

Colonialism in Africa and Matters Arising - Modern Interpretations, Implications and the Challenge for Socio-Political and Economic Development in Africa

Elijah Okon John, Ph.D.

(Senior Lecturer)

Department of Philosophy, University of Uyo, P. M. B. 1017, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria

Email: elijahjohn@uniuyo.edu.ng

Abstract

In recent years, many socio-political and economic thinkers seem to blame colonialism as the major reason for Africa's backwardness in all spheres of her life. But against this backdrop, this paper attempts to suggest that there can be no valid or justifiable excuse of colonialism for Africa's underdevelopment, howsoever. This position is incontrovertibly strengthened by the fact that if other countries in different continents of the world who equally experienced colonialism could rise and become strategically important in the comity of nations, then it is time for Africa to look inward and rise from where she is by giving modern interpretations and implications to her experience of colonialism.

Keywords: Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Decolonialism, African Political Development, African Values and Cultures.

1. Introduction and Background

Students of history are familiar with the argument that prior to colonialism in Africa the traditional African society had enjoyed a glorious and enviable past in its entire ramification. The implication of this assertion is that African civilization before the emergence of colonialism had reached a kind of apogee in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries earlier in areas around Benin. Writers such as Dumont (1962:34), have shown that African blacksmiths knew how to work gold, copper, bronze and even iron; the latter as early as the time of Christ. Thus, African civilizations surpassed the Oceanic, and like those of pre-Columbian American, in technical development. The system of civilization practiced at the time, that is, working the earth with hoes after clearing it with fire, and rotation of fallow lands, is still used today in Africa with rare modifications. Agricultural progress was great in the traditional African society.

The pre-colonial civilization was also characterized by the absence of private landed property. However, Dumont (1962:35) has lamented the fact that no one knows where African civilization would have been today if it had been able to follow a normal development, perhaps in peaceful contact with European techniques. But these potentialities for development were brusquely arrested, and Africans are still paying for the crimes of their white masters, who believed that they were free to do anything since they were endowed as they claimed, with "innate superiority". This paper does not intend to go into the argument either for or against the glorious past. However, we must admit as a truism that there was African art, clearly distinguished from all other alien forms of art, and sharing the same characteristic distortions of form and soft symmetries of lifelike art. This distortion of forms, according to Okadigbo (1985:4), was an attempt to avoid the impression of the superiority of force and an immediate expression of a general attitude of non-violence.

Also, in traditional African society there was a viable and fruitful political system that was built on a uniquely African sense of communalism, founded on kinship or extended families, in a proportion unequalled and unrivalled elsewhere outside Africa. To show how strong and enviable African nations had been before they allowed themselves to be deceived and consequently colonized by the West and East, we shall briefly consider Ethiopia as a case study here. Firstly, Ethiopia goes into record as the only nation in Africa that was never colonized. Secondly, it must be observed that Ethiopia's combined effort with other African nations like Egypt, Libya, etc made Africa a formidable race and a super-power of a sort which created the desired impact in the field of commerce, arts, mathematics, warfare, engineering, medicine, agriculture, etc. The Holy Bible also speaks unequivocally in support of these historical facts concerning Africa's mental and physical strength (Jeremiah 46: 9; 1 Kings 4: 30; Acts 7: 22; Proverbs 7: 16; 2 Chronicles 1: 16, 17). In addition to these Biblical testimonies, great European writers such as Thomas Sowell (1994:193) in his *Race and Culture: A World-View* attests to the strength and wisdom of the ancient Black race. Sowell, in particular, states among other things, that the "ancient Europe was more underdeveloped than Africa".

Thirdly, Ethiopia is also on record as the only nation that has had 3,000 years of uninterrupted monarchical system of government which lasted till the reign of Haille Sellassie (Ashimolowo, 2007:35). Fourthly, in military might, ancient Ethiopia was known to be ferocious in its warfare. Thus, Ethiopia was highly respected in the comity of nations for keeping a winning edge in matters of the powers of government, war and

conquest. Instances abound to support this claim, for example, in 332 BC; Ethiopia single-handedly fought and forced the dreaded Alexander the Great of Greece to retreat. In that case, Alexander the Great foolishly underestimated the strength of Ethiopia's might and thus assumed that he could overrun her as he did to Egypt but he was shamefully disgraced by Ethiopia.

In the same vein, Augustus Caesar, in 25 BC ignorantly tested his military might by fighting Ethiopia, but was brutally defeated by the Ethiopian army. During the era of colonial madness in the 19th century in Africa, Ethiopia stood out as one nation that comprehensively fought and resisted Italy from colonizing her. By that wonderful act of conquest, Ethiopia has become the only country in the contemporary society that has defeated a European nation. That also explains why Ethiopia was never colonized. However, in 1935, Benito Mussolini of Italy became mad having recalled with great regret the disgrace, humiliation and the attendant embarrassment that followed that great defeat; thus in his political cum military inanity, Mussolini re-launched a surprise offensive to capture Ethiopia. Though the Italians had an edge over Ethiopians in that invasion, but Italy could not still colonize Ethiopia. The reprehensible act already exhibited by Mussolini greatly polarized the League of Nations and ultimately led to its dissolution that dovetailed into the Second World War in 1945, which Italy supported Germany.

The above is a brief overview of Africa that was, that is, before it became dislocated by modern colonialism. In other words, Africa's real and meaningful predicament all began in the 1880s when Belgium saw the need to invade the rich continent of Africa. This untoward idea came soon after the abolition of slave trade. That means, instead of the West taking people to Europe for slavery, she rather decided to come and effectively made Africans slaves in their own countries. Although it was Belgium that initiated the idea of African colonization but she was not strong enough to control and dominate the entire continent of Africa. Consequently, the King of Belgium, Leopold II, in his political craftiness, extended the invitation to six other European powers, namely: Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, Italy and Spain to divide and rule Africa among themselves. Thus, African countries fell under these European nations. It must be noted that though the Portuguese were the first to have had a contact with Africa, but they did not at that material time nurse any intention of colonizing Africa; "the Portuguese at that time were only interested in ordinary explorational trade contact, though in most cases, the business in question was very obnoxious" (Ozumba and John, 2012:49).

