

**AFFIRMING**

**AFRICA'S**

**ASPIRED**

**AWAKENING**

*By*

*G. KINYUA MWANIKI*

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## INTRODUCTION

One of key discernible element about our beloved continent is what we may refer to as 'resource curse' as evidenced in the paradoxical relationship between the poverty afflicting most Africans and the richness of the continent. The paradox is made more paradoxical owing to the fact that as the continent lags pathetically behind others, its contribution to the IT Revolution in terms of supply of essential raw materials is unrivalled with its minefields producing over 80 percent of Colton used by companies like Nokia, Motorola, Erickson and Sony for many of electronic devices which are fueling the modern revolution, including cell phones and computers amongst others.

The extensity and intensity of blessedness of this continent is beyond any iota of doubt, as evidenced in for instance, the oilfields of the Niger Delta in Nigeria, the copper belts of Sierra Leone, Angola, and Liberia and the rich mineral deposits of the Great Lakes region. Mines in Africa produce much of the world's Platinum (81 percent), Chromite (49 percent), Diamonds (48 percent) and Cobalt (42 percent). Africa mines also produce a large share of the worlds Manganese (28 percent), Rutile (27 percent), and Uranium (20 percent), and supplies an important part of its Bauxite (14 percent), Copper (5 percent), Iron ore (5 percent), Petroleum (5 percent), and Phosphates (2 percent).

The mountain ranges, plains and tourist haven of most parts of the continent testify the conduciveness of our physical geographical environment. Straddling the Equator, with most of its area lying within the tropics as well as encompassing numerous climatic areas, ours is the only continent to stretch from the northern temperate to southern temperate zones. On average, Africa sits 640m (2000ft) above sea level, higher than other continents. Besides having a varied ecosystem, in Africa four distinct rain forest regions exist, all close to the equator; the Congolian Rain Forest belt, which sprawls across Gabon, and western Tanzania; the smaller upper Guinea belt, which extends from Guinea to Ghana; and two narrow coastal strips, one abutting the ocean in Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya, and other covering east Madagascar.

The slopes of many highland regions supports abundant flora and in some places intensive agriculture, because their volcanic, basaltic bedrock contains high amounts of iron-magnesium minerals. The soils of Africa correspond with biomes (life zones, all plants, animals, and other organisms, as well as physical environment) that define the biogeography of Africa. *Oxisols* exist throughout 40 percent of the tropical rainforest and contain high amounts of iron and aluminum oxides. *Ultisols* which are often less weathered and thus more fertile than *Oxisols*, even if they contain less biomass (contraction for Biological Mass, the amount of living material provided by a given area

of the earth surface) predominate in subhumid or Guinea Savanna regions. *Altisols*, named for their aluminum content occur in Savanna regions and when well maintained, they can support extensive agriculture.

Ironical as it is, in the abundance of these infinite blessings, much sorrow has flowed and is still flowing as many states are splinting towards total collapse. So a very critical question arises: have we really penetrated to the vitals of our destiny, or have we merely pricked its surface? If so, we cannot fail to feel the danger of our times palpitating under our hands. Shivering inside the wet coat of hopelessness and uncertainty, the continent finds itself trapped in the bizarre wilderness of various 'Corrosive Curses', which it has the compulsion to traverse if it has any hope or intention of getting into the distant, relatively blissful land of health, security and economic self-sufficiency. It is only after completing this assignment to its logical conclusion that our efforts will be adorable and our fruits glorious, as blessedness shall accrue us and we shall be in the words of JER: 17; 8: "Like a tree planted by water, that sends out its roots by the stream, and does not fear when heat comes, for its leaves remain green, and is not anxious in the year of drought, for it does not cease to bear fruit".

In an in-depth attempt at categorizing the problems that humans encounter in striving to achieve their goals, American psychologist Eric Fromm (1900-1980), used the term **dichotomy**. Fromm outlined two types of dichotomies; existential and historical. *Existential Dichotomies* arise from the very fact of our existence; they are problems that have no certain solutions because none of the alternatives they present are entirely satisfactory. According to Fromm, we desire a certain kind of world, but we find the world into which we were born unsatisfactory such that finding the given world unsuitable and unsatisfactory we attempt to create a more satisfactory environment and in doing so, we may further create *Historical Dichotomies* which are problems that arise out of our history because of the various societies and cultures that we have created. Fromm cautioned us not confuse or mislabel the two; for historical dichotomies are created by people and thus they are not inescapable, as existential dichotomies are. *Historical Dichotomies* are products of history and therefore open to change.

Whereas we contend that, it is an infinite task to give a detailed in-depth and comprehensive chart of all problems afflicting us, we have to be more agile than tightrope dancers in order to be able to insinuate ourselves under the skin of the society's econo-psycho-socio-political malaise. This goal we will pursue with the ringing words of Dutch philosopher and religious thinker Soren Aabye Kierkegaard (1813-1855) in mind: "That which can concern psychology and with which it can concern itself is the question of how sin came into existence, not the fact that it exists".

If we are committed in igniting the long, ambiguous journey, in the attempt at self-salvation, we ought to note the bitter truth that, economic poverty is not collateral damage imposed from without by demons. Amartya Sen (1933- ), winner of Nobel Prize for economics in 1998, proved that famine did not result from natural causes or food scarcity; but it is an administrative and social failure. In other words, though poverty may to an extent have some natural leanings, it is to a big percentage deliberately created and

maintained. That is why it is not an overstatement to assert that our society do not only suffer from economic starvation, but even more from a profound emotional starvation, from a crippling form of psychological frustration which prevent us from coming into grips with the new problems of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The bitter pill we have to swallow however disgusting is that, our society has singled itself as one without those intellectual resources necessary for progress.

As Francis Bacon (1561-1626) realized, “it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt”, if we just understand the general ramifications of these scenario (the push and pull factors) and the extent of their unfoldment, then we might be in a position of designing pragmatic and effective counter measures.

When all is said and done, various questions beg answers from the skeptics and also the optimists on the continent’s capacity to not only survive but also to thrive in the future:

1. Is the current state of poverty a permanent state-of-affairs?
2. Are the possibilities for growth nibbled in the bud?
3. Is the continent a burnt out case teetering on the edge of apocalypse?
4. Will Africa continue to be termed as a Third World?
5. How should we manage the consequences of our perverted carnal appetites (HIV/AIDS)?
6. For how long will we cease being the international equivalent of the wage labourers?
7. How do we hope to develop by allowing our lands to be grabbed?
8. Which permanent loan receiver can hope to develop?
9. Who can make a take-off where ones debts are soaring all the time?
10. Are we so intellectually enslaved to our past that we cannot think of new way out?
11. How do we understand our present predicament?
12. How does the present elite in the society see the problem?
13. Are they really interested in a solution or are they part of the problem?
14. How will Africa get out of this situation?
15. By what means and with what kinds of programs?
16. What faith do we need and how do we build it?
17. What vision of the future will we have?
18. In what global context do we expect to operate?
19. What frame of mind do we require?
20. Will the initiative for change come from within?
21. Should we strive to trace our roots in order to recapture our African heritage?
22. Should we follow the trodden or the beaten path by the developed countries?
23. Are there important lessons to be learned from the developed countries’ experiences?
24. Which qualities do we require from our leaders, in order to find our way out of this malaise?

These are crucial questions which squarely sit at the center of our analysis, and to grapple with these questions is to wrestle with whom we are, why we are what we are and what we are to do about it. In his opening speech – as the chairman - at the ‘African Union Heads of States’ in Addis Ababa Ethiopia on 1st February 2010 Malawian President BinguwaMutharika said:

“The way forward is for AU Assembly to recognize that Africa is not a poor continent, but the people of Africa are poor. Let us reflect that Europe and the much of the Western world developed using wood, meat and fish from Africa, but Europe and Western world did not develop through resolutions, and declarations. They took actions – concrete action. So I appeal to you for action and more action”.

Whether four hundred years of the slave trade and about ninety years of western colonialism in Africa helped build the U.S and European economies at the expense of African economies, is besides the point at this historical juncture. The point is that our ‘poor psychic patterns’ have facilitated and continues to facilitate this exploitative machinery. So if we want to be a people who are different from our forefathers, we must do things which are fundamentally new and different. We must be instruments of our own emancipation, by believing that - though we have inherited a continent still well endowed though highly plundered - the freedom to liberate ourselves from poverty, exploitation and contempt is a legacy that can never be bequeathed from one generation to another. Historically, each generation is faced with the prerogative of asserting or giving away its destiny, of losing or taking and maintaining its own freedom and advancement with its own hands through honest response to the historical imperatives of its own era. A profound postulate to keep us energized is that, it is not how these exploiters perceive us that is of importance, but how we respond to the way they perceive us.

Seduced by Globalization ethos and enchanted with the dream of African Unification, **Actualizing** the abundant **Potential** of our rich African society in as far as natural resources are concerned in order that the continent may retool, position and align itself on its real path towards econo-socio-political development so that we may **CRACK** and **FIX** all the problems ailing us - which are neither exogenous nor insurmountable - would entail arming ourselves with clearly articulated principles rather than visceral reactions, through creative leadership, strong responsive institutions and values.

## Chapter (1)

# CORROSIVE

# CURSES

## PATHETIC POVERTY

With over 40% of Africans suffering from malnutrition, and more than 200 million having no access to quality health services, with at least 40% of children out of school, and the adult literacy rate at 60%, well below the developed country's average of 73% and with more than 140 million young men and women being illiterate, after substantial years of much touted, though hypocritical political independence, as Africans we need to be persistently told what we do not want to hear, that one thing is certain, and can be denied by no-one; a sort of suppressed terror hangs in the air and may seize us anytime; an imminent looming disaster is suspended like the proverbial Sword of Damocles over our heads, and there can only be doubts about the strengths of the horsehair by which the sword is suspended. Before the dark and though not inevitable hour arrives, it is not vain NOW, in the springtide of our people's *psychicpoverty* to tell them that there may be a bursting of more bitterness; it is not idle NOW, in the midnight of our people's low *economicchelon* to warn that there may be an ebb of more economic troubles.

Always catching cold when other societies sneezes, it is a marvel inadequately noted that, as the strong countries of the world continue to acquire more powers and wealth, we Africans in our weaknesses and ignorance continues to receive and accumulate more and more chains as the yoke of servitude and misery seem to be getting more and more heavier. Heaps of research papers objectively paints a grim picture of Africa as a continent falling behind others in the ability to sustain itself; a continent that is becoming increasingly marginalized, as many African nation-states struggle to overcome sub-par economic performance and weak structures of governance.

If we start by peering at a study published by the University of Capetown's 'Development Policy and Research Unit', '*Poverty, Inequality and Labour Markets in Africa*', in mid-May 2005, we get informed that the developed world problem is about the moderately poor, whereas for sub-Saharan Africa it is about the *ultra-poor!* The report noted that 46% of the inhabitants live on less than US\$1 a day - below the internationally recognized Poverty Line - as 21% eke out an existence on less than US\$ 0.50 a day, and about 6 per cent live on less than US\$ 0.25. In absolute terms, while there were approximately 164 million poor individuals in sub-Saharan Africa in 1981, this figure had increased to 316 million in 2001, and it has considerably increased since then. In contrast, South Asia in the two decades from 1981 managed to reduce its levels of poverty by an annualized rate of between 2%-3% and the East Asia reduced its levels of poverty significantly.

To add fuel to a ravaging fire, a report submitted to the committee on World Food Security, the '*Food and Agriculture Organization*' (FAO), on May 27, 2005 categorically stated that climate change would reduce the arable land acreage in more than 40 poor countries due to climate change. The implication of this would be a drastic increase on

the number of undernourished people, with a disastrous consequence of severely hindering progress in combating poverty and food insecurity. The report stated that, the severest impact would likely to be in sub-Saharan African countries, which are the least able to adapt to climate change or compensate for it through increased food imports. In contrast, industrialized countries stood to make gains in production potential as a result of the climate change. In the poor and developing countries, climate change would lead to an increase in lands that are arid and suffering moisture stress. According to the report, there was 1.1 billion hectares of land with growing period of less than 120 days, and climate change could by 2080 result in an expansion of this area by 5% to 8% or by 50 to 90 million hectares. The worst scenario of Africa's negative effect of climate change would be the impact on food security, but it is also likely to influence development of animal diseases and plant pests, thereby worsening a critically bad situation.

Further, if we redirect our attention back to the *'United Nations Human Development Report'*, of 2003, we find that, the bottom 25 ranked poor nations (151<sup>st</sup> to 177<sup>th</sup>), most if not all were African. Economists teaches us that Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the market value of all final goods and services made within the borders of a country in a year, while GDP per capita, is an approximation of the annual value of goods produced per person in the country. We are also informed that a country with a GDP per capita of \$765 or less is defined as a low-income or poor country. It is very unfortunate that, in these early periods of 21<sup>st</sup> century, characterized with major scientific breakthroughs, all vital in easing the burden of 'existence', various economies in Africa are on their knees.

If we focus on African countries which rank among the 10 poorest countries in the world; those who remain helplessly under the heavy foot of poverty, as looked in the lenses of Human Development Index, as a composite of life expectancy, education and per capita Gross National Income which are all indicators and determinants of standard of living (UNDP HDI 2006), Ethiopia, Central African Republic and Niger both with GDP-per capita of \$700, ranked at 170. At position 172 we had Somalia and Guinea-Bissau both with a GDP-per capita of \$600. Zimbabwe and Liberia followed both with GDP per capita of \$500. Lastly we had the world's chief producer of Diamond (50%), the Democratic Republic of Congo with an embarrassing GDP-per capita of \$300.

Before the coming of the foreign colonizers (or civilizers?), the general special character of our 'African Economy' - its ironical uniqueness - was to be found in its incapacity to transcend itself. Unable to produce beyond mere subsistence, due to lack of scientific methods of farming and animal husbandry, it was condemned to a 'life in death'. However as our people were assimilated in the modern ways of exploiting the natural resources, after 50 years or so, we Africans have only graduated into share-croppers, exporting cocoa, coffee, cotton, flowers and now food, while millions of fellow citizens and fellow continental men and women are going hungry, with some dying of hunger. In the current international division of labour, assigned as we are the role of pruning all our economic hopes on the exploitation of primary products and selling them at a pittance, simply because we have no control over the 'international market', the result is a permanent condition whereby the prices of our primary goods are in a permanent free fall, while the prices of the developed countries' manufactured products have never

depreciated in market value.

## **PESTILENT PANDEMIC**

In Africa '*HIV/AIDS Pandemic*' is also an epidemic that is spreading like the bushfire and scorching everything in its trail; either through infection or affection. This is evidenced by the fact that, of all victims of this disease all over the globe, the continent has a good share of more than 88% and accounted for 92% of all AIDS deaths in the year 2007. More than 17 million of the continent's inhabitants have so far died and in 2009 around 1.3 million died, whereas 1.8 million became infected; a situation which has resulted in about 12 million orphans.

Though statistics of people dying of this scourge vary greatly between specific Africa's countries, in some cases the prevalent rate is appalling. In Somalia and Senegal the HIV prevalence is under 1% of the adult population, whereas in Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe it is around 10-15%. South Africa is the most impacted at 17.8% and in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland we have 24.8%, 23.6% and 25.9% respectively. Cameroon, Gabon and Nigeria, the rate is 5.3%, 5.2% and 5.6% respectively. In East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania) the prevalence exceeds 5%. Overall rate of new infections appear to have peaked in the late 1990's and the prevalence seems to have declined slightly, although it remains at an extremely high level.

The social and economic consequences of this killer disease are widely felt, not only in the health sector but also in education, industry, agriculture, transport, human resource and the economy in general. The pandemic has erased decades of progress made in extending life expectancy, with the average life expectancy now ranging at 52 years and in the most heavily affected countries it is below 51 years. Besides families losing income earners or the sole bread winners the epidemic is putting strain on the health sector, and turning down economic activity and social progress or rolling back the minimal economic achievements as those infected are in the prime of their working lives (between 15 and 19 years). Though intensive prevention campaigns have contributed to some reduction in the rate of prevalence, the significant economic effect on the continent development has in turn affected the ability to cope with the epidemic.

While grappling with challenge of containing the epidemic with antiretroviral treatment and support to a growing population of those infected - the whole process estimated at approximately \$4 billion – the response is hampered by lack of infrastructures and corruption within both donor and government agencies. Regrettably, the African health care industry has been hard hit by a brain drain whereby many qualified doctors, nurses or other health care professional have emigrated to other countries. To make the worse situation more complex, due to unavailability of testing and counseling of 24 million or so infected of African, a large number are not aware of their HIV status, posing a very great threat to the spread of the disease, or failure to seek medical attention.

## **SPINELESS STATES**

Africa's '*Spineless States*' are the logical consequence of '*State Criminalization*' and '*State Corruption*' which after eating away the very backbone of various African states, have posed numerous economic and political difficulties that continue to dog the continent since the physical exit of the Foreigner (?) in the 1960's. Majority of African nation-states reviling in a false sense sovereignty are crippled by a pathetic lack of willpower to rid themselves of desperations, whose strength to sustain themselves without the 'clutches' by the foreigners in the manner of 'aid' being at very low ebb. To be precise, in our context here we use the term 'state criminalization' to depict the criminal nature of the postcolonial state in Africa, where the ruling elites have undermined judicial rules, thus effectively transforming the legal process into a parochial mode of illegality.

This deliberate debasement and animalization of our human instincts (tending to regress society to what Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) referred to as 'state of nature'), has its tap roots in the culture of impunity, of institutional neglect and the systematic plunder of national economies, borne of the 'I don't-give-a-damn' attitude amongst our leaders ending into the gross lack of accountability in the performance of governmental duties. At its perfection 'state criminalization' implies state supported criminal activities; state aiding and abetting corrupt practices. But "only Equatorial Guinea, the Comoros and Seychelles could be correctly classified as criminal states at the moment", notes Stephen Ellis, Jean Francois Bayart and Beatrice Hibou, in their penetrating book '*Criminalization of State in Africa*' (1999). Though these are governments run by shadowy forces linked to international crime, the book awakes us to the contention that many others nation-states in Africa exhibit tendency in this direction, as they are deeply haunted by the dragon of 'State Corruption'.

If we construe corruption as the deliberate combination of public office positions with the process of accumulation of wealth, then criminalization of the state, on the other hand, is the use and institutionalization of the political or governmental apparatus as instruments of grafts and as conduits of individuals' accumulation of wealth at the expense of the general populace. We have heard or seen of leaders in political positions who have used violence as instruments and as strategies of wealth acquisition, with others employing brutal torture and murder as techniques of power and mechanisms of domination.

Partly due to pressure of globalization and the new self-enrichment strategies encouraged by liberal economic reforms of structural adjustments, most if not all of African nation-states are involved in varying degrees, directly or through collusion, in the international drug trafficking, money-laundering, currency counterfeiting, credit card fraud, conversion of cash of dubious origin into legal goods, and theft of international food aid, just to mention a few. At the bottom we have criminal activities initiated in Africa by corporate officials, employees of parastatal organizations, and government officials at both the national and continental levels. We are also in the midst of internationalization of certain criminal activities involving non-Africans, but supported by African entrepreneurs and policy-makers.

Ellis, Bayart and Hibou illustrated that, there were numerous criminal activities by the

state apparatus that amounts to consequences far more disastrous than corruption or state terror. They noted one of the most chilling and unbelievable incidence as that of the P2 Italian Masonic lodge in Mogadishu, which together with unnamed Italian chemical industry, worked to find “Dumping grounds” in Africa for highly toxic waste chemical products. A study *‘Termites at work, a report on Transnational Organized Crime and State erosion in Kenya’* of October 4, 2011 which exposed human trafficking, poaching, money laundering as well as gun running activities, maintained that: “Kenyans in top positions are seldom involved in specialized drug trafficking work such as overseas procurement. Their contribution is to keep the risk of drug traffickers in Kenya low. This is how networks penetrate state institutions”. Commenting on this report, Kenyan Prime minister, Raila Odinga concurred: “It is a matter of concern that money from criminal networks has in recent years found its way into public life. It’s being used to buy elections and to influence political outcomes”.

As corruption and criminalization presuppose correlation between political power sharing and the distribution of wealth in society, in the criminalized states of Africa, two types of economy are discernible; the official formal economy and unofficial criminal economy. It is in these countries where the official formal economy is fed on and sucked by the criminal economy that the former has reached a crippling state unable to offer its tax payers even the basic amenities like health and education. It is in these countries where, we have very few filthy rich and many damned poor, with all hopes of diminishing this yawning gap totally dimmed. The ‘botched and bungled’ masses (to use Nietzsche’s phrase), becomes hostages and prisoners of their own groomed, sustained and paid for ‘state criminal’.

A typical example of state criminalization is the country called Kenya whereby the taxpayer is servicing the massive loan incurred more than 20 years ago when the government of the day raided the Central Bank of Kenya to print excess currency (Fiat money as opposed to Real money as it was not backed by goods and services). As a consequence, the Treasury is secretly paying a debt of more than Shs 32 billion of this ‘dirty money’ to the Central Bank, to be serviced until the year 2039. And the reason for this incidence was as flimsily filthy as it was clumsily criminal. Hiding behind the mask of weak fiscal framework that led to excessive borrowing by the government from the CBK through the overdraft facility, ministries were allowed to get money from the CBK and then have the ‘advances’ regularized through the Supplementary Budget, presented to parliament every march.

