countries may be as a result of both internal and external factors. However, the penetration of both internal and external factors especially the geo-political and economic interests of the international community constantly plays a significant role in undermining the very process and institutions that are expected to nurture democracy and to instill a sense of stability for societal development in the African countries (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

The African political instability and other related crisis is a consequence of its leadership problems. Internally most of the African countries are governed in ways that have been regarded as far from the modern western state systems upon which they are modeled (Tutu, 2004 & Otieno, 2008).

Leadership is not a new concept in the African traditions or cultural practices. Though, the forms and context could be different but these nations have their own efficient ways of governance, even before the advent of the so called colonialism. During the onset of multi-party democracy in the so called third wave of democratization, most regimes in the African Nations did not embrace the changes that accompanied the transition. For instance, most nations accepted multi-party democracy out of western pressure and agitation for change (Huntington, 1991).

As a result, the constitutional framework and the state institutions have been tempered with in order to create a non-level playing ground for the oppositions. Some of these practices have witnessed a serious violence during electioneering periods, which inevitably causes political instability. Though the form and context varies from country to country, evident are the elections in Uganda, Nigeria (2003, 2007 and 2011), Kenya (1999), Zimbabwe, Sudan,(2010), Rwanda, DRCongo, among others (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

In respect to crises, the African Nations suffer a lot of setback particularly the situation where both political and social crisis thwart the developmental path of the nations. Instances of skirmishes and full blown wars abound in the continents, prominent among which is the crisis in Sudan (Darfur, Janjawid and Sudan Liberation Army), Rwanda (Tutsi and Hutu), Ivory Coast, Chad, Niger (coup by the military), Madagascar, Nigeria (Religious and ethnic crisis in Jos, Kaduna, Borno and Yobe states), Somalia (Al-Shabbab and the fragile government backed by the AU), etc (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

According to Ake (1990), the persistence of underdevelopment is related to lack of democracy in Africa. While democracy is desirable in itself, Africa needs democracy because it would greatly enhance the prospects for development. He attributes the failure of the development project in Africa to political authoritarianism. By engaging in political oppression African leaders turned politics into warfare. They then found themselves besieged by a host of hostile forces they was unleashed by their coercion. This resultant state of siege distracted African leaders from paying attention to development which they relegated to a very low priority.

Secondly, African governments became disconnected from their people and governed without accountability. As a result of this, public policy is completely dissociated from social needs and even from developmental relevance (Ake, 1990).

Furthermore, the trauma of repeated subjection to arbitrary and coercive rule has turned African societies into hostile force to be feared, evaded, cheated and defeated as circumstances permit. They turn their loyalty from the all-embracing level of the state and localize

it in community groups, kinship groups, ethnic associations, or even religious organizations.

However, it is argued that, where there has been more respect for democratic practices (however minimal),higher rates of growth and more successful models of accumulation have been ensured along with better terms of the peasant producers (Bates, 1981 & Ake, 1990).

In a relatively wider view, Sachs (2005), observed that, challenges to the African nations are multi-dimensional. The challenges in the region include wide spread and increasing poverty, globalization and the marginalization of the region." Other identified issues are the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other diseases as well as the eruption of conflicts that create the image of political instability in the region.

Poor Democratic Governance

Peaceful power succession has been described as the highest index of human development and civilization. Whereas it takes a simple process to institute, elect or replace a leader in the developed nations of the world. Such processes require guns and tanks in many underdeveloped countries. This may partly explain the inability of peaceful power succession in the sub region, which has always led to political crises which manifests itself in dictatorship, lack of accountability and poor governance (Igezundia 1990).

Political leadership in the sub region is characterized by disregard of the yearnings of the people and a violation of the constitution they swear to protect. In the quest to remain in power at all cost, all forms of manipulations are employed. This may include manipulation of ethnic differences, religious and political yearnings. In pursuance of selfish agenda, nothing is spared as long as the aim is achieved. The art of self-succession is the name of the game in the sub region except for some isolated cases (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

Corruption

Since their interception, African states have been facing corruption as a major problem. In some cases, it has attained levels of egregious theft, for which no possible or moral historical justification can be advanced, and which have played a major role in the alienation of its people from their rulers. The existence of widespread corruption, especially in the societies beset by mass poverty and very high level of unemployment has a deeply corrosive effect on trust in government and contributes to crime and political disorder (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

In the political realm, corruption undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. Corruption in legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law; and corruption in public administration results in the unequal distribution of services. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. At the extreme, unbridled corruption can lead to state fragility and destructive conflict, and plunge a state into remitting cycle of institutional anarchy and violence. E.g. Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Bakassi peninsula etc (Theobald, 1990; Atuobi, 2007).

Conflicts (Intra and Inter State)

Intra and inter-state conflicts have been Africa's most common source of insecurity and loss of lives for several decades. The pattern of intra-state boundaries, ethno linguistic difference, religious intolerance and a winner-take-all political culture are responsible for various conflicts in the sub region.

Notable conflicts in the sub region are the Liberian civil war (1989-1997) and the Sierra Leonean crises (1990-2001). In Africa, there are varying degrees of disturbances in parts of Senegal, Nigeria and Niger. These conflicts have led to death, wanton destruction of property, displacement of entire population and dislocation of social groups thereby hampering sustainable peace in the sub region (Escobar, 1995).