The point here is that the intention to colonize Africa actually came as a result of the evil-prompting from King Leopold II of Belgium to exploit the wealth of Africa. This also explains why the Portuguese did not colonize any African territory at the first instance in 1488 when they established trade link with some parts of Africa like the old Mid-Western and South-Eastern regions of Nigeria probably because their eyes were not opened to Africa's enormous wealth at that time. It is on account of the incontrovertible wealth of Africa that European invaders even fought among themselves, and history refers to the fight as the Boer War which took place between 1899 and 1902. This was the war in which the British fought the Dutch invaders over who owned what in Africa (Ashimolowo, 2007:58). And one of the forces behind Apartheid regime in South Africa for 300 years was nothing more than the economic interest that is, digging of "free" diamonds by European occupation in South African soil.

2. Ancient Colonization

Colonialism in Africa has a pretty long history; a history that spanned many centuries and phases. In the light of this consideration, the most famous history as far as colonialism is concerned is the European colonization of Africa, which took place between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, in the ancient period, North Africa experienced colonization from Greece and Phoenics (West Asia). This explains why a Greek mercantile colony was established at Naucratis (in Egypt) during the reign of Pharaoh Amasis (Boardman, 1973: 114). Greece also colonized Cyrene and Carthage (Tunisia) and established colonies there in 513 BC. It was during this colonization period that Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) founded Alexandria, which eventually became one of the cities of Hellenistic and Roman times (Boardman, 1973:151-208). According to Scullard (1976:216), once the strength of Greece under Alexander the Great was seriously weakened by Ethiopia, Carthage became a free empire but only to be colonized again by Rome, which made her the capital of the Roman province of Africa. In the 7th century, the whole of Roman-Byzantine North Africa eventually fell to the Arab world, which introduced the Islamic religion and Arabic language to the continent of Africa.

From the 7th-century up, Arab trade with sub-Saharan Africa led to a gradual colonization of East Africa, especially areas around Zanziba (in today's Tanzania) and other areas. Again, it is a truism that trans-Saharan trade led to a small number of West African cities developing Arab quarters, though these cities were not regarded as colonies. What this labourious tracing is portraying is that the later part of the 19th century witnessed the beginning of the down-ward trend in the development process of the African race through the instrument of colonialism. In particular, African continent was segmented into spheres of influence and colonies of the European powers for the sole purpose of exploitation, subjugation and domination. While the Africans themselves became slaves to the European invaders, the Europeans became masters of the continent and owners

of virtually everything in Africa that was of any value (Ozumba and John, 2013:50-51).

Various schools have written on this forceful subjugation, exploitation and domination of Africa. It was during this period that the reins of exalted traditional government and institution were compulsively seized from African bona fide rulers by the European colonialists who became self-appointed masters. Africans who dared to resist the European infiltration and inhumanity were ruthlessly dealt with. That is to say that some rulers and outstanding African personalities were deposed and exiled or in many cases killed (Mbiti, 1969:128). Thus, European colonizers by their inhuman dispositions, tacitly justified Bartholomeo Vanzetti's cynical observation that man is wolf to the man. Having overpowered African nations through their sophisticated weapons, the colonialists moved into the second stage of their ambition, namely: humiliation – to divide, rule and exploit the Africans to the maximum. It is on record that this process of humiliation started with the undermining of African cultures and values. And all these set the pace for the underdevelopment of the continent. Rodney (1972:52-82) indicates that African civilization, culture, beliefs and values were trodden under the feet. For these European invaders to effectively realize their objectives, they had to establish themselves firmly on the continent of Africa by introducing and imposing on Africans, their religious, political, economic, social, linguistic and administrative systems, thereby upstaging the hitherto familiar, noble and enviable African institutions.

The important thing to note here, perhaps, is that during this colonial period in Africa, some Africans went abroad and studied political science, history, philosophy, law, etc which were tilted towards one direction, namely: the purported “divine” superiority of the whites over the blacks. But these Africans consciously refused to imbibe this kind of dubious intellectual indoctrination and innuendo that they were exposed to. Hence, they all gave different interpretations and considerations to the things they were taught. The point here is that colonialism had great significance on Africa: It left a lasting legacy on the African mode of thought and civilization.

3. Modern Interpretations of Colonialism

Colonialism is one experience that has greatly affected Africa in a number of ways than any other thing. Though many societies of the world had also suffered from colonialism in different senses, but it is African society that was badly hit by colonialism. Colonialism in Africa, like a severe wound, though healed but the scar is still there. Beyond this fact, the scar has also metamorphosed into a dreaded monster called neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism, with all its accompanying side effects, has come to stay in Africa. Though colonialism had since been removed from the continent, but its impact on African mode of reasoning, its effects on African cultures, worldview, identity, languages and history are still felt today. This means, Africans had had an arrangement by which reality was known, transmitted and preserved, and by which traditional societies were organized. But all these were set aside as a strange and difficult situation arose with the experience of colonialism. More than this, African leaders who become the apostles of modern African socio-economic and political philosophies were subjected to colonial rule. Consequently, this experience also contributed greatly to the wrong orientation and permutation, which they meted out to the Africans during the post-colonial era. But what is colonialism? According to Nkrumah, colonialism is: “The means of the European powers to satisfy their ends, the exploitation of the subject territories for the aggrandizement of the metropolitan countries; they were all rapacious, they all repressed and despoiled, degraded and oppressed” (Nkrumah, 1963: xiii).

From Nkrumah's point of view, it appears that the industrialization of European countries gave rise to the outward drive for the acquisition of new territories. Thus, colonialism is the direct political, social, and economic subjugation of one political entity by another. In this case, it is the domination of Africa by the West, which involves direct exercise of political control through the adoption of certain policies aimed at the structural and economic pauperization of the colonized territories. This understanding may be the probable reason that most Marxists perceive colonialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism. Falaiye, in describing the experience of colonialism in Africa, puts it more vividly when he declares: “The European aggressive incursion and subsequent imposition of colonial domination on Africa had both traumatic and destructive consequences on the political, social and cultural situation of the continent. Africa did not only lose her political freedom; but more fundamentally, the structures of political power were weakened, retarded and even dismantled in some occasions and replaced with those of the metropolis that were considered more “enlightened” and “sophisticated” without any consideration whatever for the people's worldview” (Falaiye, 1997:35).

The above observations may be the probable reason that Jean-Paul Sartre in his “Preface” to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, informs his fellow whites that they should pick up the book and read to be able to discover the incalculable harm they have done to the black race in colonialism. In his very words, Sartre declares: “No matter what the whites think about their black victims at colonialism, our victims know us by their scars and by their chains, and it is this that makes their evidence irrefutable” (Fanon, 1968:13). History scholars such as Ali Masrui and Vincent Khapoya subscribe to three interrelated broad reasons for European exploration and subsequent exploitation of Africa, and these are: to increase knowledge, to spread Christianity and to increase national esteem of established empires. According to Khapoya (1971:112, 114), these reasons coincided with the political cum strategic, cultural and economic reasons for colonization.