The other most overt manifestation of ‘State Criminalization’ is voter buying, voter manipulation, voter coercion and voter intimidation, whereby leaders seem to think that the issue is not voters choosing leaders, but rather leaders choosing voters such that institutions are hallowed out, producing a kind of choiceless mode of governance by emptying the electoral process of all substance and meaning. When the leaders of different communities gang together to form alliances against leaders of other communities, they are driven by the rationale that their fellow tribesmen will follow them blindly to whatever side of the divide they may be, which makes the whole ideal of freedom of choice in a democratic election to be a farce, a mockery and an insult. And

because there is no forum where these self-anointed tribal chiefs consult their people on which political direction to take, they emerges out as contemptuous people who takes their communities for granted; as poor indecisive fools devoid of faculty of reason, who needs to be decided upon. Absolutely incapable of all great and honourable efforts, the corrupt and criminal activities of these ethnic political entrepreneurs and '*CriminalConspirators*' is an indirect indictment that our intellectuals' heads are better adapted for wearing ceremonial plumes than for carrying ideas, that they are creatures without backbone, who can only stand and moan, good enough for class work and boardroom meetings but mere ninnies and simpletons for the most part, consequently disposed to give way on every occasion in accordance with their tribal affiliations.

### **CORPORATE CRIMINALISM**

In this vacuum precipitated by economic mismanagement and political Gangsterism, the stage gets set for '*Corporate Criminalism*' in the manner of '*Corporate Dominance*', engineered by Transnational Corporations (TNCs). These are corporations which engage in economic activities across national boundaries and which often have huge assets and resources at their disposal, meaning that, their global influence cannot be underestimated bearing in mind that their average growth rate is three times that of most advanced industrial countries and of the 100 biggest economies in the world, more than half are corporations, implying that they hold immense economic power to transform the world's political economy. In the guise of the genuine reason of lack of technological capacity to harness massive reserves of oil, gold, diamonds, cobalt and other natural resources, the rapacious Africa leaders have granted poorly negotiated licenses to these foreign corporations to operate in their domain.

Coupled to this is the conditions of poverty and instability in Africa which have made the continent even more susceptible to this international financial control. Typically TNCs seek out societies with low production costs, poor working conditions, and abundant and easily exploitable resources where profits can be maximized and repatriated without legal constraints. The icing of course is a political leadership that is weak, corrupt, and ready to cut deals. TNCs make large investments in countries that meet these criteria and many African countries fit the bill. As such, Africa is still confined to the role it played in the industrial revolution(s) that produced Globalization, by allowing the depletion of its raw materials without generating development.

In some instances, TNCs have served as a dynamic engine of growth, opening the window for diverse opportunities in terms of goods and services, creating employment and boosting government revenues. In South Africa and Nigeria, for example, gold mining and oil companies respectively have brought new technologies, attracted subsidy industries and made it possible for indigenous personnel to acquire various skills. However, any such benefits are far outweighed by activities which have accentuated the steady descent into near economic strangulation and political chaos.

With about a century of existence in the continent, starting with widespread abuse of the system of colonial enslavement in order to extract the best quality cocoa, cotton, tea,

coffee and rubber amongst other raw materials, these TNCs have become huge companies with unimaginable solid economic base. Besides failing to pay proper taxes to the governments, they have engaged the continent in a very exploitative relationship in the manner of using child labour. While according to World Bank the incidence of child labour decreased from 25 to 10 percent between 1960 and 2003, the menace continues to wreck havoc to the future of many African youngsters, with thirty percent of them under age 15 engaged in child labour. For instance, it is estimated that Ivory Coast which contributes to half of world's cocoa production (a crop which accounts for one-third of its economy) has more than 15,000 of children in these farms, most of them trafficked from Burkina Faso, Ghana, Togo, and majority of them coming from the poverty stricken Mali (GDP \$850).

Catapulted by an ideological pattern (guiding beliefs), which suggest strategies, justify means – ends in choices and even choice of particular ends, owners of TNCs are able to rationalize actions that border on the criminal or that are in fact criminal. The essence of this ideology is basically that the worlds money, technology, and markets should be controlled and managed by gigantic global corporations; that corporations should be free to act solely on the basis of profitability without regard to national or local consequences; that because people are motivated primarily by greed, the relentless pursuit of greed and acquisitiveness leads to socially optimal outcomes. This explains why, many TNCs have acted as economic predators gobbling up national resources, distorting national economic policies, exploiting and changing labour relations, violating sovereignty and manipulating governments and the media. TNCs have also supported repressive African leaders, warlords and guerrilla fighters, thus serving as catalysts for underdevelopment in Africa.

Moreover, through what Kenyan veteran journalist, political scientist and philosopher, Phillip Ochieng calls, high level '*International bio-piracy and scientific mischief*', the rich countries through TNCs have gradually taken over the control of world biological resources. Each year, American and European Corporations earn billions of dollars by exporting hybrid seeds and other bio-products all developed and patented in their home countries, using materials from other parts of the world, mostly Africa, without any form of compensation. Another burning issue is that of royalties and fees, whereby Africa must pay to acquire technologies from these developed countries. Through what Ernest Mandel (1923-1995) calls the *Technological Rent* (that part of monopoly profits created by technical progress), TNCs benefit highly in Africa and due to technological advantage they enjoy 95 % of all research and development (R&D) that takes place in the developing countries. The industrialized countries hold 97% of the patents and the TNCs hold 90% of all invention patents.

### **DEBILITATING DEBTS**

As most of us Africans are gnawed by the emptiness of our bellies and with none or little fabric to cover our physical nakedness, we are further confronted by one of the biggest obstacle to the continents' development in the name '*Debt Burden*' as we are condemned to servicing the \$200 billion debt most of which have been incurred by former despotic, corrupt and unrepresentative regimes. In the 1960's and 1970's, as African states were

emerging from the yoke of colonialism, our foreign reserves were comparatively at a low ebb and it was justifiable for our leaders to loop from one foreign capital to another with begging bowls in an undignified supplication known cynically as “development aid”. This marked the beginning of the continents indebtedness to international lenders as our leaders accepted loans for the purported political and economic stabilization. Regrettable as it is, the 48 countries which form the Sub-Saharan Africa worsened their debt crisis during the 1980’s, as the ratios of foreign debt to the gross national product rose from 51% in 1982 to 100% by 1992. This debt continued to soar in the 90’s and today Sub-Saharan Africa receives an approximate \$10 billion in ‘aid’ but loses an approximate of \$14 billion in debt payment per year.

At this stage of supposed political and economic maturity, what we have always been blind of is that, as we continue being the international equivalent of the metropolitan wage labourers, the super profits siphoned off from our continent to other continents trickle back to us through this ‘development aid’. Unfortunately as Graham Hancock (1950 - ) in *‘Lords of Poverty’* (1989) argues, contrary to the common belief that ‘aid’ improves peoples living conditions, it is a drain to the resources of developing countries; that as the word ‘aid’ itself implies – help or assistance - the whole notion that the developed countries are helping poor countries is a contradiction in terms. Hancock notes that, after the multibillion dollar financial inflows in the name of ‘aid’ have been shaken through the sieve of over-priced irrelevant goods that must be bought from the donor countries, filtered again in deep pockets of hundreds of thousands of foreign experts and aid agency staff, skimmed off dishonest commission agents and stolen by corrupt ministers and presidents, there is really little floating money to go around. The little left is thoughtlessly or maliciously used by power wielders who don’t consult the people and are totally and absolutely indifferent to their fate. The result of ‘aid dependence’ has been that Africa has lost its self-sufficiency in food production.

There are also extreme instances where the loans never do the work they are intended for (the projects did not take off and against which no value for money was achieved), but the country continue to service the debt as is the case of the American firm known as N-Rem which in 1975 entered into a joint venture with the Kenya Government, to establish KenRen Chemical and Fertilizers Ltd, which was to manufacture fertilizer for domestic and export markets. KenRen entered into several financing and equipment procurement contracts with Austrian and Belgian banks and suppliers, with government of Kenya as the guarantor. The banks involved were BanqueBruxelles Lambert (BBL) and Office of National Du Ducroire of Belgium and Bank Fur Arbeit Und Wirtscaft (Bawag) of Austria. The suppliers were CoppeeLavalin of Belgium and Voest Alpine of Austria. With no equipment delivered to KenRen except some crates whose contents were not verified, the banks involved claimed to have paid the suppliers in full and were therefore owed money by KenRen as per the signed financing agreement. As KenRen never actually commenced business, before going into liquidation in 1978, the government as the guarantor became liable for the debt. In a country whereby shs 528 billion is owed to external creditors, in the fiscal year 2009-2010, for instance, the Treasury paid shs 949 million to the Bawag and shs 1.9 billion to Ducroire. With shs 3.1 billion having been so far spent on KenRen Project, in the fiscal year 2010-2011 the treasury earmarked shs 272

million to Bawag, and shs 1.09 billion listed under 'Belgium' under consolidated fund services

Suffocating under the burden of 'External Debt', we may advance the argument in pleading for 'Debt Relief' on the flimsy grounds that, these foreign creditors have already paid themselves through our raw materials which they bought and continues to buy at throw-away prices, that, the corrupt regimes which were responsible for accruing these debts were aided and abetted by these powers, that, much of the monies stolen by the former dictators and their cronies are stashed in the banks of these later-day saviours of our continent. But however persuasive these arguments might seem at the outset, as long as our 'Psychic Patterns' remain in the present disgustingly poor state of immobility and inertia, then even when the debts are relieved, it will not be sooner that, we will have accrued more debts and therefore starts crying out for other cancellations.

No one in his or her sanity can doubt that debt relief may free up resources previously tied up in debt repayments and enable the countries to invest more in poverty eradication and other national tasks. However, recent history has taught us that debt cancellation is not a clear cut solution to Africa's indebtedness, or economic woes, but rather it is a sorry case of rewarding bad economic behaviour, teaching bad lessons and promoting a culture of defaulting, without doing anything on disease of 'Dependency Complex'. For instance, after Uganda was forgiven its debt under HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) initiative in 1998, the government indulged itself in very luxurious expenditure like increasing the size of Parliament and invading Congo and Sudan. It further went on renewed borrowing spree and today the country's debt has escalated meteorically to an unsustainable level. Uganda's Parliament is so foreign 'aid-dependent' that even the chairs and desks are funded by Denmark, besides country relying on foreign aid for nearly half the country's budget.

The Ugandan case may be used by the creditors as a justification for subjecting the debtors to the most degrading and painful options, in name of 'partial debt cancellation'. For instance, while more than 80 million Nigerians lived on less than \$1 per day, in 2005, Nigeria agreed to pay over \$12 billion to Paris Club of creditors in exchange for partial debt cancellation. Whereas partial debt cancellation for Zambia allowed the government to grant free basic healthcare to its population in 2006, this was in exchange for spending twice as much on debt repayments as on healthcare in 2003.

With their hands still wet with the sweat and blood of our people's exploited labour, these countries (majority of them using the banner of G7) seeking to rebrand themselves as our liberators have successfully spanned debt-forgiveness initiative as an act of altruism. However, if in order to qualify and benefit, governments must succumb to 'conditions' which includes allowing foreign privately-owned profit-making companies to take over public services, a profound question arises: Is this really a gift? The answer is a categorical NO, as this is what the merchant bankers would call a 'debt-for-equity swap', with the equity being national sovereignty.

It is true that 'external debt' is a new form of slavery, that its repayment is tearing down

schools, clinics and hospitals, and we must not starve our children to pay our debts. But in a continent where ‘aid’ is not invested or properly used to increase the capacity to produce more income, but misused by a small section of society whose conspicuous consumption fuels inflation, whose wealth and spending is more oftenly invested in rich countries, then debt relief is basically a blank cheque to governments, as the required savings will not even create a trickle down effect of reaching the poor.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the clamour for ‘external debt relief’ has resulted in what can be considered as an ‘unintended consequence of HIPC initiative’ which has precipitated the shift towards domestic securities (banking sector remain the main holder of government securities), as many governments are forced to tap domestic markets to finance their primary deficits, more so due to poor access to international capital markets and lack of adequate inflows of concessional lending. This sharp reduction in external debt made the share of domestic debt in total public debt in a sample of 14 HIPC to increase from 11 % to 37% over the period 1991-2008, whereas they moved from a situation in which external debt service was the largest part of internal payments, to an opposite situation, as in 2004, when interest on internal debt were slightly higher than 1% of GDP, while domestic interest soaked up, on average more than 2.5% of GDP.

While an argument which seems to hold water is forwarded, that the shift from external to domestic borrowing could reduce the governments external dependence, thus promoting political accountability and institutional reforms, the truth of the matter is that, the balance between benefits and costs of ‘domestic debt’ depends on the presence of prerequisites such as a stable macro-economic environment, an efficient money market, a broad investor participation and the presence of a sound legal, regulatory and supervisory framework which in many HIPC are often not satisfied, making domestic debt a particular source of concern which should be addressed.

To illustrate this point, we focus on Kenya which is not an HIPC, with a relatively sound economic basis and the level of corruption is comparatively low as compared to other African countries, but the effect of domestic borrowing may serve to send warning on the chilling effect of ‘domestic debt’. In a data by Central Bank of Kenya, October 15, 2011, the Kenya government’s gross domestic debt increased from KSHS 660.3 billion in June 2010 to KSHS 699.7 billion by October 8 2011. It was estimated that, the fiscal year 2010-2011, the government was to spend KSHS 68 billion to pay interest on domestic debt compared to only KSHS 7 billion for external debt. This worrisome situation means that Kenya had reached a level where what it spends on debt servicing is larger than budgetary allocations for even some of the largest ministries.

Faced with such debilitating effects of debts whether external or domestic, then we are compelled to look for permanent solution to our economic stagnation.

### **SPITEFUL SCAVENGERS**

With desperate cries and hypocritical activism by various NGO’s and international lobby groups who are purportedly sympathetic of the pathetic African quest for ‘Debt

Cancellation' or 'Relief', a new concept has emerged which waters down the fruition of these campaigns, in the name of *'Vulture Funds'*, facilitated by *'Spiteful Scavengers'*. These funds which are set up specifically to buy old debt at huge discounts, incorporates Corporate Debts as well as Sovereign Debts. A Vulture Fund is an investment in debt issued by an entity that is very weak or dying, and the supreme goal is high returns at bargain rates, often by suing through the courts. The name is a metaphor comparing these investors to vultures patiently circling, waiting to pick over the remains of a rapidly weakening company or in the case of sovereign debt, debtor country. While international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank negotiate reductions in Sovereign Debt, to ease the burden on struggling nations, Vulture Funds buy these discounted debts and then litigate to recoup the full value, plus costs.

Some of these companies which are very economical in the truth on their operations with many of them based in tax havens, are owned by large (often US-based) financial institutions such as hedge funds (highly regulated investment funds that are typically open to a limited range of investors and are not publicly traded on a stock exchange). In other cases, there is no information on who owns them. Often companies are set up simply to pursue one debt and then shut down, as is case of Donegal International Ltd., the company that sued Zambia, which is registered in the British Virgin Islands, and whose only business is to pursue the Zambian debt (the court in London failed to discover who are the ultimate owners of Donegal and of other sister companies such as Walker International, which sued the DRC). Other companies are involved in arms and ammunitions sale, like the Kintex and Yugoimport Ltd. that pursued the Ethiopian debt. Without forgetting the countries which were focused by the Vulture Funds, like Argentina and Peru, the prime targets of Vulture Funds are HIPC's whose populations are living on less than \$1 per day. Whereas at least 54 companies, were known to have taken legal action against 12 of the world's poorest countries, amounting to \$1.5 billion, as at **1/ 11** (1<sup>st</sup> January 2011), to demonstrate how the pathetic situation of debt burden is made extremely sinister, let's take three cases of HIPC which have been finalized, namely Zambia, DRC and Liberia, as well as proceeding cases as at the stipulated date of countries like Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Cameroon.

When it was in desperate need for machinery and vehicles, Zambia was given a credit of \$15 million by Romania in 1979. However by 1990, due to crushing poverty, it was unable to pay its debts and in 1999 a Vulture Fund Donegal International swooped in and bought up the debt - then valued at \$30 million with accrued interest - for knockdown of \$ 3.3 million. This poor country found itself sued for full amount of the debt, plus compound interest amounting to a staggering \$55 million in total, but the judge partially saved this country, by ruling that Donegal claim was not justified, and granted it \$15.5. DRC has a GDP of \$8 billion and is embroiled in civil war. However US courts awarded the Vulture Fund, FG Hemisphere \$100 million against an original claim of \$44.1 million, relating to a credit agreement made in DRC that dates back almost 30 years. On November 26, 2010, it was the Liberia's time to feel the hammer of the Vulture Funds, as the British High Court announced that Vulture Funds Hamsah Investments and Wall Capital were awarded \$20 million by previous creditors in New York Courts. The Vulture Funds had recently acquired the loan to Liberia on secondary market. The

original credit dating back to 1978 was estimated to be worth \$6 million, but it had been in default since 1984. This amount of money represented the country's entire education budget and 150% of their spending on health in 2008.

Turning our focus to those poor African states which are still embroiled in lawsuits with various Vulture Funds as at 1/ 1/ 11, we find Uganda which with a \$1.6 billion debt is being sued by the Vulture Fund, Iraq Fund for International Development. In a case that is in a Ugandan court, the debt originally held was \$6 million, but the amount sought is \$6.4 million. When we turn to Ethiopia we see it involved into lawsuits with Vulture Funds Kintex, based in Bulgaria, and Yugoimport based in Serbia, both held in Russia, but in 'arbitration' – a process that will definitely not be in favour of Ethiopia. Kintex originally held the debt for \$8.7 million and sought the same amount, while Yugoimport held the original debt for \$122 million and sought for \$178 million. With a staggering debt of \$19 billion, Sudan found itself pursued by Vulture Fund Namco Anstalt, in a law suit that is in that country claiming \$5 million against the original amount of \$4.6 million. Turning to the other part of the continent we find Cameroon, with the debt of \$3.2 billion facing legal action from three Vulture Funds. Gracechurch, based in Cayman Island, bought the original debt for \$9.5 million and sought \$39.7 million at a court in France, while Scoursel bought the original debt for \$15.2 million and claimed \$67 million also in France, whereas Antwep which like Scoursel hails from Britain Virgin Islands bought the debt for \$15.2 million claimed \$196 million at a court in Switzerland. Because of the large payment that are required to meet the demands of Vulture Funds, money earmarked for poverty reduction, education and health care is diverted to debt repayment.

After the cases have been settled in courts, the Vulture Funds aggressively endeavours in seeking payments even going to the extents of suing countries' trading partners. They may also bring attachment and recovery actions against sovereign debtor governments, usually settling with them before actually realizing the attachment in forced sales. In the instance such a seizure may threaten payments to other creditors of the sovereign obliger, settlements typically are made at a discount in hard or local currency or in the form of 'new' debt issuance. Whereas it is hard to know exactly how many lawsuits Vulture Funds in African countries are involved in, because countries are reluctant to disclose this, in some cases, where IMF data lists one creditor, lawyers reckon there may be as many as 30 lawsuits involved. So it not a case of misplaced pessimism to assert that, these few mentioned lawsuits against impoverished governments is just a tip of the iceberg in regard to what the continent should be braced for – the auctioning of part if not the whole of Africa!

## **GRIEVOUS GRABBINGS**

The years 2007-2008 saw dramatic increases in world food prices, creating a global crisis and causing political and economical instability and social unrest in both poor and developed nations. After the crisis, new geopolitics have emerged around food security, resulting in a pattern of global food system whereby food and farmland started becoming the 'new gold' for some of the biggest investors, which is perhaps what prompted Lester Brown of *'Earth Policy Institute'* to comment: "Farmland is better gold than gold for

speculators”. It is thus apparent that, we are in the throes of market speculation in a corrupt global food system, whereby a new form of *‘International Grievous Land Grabbing’* has emerged and if no preventive measures are taken, undoubtedly Africa will be its worst casualty.

As we have desperately failed to attain in any reasonable degree to ‘sustainable food security’, the situation is made more worse owing to the fact that, our ‘policy makers’ have utterly failed to grasp the simple fact that while the World Bank, World Trade Organization and other multinational organizations are pushing for more production and more trade liberalization, there has been no focus on how to achieve food security or on regulating the food trade. And the bottom line is clearly manifest; the global food system is designed to generate profits not feed people, and nothing has changed in this regard since the global food crisis.

In contrast, the ‘conscious’ countries, having realized that the food crisis was partly caused by unstable and uncertain markets plus low reserves, were awakened to the urgency of seeking measures to meet food security needs more directly than through global trade, thus focusing more on investment in agriculture. As a consequence, governments and corporations seeking more stable long-term profits, besides looking to outsource food and energy more directly, started promoting new waves of land acquisitions. This is allied to the fact that, with decline in traditional equity stocks along with collapse of housing and commercial real estate markets, billions of investment dollars are being mobilized to buy or lease farmlands and food commodities.