Poverty

One of the serious hindrances of effective development in Africa is poverty. The assessment of poverty is based on human indicators of longevity and good health, learning, economic means and participation in social life. According to the world human development report, poverty range from 3.9 percent level of Uruguayan population to the 64.7 percent of the population of Niger. The states of Mali, Guinea Bissau, Burkina Faso, Niger and Sierra Leone are the world's poorest countries. More than half of the African population lives in abject poverty. In the 1980's many Ghanaians migrated to Nigeria in search of jobs but were forced to return home by the Nigerian government. That act affected bilateral relations between the two nations and hindered cooperation in the community. This poverty situation needs to be redressed for integration and development to be effective (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

Terrorism

The use of violent and intimidating methods to influence the government or community for criminal or political reasons is another hindrance that makes terrorism one of the security concerns in Africa. Terrorism takes political, criminal and religious dimensions in the sub region e.g. Nigeria has recorded two aircraft hijacks since independence (1967 & 1993) other threats at the airports in the sub region includes illegal immigrants, drug trafficking touting, stealing, pilfering of fuel stores and sabotage. The Niger Delta region of Nigeria is an unstable area where inter-ethnic clashes are common-often access to oil revenue is the trigger of the violence. Pipelines are regularly vandalized by impoverished residents who risk their life to siphon fuel. The ongoing insurgency in the north eastern part of Nigeria is also a cause of serious concern. The clashes claim hundreds of lives and destroyed property that worth billions of naira (Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013).

Conclusion

In conclusion, political instability, and other related issues like corruption, terrorism, intra and inter states conflict, poverty, unemployment, religious, regional, tribal, and ethnic antagonisms among others, remained serious issues of concerned not only to scholars, within and outside Africa, but to any person of goodwill across the world. Therefore, researches were made and are still on to ascertain why the status of Africa remained as it is. The study just as others therefore, established that the reason is simply because, the ideas and thoughts of African leaders and scholars such as Kwame Nkrumah, L.S. Senghor, Diop, Ki-Zerbo, Sithol, Molema, Kenyatta, and Blyde have not been adequately adhered to by the present African leaders and peoples.

Recommendations

The study therefore, recommend the following.

i. As once said by Professor Patrice Lumumba, the task of moving Africa forward is a relay race. That the class of Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues have done their own

part. Therefore, both present and upcoming leaders should be committed and work in that path.

ii. There is need of more eloquent visionary leaders to take over Africa. Therefore, African youths should objectively involve themselves in the quest for political power without which there may not be such a development of making Africa a peaceful and advanced continent.

iii. African value system that the right thing is or can only be done by the white man or people from the west should be changed. That Africa should learn from the Asian countries that have distinguished themselves by a significant level of advancement in economic, political, social and cultural ramifications. Therefore, African should note that doing the right thing at all time is not a choice but mandatory if Africa has to develop.

References

Ajom, S. (2006). Political Thought: A Comparative Analysis from the Ancient Greek City States, the Nation States of Europe and Modern States of Africa. Jamel Publishers.

Ake, C. (1990).The Case for Democracy. In African Governance in The 1990s: Objectives, Resources, and Constraints. Working Papers from the Second Annual Seminar of the African Governance Program. Atlanta, Georgia: The Carter Center of Emory University (March 23-25): 2-6

Asafa, J. (2015). The triple causes of African Underdevelopment: Colonial Capitalism, State Africa: the experience of ECOWAS. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs.* 16(1), p. 90-107.

Atoubi, S.M. (2007). Corruption and Instability in West Africa; An Examination of Policy options KAITC occasion paper.

Awolowo, O. (1947). Path to Nigerian Freedom. Lagos: Faber.

Azikwe, N. (1968). Renascent African: Frank Cass.

Blyden, W. (1975). Africa and the Africans. In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Busia, K. (1962). The Challenge of Africa. The Mall Press. London. p.97-106.

Cabral, A. (1980). Unity and Struggle. London: Heinemann. p.133.

Chabal, P. (1983). Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People Vote. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.132.

Chinonye, S. (2007). Political Theory. Premium Publishers Bariga Lagos.

Fanon, F. (1975). The Ordeal of the Black Man 1952: In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Fanon, F. (1986). Black Skin White Mask. Translated by Charles Latin Markann Pluto Press. London.

Huntington, P.S. (1991). *The Third Wave: democratization in the late twentieth century*. Duke University Press. Durham.

Ibrahim, A.A., & Cheri, L. (2013). Democracy, Political Instability and the African crisis of terrorism and racism. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*. 7(3) p.75-91.

Kenyatta, J. (1975). The Gikuyu System of Government. In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Lulua (1975). Lulua Ethnic Association. In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Lumumba, P. (1962). Congo My Country. The Pall Mall Press. London. p.11-28.

Mboya, T. (1963). Trade Unions and the Emergence, Freedom and after: London, Andre Doutch Ltd.

Mondlane, E. (1975). Race Relations and Portugueese Colonial Policy with Special Reference to Mozambique. In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Mutiso, G.M. and Rohio S.W. (Eds.), (1975), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Nkrumah, K. (1962). Towards Colonial Freedom. Panaf Books Ltd. London.

Nkrumah, K. (1965). Neo-colonialism the Worst form of Imperialism. Panaf Books. Ltd.

Nkrumah, K. (1970). Africa Must Unite. New York International Publishers.

Nyerere, J. (1969). Ujaama. The Basis of African Socialism. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Nyerere, J. (1975). The Nature and Requirements of African Unity. In G.M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio (Eds.), Readings of Political Thought. Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd.

Sachs, J. (2005). *The end of poverty: how can we make it happen in our lifetime.* Penguin Books.

Senghor, L (1964). On African Socialism. Translation and Introduction by Mercer Cook. Praeger New York.

Sithole, N. (1959). The One/ Two Party System, Africa Nationalism. London, Oxford University Press.

Sithole, N. (1968). African Nationalism. Oxford University Press. London.Theobald, R. (1990). Corruption, development and underdevelopment. Bulletin of science,

Toure, S. (1959). General Congress of the UGTAN. Presence Africaine Paris. Pp.7-43

Toure, S. (1963). Guinea Revolution and Social Progress. Pp.44-45.