4. Decolonization

The main period of decolonization in Africa started soon after the Second World War, that is, while British veterans were handsomely rewarded for their service in serving British Empire with generous pensions and offer of free landed properties in choice areas in the colonies, the African soldiers were given mere handshakes and train tickets for the journey back home. African soldiers were also permitted to keep their khaki uniforms as their only testimonial, and nothing more. These ex-servicemen of African origin having felt the manifest gravity of ingratitude, which they received for their selfless efforts in supporting imperialist countries, were willing and more ready than before, after returning home, to use their new skills to assist nationalist movements in fighting for their national freedom that were beginning to take shape in many colonies. Again, Africans recognized the value of European education in dealing with the Europeans in Africa. This assisted them greatly to notice the hypocrisy of the whites and the irreconcilable discrepancies between Christian teachings of universal brotherhood as contained in the Holy Writ and the disgraceful treatment they received from missionaries. A generation of Africans necessarily benefited from some of the facilities and policies that accompanied colonial incursion. As pointed out earlier, principal among these benefits was the European educational system acquired in those foreign countries, which guaranteed them positions in the colonial administration. According to John (2009: 102, 103), this generation of Africans which also included Africans in the Diaspora such as Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure), George Padmore and Henry Sylvester-Williams of Trinidad, Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, Edward Blyden, Huey Newton, Malcolm X, W. E. B. DuBois, Casely Hayford and Booker Washington of the United States of America, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire of Martinique, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Keita Modibo of Mali, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Effiong Okon Eyo (popularly known as Eyo Uyo), Eyo Ita, Nyong Essien, Obafemi Awolowo, Edidem Uyoata Akpabio III and Sir Udo Udoma of Nigeria, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Antonio Augustinho Neto of Angola, Ernest Che Gueverra of Argentina, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya of Kenya, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and many more rose to the task of putting an end to colonialism in Africa and the business of establishing African identity and personality. These men were thorough-going African socio-political thinkers, irrespective of their race, condition, religion, etc.

Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask* and Padmore's *Pan-Africanism* were useful instruments of fighting colonialism. Colin Legum's seminal work: *Pan-Africanism* was and is still very interesting thesis. It intellectualizes the emotions associated with blackness and makes Pan-Africanism a vehicle for the struggle of black people to regain their pride, strength and independence; although "black skins were made into the shield for the battle, yet Pan-Africanism only became a race-conscious movement, and not a racialist one" (Legum, 1962:60). In addition to the above observation, Okadigbo (1985:81) has pointed out that there have been assertions of various African currents and schools such as Black Theology, Black Identity, Black Power, Blackism, Conciencism, African Revolution, African Philosophy, *Negritude*, *Ujamaa*, African Socialism, Black Culture, etc, pioneered differently and atimes, collectively by various activists and thinkers such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Augustinho Neto, Patrice Lumumba, Colin Legum, Amilcar Cabral, Carmichael Stokely, Huey Newton, among others. But it should be noted also that these various schools failed to meet, attain and address the need for the status and impact of a complete ideology which was the expectation. Some Africans established their own churches as instruments of decolonization. Other professional Africans such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, educationists, poets, the petite bourgeoisie (clerks, teachers, small scale merchants, cash crop and peasant farmers), urban workers, etc, who equally benefited from Western education, directly or indirectly, established or joined independence movements, indigenous political parties, trade unions and other-initially-non-political associations evolved into political movements; and with pressures from within the imperialist powers and from the United States, especially the Atlantic Charter in 1941 and the Soviet criticism of imperialism, all worked for decolonization of Africa.

However, a time came when the process of colonialism in Africa would surely come to an end; "For it is impossible to continue indefinitely to deprive any people of their fundamental rights" (Omogbe, 1990:31). Thus, having acquired western education, these Africans realized that though absorbed into the colonial administrative set-up, they were not considered properly fit to climb to the top positions which would have meant replacing or displacing the colonial masters. Again, while schooling in the European, American and Eastern countries, these African scholars became exposed to the revolutionary and other positive changes that were totally different from what they were introduced to and operational in the European invaded African colonies. These experiences revealed to the Africans the truth that African societies were being unjustly exploited, raped and their cultures destroyed. Hence the fight was intensified: firstly, to dislodge the colonial authorities from gaining more ascendancy to African inheritance. And secondly, to liberate African societies from material, political and mental slavery by challenging the decision of the Berlin Conference of 1885 initiated by Chancellor Bismarck, which gave official approval to colonialism in Africa. Though the fight was launched and won but there has actually been little done toward economic and mental decolonization of Africans.

One has to note that all philosophical activities during this time were tilted towards decolonization process. This is because colonialism was the main problem of the day. While the whites were busy entrenching colonialism into African minds, African nationalists both abroad and at home were busy destroying it. They formed unions and associations that demanded for greater African participation in the politics and administration of African society. In other words, while the European colonizers were busy presenting the philosophy of colonialism to the Africans through direct and indirect rule; assimilation and acculturation processes, the Africans on the other hand countered it with the philosophy of decolonization through their outright rejection of capitalism and colonialism through any form and process. This attitude was a reaction to the various cultural, socio-economic and political problems which colonialism brought. For instance, Kwame Nkrumah saw capitalism as a gentleman's method of slavery. He concluded that its furtherance in Africa would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa. By 1980, virtually the whole of the continent was free from European control.

It is also discovered that immediately after independence, African political thinkers who needed a contemporary political philosophy that would maximize their efforts at nation-building and the challenge of decolonization embraced divergent political philosophies. These philosophies were in response to the challenges which colonialism posed. As earlier observed, what is known and regarded today as African political philosophy sprang from the desire to find some lasting solutions to the negative consequences of colonialism in Africa. Perhaps, this accounts for the experiences of the 1960s when most African states which achieved political independence settled for different political philosophies like *negritude*, *ujamaa*, humanism, welfarism, *communucrautique*, democratic-socialism, African socialism, conciencism, etc. These philosophies, to say the least, were reactionary in nature, revolutionary in method and myopic in scope. Once African states variously embraced their national political philosophies, they were once again faced with another round of trouble. Leslie Stephen puts it clearly when he insightfully asserts: "Happy is the nation which has no political philosophy for such philosophy is generally the offspring of a recent or the symptom of an approaching revolution" (Wayper, 1964: vii).