So far, more than 100 billion dollars has been invested in buying or leasing farmland, mainly in Africa by foreign companies and state-owned industries. Under the guise of investing in agriculture, huge amounts of money are being offered to debt-ridden countries in exchange for long-term leases to their food-lands – with the most fertile ones being secured. In various countries where millions of people remain dependent on food aid, some leases are for 99 years at one dollar a hectare, with virtually no acquired taxes or other benefits flowing back to the local community. Foreign countries which are rich in fossil energy but deficient in arable land and water like the Persian Gulf states, which includes Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, are aggressively investing in many parts of Africa. For example inefficient to grow wheat at home, Saudi Arabia has acquired many hectares of land in Sudan, and has also leased large tracts of land in Ethiopia, Senegal, Mali and other African countries.

The issue takes a more appalling dimension owing to the fact that, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century we are faced with another dilemma in the form of ‘food’ or ‘fuel’ debate in the international scopes regarding the risk of diverting farmlands or crops for Biofuel production in detriment of the food supply on a global scale. With UK Biofuel firms having invested in crops such as sugarcane for ethanol in Tanzania, it is indubitable that land has become new rival of oil as a basis for power and economic security, and the control over this asset is as critical today as it was in the past. Further, with the US of America, converting 30 per cent of its corn crop into ethanol - a quality fuel that clears the automobile fuel systems, lessening harmful emissions - to ‘feed’ its cars and trucks, it is apparent that

food supplies are at the top agenda in these former oil-obsessed countries. If we have a glance at the ‘blessings’ of this Biofuel which may be a distant ‘curse’ to our lame continent, ethanol is an economical option to fossil fuels (which are non-renewable), as many alternative fuels can be generated from it. Though presently derived from starch and sugars, there have been research-born hope of producing it from fibrous substances which consists the bulk of most matter – the cellulose and hemicellulose - a very good relief as present estimates predict the demise of world oil in the next 10 to 15 years. Ethanol lessens the toxic pollutant emissions produced by burning gasoline, cuts down on the dumping of oil, besides yielding significant energy security.

Now considering the fact that, modern technology is unraveling new ways of easy mass extraction of Biofuel, many more rich nations will join this train, and probably be compelled to move to more unexploited land of the third world – with the intention of leasing or buying - to grow the needed grain for human consumption and for automobile consumption. As such, it is not long before the period when famine-hallowed inhabitants in our beloved continent, a people seasoned and habituated to seeing trucks loaded with ‘relief’ food coming to save them from the pangs of death from hunger, it would be more disheartening, in their malnutrition to desperately watch trucks loaded with grain grown on their ancestral lands heading for the nearest port destined to fill richer bellies besides burning them off in their automobiles, or process the fuel and sell it back to us at a cut-throat price.

To many of these victim nation-states of Africa, lacking productive capacity to grow and provide food for their populations and starved of as they are of investments, coupled with little natural resources except land to offer the global market, ‘land deals’ becomes deceptively attractive. The incumbent of these countries’ leaders, guilty as they are of failure to utilize the discernible resources at their jurisdiction, thereby diverting the high-quality land from production for local and national economies to create large-scale plantations focused on feeding other nations, deride themselves on shallow defenses and myopic justifications that, from these land deals, they can gain more investment in infrastructure, besides hoping to acquire more technology, research, science and job opportunities for their poor citizens.

### **CRIPPLED CREATIVITY**

Any idea that is devoid of creativity has no tinge of nobleness and is tantamount to an automobile, beautiful in its craftsmanship but lacking one vital gadget – the engine – such that it cannot make any motion. Like a fire too distant to give warmth, ‘Crippled Creativity’ is the basic reason why we have good institutions cut and pasted on other developed countries’ models but which are completely inefficient if not impotent. It is the reason why we continue producing college and university graduates who are completely irresponsible to the needs and requirements of the society; whose academic qualifications have no practical bearing on the developmental aspirations of the society.

‘Crippled Creativity’ is the reason why we shamelessly continue importing basic goods which are in our power to produce locally. It is the reason why the continent will

continue to export raw coffee, cocoa, and tea to mention but a few at a throw away prices and import these same finished products at an incredibly high price. It is the reason why the continent continues exporting precious metals, and then import goods like cars and watches. It is the reason why menaces like insecurity continue to haunt us, as we continue using completely out of tune tactics which eventually escalates the very menaces instead of curbing them. It is the reason why we have good and well crafted session papers and government's visions but lacks the essential practical creative capacity to facilitate their implementation. It is the fundamental reason why a good section of the society cannot afford basic needs in a continent that is endowed with immense natural resources.

'Crippled Creativity' is the underlying factor why we Africans have become copycats in many aspects of our lives, burdened by wishful thinking and helpless in the face of any accidental occurrence. It is the reason why we continue clinging to the letter of laws whose spirits are not in synchronicity with the turmoil of the moment and which becomes impediments to any creative endeavor. We exert ourselves to no purpose, when to still our own childishly longing for creativity and productivity, when we continue holding onto ludicrous and ridiculous ideas. And because it lies within the jurisdiction of nature to abhor vacuum, the subsequent inertia will see us completely swept away by the progressive waves emitted by the natural course of universe.

If we should be mature adults and not simply children blown up by age, or a people who have reached the 'mental menopause' but with a vibrant body casing, if we are not merely 'infantile minds' or 'senile minds' in 'adult bodies', who cling to toy-like solutions to solve giant problems, then we cannot fail to open up to the basic macroeconomic fact, that growth cannot be measured simply by indexes of agriculture and industrial production or technical progress by the number of institutes of higher learning and universities. In other words, development means more than what meets the eye; not simply advanced infrastructures and a string of university degrees – though these are basic imperatives - but more developed potential for self-investment and self-reliance. Charles Haanel (1866-1949) in his book '*The Master Key System*' (1912) captures this vividly:

“A people is safe at home and in the world only if national preparedness mean such things as growing surplus of health, accumulated efficiency in public and private business, of whatever sort, continuous advance in the science and art of acting together, and the increasingly dominant endeavor to make all of these and all other aspects of national development center and revolve about ascending life, single and collective, for which science, art, and ethics furnish guidance and controlling motives.”

### **PERILOUS PRECIPICE**

After these 'civilizers' had eaten the sweetest part of our flesh; after these 'investors' and 'donors' have sucked thickest percentage of our blood, leaving the remnants for the 'scavengers', and while the 'grabbers' are bent on scooping the last grain in our plates, let anyone doubt that the 'infected' and 'malnourished' Africans are not being sent on a speedy journey towards the grave. To depict this horrific scenario in a more compelling

manner, when the ‘civilizers’ driven as they were with the murderous desire to reap super-profits from our raw materials and our cheap labour found this direct process agonizing, they virtually packed and came back disguised as ‘investors’ and ‘donors’ who re-invested the plundered cash into our governments through their heavy machinery and ‘aid’, earning a lot from the inflated interest rates. Having not quenched their vampire thirst for more and more free goodies, they have metamorphosed into ‘Vulture Funds’ which are hell bent on ‘auctioning’ the nation-states of the African continent! With their Dracula appetite to leave us totally annihilated still burning in them, they have embarked on the incredible if not incredulous process of acquiring our land at throw away prices!

As such, viewed as a single socio-political entity, the African is under siege from all directions. Moreover, after battering and parasiting ourselves, with *corruption*, thus eating away and weakening all our inner strengths, we have surfaced as fragile creature who can be easily wiped out of the face of the earth. So with the potential danger of our meager resources being auctioned away in a manner reminiscent to the way our people were sold and shipped away during the era of slave trade; with the looming disaster of our land being grabbed and shared among foreigners, a distant echo of how settlers curved out our fertile lands for the themselves during the scramble for Africa, the African has emerged as the most endangered species in the world, a creature who is destined for extinction.

But should we succumb? Of course not! With the little *energy* left in our systems, we only need to transform these arduous encounters of life into self-enriching vigorousness. Therefore, driven as we should by exigencies of survival it owes to our own *power, freedom, will* and *choice* to recollect the last pieces and patch them together, wake up and face resolutely to a bright future seeking no help from anyone else.

## Chapter (2)

# MELTING MERETRICIOUS MYTHS

## HOLISTIC HISTORY

As viewing our human situation holistically and eschewing a reductive approach to understanding our people’s psychological make-up and functioning is my supreme motive, holism is the dominant lens for viewing the socio-historical-political forces that have shaped and continues to mold our African society. This contention is more solidified

by my irrepressible belief that, evolution involves a progressive series of lesser wholes integrating into larger ones; that not only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, from dependence to independence, but the human species from barbarism, rudeness, coarseness to higher level of refinement or civilization.

In other words, any society that has marked its footprint on the earth is not a logical structure, like mathematics, or engineering, or anything else that does not deal with life; but like our own selves, it is a growth and not a formula, or a syllogism. The organizational structures of any society are not a product of the imagination of theological moralists, political philosophers, social scientists or legal theorists according to some speculative principles, but it is the work of one generation after another according to manifold and changing necessities. As such, society is basically and essentially a product not of logic but of history. Logic can only be used to channel the historical imperatives to productive ends

Armed with this realization, I now endeavour in the simplest manner possible to look at the philosophy as well as the psychology of our African history, and endeavour at the systematic study and reflection upon politics, with the aim of describing the processes by which the exercise or resistance of power unfolds in our African society, by sieving through various stages evident in our history so that we may come with conceptions that may serve to shape political activities of the future.

I hereby take the mantle of a philosophical historian, however unworthy or unqualified I might be, by accepting the strict conditionality of being treated as a witness, and not believed unless my sincerity is established; and that the maxim that a man must be presumed innocent until his guilt is established is not made for me. Instead of acting like an 'instinctive lawyer', searching for evidence that supports my case, I will be an 'intuitive scientist' seeking truth and accuracy. I feel therefore, under a compulsive obligation after minutely censuring and working out the past and recent history of our African society, present it in retrospect under an enduring perspective. Martin J. Walsh in his work '*A History of Philosophy*' (1984) gives us persuasive food for thought:

"The philosophy of history is regarded as that branch of learning which looks upon human history as the subject-matter of philosophical reflection. It seeks to discover in the process of events of human history an overall meaning or significance which transcends the understanding of history achieved by ordinary research work. Whether a special, transcendental understanding of human history is attainable through philosophical reflection is a matter which leaves itself quite open to dispute. Nevertheless several such attempts have been made by different philosophers down through the ages.

It was Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) who asserted: "We need history in its entirety, not to fall back into it, but to see if we can escape it...The struggle with the past is not hand-to-hand fight. The future overcomes it by swallowing it. If it leaves anything outside of it, it is lost...To excel the past we must not allow ourselves to lose contact with it; on the contrary, we must feel it under our feet because we raised ourselves upon it". As a historical assignment, the challenge of our time is that, if we simply ransack the

documentary record left by the past to support a political argument in the present, then what we will be discussing about will not be history, but we will simply be *propagating propaganda*, and the same history will judge us harshly by relegating us into its footnote, as James Baldwin (1924-1987) warned: “To accept one’s past – one’s history – is not the same thing as drowning in it; it is learning how to use it. An uninvented past can never be used; it cracks and crumbles under the pressures of life like clay in a season of drought”.

History is so vital to a people’s future orientation that no atom of its precious inner significance need be lost. Our philosophical and psychological history will therefore, have as its objects the casting off the old material into a new organic mold and the discovery of a new secular purpose or direction in our African history. As a serious endeavour to understand the totality of our African life from a historical perspective can never be fulfilled by the mere sifting of evidence for facts, we therefore, have to assess and classify the available evidence and to present a detailed and coherent account of our history.

Our philosophy of history, like life, feeds on its own decay. New facts burst old rules; the newly divined conceptions bind old and new together into a reconciling law. In this regard we will have to respect facts, avoid ignorance and error as far as possible, and create a convincing, intellectually satisfying interpretation. Listen to first Ghanaian president and pioneer of pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah in ‘*Consciencism*’ (1969):

“The evaluation of one’s own social circumstance is part of the analysis of facts and events, and this kind of evaluation is, I feel, as good a starting point of the inquiry into the relations between philosophy and society as any other. Philosophy, in understanding human society, calls for an analysis of facts and events, and an attempt to see how they fit into human life, and so how they make up human experience. In this way, philosophy, like history, can come to enrich, indeed to define, the experience of man”.

“They who know of no purer sources of truth, who have traced up its stream no higher, stand, and wisely stand, by the Bible and the Constitution, and drink at it there with reverence and humanity; but they who behold where it comes trickling into this lake or that pool, gird up their loins once more, and continue their Pilgrimage toward its fountainhead”, so maintained American philosopher Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862). In this reference I call upon my readers to rise above muddled thinking or circular reasoning that describe events, without telling us anything new above and beyond the fact that some historical incidences occurred, leading to incomplete and ‘truncated’ (cut-off) view of our historical process.

In total emphasis of the role of theory and self-conscious methodology, our philosophical approach to our African history will permit us to predict the future of our continent by taking into account the wide variation of various interlocking factors in the world and their bearing upon the historical evolution to date. As such, our analysis would be incomplete without taking into consideration how events in other parts of the world - Europe and the Americas in particular - helped to shape our African history; the system of Plantations, the Industrial Revolution, the Second World War, the Cold War and the

lifting of Iron Curtain (end of cold war). These are basically what we may refer to as the external '*catalysts of dramatic disruptive change*' (to borrow the phrase from Peter N. Stearns) in Africa.

### **ENTRENCHED ESCAPISM**

It is unfortunate that, various European historians depicted pre-colonial Africa as a continent that was blank in the world map, had no history; that until the emergence of Europeans, a 'dark land mass'.

German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), in '*Lectures on the Philosophy of History*' (1837), wrote that African condition allowed no education; that Africa did not form part of the historical world, for it showed neither movement nor development. Hegel depicted ancient Africa as a-historic, undeveloped world, entirely a prisoner of the spirit of nature, "whose place is still on the threshold of universal history", which remained for millennia, "the land of childhood, which lying the day of self-conscious history is enveloped in the dark mantle of the night".

On the extreme end of the spectrum, African historians and political observers have wielded their deadliest pens in an attempt to reverse what they termed as subversion of African history and strove to paint the picture of Africa in the pre-contact period as a place of flourishing Civilizations in art, painting, iron works, architecture, science, agriculture, mathematics and medicine. From the works of Cheik Anta Diop, Basil Davidson, Jean Vansima, Joseph Ki-Zerbo and Edward Blyden among others, we get the notion of ancient Africa, which enjoyed a high standard of science, technology and culture that is incomparable with Europe of the time.

Some moderates amongst these historians contend that European colonizers brought modern Civilization to Africa, but have reservations on the fastness of the pace, arguing that left to themselves, Africans would have adopted many aspects of modern civilization, but at a much slower pace. In their view, if the Europeans had not come to Africa, still the Africans would have developed in a way most suited to them and with a better understanding of their own problems which would have caused much less suffering and thus avoiding the destruction of ancient African Civilizations. They further maintain that the African civilizations would have become richer and changed for the better. The extremists amongst them in one way or the other categorically dismisses the coming of Europeans as a profound case of continents 'closure'.

Most assuredly, God in His infinite goodness has reserved for us the blessing of being born at this opportune period in the history of our continent. . As such our task shall be that of a historian who has to deal with events which made some stir in our past, an assignment which must be approached with all seriousness and vigilant care which alone will enable us to extract truth from a series of events which have been made obscure or thrown into partial oblivion by European racist intellectuals or blown out of proportion by African intellectual apologists.

There is a lie that was sneaked into the intellectual arena, whose heinous devastating effect are so hideous that very few intellectuals have amassed the courage to raise their finger against it. This lie is the conception that life is a cyclic repetition of tragedies and that history repeats itself. Having blinded or blinkered themselves or deliberately expunged off the indispensable aspect of CHANGE in human existence, they flatly fails to appreciate the ever dynamic Truth of life; *change as the hub and nub of 'exist-ence'*. However, having contended like Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930) that “history never repeats itself” and that “historians repeat each other”, we categorically assert that, the axle of history always revolves forward and its pulley never rolls back. So *parochial patriotism*, myopic defenses and wishful thinking aside, history must always remain open.

Whereas we cannot avoid taking issue with biased European racist intellectuals with their pseudo-analysis, we also cannot be contented with African intellectual apologists basking in the sun of their misplaced fanatical loyalty. From these insincere historians who are only good at the art of lionizing our past, we have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or one earnest advice. They have told us nothing and probably cannot tell us anything to the purpose of saving the continent from the present econo-socio-politico quagmire; they have offered no solution in the manner of settling the much vexed questions of the day. Trapped in this vicious web of looking for scapegoats and shifting blame, many African historians have wasted a lot of ink trying to show how Africa was brutally derailed from viable development path, during the last 400-500 years, and has continued since then to stumble aimlessly in search for solution. From their arguments we can distill six historical factors for the purported origin of the current retrogression.

**If** it had not been for colonial plunder and destruction, the abandonment of thriving architectural traditions, metallurgical works in various empires and kingdoms in ancient Africa perhaps Africa’s industrialization might have been solidified.

**If** it had not been for 10 million or so Africans who were transferred to the Americas and Caribbean during the epoch of slavery and the slave trade, perhaps African history would have been different, in terms of human resource.

**If** it had not been for the congress of Berlin (1884), which arbitrarily and contemptuously divided Africa, among European powers, perhaps Africa could be very many steps ahead, in terms of economic emancipation.

**If** it had not been for the involvement of Africans in other people’s wars (the 1<sup>st</sup> World war as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War), conflicts and ideological confrontations, perhaps Africa’s mode of governance could be more progressive and responsive.

**If** it had not been for miscalculations of the early post independence leaders in asserting a philosophy of development that did not place African’s interests above any other geo-political considerations, perhaps Africa’s body politic could be different.

**If** it had not been for the continued eclipse of Africa’s culture and natural knowledge

through a widening array of institutional instruments inconsistent with African aspirations and prospects, perhaps Africa's psyche could be more assertive and creative.

While these arguments are distant echoes of reality, the bitter truth and the hard facts of our times and our generation is that, we should no more waste any chunk of our emotional and intellectual energies complaining and belaboring about our bad and humiliating history. Rather we should wake up, amass all the *potentialities* at our disposal, and strive to *actualize* them in order to face up to the reality of the world situation.

At the heart of these '**Inhibitive If's**' of history are '*meretricious myths*' in the form of '*sorry scapegoating*' and '*belligerent blame-shifting*' which will have to be *decisively debunked* and melted away if we are honest in our quest and thirst of acknowledging our history wholeheartedly which is a *suresspringboard* for facing our future resolutely.

The key word for these '**Inhibitive If's**' is one namely: 'Entrenched Escapism', which is explained by another very persuasive word 'Projection', which refers to the unconscious attribution, spiting and warding of or ascribing an impulse, motive, emotion, thought, attitude, or behavior onto someone else or some element in the environment.

'Entrenched Escapism' entails being entrapped and embroiled in the tendency of shirking responsibility and shifting blame from oneself unto others. By blaming another person, the mind may avoid the discomfort of consciously admitting personal faults – too shameful, too obscene, too dangerous – by keeping those feelings unconscious or expelling them, and by redirecting libidinal satisfaction by attaching or 'Projecting' those same faults onto another person or object. For instance, an individual who is unconsciously hostile to someone may project the hostility onto the other person. Such a defense reduces anxiety by placing its source in the external world, which makes it seem easier to handle. Further, it permits us to defend ourselves aggressively against our opponents and thereby indirectly express our impulses. This probably explains why those who vigorously wage campaigns against pornography or other sexual malpractices may be projecting their own repressed sexual impulses onto other people.

Though one may protect the conscious mind from a feeling that is otherwise repulsive or obtain the acquittal by ones conscience by justifying certain actions that would normally be found atrocious or heinous, this self-created illusion is only temporary and may eventually lead into a depleted or a limp character as one loses part of ones personality as a result of being unable to access truthful memories, intentions and experiences, about their own real human nature.

Another fact stands out clearly, in the manner that, when one condemns the weaknesses of another person, he or she is more than often only condemning the weakness within oneself. This is due to the fact that we see our own faults most clearly in other people. That is why, judging others is a dangerous thing; not so much because we may make mistakes about them but because we may be revealing the truth about ourselves. Through an unconscious process, we criticize other people for various faults to avoid feeling guilty

at possessing them ourselves. In the words of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961): “Never having been able to succeed in the world, he took his revenge by speaking ill of it”. It is by projection that the bad workman blames his tools.

Viewed from a different angle, when we use the past however good it has been as a lid to cover the problems and challenges of the present, we are wont to attribute our woes to others by claiming that we are victims of for instance witchcraft, curses or manipulation by others. On the same vein, in our attempts at living a satisfactory life, at times the flood of events tends to sweep us along such that we consciously or unconsciously opt for short-cuts by either looking for ‘messiahs’ to enthrone on one side of the spectrum or looking for ‘scapegoats’ to stone, on the other side of the spectrum, at the expense doing a much more profitable job ‘searching’ ourselves and setting our untidy compounds back to order. It is in an effort to avoid facing the task of soul searching that we make diversions, dwelling on irrelevancies or intruding on other people’s concerns, eventually becoming ‘weavers of myths’ and ‘carvers of gods’. But doing so only make us truants, trying in vain to obliterate a need that must eventually be met.