The truth of the matter is that none of these political philosophies had proposed any viable thesis for a continental unity. What Africa has (as she is still having) was a rather narrow and parochial ethnic and at times nationalistic interest. The larger interest of the continent was less considered as paramount. But with the global political wind of change, it appears that other continents of the world are better positioned and equipped in their more sufficient and monopolistic economic and political integration to sideline or play away African continent. The fundamental problem that has existed for quite sometimes now is that African political leaders only embraced the form and not the essence of independence. Their political, social, economic and even philosophical desperation at independence attest to this fact. There were no tangible structures to match their philosophical thesis with the development of the continent. The needed political energy that would generate, circulate and sustain the system was lacking.

In this circumstance, we cannot accept the political philosophies that were peddled in the 1960s as they were formulated in error. King David, from a divine background had asked more rhetorically: "If the foundation be faulty, what can the righteous do?" (Psalm 11:3). This faulty foundation is what Rene Dumont attempts to establish in his epoch-making book: *False Start in Africa* (1962). This means that the conceptual and fundamental errors must be replaced by a scientifically indigenous political system. But, by proper counter-balance, it must be observed that in the heat of that independence euphoria, when everyone was against the colonial spirit in whatever form and fiat, the reactionary philosophies were a better alternative in the interim, though not the best political world-view for Africa.

5. Modern Implications of Colonialism on Africa

African history, right from the traditional Africa to the invaded and colonial Africa, is a long sad story of over eight hundred million people. The experience of the invaded Africa has metamorphosed into our contemporary African society which Okadigbo (1985:1) has rightly described as the battle ground of four contending forces, namely: tradition, Islam, Euro-Christianity and colonialism. These "forces" carried along their respective cultures, ideologies, ideals, agencies, theories, religious beliefs, languages, conceptions, and some other lesser issues. But before Okadigbo's view, there were other thinkers such as Nkrumah (1964:68) and Ferkiss (1966:149) who saw colonialism as a central force in the crisis. It follows therefore that in their understanding, the crisis was simply a product of colonialism. The impact of colonialism with all its attendant vices is well known to many scholars. However, we shall x-ray few of them here.

5.1 Linguistic Problem

To begin with, in the traditional African society there were more than one thousand ethnic languages spoken by more than one thousand ethnic groupings. Colonialism also brought along seven different languages, viz: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. As colonial territories, these colonial languages were enforced on African nation-states as their official languages. And language being another

divisive rather than unifying factor added to the African multi-faceted lingual problems, which in turn affected other facets of African life.

While Africa was still struggling with these official, colonial languages, Islam appeared on the continent. Where its adherents and protagonists lacked political power to enforce it, the Koran written in Arabic, stepped in to escalate lingual and cultural problems, and at once, added to the divisive political problems as prayers and other liturgical practices were “divinely” instructed to be done in Arabic. Apart from Islam, the Euro-Christianity of the Catholic order also contributed to the lingual confusion as all its adherents and protagonists were demanded both in church worship and educational training to use Latin as the God-ordained language for any sacred exercise. From the above, it can be seen that colonialism did not make room for the development of any African language. The understanding here is that with the imposition of at least nine official languages on the continent, colonialism contributed immensely to the death of many African languages and thereby distorting African facts, history, philosophy, politics and economy.

5.2 *Crisis in Traditional Political Authority*

Another problem with colonialism is that it imposed a hybrid and confusing structure on a people who were hitherto used to a different type of relationship. Falaiye (1997:34) reports that the exalted traditional seat of authority, for instance, was wrestled from the traditional rulers. And the traditional contact and understanding which the traditional rulers maintained with their people were replaced by an impersonal bureaucracy whose source of authority was derived from legal pattern of titles, enshrined in the constitution and which did not augur well with traditional African rulers whose powers were derivative of the special ties they possessed with the ancestors, spirits and God, in line with traditional beliefs.

5.3 *Crisis in African Cultural Values*

The colonial period also witnessed crisis in African values. That is, African values suffered tremendous distortion and even destruction in many cases. The colonial and capitalist influences of individualism, domination and exploitation forcefully replaced the African cultural contents of social relations and brotherliness, which had promised a welfare system of communalism, humanism and egalitarianism (Ozumba and John, 2012:62).

5.4 *Economic Crisis*

The process of colonialism also entailed, concurrently, a systematic and extensive pillage of the natural and human resources of African societies. According to Falaiye (1997:35), this situation jolted the minds of the immediate African political leaders in the post colonial era towards the direction of socialism, which was perceived as a better economic theory. Furthermore, colonialism gave established empires rights, free of all restraints to exploit African wealth. Thus, colonialism saw massive transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe. This included: acquisition of land, enforced labour, introduction of cash crops, even to the neglect of food crops, halting inter-African trading patterns of pre-colonial times and the continuation of Africa as a source of raw materials for European industry, thereby making Africa a continent not to be industrialized, or a transit camp. In line with this observation, Ehusani (1991:18) opines that colonialism was synonymous with material exploitation, cultural expropriation and anthropological impoverishment.

5.5 *Political Misconceptions*

To the average African leader shortly after independence, capitalism was seen as an off-shoot of colonial rule. The linkage of capitalism with colonialism inadvertently gave way to an anti-capitalist philosophy in post independent Africa. Perhaps that explains why largely, the post independent Africa contains an amalgam of philosophies that had close affinity with socialism. This means capitalism and colonialism were seen as a twin-engine of suppression and oppression and were defined as anti-African. This was a clear misconception of reality.

5.6 *Effects on Population and Industries*

In order to exploit the rich lands of Africa, from Egypt to South Africa, the “profitable” slave trade was established. Estimates of the number of Africans taken as slaves from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries vary from ten to twenty million. Dumont (1962:36) reports that Santo Domingo, which received more African slaves than any other area, took in 2.2 million in less than fifty years. These slaves were badly treated in many ways. Many of these slaves were killed during the raids or the wars the colonialists initiated. Some also died during the long march to the coast, in the camps awaiting transportation, and above all during the long sea voyage. In this consideration, the Asantewa and Asantehe people of Ghana must be mentioned; hundreds of thousands of them were carried away and left to die abroad. Vincent Khapoya (1971:115), states that over three million people of African descent fought for the Allies in the First and Second World Wars. And a greater number of them lost their lives in the warfronts. It should be noted that these slaves were able-bodied men and women. These people became the work force in the Newfoundland. The truth here is that African demographic structure was seriously affected. The personnel needed for African industries and commerce was greatly reduced. It must be noted that the damaging effects of the slave trade went much further. Internal wars became unprofitable and multiplied; thereby blocking political and economic development and the evolution towards large empires, and helping to dismantle those already in existence. If the Europeans had traded with the Africans

on equal basis, they would have brought goods, carts, wheels and other materials that could increase production, in exchange for African products. If they had also provided some education and training, the simple art of harnessing oxen, for example, instead of searching for slaves and easy money, the situation in Africa today would certainly be very different politically and economically (Dumont, 1962:36).

5.7 *Crisis of African Identity and Dignity*

The crisis of African identity in the post-colonial era was and still is a serious issue; that is to say that Africans had lost their identity or had been denied of it during the colonial period. Busia (1975:286-288) holds that the search for African identity was influenced by three major factors, namely; slavery, colonialism and racism. Quite regrettably, the problem of African identity was made worse by colonialism, which made the African to lose those things such as religion, language and world-view, which made him a real African. This has caused what Falaiye (1996:98) describes as “the triple heritage” of Islamic, Euro-Christian and traditional African experiences. Colonialism tampered not only with African resources but also with African personality and identity.

Colonialism made the Europeans to assume attitudes of superiority and a sense of mission at the detriment of their African counterparts, and thus, African dignity, personality and identity were trampled upon. For instance, the French accepted Africans, if and only if Africans gave up their culture, personality and identity and adopted French ways (including marriage with a French person). The British did not fancy full equality even for an African adopting their ways: that is, both culture and lifestyles, and rejected interracial marriage. The Portuguese accepted mixed marriages, but strongly considered full blooded Portuguese as superior to an African. Thus, one was considered civilized if and only if he possessed the knowledge of Portuguese language, culture and the abandonment of African ways, culture, identity and personality.

In this dimension, human and material resources in Africa were carelessly plundered by the white colonialists. Leaders and kings of various nations were carried into slavery. Few instances abound: in Nigeria, the king of Lagos, Kosoko, was carried into slavery in 1861, and the British Navy code-named HMS Beecroft heavily shelled the city of Lagos at the time, killing and destroying human mineral and beings. Women, children and other helpless civilians were cut down in their thousands. The same could be said of the destruction of Ashanteheme in Ghana when the king of the Ashantis was taken into exile for life in Seychelles for attempting to defend his territory from external aggression and actually resisting the colonial invasion of the Ashanteme. King Catshwayo of Zulu in today’s South Africa was driven into exile in Cape Town in Ghana. According to Ashimolowo (2007:82), King Catshwayo was disgracefully and tortuously made to travel into exile in Ghana on a mule wagon. In fact, in most cases, the colonialists created artificial borders which did not correspond with traditional territories that identified Africans properly. The traditional territorial boundaries in Africa were in consonant with one Ibibio proverb which states: *ke ekpuk, ke ekpuk idoho adusat* (family by family is not discriminatory) (Ozumba and John, 2012:65).

The search for an African identity intensified after the gaining of independence. The desire to propagate the “Africanness” of the people lured African leaders and scholars to anchor such and, in most cases, on an ill-conceived and hastily put together concept of African socialism. Accordingly, the outcome was the creation of a hybrid monster. Thus, Africans who were orthodox socialists disappeared only to reappear as African socialists. Writing in a similar direction, Friedland and Rosberg (1981:4) comment: “African socialism has thus become both a reaction against Europe and a search for a unifying doctrine”.

5.8 *Hybrid of Confusing Cultures and Values*

It is very clear that African experience of colonialism in contemporary times shows a hybrid of confusing cultures and values. The traditional identity has been lost in most cases. The rate at which the African is being converted into European person has continued to increase. Basic African values have been made dirty or impure by Western influences. For instance, it was Trevor-Roper in his racist and myopic claim who opined that Africa has no history which can be incorporated into the mainstream of historical studies. Momoh (2000:1-4) has carried out a useful exposition on the origin of the denial of African existence, humanity, logical ability, philosophy, thought, history, law, morality, religion, arts, science and technology. Moreover, archaeological and anthropological studies have traced the earliest and oldest artifacts to the African continent, apart from the existing records of the empires of Ghana, Tekrur, Songhai, Mali and Egypt in the year 3,000 BC, to mention but a few.

5.9 *Educational Problem*

Colonial policy made it that Africans received only limited education, which would enable them only to read the Bible, take orders efficiently from the white masters and missionaries, and function, at best, as interpreters, messengers and clerks in the colonial bureaucracy. This explains why in the 1960s, Africa had high illiteracy rate. For example, Zaire, in 1960, could only boast of one college (not university) graduate. The impact of colonialism on Africa cannot and will not be over-estimated. This is true because colonialism did unimaginable havoc to Africa. Colonialism in Africa did not only affect our commerce, landscapes, industries, population, culture, religion, science and technology, but everything African. More than that, colonialism has created an impossible

and a messy order for the African continent. Till date, it is clear that the African has not truly recovered from the colonial shock as it grossly affects its person, mind, science, history, identity, destiny and every other pursuit. Recounting the experience of colonialism in Africa, Ashimolowo, with a wounded voice, declares: "No greater humiliation can come upon a people than to have their power, possessions, and beauty taken away from them" (2007:78). I strongly believe that no human disaster can equal in dimension of destructiveness the cataclysm that shook the entire continent of Africa as a result of colonialism.

6. The Extended Implications of Colonialism

In the present, the emphasis has shifted from colonialism to neo-colonialism. That means Africans are in search of a tenable political thesis that would tackle not only the peculiar multi-faceted African problems, but also position the continent on a sound and surer footing to challenge the rest of the continents. The problems of neo-colonialism, that is, the exploitation of the Africans by Africans, corruption, nepotism, economic backwardness, ineffective leadership and sit-tight syndrome of typical African rulers in this contemporary era, are some of the off-shoots of colonialism, which have refused to leave African continent. But incidentally, African leaders have run short of the political will needed to address these off-shoots of colonialism. These multi-faceted colonial problems have become a drag on the African society in the 21st-century. The contemporary African historians, philosophers and other thinkers should begin to consider ways appropriate in dealing with the colonial spirit which is negatively affecting most Africans. This last comment is made in the hope that African nations like many other nations of the world could still rise above the past (colonial) influence. It is a challenge to African nations that South Korea, Israel, China, Malaysia, India, Japan, United States of America, etc that suffered from severe colonialism have become pacesetters in science, art, technology, commerce and politics. In the present, they are commanding global respect in the world of science, technology, politics and commerce. African nations should wake up and device means of becoming strategically important in the comity of nations. African leaders should not concur with Dumont (1962) that Africa's problem was and still is caused by the past colonial rulers.