‘Entrenched Escapism’, find its utmost manifestation to the fact that, when we are desperately uncertain of our worth, the possible antidote is to seek some kind of mastery in a place where all cards are stacked in our favour and where we could live in a self-generated glory by transferring all evils and all weaknesses, on to another person. On the other hand, when we are unable to perceive that we are the only who can give ourselves happiness, we continue to cling on others for salvation and when these ‘gods’ fail us, we definitely become doomed. We fail to grasp the fact that all of us humans possess an *infinite potential* for self-salvation; no human being has the power to redeem another.

The nonnegotiable case against ‘Entrenched Escapism’ is that when we take flight from our current feelings of pain, of frustrations or of helplessness, we block our awareness of that situation until we cannot take advantage of the opportunities that may be already existing to help us deal with those negative feelings, so that we may make the quality of our experience more pleasurable, more life-supporting. When we bury our heads in the sand, building virtual iron curtain around ourselves; refusing to explore the difficult situation that we are faced with, we flatly fail to identify the cause or source of that difficulty. We therefore go on suffering from the same problem, and becoming more and more *dislocated*.

We should once and for all stop this obsessive clinging to the ‘**Inhibitive If’s**’ of history, and discard them as rhetorical claims devoid of content which are too abstract to yield conclusions. We should realize that the misfortune of being conquered has always plagued all societies around the globe from time to time, and that in reality, people overcame the adversities of both nature and history only by learning from their misfortunes and daring the devil.

This continual shielding ourselves from our ugly past by either idolizing it or looking for atonements for our misfortunes and weaknesses, can be compared to sheltering a hyena, which is being pursued upon, which will eventually devour us after its pursuers have left;

which is at worst tantamount to really wanting to be integrated into a burning house. We have therefore to commit ourselves in the words of James Baldwin, “to tell the whole story, to vomit the anguish up”. Our supreme aim should be to break the veils of culturally ingrained passivity, to throw off curtains in our eyes, and to clean the dust in our ears, so that we may see reality as it is and hear the voice of reality clearly freed from all echoes of indoctrination and dogmas. By unmasking and stripping bare the ‘Truth’ of our situation we will consequently reveal our continent as it was, as it is and as it may be if we change it.

In our historical analysis of misfortunes inflicted upon us by the foreigners we shall shift our focus from the concept of comparative negligence (concentrating upon the extent we were not responsible for the harm we experienced), to the concept of contributory negligence (concentrating upon the extent to which we were negligent and facilitated in being mistreated or exploited). In total cognizance of the bankroll of skills, knowledge, abilities and situational factors immanent in the general fabric of our past and present African society, let us therefore embark on a simplified analysis of our history, which is indispensable in tackling the vital task of equipping the present and future generation with a clear understanding of their heritage; an awareness vital in catapulting our imaginations to meet our future needs.

### ASSERTIVE ANALYSIS

From a general overview of **pre-contact Africa**, it is undeniable that, ancient Africa was not without some achievements; a great deal of its works in bronze, ivory, wood, iron, pottery and other materials reveal a high degree of artistry and technical skill. Its music and dancing, its mythology and folktales were not without variety or intricacy.

But it is also important to note that by the time Europeans finally achieved the interior vastness of the continent in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, many of the Africa’s great polities, starting with West Africa’s empires of Ghana in the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, then Mali, and Songhai had become too large and cumbersome to be effectively administered, and with the exception of few ones like Benin, they had been reduced by internal dissension, power struggle and succession disputes or had withered away due to environmental degradation leaving only their ruins.

In Central Africa the collapse of the Great Zimbabwe occupation is attributed to the possible exhaustion to local Gold, arable land, or water resources, and the disruption of the Indian Ocean trading sphere by the Portuguese. Others like the Luba Empire which through expansion by conquest had reached its apex by the early 17<sup>th</sup> Century were weakened by internal and external rivalries.

In Southern Africa, though the Europeans did establish peaceful commercial relation with some Africans, trading in ivory and cattle, the story of the period 1650-1800 is largely one of the savage repression and land-lust. The Khoikhoi herdsmen were forced off their pastures and away from their waterlands, while the San were killed and pushed out of their traditional hunting grounds.

The period from 1000 to 1800 in East Africa was a scene of constant movement and repeated population migrations. For the most part they were movements of small clan groups seeking virgin farmland, better grazing or refuge from aggressive neighbours, and had not settled in a manner to facilitate the setting up of stable kingdoms or states.

British historian Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1881-1975) in *'A Study of History'* (1934-1961) argues that, a civilization may prolong its life indefinitely by successful responses to the various internal and external challenges that constantly arise to confront it, and in his most celebrated phrase: "Civilizations die from suicide, not by murder". Following the indubitable historical lesson that no Civilization or an Empire, on a solid footing has ever been conquered by external forces, that not until it starts eating itself away with internal power struggles, mismanagement, corruption or depletion of its economic mainstay, that upon this weakened footing that another more strong power finds an easy way through, the African ancient Empires are no exception.

The crucial point advanced here is that upon their arrival, with simple exceptions of some Southern African societies, the Europeans found a devastated, weary and fragmented population with suspicion and mistrust among each other nibbling to the bud any positive inter-group relations. In this state of perpetual desperation, only a simple device of protecting themselves from their ruinous neighbours, by means of a gun, and the chiefs were seduced into the business of selling out their people or capturing people from other communities in exchange for more guns and ammunitions and other luxuries brought by these foreigners like the clothes. *In this regard the first myth remains 'melted away'*.

The first *'catalyst of dramatic disruptive changes'* in Africa, is the system of 'Plantation Farming' in the Americas and Caribbeans, which occasioned the need for more manpower, thus precipitating *'Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade'*, which triggered a ghastly epoch whose levels of barbarity, bestiality, and brutality are unparalleled in human history. As such our people were subjected to undeserved harm, unjustified suffering, and unmerited pain.

If we expound more on the adverse effects of slave-trade, four factors are inevitably apparent. In the first place the removal of millions of young men and women caused great loss and destruction of population. As only the young and healthy were enslaved, the trade must have had a very damaging psychological effect on the remaining population. Apart from the slaves actually exported, many lost their lives in wars, in the long marches from the interior and by other hardships inflicted by the trade. Secondly the progress and development was retarded. Agriculture, industry, arts and skills were all neglected because it was cheaper to buy tools, clothing and all kinds of manufactures from the Europeans, stifling local African creativity as well as production.

Thirdly, slaving and slave trading stimulated warfare, as in case of the chaos caused by Ngoni, Ndebele and Kololo invasions and Bemba expansion. There is also a pathetic case of creation of corrupted laws, making more crimes punishable by enslavement, resulting in emergence of a class of elite rulers and traders. This unsettled situation, particularly in

the eastern half of the Central Africa, enabled ruthless individual equipped with firearms to establish control over large areas. The ruthless slave-raiding of these leaders made them greatly feared, and the search for slaves and ivory caused them to be always extending their territory.

Lastly the constant threat of raids caused a sense of uncertainty and despair among the general population. They lived on bare necessities of life and did not care to create anything of permanent value. The people were trapped in the endless round that shrunked men and women to something less than the size and the meaning of little short lived flying ants on rainy nights. In this state of perpetual raids, the atmosphere of this period may be captured in the words of English philosopher and political theorist Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in '*Leviathan*' (1651):

“Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition, there is no place for industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain...no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”.

But at the bottom of these reasons is that it is Africans themselves who are to blame for their menace – no European entered the interior to capture slaves – and most importantly the largest proportion of blame should be leveled to the rapacious inhuman leaders of the time. As such the second *myth remains melted away*

The second '*catalyst of dramatic disruptive change*' in Africa is 'Industrial Revolution', which when it rolled across Europe in 18<sup>th</sup> Century precipitated the need for raw materials and market for the processed goods, further triggering the need for conquest of foreign land which ended in the Berlin Conference of 1884 where '**Colonialism**' in Africa was officially unveiled. From a comparative point of view, though the beginning of colonialism coincided with the end of 'Slave Trade' – due to increase in mechanization which replaced need for human labour in those countries which were end receivers of slaves - it replaced it with an equally inhumane form of servitude in the form of 'forced labour', which precipitated outright rebellion like the Maji-Maji uprisings (1905-1907). And where the Settlers had managed to forcefully evacuate the original inhabitants in the most productive areas like the 'White Highlands in Kenya', cheap labour which bordered on forced labour was the order of the day.

Nevertheless, it is probably intellectually honest here to note that for better or worse, colonialism destroyed traditional institutions and ways of thinking and replaced them with habits and mentality of the Western world. The replacement of informal system of education based mainly on tribal life, which was first initiated by missionaries (mainly reading, writing, arithmetic and religious knowledge), was expanded by the colonialists to encompass technical, legal and business courses; thus laying down the foundations of a new system of education in many parts of Africa. Of importance is the introduction of the Westminster model of political organization (three arms of government the executive,

judiciary and legislature), which continues to reign supreme up to date and which have to be refined and furthered if we are to reap a share in the stake of current wave of Globalization.

There were other innumerable changes in the African economy, though restricted only to the areas where raw materials were available; roads and railways were built in many parts of Africa; sea ports and inland ports were developed; water transport over lakes and navigable parts of rivers were improved; motor vehicles were introduced and their use had become very common in most parts of Africa and in later periods the use of the aeroplane, and especially of the small aeroplane, was spread in many areas. Crops such as wheat, sugarcane and rice were introduced for the first time to the continent. Farming for cash crops was started in many parts, where large plantations of rubber, cocoa and tea were started and became important sources of wealth, marking the growth and beginning of export of many raw materials.

Besides the beginning of the use of machines on farms, better methods of farming were introduced and initiatives were started to control insect pests, with new methods of caring for soil becoming widely accepted. Scientific methods of breeding and upkeep of farm animals began to be put in practice. Mining on a large scale was started for the first time with machines to locate, dig and clean minerals being introduced. Export of minerals began to bring much wealth to some areas of Africa. The path to starting many new industries on the continent was opened, leading to the development in many fields, and emergence of big towns and cities. Modern methods of controlling water supply and sanitation were introduced. The use of electricity became common, besides communications by radio and telephone being started. On this account amongst many other factors, the third *myth remains melted away*.

Furthermore, we ought to understand that, progress and regression, achievement and failure, conquest and subjugation are characteristics of history; a fundamental indication of the dialectal interplay between human beings and their environment. Africa is not unique in the history of conquest! Nor is it the only continent to have been humiliated and deprived of opportunity to make its own history (?) Yet, in spite of what we share in common with other continents past miseries, we have all the reasons to be perturbed and seek change. The fact that other continents overcame their humiliation and rose to create great civilizations makes it even more compelling for us to reverse the regressive trends of past history; where Africa was chopped up into colonial sphere of influences. This will only be possible if we simply exorcise this 'curse of nation-state', by challenging our misplaced possessiveness about colonial imposed borders and mold Africa into a single entity.

The third '*catalyst of dramatic disruptive change*' in Africa, is the 'Second World War' (1939-1945) and it is neither a shocker nor an accident that the end of this War marked the beginning of '**anti-colonial movements**' throughout the continent. As the so-called progress was accompanied by disruption as well as destruction and to many, colonization meant the loss of our people's ancestral land to Settlers, and loss of control and benefit of natural resources to foreigners, leading to a widespread discontent which ignited the

passion for political independence throughout the continent. By and large, African states were able to obtain independence through a combination of the efforts of African nationalist movements (directed by those Africans who were able to acquire some war knowledge as they had been shipped to fight alongside their colonial masters) and European weakness following 2<sup>nd</sup> World War; France, Belgium and to a certain extent Britain, were left exhausted after the War.

Unfortunately, before the people could realize that, the Heroes they had crowned and the Saints they had hallowed were mere hoaxes, or worse the society's real enemy, it had bitterly dawned unto them that political independence had simply set another cycle of political tyranny rolling over society and the peasant continued to be its ready victim. The role of the foreign oppressor was transformed into African hands and then it was the African oppressing another. As the paradox of the assumption of the independence was merely transferring the mantle of leadership from the 'colonizers' to their 'collaborators', the new power wielders became participant in the notorious activity of grabbing some share of the national cake; they became ruthless and insensitive agents of destruction; they became rapists and plunderers of their brothers and sisters who were taxed heavily to keep them in office.

In this phase of '*post-independence elitist misconception*', characterized as it was by failure to differentiate between economic independence and political independence, a new kind of religion was promulgated - hitherto informally - to serve as the ideology of the new elite that took over power, a religion based on slogans rather than ideas. Their passive aim simply being anti-colonialism, our post-independence elite made the fatal mistake of looking the colonial question in exclusive political terms. A naïve faith was propagated and spread in the curative potentialities of national independence. This exaggerated stress on mere political solutions prevented the so-called nationalist leaders from facing and analyzing the true ground of our backwardness. What they failed to grasp is that, the colonial question is basically a question of cultures and of peoples at different stages of development. Political ambitions, therefore, did not march together and were not inspired by a sense of mission for the task of recasting the foundations of society. Political advancement was viewed as an end in itself, without inducing any serious thinking about how such advancement was to be used.

They failed to grasp the fact that, to achieve national independence is relatively a very simple matter, and that to build a new society is something involving qualities of different order of magnitude. More worse, the passion for political independence, hypocritical as it was from the outset halted any critical consideration or concentrated analysis of the true reasons for our retarded development; it deflected thought from considering the true causes of our former dependence and inferiority, giving birth to a superficial optimism about the future. The only heritage of this kind of approach was the production of a consummate mixture of complacency and presumption. Consequently the fourth *myth remains melted away*.

The fourth '*catalyst of dramatic disruptive change*' in Africa, is the 'Cold War', which is a term first popularized by American journalist Walter Lippmann (1889-1974) in a 1947

book by that name. It was a term meant to suggest that relations between the USSR and its World War II allies (primarily the US, Britain, and France) had deteriorated to the point of war without the occurrence of actual warfare. In such a situation of virtual warfare, the Soviets construed the control of Eastern Europe as constituting a vital link in its security belt and independence, and to the US, its independence and security required a balance of power in Europe. Each holding feelings of insecurity, distrust and suspicion against the other precipitated a state of psychological tension and suspicion, whereby Africa became the hot spot of simmering politics, as the two superpowers felt compelled to compete for the support if not the allegiance of emerging states that were non-aligned.

During this era of Cold War, either the United States and or the Soviet Union aided particular African states governments that mouthed their ideological dogmas, and it mattered little what domestic policies the client governments pursued; and all these pro-US or pro-Soviet clients tended toward similar authoritarian political structures. As this rivalry was manifested overtly or covertly in almost all of crisis and coups in Africa, it is neither coincidental nor accidental that in less than 40 years after political independence, Africa witnessed more than 70 coup de etats with internal conflicts and Civil wars spanning the world's largest refugee population, exacerbating poverty, and killing hundred of thousands.

In this atmosphere of *mutualmistrust* coupled with real or imagined fear of being toppled from power, by the agents of those swearing allegiance to the power on the other side of ideological divide, the pathological impulse to silence ones critics using any tool and tactic at their disposal seemed understandable. And as it became imperative as a *survivalstrategy* to surround and shield oneself with as much power as it was *practicallypossible*, the logical outcome was African leaders being haunted by the '*Big Man Ghost*' whereby the leader was infallible, excellent, illustrious, and all knowing. Haunted by this 'Ghost' every African leader who assumed power became a 'philosopher' and after attaining 'divine' wisdom, by the virtue of being a president he became allergic to criticism. Majority of the life presidents insisted on being called conqueror, number one peasant, the national miracle, the messiah and so forth. However, there is no parallel at all between the Africa's unwarranted, 'Big Men' and historical 'Great Men' like Caesar, Napoleon, Bismarck or Churchill who so much influenced the course of human history by their vision, persistence, charisma and genius. An African 'Big Man' or a 'Life President' was a '*Dogmatic Despot*' and an '*EconomicEmbezzler*'.

In the alphabetical order, 'E' comes immediately before 'F'. In their initial days immediately before independence when they assumed or usurped power, most post-independence presidents emitted the *radiantrays* of *societalsalvation*, and therefore seemingly qualified for the tag H.E (His Excellency). But as times passed on and their mud horns started cracking in the face of a scorching sun of the fire test of whom they really were (mud-horned hare pretending to belong to the cluster of really horned mammals; weaklings purporting to belong to the category of Great men) they surfaced out as '*InsincereIncompetents*' thus graduating on to the next stage in the alphabetical order and qualifying for the tag H.F (His Failure).

This explains why the general African political scene was, and still is characterized by what we may be content to refer here as political ‘Hellish Hazards’; authoritarianism and the negation of democracy, inequality, social injustice, violation of human rights amongst many vices. As these ‘magic lantern heroes’ hypocritically emitted the most advanced expressive light of continents new ‘African Personality’, endowed with all liberating qualities, it is pathetically disgusting to note that, behind this façade there was only bewilderment, incompetence, self-seeking and a paralyzing feeling of inferiority. Their Africanness did not represent a new departure but only a ‘*messymilitant*’ adaptation to the superstitions, to the mumbo-jumbo of tribalism from which they had not liberated themselves. For most of the new leaders of Africa, time did not make their ancient gods uncouth but on the contrary endowed them with a false charm and vitality, which they in fact never possessed.

It is therefore, not a wonder that they engaged in the most bestial and monstrous acts bordering on utter and naked madness. A few illuminating examples may serve to shed light on this regrettable and intoxicating state of affairs. Equatorial Guinea MarciasNguema (1924-79), president (1968-79), during whose despotic regime, the country’s educated class was eradicated, some 80,000 people were reported to have been killed, about one-third fled into exile, and the economy collapsed. He would kill the country’s governor of central bank, close the bank and carry all the money to his house in his rural village. He could change the country’s motto into ‘There Is No Other God Other Than Nguema’. In the whole of this Nguema’s devilish rule, the soviets acted behind the scenes. Central African Republic Jean- BedelBokassa (1921-1996), president (1966-1977) and emperor (1977-1977), amid various violations of human rights (massacre of civilians including school children) would use a colossal one-quarter of the country budget, in a colorful ceremony to crown himself Emperor of the Central African Empire. The western allied French government of President Giscard largely financed the extravagant coronation. Doctor Hastings Kamuzu Banda (1906-1997), first Prime Minister (1964-1966) and president (1966-1994) of Malawi besides totally silencing his opponents, and despite ruling the country single-handedly with an iron hand with his wife ‘Mama Kadzamira’, used to publicly refer to his cabinet ministers as boys and told them they will continue being boys, “until you get initiated into my system of governance”.

After British foreign secretary Alec Douglas-Home, agreed with US president in 1960 that the first prime-minister of Zaire, Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961) needed to “fall into a river of crocodiles”, for his alleged communist leanings, Joseph Desire Mobutu (1930-1997), after a coup de etat (Sept. 4<sup>th</sup> 1960) which overthrew Lumumba together with president Joseph Kasavubu, had him (Lumumba) murdered ruthlessly. Upon ascension to power and guarded by his Israel-trained presidential guard, Zaire’s vastly abused economy was Mobutu’s wallet. America relied on Zaire as a supply route for weapons to the US backed UNITA rebels led by the dogmatic leader Jonas MathairoSavimbi (1930-2002), fighting Angola’s pro-USSR Government of Dos Santos (1942- ). The USSR backed Matthew Kerekou (1933-) of Dahomey used the ‘black diet’ to cow his critics, which entailed locking the victim to a cell without food or water and the person would painfully die of hunger and thirst; the corpse would be taken out later decomposed. In Kenya which was capitalist only rhetorically, the ‘Nyayo Torture’ chambers of the early

80s and late 90s were reserved for those who sympathized with communism and the mere possession of any reading material by Karl Marx or Mao Zedong amounted to detention without trial and subsequent torture.

Whereas during the Cold-War, the protagonist's interests reigned supreme, overshadowing Africans interests, these new players in the international arena (US and USSR) were only able to exploit the inherent weakness in our leaders psyche. This simply because, behind all the pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, behind all the talk of nationalism, industrialism and emancipation, there still lurked among the elite, ancient deep-rooted superstitions, fears, anachronisms and phobias. As they had not developed their personalities to a degree that their egos were stout, hard and sharply defined, there was therefore too much cloudiness in their mentality, a kind of sodden vagueness that made for lack of confidence; an absence of focus that rendered them incapable of grasping the work-a-day world. Helplessly floundering as they were, in an attempt to develop any effective method of fostering economic growth, they sunk in the bottomless pit of corruption, and inefficient, high-headed tyranny of the government. In this reference, the fifth *myth remains melted away!*

Karl Marx posited that, a society's dominant ideology is integral to its superstructure. In this reference, a major problem with our African society isn't that we didn't have distinct **culture** of our own and thus a distinct ideology, or that, our culture was trampled upon by foreign cultures, but that we didn't have a persuasive cultural or ideological mechanism with an inherent capacity to assimilate change. As Sudanese poet, novelist, and short-story writer Taban Lo Liyong (1939 - ) asserts in '*The Last Word*' (1967):

“To ask if we had culture is to ask an elementary question. After it had been answered with a ‘Yes’ – does that conclude the discussion? Should it? What needs answering is; what sort of culture had we? Did this general spirit allow for the utmost individual search for himself and his individual spirit – unhampered by social, cultural, moral, governmental restrictions? Did it have within it mechanisms for survival?”