From the foregoing discussions, it will be discovered that African contemporary problem is basically neo-colonialism. By neo-colonialism, it means puppet and irresponsible governments in Africa. It also stands for governments which are used by the western forces in furtherance of the neo-colonial interests by undermining the sovereignty of independent African states. Neo-colonialism can also be described as a government represented by stooges either through fabricated elections or anti-people system, comprados and corrupt civil and military functionaries. The point one is trying to arrive at is that national independence of various African states was expected to transform the continent and fundamentally empower the people. But at independence, such expectations could not be realized as no leader was blessed with proper and adequate vision. Thus, no leader could translate political independence into economic and social freedom. This lack of visionary leaders in Africa has remained the number one set-back for the continental development (Nekabari, 2000:182).

In the absence of visionary and courageous leadership, purposeful articulation and execution of people-oriented programmes have continued to remain a mirage. A cryptic investigation into the leadership challenge in Africa shows that African leaders are endangered species and, in many cases, they are being replaced with rulers rather than leaders (John, 2007:133). This may account for the reason that personalized leadership as opposed to collective leadership is very common in Africa. It is the position of this paper that African continental problems of neo-colonialism, inequality, economic and technological backwardness, tribalism and parochial national interest, insecurity of lives and property as well as poverty, disease and illiteracy will remain unabated without a strong recourse to a sound and purposeful leadership; a leadership that will be sincerely patriotic, rationalistic, utilitarian, detribalistic and forthright in the pursuit of collective set goals. Ineffective leadership in Africa has in turn given rise to other multiple problems such as discrimination, corruption, social injustice, hunger, insecurity, threats of wars and general backwardness in the contemporary world of progress and civilization.

In summary, it must be submitted that the biggest problem facing African continent from time immemorial has been that of political leadership, that is, the inability to have a strong and purposeful political leadership. It is regrettable to note that leadership in Africa (in fact, among Black communities worldwide) is perpetually divided with loaded mediocrity, morally-detested irresponsibility, high-level corruption, extreme selfishness, ignorant-induced tribalism, careless nepotism and myopic pedestrianism. Any leader who gains a minimum level of visibility and respectability at any level tends to be intoxicated by selfish woolliness. Thus, at the demise of such a leader, what is left behind is a group of intellectually-sterile descendants or disciples, full of malicious ego and irredeemable illogicality in all its ramifications (John, 2009:188-189).

7. The Challenge

As a way forward, African leaders must first and foremost adopt a viable political philosophy for the continent. Elsewhere, I have proposed a confederated democracy as the best political option for the continent of Africa (John, 2006: 216-237). This system, by my humble assessment, will have relationism as its premise. The

proposal of mutual interrelatedness of all African states will count for its strength, and interdependence for its attraction. Adequate and relevant criteria of self-control, logical ability and detribalized personality are some of the required qualifications for political appointment. The highest theoretical and philosophical frame of reference is the elevation of humanism and altruism. Secondly, African leaders must work towards a continent-wide socio-political thesis. This will make possible the full realization and utilization of the African continental body: African Union (AU) formerly Organization of African Unity (OAU). African leaders must begin to emphasize and promote the solidarity of the entire African nation states. People in Africa must strive to build a new Africa where civilization worthy of the African person and a true culture of freedom can thrive. This continental project will perfectly fit our unique African culture which is synergetic, that is, a culture of cooperation, a team or coalition culture rather than the parochial tribal and national interest. Africa must be challenged by recent global development in certain parts of the world. For instance, with effect from January, 2002 about twelve European nations (Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain) have come together to use a common currency (the Euro), believing that it will help strengthen their economy. No one should be deceived; this development in Europe goes beyond economic consideration alone. It has a serious political as well as military or security undertone. The idea of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its currency, which has remained dormant for so long now should be revisited. Effort should also be directed to seeing the possibility of applying the idea of ECOWAS currency to the entire continent of Africa through the birth of African Union. If Africa succeeds in this way, socio-economic and political activities can once again be on the life-line. So with the formation of our nascent African Union, it is hoped that it will not only be a change in the nomenclature of the erstwhile OAU. The AU should be structurally, administratively, militarily and ideologically different from the moribund and comically OAU in such a way that it would address African problems of cooperation, integration, unity, economy and peace among African states in a more practical terms. That means the structure should be so placed to match with the ideas in a way that Africa will be taken out of the woods. All that the AU needs now is the political courage to marshal out things that will stop Africa's dependence on the West or East marauders.

Furthermore, if the AU wants to succeed, she must see to it that her economic community, monetary fund and parliament (the pan-African consultative forum) are not killed especially by the West through any fiat and thereby making the continent only an appendage necessary to decorate the world map (John, 2009:159). Africa must therefore give a lucid and laconic definition on and tacit defense to their central interest as a continent. Africans must not stop at their micro-ethnic or macro-national, socio-political and economic interests that would become parochial. What Africans and other Africans in the Diaspora should strive at should be for a clear-cut, broad-based and fundamentally pan-African orientation for a new continental order, which will work. This is very crucial in the case of peace and development of the continent as the resurgence of tribal and regional nationalities is posing some serious socio-economic and political problems to Africa. African leaders must drop all backward and colonial-proned cultures that promote the abuse and degradation of women and the less-privileged ones, and other vices, irrespective of religion, clime, culture and social status. As a mark of understanding, African leaders should begin to respect human rights. This is because every violation committed by corrupt African governments is sticking to Africa's identity like the leopard's colour to our disadvantage. In addition to this opinion, Africa must also learn to develop detribalized culture in order to eliminate the ridiculous ethnic clashes that keep many African countries divided or in perpetual conflicts and backward. This kind of orientation cannot be possible except African governments will take the development of the citizens' mind as paramount. This last observation takes us to the third issue, namely: democratic education as one of the necessary conditions for African development. That means, African leaders must domesticate democracy in such a way that it will make provision for reasonable high standard of education available to all. But with poor educational infrastructures and facilities which account for illiteracy and make education inaccessible to people in Africa, the real practice of democracy may be very doubtful. This is where African continent must watch in their attempt to please western super-powers by embracing democracy uncautiously.

From the above observations, two things should be pointed out and taken very seriously at this stage. And these are: poverty and illiteracy. That is to say that Africa's voting pattern at election can be negatively affected by these two factors. In the first place, illiteracy would not allow the very process of election to be fair and free. The understanding here is that owing to illiteracy, the people do not know how to distinguish party symbols and how to vote for ideology. Instead, tribalism and religion have become the main issues or determinant factors in Africa's voting pattern. The second factor is poverty. That is, the masses are poor. Hence, they usually suspend their rationality and sense of justice during election period because of poverty. This is the case when one considers the role played by money in the voting pattern in Nigeria in the face of poverty and hunger. In other words, the people would not mind mortgaging their consciences for any immediate gain they could grab. As a result, political office is always given to the highest bidder. In fact, this point is a combine effect of poverty and ignorance, which hampers the very democratic due process in Africa. It is on the above score that I strongly agree with Whitehead (1953:125) that "there can be no successful democratic society till

general education conveys a philosophic outlook". That means there must be a general education which emphasizes the fundamental issues of human existence, that is, the issues of the nature, meaning and importance of life, truth, goodness, justice, etc. The message here is that any nation or country in Africa desirous of meaningful political and economic developments, sound moral principles and social values, must see and adopt the promotion of education along the Platonic curriculum with exclusive respects to full funding, provision of adequate facilities and teaching materials at all levels. In fact, this should take the centre-stage in our political ideology. In this regard, incessant strike actions constantly embarked upon by teachers and lecturers in many educational institutions across the continent could be grossly minimized, if not, completely eradicated, once the sector is made attractive. And a situation when teachers are on strike, students are busy rioting, in most cases, over poor facilities or exorbitant tuition and other sundry fees would cease with the new and emergent concept of education as the chief source of morals and total development. The fourth suggestion is in the area of leadership. African leaders lack the technical know-how. Thus, with the possible exemption of Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and very few others, the continent is yet to produce leaders in the mould of the philosopher-kings who would not be selfish, myopic and embarrassingly disgraceful. Chinua Achebe captures leadership deficiency in Africa very appropriately when he describes the Nigerian nation thus: "In spite of the conventional opinion, Nigeria has been less than fortunate in its leadership. A basic element of this misfortune is the seminal absence of intellectual rigour in the political thought of our founding fathers - a tendency to pious materialistic wooliness and self-centred pedestrianism" (1998:13).

The problem of leadership in Africa is a serious one. Since the time of African founding fathers till 1990 and right into the 21st century, Africans must blame their leaders for the continental backwardness. No leader in Africa seems to be aware of the problems associated with the call for foreign investors and the need for a kinetic economic energy in Africa. The call, in the first place, is technically wrong. It is so because such a call is an indication of a poor environment. Secondly, sound economic investigation reveals that there is no actual need for African leaders to scout for foreign investors. This is because once the socio-political and economic paradigms are properly structured or restructured to favour mankind; people from all walks of life across the globe will come around to invest in Africa.

In the past, most expatriates and firms from all over the world rushed to Nigeria and other African nations for investment and for other sundry activities. This was the case because the economic situation was very conducive. No one wooed or beckoned on them to come: they all came on their own accord. It is on record that many Indians, Americans, and Europeans, and many others took the lead in the rush to Nigeria. These foreigners occupied almost every sector of Nigeria's economy and education: they established firms and industries. It was also noticed that when the economic environment became un-conducive, all the expatriates left. The mass exodus of these foreigners from Nigeria in the early 80s is still fresh in people's memories. There is an economic pattern which can augur well for Africa if her leaders will be sincere and take it seriously. The matter is aptly demonstrated in the Holy Bible through the story of Noah's ark. In other words, Noah did not have to woo the animals to come into the ark. The truth is that all the animals that Noah needed in the ark came on their own accord because the ark was conducive for them.

But today, because African leaders lack proper foresight, they do not know what to do with leadership. They are blind to reality and have become restless, roaming around the globe in search of foreign investment. In most cases, they have become a laughing stock in America and Europe. What a tragedy of leadership cum development in Africa. The bitter truth is that no foreign investor will respond to the call because the economic atmosphere is not well favourably disposed. One should not think of any foreign investor in a corrupt society. Political analysts hold that it is difficult for an incumbent government in any African nation to fight corruption because almost every government in the continent apart from a few is a product of corruption. And like the Biblical saying: "Like begets like". This is a metaphysical or spiritual principle that is difficult to overcome. In Africa, the problem is dualistic: foundational and lack of men of character and foresight.

It appears that leaders in Africa, who are calling on foreign investors have failed to know that every intending foreign investor is getting adequate information from his or her embassy and high commission about the moral, political, economic and social climate in Africa. Since such briefs and reports are not favourable, they cannot come. One should take for instance the issues of Boko Haram, Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta, vigilante groups and other private militias in Africa. These are all indications of corrupt and polluted environment, lawlessness and disorder. The increase in the wave of armed robberies, kidnappings and assassinations is a viable threat to the development of the continent as no investor would like to risk his life and assets in such environment. A government that cannot ensure the security of lives and property of its people cannot be said to be a government. In the consideration of Hobbes and Locke, an irresponsible government should be dissolved; that is, when a state fails to offer peace and protection – two basic functions for which it was founded – the legitimacy of the leaders should be queried and resisted or disposed. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill and other political philosophers all condemned states that would not ensure security of lives and property of their citizens as irresponsible (John, 2009:188). Therefore, African leaders must

consciously work towards creating an enabling environment for the old manufacturers to survive and for the new ones to launch out. It is a truism that the prosperity and success of any nation, to a very large extent, does not depend on the abundance of natural resources and its revenues accruing therefrom, but rather on the number of its cultivated minds and characters. This is where African leaders are deficient. The worst thing that can happen to any country or continent is to have neophytes entrusted with political powers. Perhaps, Robert Nesta Marley has seen the situation better when he elucidates that "History has taken the slavery chains from the Blackman's feet to his brains" (Okafor, 2001:15). This aptly explains our political situation in the continent. African leaders have failed to know that it is not the quantity of natural resources of the continent that makes its people economically, scientifically, industrially or strategically important, but the mental quality of its people. That is, how much they can translate their potential into economic power. It is on this note that I quite agree with Igwe (1994:4) that "Genuine development is fundamentally of human beings in terms of ideas which imbue in them the capacity to think qualitatively and tackle the problems that emerge out of their living conditions".