Our whining about the continued eclipse of African culture is just as hypocritical and insincere as our misinformation on the extent and nature of our past culture(s), as well as our present cultural if not future cultural orientation. Other than playing referee in the illusion of grandeur of our past which evokes the highly deceptive thoughts of ‘going back to our roots’, it is absolutely fallacious to talk of general ‘African Culture’ as different groups of people had different symbols and ways of expression at different times and places.

The bitter truth and a disgusting pill which we should force ourselves to swallow is that, prior to the '*culturalcontact*' going back to the times before the era of slave trade, the mental attitudes rooted in the ethos of the pre-contact continent was a highly important factor frustrating the development of society; pious conformism to the fixed order of secular power reined supreme; the individuals main objective was not full self-realization, but static harmonious social relations. By stressing as cardinal virtue ceremonial and ritualistic propriety, in most circumstances of life, it disabled our people

on any effort at escaping from that 'death-like easiness of the mind' and prevented them from knowing anything of that '*divine-discontent*' which is the precondition of intellectual and social progress. For them, nature and life was eternal rhythm rather than unending struggle; suppressing not only the aggressive impulses but the healthy, vigorous and creative ones as well.

African contact with foreign cultures positively excited the dormant molecules of our general consciousness arousing a vibration that continues to increase in momentum as time moves on. As it is apparently clear that cultural values of a particular community are prone to be affected by the values of communities in close vicinity, modern times have witnessed an unprecedented blending, intermix and sharing of cultures. We are living in one of the most fluid era in the history of mankind, the era of Globalization, whereby regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe spinning network of communication and trade. What we call 'Cultural Globalization' or '**Acculturation**' which is the cornerstone of Globalization and the key factor which unlocks all other determinants of Globalization simply means the transnational circulation of ideas, languages or popular culture. It implies the exchange of cultural features that results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact; the original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be altered, but both groups remain distinct. Furthermore it is not too much to say that there are no progressive people whose customs have developed uninfluenced by foreign culture; there is no developed society that has not borrowed ideas and arts which it has developed in its own way.

The world is constantly changing and whether we like it or not we must be like the Chinua Achebe's bird in '*No Longer at Ease*', Eneke-nti-oba, who when his friends asked him why he was always on the wing he replied: "Men of today have learnt to shoot without missing and so I have learnt to fly without perching". So we have to adapt ourselves to the immutability, mobility and flexibility of our present times. Instead of prolonging the disgusting noise-making to an ever-sensitive practical historical train, playing referee in the illusion of grandeur of our past which evokes the highly deceptive thoughts of 'going back to our roots', what we require is what we may call 'Cultural Synchronicity', meaning being in tune with the motions - the velocity and in any case the acceleration - of our historical moments and generational imperatives. We Africans should construe ourselves not as an old people inheriting or trying to preserve an old culture, but a new people trying to build and commission a new civilization. As such the sixth *myth remains melted away*

### Chapter (3)

# INSPIRING INDICATORS

## DEGENERATIVE DISILLUSIONMENT

In a continent experiencing uncertainty because the rule of law had broken down and when it seemed to be taking its course it was tempered with vendetta; in a society whereby politics became corrupt facilitating a climate whereby buffoons and incompetents ascended to importance posts, with government officials hobnobbing with crooks in broad daylight, and racketeers were rarely arrested and when so, ever convicted, and when convicted released due to 'lack of evidence', our social condition remained a passive one, our political existence null, and our difficulty in attaining freedom was all the more painful as our people treated simply as doormats, stagnated in the most wretched servitude.

Not only were we stripped off freedom, but even of a role of dominion in our domestic affairs. Under the regime of absolute power, all authority went unchallenged; the will of

the despot was the supreme law arbitrarily executed by inferiors who participated in organized repression as a result of the authority they wielded - they were in charge of civil, political, military and religious functions. These '*Typical Tyrants*' were perhaps very good students of Joseph Goebbels (1867-1945), German Nazi Propagandist, who taught thus: "If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it. The lie can be maintained only for such time as the State can shield the people from the political, economic and / or military consequences of the lie. It thus becomes vitally important for State too use all of its powers to repress dissent, for the truth is the mortal enemy of the lie, and thus by extension, the truth is the greatest enemy of the State".

To all these charlatans who have shamelessly preyed upon our people's gullibility, may the curse of British poet Lord Byron (1788-1824) fall upon them like the monsoon rain:

"By thy cold breast and serpent smile,  
By thy unfathom'd gulfs of guile,  
By that most seeming virtuous eye,  
By thy shut soul's hypocrisy;  
By the perfection of thine art  
Which pass'd for human thine own heart;  
By thy delight in others' pain,  
And by thy brotherhood of Cain,  
I call upon thee! And compel  
Thyself to be thy proper Hell!"

While some African leaders were able to seize power through the muzzle of a gun, others succeeded in this endeavor by perfecting the art and science of 'Mass Manipulativeness'. In their remorseless acts of consolidation and use of power, the ultimate consequence of this pure sadism is 'Degenerative Disillusionment' which has created horrible futility and fatuity amongst our people, as we are daily bombarded by not of stories of anything creatively new and vigorous, but by the same old stories of money changing hands, throats getting moistured and palms getting greased. Quite regrettable, the words of prophet Isaiah (1:22-23) are an apt description of our African society as it is helplessly sinking in the pit of 'Degenerative Disillusionment': "Your silver has become dross, your choice wine is diluted with water. Your rulers are rebels, companions of thieves; they all love bribes and chase after gifts. They do not defend the cause of the fatherless; the widow's case does not come before them".

'Degenerative Disillusionment' is the general pervasive factor in our society, which is the culmination of the fact that, ours is a society which is an organized conspiracy to oppress, to rob, and to degrade part of its members, such that poverty has become enforced and ignorance prevails. As the majority of the populace is held hostage by a very small segment of the society, most properties owned by a substantial number of society members are organized robbery. Our wisdom administered as it is by inexperienced or malaexperienced dupes, our morality has turned into impudent hypocrisy. Our power having been wielded by cowards and weaklings, our honour has become weak in all its points. Most heinous and chilling crimes against humanity are sponsored by the supposed

protectors of the society. Our law-makers, law-interpreters and law-enforcers have blatantly disregarded the law becoming open and shameless law breakers, thereby firmly anchoring the phenomenon of ‘impunity’ in this historical foundation. Large amounts of money in the local and foreign bank accounts owned by the few sacred cows are soiled with the sweat and blood of impoverished and exploited peasants.

In the current state of ‘Degenerative Disillusionment’, we are bound by the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny and corruption, as we are unable to acquire learning, power or virtue. And since we were schooled by such evil tutors (the colonizers), the lessons we received and the examples we studied were of a most ruinous nature. We are enthralled by deception even more than superstition. We are swayed hither and thither by ambitious and inexperienced men and women who have no political, economic or civil understanding; who take to be realities what are in fact only illusions; men and women who confuses license with liberty, treason with patriotism, vengeance with justice. Such people resembles an able-bodied blind man who, encouraged by his feeling of strength, strides forward with the assurance of the most clear sighted and, stumbling into every pitfall, is no longer able to find his way.

These leaders, dishonoured by contempt of all virtue, defiled by their practice of every vice, are a factious crew and enemies to all good governance and economic progress. They are a pack of mercenary wrenches and would like Esau sell their country for a ‘mess of pottage’, and like Judas betray their Teacher for a thirty pieces of silver. Having battered their consciences for bribes, they have no religion left and gold is their God. Like sordid prostitutes they have defiled the sacred places – our executive institutions, courts and legislature - and turned these sacrosanct institutions into dens of thieves; by their immoral principles and wicked practices. They have grown intolerably odious to the nation; they were deputed by the people to get grievances redressed and they themselves have become the greatest grievance.

Our leaders have graduated into pirates who rape and plunder the meager resources in our society and shares everything amongst themselves as the majorities have been reduced into hunters and fruit gatherers. Instead of being a bright light that would show the way, a rock on which the people would step on their way to progress, these antiquated leaders have become stumbling blocks to any creative endeavour. The present political machinery falls into the hands of second-rate and third-rate men whom knowledge is anathema and art an alien mystery. Our offices are run by our smallest men, who are subservient, amenable to discipline, elastic of conscience and free from dangerous originality or genius. The road to office lies through ‘organizations’ and ‘alliances’ without statesmanship, without patriotism, and without scruple. Our society has become achievement-oriented, stressing the goal of success as an end in itself almost but of course, not entirely irrespective of the means employed.

In this darkness of ‘Degenerative Disillusionment’, living our lives somewhere along a wide curve of deep-rooted, bottle-up inexpressible anger, the smell of adour of decay is almost everywhere and as such, most people are dizzy with frustrations, are drowned in the deep lake of confusion, their hearts are riddled with arrows of despair and their heads

bursts with fury. South African poet Daniel P. Kunene in ‘*Pirates Have Become Our Kings*’ (1968) captures this point vividly:

“War is  
When the teeming life  
Of the sea and the earth and the air  
Is arrayed in the butcheries  
For the satiation of the few  
Who carelessly toss a silver coin  
While the angry millions look on.  
The spilling of blood is not war itself.  
It is but a culmination of the  
War that began when man first felt envy,  
Selfishness, conceit, arrogance, callousness  
And let the unbridled vices loose to victimize.”

### INESCAPABLE INFERENCE

Now, because we are not children who reviles in crying or slaves who finds relief in complains, we should grasp the historical fact that, when a group of people have tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige, they slowly starts getting drunk with power. In this state of intoxication, they begin to find more comfortable in the obvious lie and to accept it as normal that they alone are entitled to privileges. In order to believe this seriously, as they become more and more addicted to cheap comfortability, there arises the need to convince themselves with all arguments that supports and consolidates this lie, thus embarking on a scorched-earth policy of breaking all the ladders that might enable others to climb to the helms of power. This scenario is what leads to the *inescapableinference* that no group however benevolent can ever hand power to the vanquished on a silver plate.

But the bottom line here is discernible from the fact that, the great weakness of all governments, whether authoritarian, democratic or imperial, boils down to the weaknesses of those who are governed. Leaders are not the moon, people have to emit their own light and in the absence of this light, the leaders metamorphose into parasites whose overriding appetite is to suck the blood in body of the society to the last pint. Like a person who has learnt to vegetate in a state of cowardly dependence on the physician in sickness and in health, who turns into a life-long patient until the last coin in his pocket is transferred to the doctor’s wallet or the breath sneaks out of him or her and the right to life evaporates, the more the governed expect the governors to solve their problems, the more the governors will demand to be compensated covertly or overtly. This business of demanding more might translate as heavy taxation to feed a bloated bureaucracy. While it might also translate to bigger bribes, in the worst of cases, it might mean both excessive taxation and bigger bribes.

Power corrupts in the measure of the irresponsibility of those holding public offices which is augmented by the low degree of checks and balances imposed by the led. In a word, the potential for any sort of exploitative social machinery to thrive is ‘Inversely

Proportion' to the level of people's social political consciousness - the people's ability to assert their liberty, be in control of their destinies thus developing the ability to assimilate and direct change. If we expound more on this, it is important to emphasize the fact that in any society, the abuse of power, the exploitation by some small minority of the larger majority, is in inverse ratio to the intellectual development which that society has attained. Low societal awakening is the fount for the difficulty of the people to agree in their grievances or to unite in their action, which waters down the demand for greatness or foresight on the elected officials, as the people are carried away by bare-toothed oratory. In this cold atmosphere of indecisiveness, the leaders suffices out not as people endowed with the creativity to govern, but to secure the approval of these gullible for whatever policy they may have callously decided upon. The worthiness of politician therefore, becomes the measure of his or her ability to invent some interesting and unimportant issue to divert the eyes of the populace from the problems actually involved. Political campaign degenerate into the wrestling of the brawn not the brainy, whereas elections becomes a contest in fraud and farce, in noise and insults, and as sound arguments make the least sound, as empty container makes the most noise, truth is lost in the confusion, and smoked away into oblivion.

If all other factors are taken as constants, when the level of socio-political consciousness is high to a reasonable degree, no special class is adored or idolized and therefore the breeding ground for mismanagement, corruption, regression, tyranny and various vices is made sterile and impotent. As a result, people become impatient of any kind of fallacious sentiments and intolerant of any sort of blind, obedient submission.

“Freedom is not something that anybody can be given, freedom is something people take and people are as free as they want to be...there is never a time in the future in which we will work out our salvation. The challenge is in the moment, the time is always now”, so preached James Baldwin (1924-1987). We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress; that the most potent weapon at disposal of the exploiter with his criminal orientation is the gullible and timid mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no human chains can bind one to servitude, but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the oppressor, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to break the chains of slavery. So, *seeking personal freedom first is the fount of collective freedom and general political liberation.* It is the leverage upon which the conditions essential for progress are made possible and actualized. It is the springboard upon which the ideal of a harmoniously integrated progressive society will be attained and eventually each one of us will graduate from the 'varsity of life' with honours and there will be no need of dreaming of a paradise in the hereafter, but each one of us will contribute to developing and nurturing the paradise in the here and the now.

In the long run, this political deficiency coupled with inadequate accommodation of dissent and the poor quality of communication between the rulers and the ruled, turned against the leadership, regardless of its apparent strength. The lifting of Iron Curtain and the collapse of Berlin Wall (a highly visible symbol of the Cold War, was a fortified wall surrounding West Berlin, built in 1961 and maintained by East Germany, until

November 1989, when it was mobbed by East German citizens seeking to visit the west, after USSR relaxed its tight control over East Germany government, during the era of reform minded Mikhail Gorbachev), precipitated the beginning of democratization process with its 'wind of change' blowing all over Africa.

We are now on the fifth external '*catalyst of dramatic disruptive changes*' in Africa, whereby the term 'good governance' was introduced into the lexicon of the African discourse on development affairs; a term which was brought in as a measure of reforms that were needed in developing countries faced with economic decline, external debt and political instability.

We had noted in the preceding pages that, despite US and Soviet rhetoric, neither Superpower bothered much with their client's economic stability, as they were obsessed by the search for allies that bolstered their position in the world affairs. In the current era of capitalist triumph, there is no Soviet Union to which 'aid-dependent' African countries can turn; the West is the only source of assistance – and probably China. And since the United States and its allies no longer perceives Africa as part of a global struggle that threatens its security, the anticommunist rhetoric that used to elicit aid no longer does. As geostrategic considerations no longer dominate Western patterns of 'aid(?)', this has 'freed' Western 'donors(?)' to 'lend' only to countries that practice democracy and human rights. And there is no doubt that the number of fledgling democracies in Africa has grown since 1989, because dictators lost funding that secured their rule amongst other factors.

With legalization of political opposition from one party dictatorship to pluralistic multiparty systems, there was a widespread optimism about 'wind of change blowing all over Africa'; that, good governance was starting to take root in Africa (and in particular sub-Saharan Africa). This was buttressed by the fact that the old generations of politicians were giving way to a crop of reform minded and visionary leaders. There was in some countries peaceful transitions from authoritarianism to what appeared in all their trapping, to be well-governed regimes. However, albeit unfortunately within two decades, something startles where hope has been taking root. It has now become apparent that the pioneers of second liberation in Africa were just con artists precisely interested in power and wealth. These would be second liberators turned into the most insensitive bigots who became solely preoccupied with political positions than a system that protects the nation and its people. Their mode of governance came to be characterized by narrowness, shortsightedness, and visionlessness as they became personality oriented from the outset.

Whereas we can credit the 'Second Liberation' for making a seemingly radical transition from a 'Closed Society' to an 'Open Society', we cannot lose sight of the fact of '*hypocrisy of the so-called second liberation Czars*' or the '*young Turks*' whereby we witnessed further trends towards illusion and self-imposed estrangement from realities, through replacement of outright '*charismaticcriminals*' and '*politicalpurgers*' with subtle '*charismaticcharlatans*' and '*politicalpretenders*', men and women who are drilled in the science of convincing the *purgedpopulace* of the truth of their lies, thereby consolidating the phenomenal infantility that seems to be permanently projected on our political screen.

With some construing politics as a one step into easy picking, while others turning to politics however unqualified they are to protect what they had illegally amassed, very few see politics as a service industry where leaders expend a lot more in terms of service to the public than they get materially from it; preferring to exercise power from the dais, as opposed to reflecting on the direction of the society.

From seemingly *transparent* individuals where the natural light of development and emancipation would pass through, illumining more and more light upon the openness of society, to apparently *translucent* individuals to actually *opaque* individuals who have blocked any rays to pass through, we are driven to an honest assertion that these so-called reformers had no ideals, programmes or dreams of a progressive society. Theirs was a kind of selfish politicking that was termed by Kenyan prominent historian William Ochieng' as the 'politics of Banquet Hall'. Their whining about good governance was informed by the fact that, they were shut out from the political dining hall; from the eating table where they could have a lion share of the national cake. But as soon as they were able to con the masses into supporting them in entering the Political Banquet Hall, they miraculously forgot the ideals they were fighting for in the name of 'the people want....', the people are angry about....'

### **LAME LIBERATORS**

For these men and women who were highly held in esteem by the society as promising liberators, when they were put to the fire-test of their potentials, they emerged as men and women who were full of empty promises. Can we therefore, accuse these people as being guilty of foregone treachery, of long meditated deception in the manner of abandoning the opinions by which they rose to power? Is it that these people have traded on the ideas and intelligence of others, that their lives is one great appropriation clause, that is why they are burglars of other people's intellect? Or is it that these are people who basically have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken? However, if we are to appeal to those high and honest impulses that are the mainstay and the main element of any progressive society, the only benefit of doubt we can give these people is that when they undertook the course of moving society forward, probably they were perfectly sincere in their advocacy, but in the face of a call to defend the noblest cause, one based on the most high and solemn, vigorous principles, all their weak ideals crumbled away in their grasp, the creative power vital in sustaining them waned off, the feel of spontaneous sentiments vital in forcing upon them strong convictions was watered down..

Having committed political petty larceny on so great a scale, one of the great 'unforgivable psychological sin' committed by the second liberation reformers - these '*PublicPollutants*' who have tattered people's minds with economic fancies - is that they have perfected the art of dangling before a highly anxious and economically starved people, promises of a great future for which none is sincere about, could work on or put effort towards achieving. By engaging in counterproductive actions towards the achievement of any ideal, they have succeeded only in deepening more and more the valleys of frustrations amongst the populace. It's no wonder therefore, that most of the current African regimes have shamelessly succeeded only in taking away the vices of

corruption and philistinism from former regimes and unto themselves. Many of the so-called reformers have proved to be no different from the dictators and looters from whom they took over power from. We have found ourselves in an unfortunate situation whereby, ‘*DiscreditedDebauchees*’ do not only survive, but in a kind of *reactionaryrecycling* they mutate into respected elder statesmen.

With these ‘*AdamantAnthropoids*’ who are trapped in making bad decisions and sticking to them though they yield negative results, as regrettable as it is, what we have in the high political offices are ‘*GambitGamblers*’ who are gripped by a grotesque misunderstanding of social evolution and societal expectations and aspirations. They have therefore degenerated into infantile revolutionaries and tribal chauvinists, who have promoted the politics of rancor, acrimony, breastfeeding and sycophancy, resulting in a culture of shameless opportunism. By perfecting the art of self- survival *parexcellence*, they have become obsessed in an attempt to create an illusion of motion without actual movement, which is tantamount to offering a blind man a lump of ice when he was expecting to be led across the road. Their position is one of confusion characterized with excuses, blame shifting, and scapegoating, which cannot see the light of the day.

These ‘*PoisoningPadlocks*’ who have derailed the society from its natural developmental path and who have arrested and locked society in utter misery, besides plaguing the society with ‘hopeless harangues’, have flatly failed to grasp all the fundamentals and basics of micro and macro economics, necessary for moving the society forward, but on the contrary, theirs is ‘Vegetative Voodoo’ kind of economics which myopically confines itself to defining the political scene precisely on the basis of authoritative distribution of the available resources with no concentrated consideration of their production; on the basis of who get what, when, how and why. Like quack physicians who would pour drugs of which they know little into a body of which they know less, these ‘*Lethal Leaders*’ would go to the dangerous extents of promulgating policies they only have a vague understanding, to a society they are totally out of synch with its needs. And to consolidate this deceptive state-of-affairs, they have designed underground guerrilla-style tactics of cutting off all means; all the bridges and ladders for other creative members of society to rise to the helms of power. These ‘*Beleaguered Barbarians*’ could well be described in Shakespeare’s words in ‘*Love Labors Lost*’ (1595):

“How well he’s read to reason against reading  
Proceeded well to stop all good proceeding  
He weeds the corn and still let grow the weeding  
Is like an envious nipping frost  
That bites the first born infant of the spring”.