Corruption is one major reason for sit-tight rulers in Africa. They do not want other people to investigate high-level corruption that they have enmeshed themselves in. Unrestrained looting of the treasury by African rulers has become a daunting scenario for some decades now, and this has substantially contributed to the present economic straits. African leaders must determine not to submit to any economic set-back, political maneuvering and technological deception of the West. Every attempt to down-grade African identity by turning unnecessarily to the West for help and expertise by African leaders themselves should be resisted. The above point is made because as long as Africa depends on importation, there is no way the currency of any nation in Africa would not be in free fall. The reason is simple: all manner of imports is done with foreign exchange. But the real question is: why should Africa be a trading continent and not expanding her productive ability? Again, the answer is not far-fetched: about 90 percent of the total population in Africa depends on foreign foods, goods and services for their sustenance. Hence, Africa is spending billions in foreign exchange, importing foodstuffs and other needed items. This contrasts sharply with the earlier days of agricultural glory in Nigeria when, between 1930 and 1960, exports of palm products, cocoa and groundnut doubled, while cotton exports increased by 300 percent and rubber by twenty percent.

Presently, farm holdings are hindered by many factors such as socio-cultural, bio-physiographic, technological, politico-administration, input-constraining and management problems. Some of these problems often lead to illness and lessening of body resistance to disease. Added to this abject situation is the fact that people do not have access to health facilities, good roads, education and electricity. Unqualified and illegal personnel are already exploiting the situation and thus worsen the already battered conditions of life in Africa. Attempts by few leaders in Africa to proffer solution to the above situation imply their falling back on the West, which is a different problem in itself. But even then, their intention is bad: they are self-driven. This is because more than half of the budgeted expenditure ends up in their private pockets and bank accounts. In spite of the above sad situation, all hope is not gone. Thus, it is not unrealistic or utopian for one to hold that African government can still put an end to crime and corruption. All that is required is a concerted effort on the part of African leaders to bring about some social programmes and justices. Once the effort is matched with proper planning and execution, then Africa will be on the part of breakthrough. The social and political monster hindering development in Africa has to be overcome. In other words, the urgency involved in this exercise cannot be substituted for anything else. But it must be stated that the antidote or panacea for these ills must include patriotism, sensitization of citizens and a viable, vigorous, responsible and patriotic press. Others are: a morally sound legislature, incorrupt judiciary, vigilant and proactive populace, a praying and righteous church, social crusaders and human rights activists. The above suggestions are given in the hope that unless something drastic is done, corruption at high and low places may remain endemic and the hypocritical face-saving pretentious war against it will continue to be a ridiculous one in Africa.

8. Conclusion

The above specifications have their historical, political, social, and economic dimensions. In the historical aspect, it means Africa must forget the past by not putting the blame of failures on colonialism. The truth is that failure has no excuses. In the political sphere, it means the ability to allow democracy to bloom through meaningful political participation and the provision of adequate opportunities for the citizens to choose their leaders through free and fair elections. In the social and economic fronts, it means ensuring that the system is equitable and just in the distribution of governmental rewards and punishments. Added to this, it implies that the economic system should be managed in ways that will make for economic modernization, diversification, development and the sustenance of attained economic development over time.

References

- Achebe, Chinua (1998). *The Trouble with Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
Ashimolowo, Matthew (2007). *What is wrong with Being Black?* Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image Publishers.

- Blocker G. and Steward D. (1987). *Fundamentals of Philosophy*. New York: The Macmillan Publishers.
- Boardman, John (1973). *The Greeks Overseas*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Busia, K. A. (1975). "This Dark Skin" in Gidem-Cyrus M. Mutiso and S. W. Roho (Eds). *African Political Thought*. London: Heinemann Publishers, pp. 270 - 298.
- Dumont, Rene (1962). *False Start in Africa*. Trans, Phyllis Nauts Ott. London: Earthscam Publishers.
- Ehusani, G. (1991). *An Afro-Christian Vision*. New York: University of America Press.
- Falaiye, O. A. (1996). "African Socialism and the Dilemma of African Identity" in *Journal for the Advancement of Africans and Blacks in the Diaspora*. 1/1, pp. 82 - 117.
- Falaiye, O. A. (1997). "Democracy in Africa: Problems and Prospects" in *Journal for the Advancement of Africans and Blacks in the Diaspora*. 2/1, pp. 28 - 47.
- Fanon, F. (1968). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Werdenfield.
- Ferliss, V. C. (1966). *Africa's Search for Identity*. New York: George Braziller Publishers.
- Friedland, W. H. and Rosberg, C. S. (Eds) (1981). *African Socialism*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Igwe, A. (Ed) (1991). *Philosophy and National Development: A Periscope of the Next Millennium*. Uyo: MEF Publishers.
- John, Elijah Okon (2009). *Man and the State: Issues in Socio-Political Philosophy*. Uyo: Afahaide Publishers.
- John, Elijah Okon (2007). "Machiavelli and the Leadership Challenge: The Case of Nigeria" in *Uyo Journal of Humanities*. Vol.12, January, pp. 129 - 145.
- John, Elijah Okon (2006). *The Relevance of Machiavelli's Political Philosophy to Contemporary Nigerian Politics*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Calabar, pp. 216 - 237.
- Khapoya, Vincent B. (1971). *The Phoenicians*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Legum, Colin (1962). *Pan-Africanism*. New York: Frederick A Praeger Publishers.
- Mbiti, John S. (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann Books.
- Momoh, C. S. (2000). *The Substance of African Philosophy*. Auch: African Philosophy Projects' Publication.
- Nekabari, J. Nna (2000). *Contemporary Political Analysis: An Introduction*. Port Harcourt: The Blueprint Publishers.
- Nkrumah, Kwame (1963). *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, Kwame (1964). *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to African Revolution*. London: Heinemann Books.
- Okadigbo, Chuba (1985). *Consciencism in African Political Philosophy*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Okafor, Basil (2001). "Back to Bob Marley" in *Insider Weekly*. No.2, pp. 14 - 16.
- Omoregbe, Joseph (1990). *Knowing Philosophy*. Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers.
- Ozumba, Godfrey O. and John, Elijah Okon (Eds) (2012). *African Political Philosophy*. Uyo: El-Johns Publishers, pp. 45 - 79.
- Rodney, Walter (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Tanzania: Tanzania Publishing House..
- Scullard, H. H. (1976). *From the Gracchi to Nero*. London: Methuen Books.
- Sowell, Thomas (1994). *Race and Culture: A World View*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wayper, C. I. (1964). *Teach Yourself Political Thought*. London: The English University Press.
- Whitehead, Alfred North (1953). *Adventures of Ideas*. New York: New American Library of World Literature.

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:
<http://www.iiste.org>

CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page: <http://www.iiste.org/journals/> All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: <http://www.iiste.org/book/>

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digital Library, NewJour, Google Scholar