With all due respect and appreciation of the meager achievements they have bequeathed our society, it would be honest to make the present African political leaders aware that their time in politics is OUT! However, if these ‘*Off-keyOld-guards*’ insist on clinging unto the power, then the only perfect sense within the frame work of utter lunacy will be to *deprogramme* them, then *re-phase* them and finally embark on the task of *re-educating* them. By deprogramming we mean clearing their minds of outmoded concepts, old mode of valuations, inefficient defense mechanism, warped frame of references and their

truncated view of international political landscape. Re-phasing would entail trying to align them with technological as well psychological motions of our present times so that they may be responsive to the needs, requirements and historical imperatives of the moment. Re-educating them would imply invoking their minds to perceive new truths, experience new motives and learn new patterns of societal reorganization.

Unfortunately, by the time we are finished with the first onerous task of deprogramming them, their psyches will be so much exhausted, the window between reality and unreality will break and as the glass of their consciousness begins to fly, the result will be a shock if not trauma such that they will utterly be incapable of assimilating the following two processes, as the only wish left in their minds will be a quick trip to the land of dreamless unconsciousness. So what do we have to do? Plead with them to give away the mantle of leadership to the well-adjusted, perceptive, energetic and responsive younger minds? Tell them point blank to quit and initiate a concentrated campaign against them? The answer is a categorical NO! The tide of events is simply against them. So let's see how the scenario unfolds to account for the irrelevancy and subsequent demise for these reactionary forces in the society.

We cannot forget to mention that, there has never been, neither, will there be a 'generational war' in terms of struggle for power, and to try sneak this talk in our discourse is simply being insincere and myopic. However, to narrow down the struggle as between the *haves* and the *havenots* is simply being simplistic and pedestrian. In a broader conception the only struggle and conflict evident in the whole history of mankind has been class struggle – not in the Marxist sense. Moreover, history has glaringly proved that no well established and well consolidated ruling class or dynasty has ever been crushed by an external force from other classes or dynasties within its jurisdiction. It is only when the ruling class or dynasty starts to weaken itself from inside through corruption or internal wrangling and power struggles and finally fall down into pieces that other seemingly weaker classes, dynasties trample upon it, taking over and consolidating themselves into another ruling class.

An estimate of 300 years are about to elapse since George Washington (1732-1799) cautioned his countrymen of dangers of political parties, and his advice remain true today as it was then when he said that they “kindle the animosity of one part against another ... agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms” and that they “tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection”. Whereas it would be dishonest to water down the benefits accrued from transition from single party dictatorship to multiparty pluralism, it will also be an act of *purepatriotism* to assert that, ours is a continent where political parties lack a distinct ideology and are thus driven by misplaced principles; only as outfits to amass political power. Consequently, political alignments if not tribal alliances through intensive horse-trading and political gangstanding, has become the most fashionable way of rising to the helms of power and being politically relevant in the political field.

Whether we may call this the afterbirth or '*tentativeteething*' problems of our new political dispensation, we have found ourselves in an unfortunate situation whereby the

masses having been divided along petty lines of party loyalties, leading to tribal animosities, the whole of political class has solidified itself into a single mold, of the damned rich, or the turn-coats who can be able to buy a lot of votes, or pervert the whole process of voting, subsequently taking away a big share of national resources to themselves and sharing the rest to their cronies.

Africa's unemployment rates are at crisis levels, with over 65% of college graduates out of formal jobs, and because manufacturing is at low ebb, unskilled workers suffer a more disheartening fate. So, if we are to have a graphical description of our unjust African society (Kenya as a basket case) with its disproportionately unjust distribution of resources, three layers stands out apparently clear. The top layer which is very thin comprising of less than 10% of the total working population consist of those enjoying hefty more than 6-digit total net income computed in a monthly basis (formal and informal undertakings combined). On the second layer we find those who earn between 5-digit and 6-digit who comprises the whole lot of civil servants, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and all those who are mainly called the Middle class. To be precise these are men and women who earn between 10,000 KSH and 100,000 KSH a month, and comprise around 30% of the general population. The below 5-digits consist the rest of the population, who are struggling to make ends meet, majority of whom can barely afford a three-square meal a day beside affording better housing and good education for their siblings.

So if we take a case whereby one individual Mr. A is earning a monthly salary of 1,000,000 KSH a month and another mature comparatively well educated individual Mr. C earns 10,000 KSH a month, it means that what Mr. A scoops in a month, Mr. C would take another 100 months to accumulate (assuming that he saves the whole lot of money which is absolutely impossible). And because Mr. C always finds him or herself in debts before the next end-month pay, or the next harvest, the cycle of languishing in economic difficulties is totally anchored and entrenched in his life. On the other hand, Mr. A is in a position to use the hefty income he earns to acquire big loans and invest for instance in real estate, such that his economic star is always in a meteoric rise. We may also note that in a day Mr. A earns more than 30,000, which is more than the triple amount earned by Mr. C in a month which may be interpreted to mean that Mr. A's daily consumption for breakfast, lunch and supper alone is equal or more to Mr. C's monthly sweat.

'Distributive Justice' also known as *equity* entails a balance between what one is receiving and what one is contributing, suggesting that the larger any person's contributions, the larger his or her rewards. Unfortunately, in our unjust and unequal division of resources, a small group of those who are in the position of dominance take a disproportionately big share of national resources, which they contribute very little in its production, while the majority who are chief producers scramble the remains amongst themselves. Much worse, the between 5 and 6-digit people find themselves in a very pathetic situation. In the first case, they cannot fit in the awe-emitting category of the top layer of conspicuous consumers, as they are looked upon with scorn, disdain and contempt. At the same time they cannot be comfortable in the lower layer as they are looked up with envy, suspicion and in some cases with utmost disgust.

So what are the options left? Well, it is one of the worst cases of social injustice to treat unequal people equally, and that there can never be a situation whereby there can be equality in human distribution of talents, skills, creativity, and academic prowess. However it is in the power of Middle Class all over the continent to pull down the upper echelons and absorb it within itself and uplift the lower class and assimilate within itself and after leveling the playing field, allow the society to redefine itself again on the basis of merit irrespective of where one hails from or by whose genetic background one can be traced from.

As we continue in our honest diagnosis of our pathetic political scene, we ought to recognize the present Africa's chaos as connected with misconception of what is 'politics' and who the real 'politicians' are. To clear this mist, our conception of POLITICS is derived from Greek word '*politika*' meaning 'of, for, or relating to citizens' and it implies the process by which groups of people make collective decisions, to further their own individual good, as well as the collective good of the community. The term is generally applied to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs, as evidenced in creative manipulation of social relations involving authority or power. In short 'politics' refers to the regulation of public affairs within a political unit and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy, and it has nothing to do with big money or power games but precisely about the improvement of people's lives. Towards this end, a 'politician' surfaces out as the person endowed with a capacity to manage a great deal of knowledge and an ability to stimulate action in application of this knowledge, a person who in all crudity fits the image drawn of by journalist Isaac F. Mariosson to describe Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), then governor of New Jersey after an interview in 1911: "He proved that he bears to politics the same relation that a 'fighting parson' bears to a war for liberty. His ethics are sound, but his courage, vigour, and pugnacity are sounder".

However, as things stands out presently, very few men and women in public offices masquerading as politicians qualifies the above description and depiction of a politician, as they are only power mongers, power wielders and hecklers, in whom the word 'citizen advancement' is replaced with 'citizen exploitation', the term which perfectly describes them is 'Quackticians'. This explains why the management of public affairs has become the conspiracy of the unproductive but organized against the productive but unorganized, and the degenerated nature of our electoral campaigns is basically the shameless art of getting campaign fund from the rich in order to buy votes from the poor and promising to protect these two antagonistic classes against each other, a phenomenon perfectly explained by Albert Einstein: "Politics is a pendulum whose swings between anarchy and tyranny are fueled by perpetually rejuvenated illusions".

With a very great yawning gap between their real and their declared ideals, these blood sucking parasites who are the agents of decay, in trying to defend the indefensible, have turned instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, and are in the words of George Orwell 'like a cuttlefish squirting out ink'. Oscillating between diagnosing all problems incorrectly and applying the wrong remedy, obsessed with false generalities to which the

'people' are forced to subscribe and which mean very little, these 'Quackticians' like green leaf which is slowly losing its colouring matter, cannot say any definite thing which means something. As such, the two cardinal pillars of this 'Quacktical correctness' are; willful ignorance where stupidity is not handicap and a steadfast refusal to face the truth.

In the practice of current African 'Quacktics', political parties are merely organized dissimulations and governments organized hypocrisies, where aid and advice on any burning issue of the moment is solicited only through the decreased means of dogmas. Although so vain that they would want to feature in history as illustrious, the largest and most spacious, subtle and comprehensive intellects, Archangels little damaged, the settlers of all great questions, to these 'Quackticians', science is not a subject to them, philosophy matters less to them, they are utterly blind to arts, and have no intimate passion for religion. As such they emerge out as weak, diffusive, weltering and ineffectual creatures.

With the souls of these 'Quackticians' so darkened that like a person in the dark room who will not be stimulated by the varieties of the colour therein, will see all colours to be the same, they see no humanness in the faces of our people, but only a gallery of pictures. As such it is absolutely outside the scope of their mental ability to water the ground of our people's aspiration for a progressive society, where they must first fill the pool of creativity. Now with these '*Subversive Shepherds*' at the helm of society, we should expect not to be led unto light, but misled unto darkness, to be grazed only in the arid lands and ultimately *mental malnutrition* and *economic entropy* shall be our daily bread.

We have arisen from the situation whereby the Middle Class was used in some cases by the upper strata as medium of reaching down into the lower class when the need to suck their blood arose, but in most cases as shield to block the cries of the vanquished to reach their ears. In the present times, confronted with the task of putting the society on the right footage, what earlier seemed as an impossible assignment of dismantling the adamant '*Obnoxious Oligois*' is becoming simpler and simpler, as the day dawns. With passing of each day the ruling classes, unbridled in their lust for power, retarded in creativity, steeped in official corruption and chaotic in their political engineering have sharpened the technique of shooting themselves with gusto on the foot and it is not long before they will cripple themselves. As they continue to pluck by their own volition, the feathers on their wings which has kept them afloat in the air of political impunity, it is only a matter of time before they will crush down mercilessly.

Moreover, when these '*Fossilized Fiends*' have and continues to accumulate foreign debts, in the form of 'development aid' or 'development assistance', to initiate White Elephant projects and squander the rest, money which is or will have to be repaid by the taxpayers at an alarming interest rate; when they have and continues to aid and abet the plundering of our natural and biological resources, by multinational companies, then the dense fluid that justified their very existence has totally been diluted and the lost viscosity cannot be reclaimed. Like a sinking ship which no captain can salvage, like a dead lip which cannot contain the saliva, when these '*Ghastly Ghettoizers*' continue to appropriate

the labour or fruits of labour of the masses; when they have amassed the best and productive lands and relegating the masses into dry lands or into slums; when they are engrossed in acquisition and obsessed with possession as the largest group of citizenry is virtually condemned to a life of inhuman toil; when they continue to see the masses as additional levers to some complicated industrial machines, they have succeeded only on 'digging their own graves'.

In an answer to the question; 'why should men be morally virtuous or just', Sophist Thrasymachus (459-400 B.C), the distinguished orator and celebrated rhetorician who was referred to as 'the combative and bombastic propounder of might is right theory', argued that the weak value justice because it restrains the strong, that people are basically interested in their own welfare, and would take advantage of their neighbours if they were certain that they would not be apprehended and punished, that injustice is more profitable than justice, provided it is possible to escape detection, and in his words: "For mankind censure injustice, fearing that they may be the victims of it and not because they shrink from committing it". In like manner as the present power *intoxicated infantiles* are thriving in *illusoryiconic* haven and driven by the erroneous conception that power influences all political and economic decisions in total disregard of moral or legal responsibilities, they are *basicallybasking* on the *deceptivedelight* which is soon destined to reach a *dangerousdeadlock*.

These '*AntiquatedAristocrats*' who have enriched themselves by selling instant false salvation to the gullible mass, have found themselves bestriding the narrow valley like a colossus with chest-thumping heroics and self-aggrandizement, excess outward pharisaical holiness, which is a defense mechanism for their *patheticpanic* and forensic tribulations, are thus acting like deer caught in the headlights. Obsessed with drama and sideshows, bickering and divisive partisan politics, exhausting themselves in plotting ways to teach their rivals a lesson, extinguishing themselves with mutual distrust amongst themselves leading to constant public fallouts, trapped in the murky waters of hypocritical fragile alliances, driven as they are by a pathological sense of insecurity, surrounded by hard-nosed conspirators and rogue schemers purporting to be advisers, their political automobile is an accident-in-waiting.

From the whole fabric of their traits, characters, undertakings and endeavors, these 'Quackticians' seem to have been so hackneyed in villainy, and so lost to all sense of honor and shame that their faculties and facilities are well geared and greased in their sordid pursuits thereby leaving no time for remorse. Well-adapted to lies which are plump in private but lean in public, always wasting most part of their lives in attempts at displaying qualities which they do not possess, and to gain applause which they are not worth, for these '*FoulFanatics*', their ideals, doctrines and programs are 'sweet self-deceptions' and illusions about which they have forgotten that, this is what they are, and are in the words of Nietzsche like: "Metaphors which are worn out and without sensuous power; coins which have lost their pictures and now matter only as metal, no longer as coins".

Like the old politicians of the Cold War era who *seeking strength* to suppress any *creative critic*, were obliged to resort to the fraud of fixing upon them the imputation of conspiracy, the present 'Quackticians' have become *pathetically presumptuous* that they have become absolutely obsessed in issuing rash proclamations. As a consequence, the populace is totally irritated by the reckless utterances, and inadequacy of our 'Quackticians' words, lacking as they are, the quality of final, irrevocable vow of devotion and meaningless because their backbone have dropped out; their speeches are basically tinkling cymbal where there is no love. Having discredited themselves at every turn in words and in deeds, their rotten propagandas have become sour song in the ears of our slowly awakening populace. The pathetic politicking and disgusting gyrations of these '*Neolithic Nostrums*', which are futile attempts to forget in the fullness of their mouths the emptiness of their hearts and minds, have become in the words of Okot p' Bitek: "...the confused noise made by the ram after the butcher's knife has sunk past the wind pipe, red paint spraying on the grass; it is the song all alone a solo fragment with no chorus no accompaniment, a strange melody impossible to orchestrate... as if in echo of woman's noise wailing at yesterday's funeral, song of the dead out of an old tomb, stealthily cracking of the day bones, falling in of skulls under the weight of earth; it's the dull thud of the wooden arrow as it strikes the concrete of a wall and falls to earth extinguished without life...like a bird hit by the stone from boy's catapult...the mad bragging of a defeated General, ten thousand men, dead, dying, the others scattered; it is the pointless defiance of the condemned, he is blindfolded, the rough hand of the noose round his neck".

These seasoned non-performers who have proven amidst the cloudy mist of *densedoubt* that one can actually shake hands with a clenched fist and clap with a single hand, have surfaced out as *murderous masters of terrible theatrics* and *caricatured crafters of loathsomelyrics* which are intended to *sarcastically send strong* vibes that will change the way the *cornered citizenry* sleep on empty stomachs, how they die, bury their dead children and handle the carcass of domestic animals. In keeping with the motto '*let them be poor to be manipulable*', they have creatively offered a catalogue of choices and recipes in the manner that if people find out that hunger and starvation is a less painless and probably slower way of dying, they can go for the faster yet another still effective ways like getting shot by cattle rustlers, robbers, the police or having their sorry bodies bombed by terrorists across the border.

"Among all forms of mistake, prophesy is the most gratuitous", thus warned George Eliot. However, at the outset, it does not require a prophet to foresee that, the general direction in which our particular history is moving - as a result of ignorance, arrogance and resultant incompetence - our prevailing political classes all over the continent, these '*Doomed Dynasties*' shackled in internal tempests and turbulence, have become in the words of Karl Marx 'so much entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself that, it has split into irreconcilable antagonism which it is powerless to dispel'. Their failures are written down in **bold** letters, whereby when we daily turn the page in the book of our current political life, even the half blind, the barely awake, the semi-illiterates and politically aloof cannot avoid to read, and feel in their psyches the inherent mischief and hypocrisy. Lacking the inner resources for their self-renewal and self-survival, the current

political classes suffocates themselves at the very core and as such, soon or later they will just burst away like an air bubble into oblivion. Furthermore to expect any positive change from these arrogant, smug, sleazy, weak, incompetent, divided and 'pathetically shameless liars' is like to expect the water to defy gravitational law and move up on a hill, or harbouring a false expectation of finding a virgin in a maternity ward.

"People who shut their eyes to reality simply invite their destruction and anyone who insists on remaining in a state of innocence long after that innocence is dead turns himself into a monster", so taught American writer James Baldwin(1924-1987). With the many societies of the world gravitating towards cooperation and unification, these lords of fragmentations carries within themselves the bitter fruits of Apocalypse, as they are only pointing to us, in a blaze of warlike passion, the road to societal self-annihilation. With these fire-spitting monsters who are drunk by a false sense of unanimity of convictions at the helm of our society, we cannot fail to feel the over-whelming sense of the approaching end of all things, mingled with odors of death. With these *MonstrousMentors*, carrying the mantle of our society, we should be braced for the coming moments of unspeakable horror; we should expect a rain of fire to fall over us, singled out like some new Gomorrah by the powers of vengeance because of the sordid blasphemous act of misuse or disuse of our God endowed faculties.

To a people who consider themselves as men and women of good breeding and as such beyond the reach of vulgar familiarities, it must be remembered that, the distance which separates these 'Quackticians' from the large crowd of the led, places between them a trench, dug by deference. This is a degradation which our people have to mature from if we are to lift ourselves out of the pit of politically instigated delusions to the hill of self-sufficiency. Having found ourselves confronted by a listless unresponsive apathy, in the face of which all our hopes are dissolved in thin air, the empty rhetoric oozing out from our 'Quackticians' have now grown up so evident as to constitute an impudent defiance of all good principles. As these gross and unpardonable errors constitute an irreparable outrage to our self-esteem, we should label these for who they are; inopportune creatures who invariably place obstacles in the way of our society in its endeavour at taking the right path, in the right direction.

Fortunately, the *concretecontent* that distinguishes our present generation – though trapped in the whirlpool of disillusionment - from earlier generations is its latent determination to act, its potential for joy in action, its implicit assurance of being able to change things by one's own efforts, and its subtle loyalty and fidelity to a course of action.

Having sailed through a raging sea of decadence, and sitting on the mature-heap of degeneracy, covetousness and the lowest instincts of mankind, exquisite plants are seen to sprout. As the current active *on-the-surface force* is receding back towards an irreversible self-extinction, a very latently powerful *below-the-currents force* is gaining momentum as time goes; capable of altering the destinies and outlook of our people; with the potential to affect dramatic turning points in our history. There are latent signs of mass aspiration to freedom as well as indigenous popular efforts at social justice and

concerted will to social progress. There are subtle signs of social spontaneity and fertility; it is only in our times that the great menacing curse – of nation-state - of our peculiar African history can be completely exorcised. It is only in our times that we are closer to the homogeneity in equality of opportunities.

### TENABLE TRENDS

At this point in our long historical evolution, we are approaching the point where, if proper and necessary effort is exerted, very few will claim a higher leverage in the assumption of elective offices on the account of inheritance; as very few will honestly - if all factors are taken as constants - claim that their chances are limited on the ground of poor family background. It is also consoling that the level of socio-politico consciousness has reached an appraisal level and still in an admirable ascension. There are positive trends in the direction of leveling all the continental human activities unto the common denominator of securing the necessities of life to the ‘greatest number’ and providing for their abundance. Various dogmas of the past are slowly dissolving and unnecessary customs are corroding away, developing in its place the sensitivity of perception with thought adventuring in a labyrinth of analysis; seeing through the thick layers of propaganda accumulated by the *‘Insensitive Imposters’* around themselves to conceal the rot within them.

Kenyan political philosopher Ali A. Mazrui has illumined on the fact that, major positive trends are discernible in Africa’s historical evolution, whereby the African people have been increasing their influence on their governments at time when the African governments have been losing their influence in world affairs. He maintains that, the African state has seemed to be moving deeper into the global periphery, while African people have been moving closer to the national center; that while the African state has been receding into the global shadows, the African people have been emerging into the national light. According to Mazrui in parts of Africa, ‘hegemonic presidentialism’, the absolutism of the head of state, is on the decline, while parliamentary influence is beginning to assert itself’, and that ‘in parts of Africa, the executive branch is on the defensive while the legislative branch seeks to share power after many years of presidential monopoly’. For instance, in a two-day conference for Members of Parliament in Nairobi (march 27-29 2012), speakers, rightly hailed Parliament’s growing role in checking the Executive and holding it to account. However, Prime Minister Raila Odinga complained about backbenchers’ alacrity when summoning ministers and other public officials for grilling and insinuated that the MP’s derive pleasure in hauling ministers and bewildered civil servants for an inquisition in the full glare of live media.

In a continent that has been plagued by the monster of coup de etats since the post independence days of the 1960’s, we have reached good times whereby military rulers have been forced either to return to the barrack or to run for elections as civilian candidates. More promising is that after the Arab revolution which has seen the ouster of strongmen like Libya’s Muammar Gaddafi and Egyptian Hosni Mubarak, through mass uprising, while others like Ivorian Laurent Gbagbo, Senegal’s Abduraye Wade were ejected from office through the force of the ballot, a more fundamental impetus is that

almost all dictators know that they are on notice and under siege. One or two have been resisting calls for their resignation as presidents, but political forces within their boundaries are now strong enough to cause them sleepless nights. The Internet (the Facebook and Twitter for instance) besides being used as a cheap and effective ways of political mobilization are beginning to weaken the tyrants' monopoly of information.

We are now compelled to complete the triangle of our political liberation through the third leg of preaching and proselytizing for a 'United Africa'; a quest that is rocking the minds of most progressive loyalists all over the continent. As such, if we are neither intellectually lazy nor politically naïve, we should confidently and courageously ride in this 'Whirlwind of Awakening', with simple dream of dignity, never tiring and never yielding, and creatively direct this storm towards unsuspected ends. And the general socio-political climate is very favourable!

When any system, scientific, social or political becomes far from equilibrium, it loses any linear relationship between cause and effect and in such a condition of disequilibrium, a small input produces a disproportionately large effect; a simple action may precipitate a disproportionately unequal overreaction. History has attested in innumerable instances that sometimes in any society after a long period of quiescence, passions are let loose and suddenly explode and reveal their age-old primitive strength, inciting men to the extremes of violence out of proportion to the causes that aroused them. As the angry passions are grouping themselves and awaiting the opportune moment to burst forth, like a regular steam-boiler with no means of stopping the accumulating pressure, which simply has to burst, one way or the other, in the prevailing political confusion, when the 'Tipping Point' will be reached - the level at which the momentum for change becomes unstoppable - only a single triggering incident would be required and what will follow is an inexorable chain reaction, resulting in sporadic bursting of the pent-up energies, with subsequent massive flow of the new forces which will continue to move on their way, negatively affecting everybody at all levels of society, sending the unjust society careening down the road of history, until the society will have found some temporary equilibrium on a new basis.

The word crisis has two meanings; danger and opportunity. Like a person who is in water and knows how to swim, who is faced with the choice of succumbing to the danger of drowning, or seizing the opportunity of leaving the water, we are thus faced with two options. Either we turn a blind eye to the writings on the wall, allow the natural course to take its sway towards the worst and be braced for an inevitable physical annihilation, complete breakdown and evaporation of this obsolete order, through disintegrative anarchy. Or intervene immediately and respond to the urgent need of indulging into a 'vast conversion process', whereby the inputs of the requirements of our prevailing circumstances are acted upon in such a way that it will be possible to produce outputs meeting the demands of the future.

If we choose the second option, which is the better option, we have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that, the looming disaster cannot be countered by simple short lived measures, *smoothsoundingsentimental* platitudes in the nature for instance of 'National Accords'.

These are only temporary measures directed at cooling the political temperatures but do nothing in extinguishing the fires that induce these temperatures. They only temporarily succeed in handling the symptoms of the diseases in our socio-political system but are absolutely impotent in addressing the real causes of the diseases. These measures only succeed in covering up the beast, which will eventually surface out, more vicious, devastating everyone in its train.

It has become apparent that, the vortex of modern day politics and economics are clearly too complex and byzantine for the current political class. Therefore, at one fell swoop there emerges an inescapable need for the coming into position of dominance in the society a different kind of an Elite, whereby specialized knowledge will be the outstanding base upon which the it will rest its status. Its interests and motive force shall be a radical transformation of the whole society; establishing new ground rules for the operation, not only of governmental activities, but of the economic, social, cultural and intellectual life as well. General leadership will apparently fall on the hands of an Aristocracy of talents – the most able or gifted members of the society – without due consideration to inheritance or any other related superficial factors. The words of Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), African American anti-slavery leader, in a speech of 4<sup>th</sup> July 1852 denouncing the celebration of independence while people were enslaved, candidly reflect our situation:

“At a time like this, scorching iron, not convincing argument, is needed. O! Had I the ability, and could I reach the nations ear, I would today pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crime against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced”.

As we are emerging from an era where we were always lured into the trap of believing that, ‘whistle blowers’ would be ‘potential saviours’, irrespective of their intellectual or moral standing, ladies and gentlemen who have thrown us into the quagmire into which we have found ourselves in, individuals whose only discernible trait is raising their voices to the highest possible decibels, for the conscious and creative members in our society who have always shied away from taking the mantle of leadership, it is vital to realize that disinterestedness in politics is tantamount to a man who is drowning and who insists he is not interested in water. We hereby adduce a very persuasive caution to all those ‘*PsychicallySmart*’ and ‘*IntellectuallyImbuedIndividuals*’ who refuses to take part in the governance of our society, that their penalties is to ‘*slavishlysuffer*’ under the ‘*gothicgovernance*’ of the dumbest and the inferior, or in the words of Plato: “The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in their government is to serve under the government of bad men”.

## Chapter (4)

# COMMISSIONING CIVILIZATION

## WONDROUS WAVES

Political scientist Samuel P. Huntington argues that, democracy expands in ‘waves’ and ebbs after the wave. The gist of his argument is that, which will serve as a formidable basis for my analysis here is that, the history of democracy is not a slow steady advance, but a succession of waves that have advanced, receded, then rolled in and crested again.

While this Harvard University professor was able to discern three historical waves, in a global perspective, for a historical impetus in regard to ‘Commissioning Civilization’ in Africa, it will serve us best if we have a concise catalogue of the **FIVE** ‘waves’ which characterizes the democratization process in the modern world.

We will roughly date the first wave from 1776 to 1933. This ‘long, slow wave’ starts with the American Revolution, runs through the nineteenth century and greater democratization in monarchical Europe, and then into the twentieth century including the

period just after the World War I when Germany and parts of Eastern Europe (e.g., Czechoslovakia) briefly were democracies. There were major reversals in the period 1933-45, as Nazism, other forms of Fascism and Communism spread. Germany's democracy was taken over by Adolf Hitler, who went on to conquer much of Europe; Spain and Italy became fascist under Francisco Franco and Benito Mussolini, respectively. Russia, which ever so briefly had been a democracy for some months in 1917 after the October Revolution which ushered in Vladimir Lenin to power, became totalitarian Communist and brought with it, most of its neighbours who became its satellites.

The second wave of democratization ran from 1945 to 1964. It included liberation and the restoration of democracy in a number of newly independent African states. By 1964, though, key Latin American countries such as Brazil and Argentina had military coups, many of which were supported by the United States according to its 'ABC' (anything but communism strategy). In Chile, where the United States had substantial involvement, the socialist but democratically elected government was overthrown in an especially violent coup. In Africa, one-man rule replaced many nascent democracies. And in Europe, a coup in 1967 installed a military government in Greece, the very birthplace of democracy. In 1973, of the 135 countries in the world, only 39 were democracies.

The third wave dates from 1974 to 1986. Greece, Spain, and Portugal, the three major Western European countries still ruled by the military, became democratic. In Greece Georgios Papadopoulos was removed from leadership of the junta in 1973 by another military faction. Democratic elections were finally held in November 1974, and Papadopoulos was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1975. Some other countries such as the Philippines also overthrew dictators and became democratic. On the other hand, countries such as Pakistan had military coups. Dictator Francisco Franco groomed Juan Carlos to succeed him as leader of Spain, designating him heir to the throne in 1969. Juan Carlos became king of Spain in 1975 after Franco's death, and he began instituting gradual democratic reforms, including a popularly approved constitution. In Portugal, on April 25, 1974, the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA; Movement of the Armed Forces), a group of military officers seeking to end the African wars, overthrew Caetano's government in a bloodless *coup d'état* known as the Revolution of the Carnations. A junta under General António de Spínola was installed that promised democracy at home and peace for the African territories.

The fourth wave, starting in 1989, saw the end of communism and the emergence of democracy in much of the former Soviet Union and Soviet bloc. By 1992, 117 of 192 countries were democracies. This also included many Latin American countries where the decline in U.S. ABC (Anything But Communism) support for authoritarian leaders removed a main barrier.

The fifth wave is 'The **Arab Spring**' literally the Arabic Rebellions or the Arab Revolutions or Arab Awakening or Arab Uprisings, even though not all the participants in the protests are Arab. The wave of unrest was sparked by the first protests that occurred in Tunisia on 18 December 2010 in SidiBouzyd, following Mohamed

Bouazazi's self-immolation in protest of police corruption and ill treatment, which then spread to other countries like Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. The largest, most organised demonstrations have often occurred on a "day of rage", usually Friday afternoon prayers.

Driven by the major slogan 'the people want to bring down the regime', as of February 2012, governments have been overthrown in four countries. Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on 14 January 2011 following the Tunisian revolution protests. In Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak resigned on 11 February 2011 after 18 days of massive protests, ending his 30-year presidency (and was jailed for life imprisonment on June 2, 2012). The Libyan leader Muamar was overthrown on 23 August 2011, after the National Transitional Council (NTC) took control of Bab al-Aziza and was later killed on 20 October 2011, in his hometown of Sirte after the NTC took control of the city. Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh signed the GCC power-transfer deal in which a presidential election was held, resulting in his successor Abd al-Rab Mansur al-Hadi formally replacing him as the president of Yemen on 27 February 2012, in exchange for immunity from prosecution.

The protests have shared techniques of mostly civil resistance in sustained campaigns involving strikes, demonstrations, marches, and rallies, as well as the use of social media to organize, communicate, and raise awareness in the face of state attempts at repression and Internet censorship. Many demonstrations have met violent responses from authorities, as well as from pro-government militias and counter-demonstrators. These attacks have been answered with violence from protestors in some cases, with some ending in a bloodbath as in Libya

While chants against autocratic rule echo beyond the Arab world, in Iran and China, with dictators between Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa following the rapid escalation of events with apprehension, the question which needs to be posed is: 'Will the coming sixth wave that is bound to sweep across Africa be violent?'

But it would also be vital here if we put the term revolution in the right context, before we conclude whether it is the suitable tool for the purposes of African Renaissance.

Revolution is basically a forcible, pervasive, and often violent change of a social or political order by a sizable segment of a country's population; who finds their impetus upon reflection of a general climate of discontent. It is at bottom the most extreme political option of a dissenting group, a course taken generally when more moderate and legal attempts to achieve recognition or reform have failed. Whether occurring spontaneously, which is rare, or through careful planning, revolutions depend for their success on crucial timing, the fostering of popular support, and the nucleus of a new governmental organization.

Modern societies owe much of their present economic progress to the past uprisings against repressive governments, stagnant or restrictive economic conditions, and rigid

class divisions. Inspired by the idea of liberty, revolutionaries throughout history have fought against aristocratic and foreign dominance.

It is important then that we make a clear distinction between a revolution, a war of independence, a *coup d'état* and revolt or a rebellion. A war of independence is an armed struggle by one nation against an alien colonial power; it need not lead to revolutionary changes but only to an indigenous government in a sovereign state. A revolution is distinguished from a *coup d'état*, which is a sudden seizure of state power by a small faction or element of the government; a coup does not necessarily cause profound, far-reaching change in the social system. A revolt or a rebellion may be either a failed attempt at revolution, a violent expression of grievances with limited purpose, or merely a change in allegiance.

An objective inquiry into general patterns of revolutionary waves, with an aim of understanding the mechanisms that make them spread, reveals a crucial condition, namely, communication. In the Atlantic Revolutions, which stretched over more than two decades of the 18th century, revolutionaries and their ideas could only cross the ocean by sailing vessel. As modern communication developed, the pace of revolutionary waves increased. In 1905, when the Constitutional Revolutions shook Asia, revolutionary slogans were circulated by the telegraph and modern means of transport, by railways and steamers. In the course of the 20th century technological innovations became ever more important for the expansion of political mass mobilisation. Drawing on satellite television, mobile phones and the Internet, the Arab revolts spread in weeks. Within seconds, revolutionaries send their messages against tyranny around the world. No wonder then, dictators today feel uneasy about social media websites like Facebook and Twitter.

In this African continent which is celebrated as the cradle of mankind, the **SIXTH** wave which will sweep across the globe bringing democracy at its ideal perfection, will spiral within the African society by awakening the inescapability of the unification of the continent, marking the end of history.

This spiraling of the sixth wave, made effective by the current IT superhighway, and consolidated by a creative and altruistic breed of leaders, will be more of an AWAKENING than a revolution.

### **PRAGMATIC PATH**

Africa of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century does not at all require a revolution in the traditional meaning of the term. What is precisely required is to arouse and AWAKEN all the latent intellectual resources amongst our people that are prerequisite for progress. To trample upon all those '*Poor Psychic Patterns*' which have derailed us from our essential calling, is an individual assignment and initiative which only calls for a self-indulged '*psychic revolution*'.

Besides of the negative connotation, attributed to the word 'Revolution', owing to the inhuman and weird actions of Russian and Chinese revolutionaries ( inclusive of those criminals who assumed power in various parts of the African countries in the name of revolutionaries) of the past centuries, the term revolution, needs to be struck out from all of our academic discourse. But before we do so a bit of historical justification is imperative. In the book *'The Communist Experiment; Revolutions, Socialism, and Global Conflict in the Twentieth Century'* (2007), Robert Strayer argues:

“Because of their importance in the world history, revolutions have attracted considerable attention among scholars, prompting a major debate as to why revolutions occur. Some have emphasized circumstances of various kinds that might render a given society vulnerable to revolutionary upheaval. One common-sense notion is that misery, poverty, and oppression breed revolution as desperate people seek an alternative way of life. But human misery has been far more widespread than revolution, leading some to argue that slowly improving conditions and rapidly rising expectations may be important in generating revolution than suffering itself. Other scholars have focused attention on weaknesses in the state, arguing that revolutionary possibilities increase when existing authorities lose their grip. Military defeat by foreign enemy, for example, might undermine the credibility of a government. Or a state might lose the support of key groups, such as the military, intellectuals, the aristocracy, or the middle class, and thus diminish its capacity to control the population. Still others scholars have looked for the sources of revolution in class conflict and the conditions of the masses.”

An overview analysis of four major revolutions which have rocked mankind in the past to three centuries may serve to illumine on this point.

The American Revolution (1775-1783) was, of course, directed against the growing interference of the British government in the affairs of 13 increasingly prosperous colonies located an ocean away from the mother country. The result was independence for the new United States of America. And accompanying its independence was a self-conscious effort to create 'new order for the ages', based on a republican constitution and at least partially democratic principles.

The French Revolution lasting from 1789 to 1799, on the other hand, began as an internal affair, taking aim at a domestic monarchy and the ruling class of aristocrats who supported it. In its most radical phase, that revolution executed a king and a queen, abolished the ancient privileged of the nobility and the Catholic clergy, confiscated enemies of the revolution, sending about 40,000 of them to the guillotine. In its efforts to create a new society, French revolutionaries tried to replace Christianity with a secular 'cult of reason' and even promoted a new calendar for a new age. It was a far more revolutionary process than the Americans had undertaken.

The October revolution of 1917 in Russia the land of Tsars, amid the carnage of World War I, ushered the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Illich Lenin to power. In defiance of the Marxist prophesy, that socialism will be established in a highly industrialized Capitalist

society, Communism was established in a peasant society. “We shall now proceed to the construction of the socialist order”, so boasted Lenin, and he concluded with the prediction that working-class revolutions would spread to other countries and with the cry, “Long live the world socialist revolution!”

After the dissolving of the old imperial state of China in 1912, followed by an epic 37 years of intense struggle, in 1949, Mao Zedong, leader of Communist Party marked the communist victory by declaring that ‘the Chinese people have stood up!’ Following the USSR model for constructing a socialist society, Mao ordered the redistribution of land, the elimination of landlords in the countryside, and the establishment of heavy industry in the cities.

The central thread in all revolutions is the belief that it was both possible and desirable for people to reconstruct their societies in a deliberate and self-conscious way. This notion flew in the face of conventional thinking in almost all of the world’s large scale agrarian societies where it was widely held that, human societies were hierarchical, consisting of distinct, fixed, and unequal groups in which individuals would live and die. These societies, and the kings or emperors who ruled them, were ordained by God, and the idea expressed in Europe as the ‘divine right of kings’ and in China as the ‘mandate of heaven’. Propelled by the spirit of ‘enlightenment’, humans were thought able to lift themselves up, on the strength of their reason and creativity, to the position from which they could understand themselves and the world in the general scheme and order of things. By entrenching the belief that all men are born equal, that circumstances were responsible for their inequality, there aroused in people the conviction that, all governments should be based on the consent of the governed (though this ideal was later perverted in Russia and China).

But let us first reflect on an enduring tension in all historical understanding. Do people make their own history through deliberate and self-conscious action, or is history made by larger and impersonal forces such as ‘modernization’, colonization, fluctuations of economy, or class conflict? This then brings us to the ‘*formidable feature*’ of our philosophical and psychological analysis of history which is to resolve one of the fundamental differences in philosophical assumptions; the issue of freedom versus determinism or nature versus nurture. The above stated question may be paraphrased thus: are people basically in control over their behaviours and understand the motives behind their actions or are people basically determined by internal or external forces over which they have little, if any control?

Inseparable as they might seem at the outset, at a deeper level, freedom and determinism give birth to each other, for every advance in freedom gives birth to a new determinism, and every advance in determinism gives birth to a new freedom.

Owing to the fundamental situation of us human beings that our existence precedes our essence, that we must exist if we are to be anything at all, it goes that we owe nothing to nature but our existence. The fact that our existence does not make us - for existing, we make ourselves - the ego-strengths of authenticity and genuineness consist in the honest

recognition that there are no ideal universal natural principles to guide or sanctify our conduct; there in lies our integrity and our reward in an admittedly unique sense of the word; that we will not suffer self-alienation. Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) has the following to say in *'Being and Nothingness'* (1943):

“What is meant here by saying that existence precedes essence? It means that first of all, man exists, turns up, appears on the scene and only afterwards he defines himself. If man, is undefined, it is because at first he is nothing. Only afterward will he be something and he himself will have made what he will be...Not only is man what he conceives himself to be, but he is also what he wills himself to be after his thrust towards existence. Man is nothing but what he makes himself”

In his book *'The Challenge Modernization'* the 20<sup>th</sup> century political scientist I. R Sinai advocates for a mode of valuation which accepts the ‘tragic nature of human destiny’, by appreciating the ‘tragic ambiguity of human condition’; a mode of thought which can understand human history in all it’s incongruities, paradoxes and overpowering grandeur:

“The concept of man as an animal guided by reason ignores the deeper, irrational forces which shape, drive and bind the individual to their peremptory demands...Civilization is an ambivalent precarious organization, and that the tragic ‘dialectic of civilization’ is the result of this interaction. Faith in the perfectibility of Man and society, belief in progress, in the furtherance of humanity, is rather naïve and shallow. On the other hand man is not an imperfect creature because an imperfect man can only create an imperfect society, a parody of soaring expectations, always at war with itself, always reaching out for ideals which ineluctable reality snatches from its grasps. Every form of society is thus a painful and antagonistic process, never a harmonious or finished conclusion...Man is not born absolutely good and he is not everywhere in chains, only because of his environmental situation, or because of any particular system of property relations. He is on the contrary a divided and fallible creature, divided in the deepest layers of his unconscious, as he is on the highest levels of consciousness, tainted with and ruled by blind necessity...Man is both creative and destructive, swayed both by love and hate. He is as much moved by his passion for creation, for justice, for truth, for the fulfillment of an ideal as he is by his greed for power, domination and gain. Man is both imperfect and imperfectible, an eternal battleground, between conflicting urges and impulses, lost alike to seeds of nobility and ignominy. Man tends to be intoxicated by power. Man’s ambitions and lusts enter into every relationship and every institution, distorting and corrupting his most generous aspirations, overseeing the powerful strength of forces of habit, custom, tradition, and inertia which are both form of human society. The world inhabited by man is not as tractable as the philosophers of the enlightenment, of liberalism and of socialism in all its forms imagined....Viewed in this light, history is then a permanent, an eternal, conflict between man, driven by sublime discontents and aspirations, and the inherent limitations of his own nature and of his environment, unable to transcend the antagonisms at the heart of the world. All mans bravest efforts, all his quests, all his discoveries, can never really eliminate or overcome the primordial pain and contradiction at the heart of things.”

## LASTING LEGACIES

As we are *charmingly committed* in *faithfully facilitating* the movement from an era of *engineered enslaving errors* to an era of *entitled ennobling elevation*, a moment of retrospect and hindsight may serve to give us a foresight on how we should *factually face* our *fertile future*. As such, to trigger this debate on the *practical possibility* of *commissioning civilization* in our African society, it would be very vital if we look at certain great moments which stands out as peaks and essence of general human history; stages of human growth upon which human being has climbed from *savage* to the *scientist* from the *primitive* to *philosopher* and derive a relative analysis on the extent of benefits which we Africans have reaped. These historical *beautiful beacons* that *stand shiningly* and marks the *territorial terrain* of human evolution, includes: the discovery of fire, the taming and domestication of animals, utilization of soil for agriculture, advent of industries, and the modern era of Information Technology.

Since the discovery of fire where human beings were able to acquire the mastery over the night and to strike independence with climate, tempered their tools to hardness and durability besides transforming the inedible things into food, the human being has continually amassed that greater compass on the earth. But the *first question* we need to pose here is: Are we Africans so ungrateful of this discovery that we have failed to utilize the immense potential energy in our continent (hydro, geothermal, fossil and nuclear) that we have stagnated in using wood to the detriment of our environment?

Another vital human triumph in terms of safety on this earth is the victory in making the planet more human and habitable. From the time when the human being was a hunter as well as a hunted creature, when every step from the cave or hut was marred with myriad risks, and the possession of the earth was still at stake, over long years the war of the *brain* over the *brawn*, of *mind* over the *muscle* was won as the human being succeeded in making the wild animals our playthings by enclosing them in animal orphanages and game parks as well as domesticating others for our food. But a *second question* needs to be posed here: To what extent have we been able to reap most from our diversity of wild animals (through tourism) as well as modern techniques of animal husbandry and breeding, with most farmers priding themselves on the possession of cattle which are forty percent bones and horns as milk production is below a litter a day?

Agriculture then may be credited for transforming the human being from a wandering and nomadic life as a hunter, herder and killer and this barbarian was settled in one place in a permanent habitat so that he could build homes, schools, churches, colleges, universities – these essentials of civilization were impossible in a perpetual state of restless mobility. Long since the easily cultivable products of the fields replaced the increasingly difficult task of hunting or herding as the basic means of filling the stomach a *third question* suffices out: With tracts of fertile lands laying bare due to lack of efficient irrigation methods, and with the cultivable land producing far much below their potentials due to poor agricultural techniques, who should we blame as most Africans continue to die of hunger at this stage of our human evolution?

Another crucial moment in human history, the time when civilization planted another root in the memory of this still evolving creature, is the replacement of chaos with order, of brutality with judgement, of violence with law, in a word the advent of socio-political organization. Through a luxurious patrimony of social order built up for us by successive generation of trial and error and accumulated knowledge, a *forthquestion* is: Isn't it *shockinglyshameful* to witness native lawlessness of unprecedented measures and levels as civil wars, ethnic cleansings and genocides continue to rock the continent, and reduce our people to primitive conditions?

Come industrialism and the human being immersed in the untitled nobility of research and silent battles of laboratory embarked in a '*PrometheanProcess*' of transforming both the inorganic matter and organic world. Consequently the human being was ennobled by substituting steam and electrical power for muscles, and through the multiplication of 'things' – 'things' that could be mass-produced, so that people could have them in abundance, for instance, the growth in industrial chemistry, and the ability to mass-produce, very cheaply for kinds of purposes, like pesticides for the destruction of forms of life inimical to human beings. Industries started performing magnificent feats of scientific, technological and managerial skills, taking things from the land, refining them, and mass-producing, mass-assembling, mass-marketing and mass-distributing them. Now besides supplying raw materials to feed the industries in the developed part of the world and acting as markets for their mass-produced end products, a *fifth question* is: To what degree can Africa pride itself for benefiting from these inventions?

As steam power was the technology that propelled the industrial society, in our era, Information Technology is the catalyst for changes in work organization, societal structure and politics. We are now living in the modern Technetronic age where we have witnessed an irreversible dramatic growth of economic integration, affecting all corners of the globe. Like the Industrial Revolution 200 years before it, Information Technology revolution is an epoch making event that will fundamentally alter the world. Globalization is a catchall term for the product of many processes that are at the heart of the global economy and more than the sum of them: the spread of instant global communications; the rapid growth of international trade, global capital markets (markets in which national currencies are traded), and foreign investment; and the emergence of a new breed of global corporation. 'Globalization', precisely refers to the increasing interconnectedness of nations and people around the world through trade, investment, travel, popular culture, and other forms of interaction. As 'Globalization' encompasses all those forces that are leading the world toward becoming a 'global village', it is thus the villagization of the world, and in its narrower meaning it is the maturation of global capitalism and its interdependence, alongside a new network of the information superhighway. "Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant realities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa", thus noted Anthony Giddens (1938-).

Futurist Alvin Toffler (1928- ) reminded us that for two centuries, the primary division of

power has not been between East and West, North and South, large countries and small ones, but precisely between second wave industrial countries on top and first wave agrarian countries below. He construed the emergence of a new trisected power structure whereby many first wave peasant economies are still at the bottom, with second wave cheap labor mass-manufacturing economies in the middle and a single third wave economy is on top. According to Toffler, from Agrarian Revolution, to Industrial Revolution, a third floor has been built on what now was a two-storied structure; and he was optimistic that the ladders and stairs are readily available for first wave economies as well as second wave economies to climb to the 'Third Wave' economy. In this era of Information Technology (IT) Revolution or what Toffler in his book '*The Third Wave*' (1974) refers to as 'the third great historical transformation', it is not simply the survival for the fittest, but the survival for fittest and the fastest. And we are now seeing the fruition of Alvin prophesy:

“The Third wave of historical change represents not a straight-line of extension of industrial society but a radical shift of direction, often a negation, of what went before. It adds up to nothing less than a complete transformation at least as revolutionary in our day as the industrial Civilization was three hundred years ago. Furthermore, what is happening is not just a technological revolution but the coming of a whole new civilization in the fullest sense of that term”.

As lands, then factories were the chief causes of wealth, today, it is information and the person who has the most relevant, refined and timeliest information is on the road towards the *Wealth's Well*. The modern kind of wealth defies and transcends boundaries and borders as land and factories were, as dramatically evidenced in the fastness of the increase in trade and the movements of capital (stocks, bonds, currencies, and other investments). From the standpoint of a person living in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, present day statistic are incredibly startling, owing to the fact that from 1950 to 2001 the volume of world exports rose by 20 times, and by 2001 world trade amounted to a quarter of all the goods and services produced in the world. As for capital, in the early 1970s only \$10 billion in national currencies were exchanged daily and by the early part of 21<sup>st</sup> century more than \$1.5 trillion worth of yen, euros, dollars, and other currencies were traded daily to support the expanded levels of trade and investment. To appreciate the effect of drastic improvement in information technologies and information processing, it is important to note that a three-minute telephone call from New York City to London in 1930 cost more that \$3000 (in year 2000 prices), making instant communication very expensive. Today the cost is insignificant.

With the exodus to worship at the shrine of the goddess of Information Technological Revolution a curious question may posed as to what has precipitated, the drastic fall in the price of fast information. Technological advancement notwithstanding, with daily improvement and decrease in size of microchips and recent discovery of the optic cable, this new basic resource, information, differs radically from all other commodities in that it does not stand under the *scarcity theorem*, but on the contrary, it stands under the *abundance theorem*. If for instance I sell or give out or lend away a magazine, it is presently no longer in my possession. On the other hand if I impart information, I still have it; and in fact the value of any information may be a measure of the number of

people who possess it. With the slashed cost of processing business orders by well over 90 per cent, using a computer to banking on the internet, for example, costs the banking industry pennies per transaction instead of dollars by traditional methods. Over the last third of 20<sup>th</sup> century the real cost of computer processing power fell by 35 per cent on average each year, meaning that vast amounts of information can be processed, shared, and stored on a desk or computer chip, and the cost is continually declining. Life has become comparatively easier and manageable as people can be almost anywhere and remain in instant communication with their employers, customers, or families 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, or 24/7 as it has come to be known.

“Sitting on the table doesn’t make you a diner, unless you eat some of what’s on that plate”, so preached Malcolm X (1925–1965). Unfortunately, in the current Global village, with its *flourishing free* market, and easy access to beneficial information in all domains of our ‘existence’, Africa is the poorest villager, seemingly contented to eating only the remnants, after others have scooped all the delicious food in the Global dining table. Therefore, as we are still bound by our vow of honesty, before we could talk of ‘Commissioning Civilization’ in our African society it would be in our best continental interest if we understand the hazards of Globalization – to our African continent in particular - or how we have corroborated or facilitated this incidence and how we can arm ourselves and redirect this inescapable reality of our times to our own advantage. It would be worth noting that, the explosion of unprecedented wealth within the core of globalization (the advanced industrial countries) has resulted in ‘growing inequalities’ and ‘existential insecurity’ at the periphery (the developing nations) of globalization. While it is a fact that there have always been inequalities between regions and within countries, it is nonetheless equally a fact that income disparities and other type of inequality have become worse with free global market competition in which the poor nations seems to be denied or has denied themselves a chance of making any tangible profits.

In total cognizance of all global geopolitical considerations, it is disheartening to note that, Toffler’s optimistic futurism of reduction, if not wiping of poverty in the face of the earth through IT Revolution, has been watered down, as Africa has found itself as part of *inclusion-exclusion* paradox of globalization, whereby while many states are failed or bankrupt they are nonetheless considered an integral part of the globalization process because of their importance as reservoirs of raw materials. Besides being viewed as free trade zones where labour and human rights regulations are non-existent, they are a pool of cheap and at times highly qualified labour, thereby ensuring the huge profit of the so-called ‘investors’. Finally they constitute a huge market for the excess products of the ‘economic hegemon’ of the neoliberal order. On the other hand, they are excluded from the benefits of globalization because of the existential insecurity, misery and civil strife that pervade their societies. While the poor developing countries are disadvantaged because of their relationship of unequal exchange, or asymmetrical trade relations with the dominant nations, continuing to reserve their role as metropolitan wage labourers, the economically powerful states have been able to benefit from globalization because of increased volumes in global trade and the profits that accrue from their ability to engage in more international sales and investments.

The consequences for developing nations is increasing *structuraldependence* manifested in financial and monetary dependence, indebtedness, unfair trade, food dependence, and technological dependence, among others. This structured dependence is a result of the Third World economy's dependent and subordinate incorporation into the dominant global economy of globalization. While the structured dependence has been in existence since 1944 with the creation of Breton Woods system (the IMF and World Bank), it has now been intensified, more firmly institutionalized to the extent of producing failed and collapsed states. The ultimate consequence in some states is collective violence or total anarchy, as a result of frustration, anger and hostility. This '*existentialinsecurity*' resulting from '*aspirational deprivation*' is a derivative of state vulnerability born of weak state structures, with its attendant ill the poor 'Political Culture'.

### **PARTICIPATORY POLITICS**

By political culture here we mean the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place, and it provides its subjective orientation. From the pre-contact era, to the epoch of slave trade, to colonialism, to independence time, passing through the phase of Cold War which started as Aristocracy of the small elite who succeeded colonialist and which later degenerated into an Oligarchy by the late 80's, to the present hypocritical and inefficient ruling class, the Political culture prevalent has been '*parochialpolitical* culture' characterized as it was (and as it is) by an absence of specialized political roles, and by comparative absence of expectation among individuals that the political system will be responsive to their needs. On the contrary, the political culture advocated for here is the '*participantpolitical* culture' whereby the members shall explicitly be oriented to the political system in all its aspects. Though their feelings and evaluations may range from acceptance to rejection, individual members of society shall always assume an activist role. Through the *participant* political culture, the citizens shall get initiated into an elevated sense of collective awareness and collective belongingness and the leaders shall be strictly bound and guided by a non-negotiable sense of collective responsibility and collective accountability.

As individual states shall form semi-autonomous units in the bigger entity that is a UNITED AFRICA, *participantpolitical* culture will start sprouting and we shall have initiated the only conducive environment for an African civilization to thrive. As wisdom borne out of historical empiricism informs us that, the inability of any civilization to thrive and to survive, is the result of its failure to respond to the economic, political and religious challenges of its time, a just and a progressive system of any social organization is therefore stable only if its shock absorbers are well greased, flexible and responsive enough. Unless the catalysts are powerful beyond reasonable limits to shake its very foundation, it will always tend to right and realign itself and return to its centre. But feeling of discontent and waves of violence resonates in the unjust system. The vibration of its excited molecules, pass the disturbance with ever-growing levels of energy, towards an uncontrollable disintegrative level of a possible self-extinction.

So a harmoniously integrated society which is a union of unlike persons who, because of their differences, are able to satisfy their needs by the exchange of goods and services, is one in which the *potential* conditions necessary for truly civilized life are made conducive, *actualized* and optimized. It is a coordinated system of roles in which every member is assigned an appropriate function – in line with one's VOCATION - such that the importance of the individual is linked to the value of the functions or role he or she performs to his or her optimum potential. It is at bottom a division of labour in which men of different capacities, satisfy their needs by playing roles for which they are best suited for. In a word, it is a **Vocationally Well-adjusted** society in which, one practices his or her calling in the social division of labour; one does what one can; and therefore what one ought and must. This conception was well articulated by Adam Smith in '*Causes and Nature of wealth of nations*' (1776):

“First, the improvement of dexterity of workman necessarily increases the quantity of the work he can perform; and the division of labour by reducing every man's business to some one simple operation, and by making this operation the sole employment of his life, necessarily increases very much the dexterity of the workman...Secondly, the advantage which is gained by saving the time commonly lost in passing from one sort of work to another is much greater than we should at first view be apt to imagine it. It is impossible to pass very quickly from one kind of work to another, that is carried on in a different place, and with quite different tools...Thirdly, and lastly, everybody must be sensible how much labour is facilitated and abridged by the application of proper machinery.”

Thus a major attribute of success of any system is its integrative, responsive and adaptive capacity; and an inexorable tendency toward greater differentiation as the division of labour and specialization of task becomes more widespread, forming the basis of civilization. But what is Civilization in the first instance? American philosopher and historian Will Durant (1885-1981) in '*Pleasures of philosophy*' (1953) defines Civilization as:

“A complex of security and culture, of order and liberty: political security through morals and laws; economic security through the continuity of production and exchange; culture through facilities for growth and transmission of knowledge, manners and arts. It is an intricate and precarious thing, dependent upon a score of factors, of which any one may determine greatness or decay. The economic factors matter; the earth comes before man, and though man moulds his environment as much as it moulds him, the environment must be there”.

A historical conception of civilization and progress stems from the fact that, nature and the world around us are not in a state of repose and immutability, stagnation and immobility, but in a state of constant movement and change, or constant rejuvenation and development. Development accordingly is the movement from the lower to the higher, from the simple to the complicated; through absorption of the achievements of preceding stage with a simultaneity standing forth as something profounder and richer in substance. It is an uneven revolutionary process, which proceeds not within a closed circle, but along a spiral, each coil of which deeper, richer and more varied than the previous one. In human history, every new social system arises by incorporating the material and cultural

values created over preceding epochs. “No social order ever disappears”, Karl Marx wrote, “before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed, and new, higher relations of production, never appear before the material conditions for their existence have matured in the womb of the old society”. In the same vein Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) declared: “Progress is not an accident, not a thing within human control, but a beneficial necessity.”

A scientific conception of civilization, based as it is on the idea of progress rest on the ideal of increasing control of environment by life. By environment we mean all the circumstances that condition the coordination and realization of desire. Progress therefore is the domination of chaos by mind and purpose, of matter by form and will. A fundamental factor here is the unprecedented increase in people’s knowledge, permitting them to have control over their natural and social environment. In the words of Marion J. Levy in ‘*Modernization and structure of societies*’ (1963):

“The greater the ratio of inanimate to animate sources of power and the greater the multiplication of effort as the effect of application of tools, the greater the degree of modernization.”

“All progress is based upon a universal innate desire on the part of every organism to live beyond its income”, so taught Samuel Butler (1832-1902). Our conception of Civilization, Progress and Modernization in the context of Globalization, entails setting free the faculties which are crucial to our material and cultural progress on earth, triggering a process of ‘**Locating**’ our peoples’ ‘**Bearing**’, so that they may ‘**Actualize**’ their ‘**Potential**’. And therefore our definition runs:

*It is the degree of the sum total of the general societal actualizations of its potentials in every sphere of its peoples actions and from every point of view in so far as this progress helps towards utilization of all technological as well as cultural achievements attained and attainable at a particular point in the history of its evolution.*

## ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION

Amidst all signs of despair a new dawn is breaking which heralds the new era in this disaster prone continent. We are at a point where for the first time in the history of our continent the interference to progress could be removed by wise pragmatic legislation such that the natural order of progressive development would take over. This will be facilitated by a transition from traditionally ascribed and status-oriented relationships which rests on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions to those which are secular, rationally determined, contractually negotiated, based on specific scientific considerations and resting on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules.

It is *precisely parochial* to infer that political development is a dependent variable and modernization the independent variable. On the contrary political institutions, communication systems, degree of urbanization, and the distribution of labour force are interdependent variables. In this way Continental political development implies

increasingly governmental efficiency in utilizing the human and material resources of the nation for Continental goals, which can be traced via four stages each characterized by a primary function.

The primary Continental governmental function shall be the realization of *ContinentalCoalescence* which is the only recipe for assuring peace and security of all Africans. This shall be followed by another main function which will be a great revolutionary leap of permitting and aiding *EconomicEmancipation*. Another vital task of Continental government shall be to enable smooth *EconomicEvolution*; to provide the higher living standards so sought, and to aid the disadvantaged. *Anchored Abundance* shall be another fundamental function of the Continental government which shall imply cushioning the adjustment of social reorganization in order to make automation possible and to make an automated economy politically responsible.

The '*tangible thrust*' of the above analysis is that, Africa continent is like a static ice, in the manner of *Continental Catalepsy* which will have to undergo heating process (through various societal revolutionary changes) until it reaches its critical point, the melting point when this hard substance rapidly and suddenly shall change into liquid thereby *ferociously facilitating Economic Emancipation*. After this qualitative *titanic transition*, the society shall embark on a gradual quantitative '*Economic Evolution*' whose fluidity as well as maintenance of the temperature in a bid to cushion the reversal to a '*Stagnatory Solid State*' shall be aided and abetted by *Continental Coalescence*.

Albert Bandura emphasized the process of learning through observation or by example, by pointing out that most human behaviour is learned by following a model rather than through the processes of classical and operant conditioning. By observing others, we develop an idea of how certain behaviours are done and that information serves as a guide for our own actions. An important variable in Bandura's observational learning is the 'reward consequences associated with behaviour' which influences modeling. Subjects are more likely to imitate behaviours if they believe that such actions will lead to positive results. This is why we may not be put to task for saying that modernity becomes what we imagine ourselves to be; that the more industrially developed nation only shows to us the less developed the image of our own future, if all other factors remains constant.

As Barbarism is the absence of standards, to which appeal can be made, from the developed countries, we Africans can deduce three variables which constitute what we may refer to as 'Development Syndrome', namely differentiation, equality and capacity. The political development process is a continuous imperative of equality, and the integrative, responsive and adaptive capacity of a political system. The rising demands for equality, involves popular participation, adherence to universalistic laws, and respect for achievement performance; a greater need for capacity results in a more efficient and far-ranging governmental system. An inexorable tendency toward greater differentiation entails widespread division of labour and specialization of tasks. These factors boil down to what we shall refer to as the Ten (10) patterns of a progressive polity:

- 1) Periodic renewal of mandate of all elective posts, and limitation for the years to be in office.
- 2) No hindrance to alternative ideas, institutions and leadership, through just and fair elections.
- 3) Guaranteeing the tenure of office for officers in all constitutional posts.
- 4) A highly differentiated and functionally specific system of governmental organization.
- 5) A high degree of integration within this governmental structure.
- 6) The prevalence of rational and secular procedures for the making of political decisions.
- 7) The large volume, wide range, and high efficiency of its political and administrative decisions.
- 8) Widespread popular interest and involvement in the political system though not necessarily in the decision making aspects thereof.
- 9) The allocation of political roles by achievement rather than ascription.
- 10) Judicial and regulatory techniques based upon a predominantly secular and impersonal system of **LAW**.

If we are to expound more on the Tenth point, we will realize that, men recognizes that integrated or harmonized interests effected through ‘reflective agreement’ in the form of a ‘social contract’ between the personal and the social will, transforms the ‘state of nature’ into a ‘civil society’, leading to a state of ‘harmonious coexistence’. This ideal of rule of law was well summed up by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679): “I authorize, and give up my right of governing myself, to this man or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right and authorize all his actions in like manner”. This moral criterion, which excludes hatred and personal aggrandizement, is socially applicable to everybody’s self-interests. It is one that people are capable of adopting and one by which they are capable of being governed since it agrees with human nature and the circumstances of human life. In ‘*A Theory of Justice*’ (1971) John Bardley Rawls (1921-2002) praises this ideal thus:

“Thus, however mistaken the notion of the social contract may be as history, and however, far it may overreach itself as a general theory of social and political obligation, it does express, suitably interpreted, an essential part of the concept of justice”.

Social contract is the foundation basis of Law; which is fundamentally the only realistic formula of certain self-preservative measures of any social or political unit or entity. Law is essentially a memorandum of understanding in the form of a social contract, which finds its comprehensive expression in the nature of rules designed by people with common objectives and goals, turned into a legal document in the name of a CONSTITUTION. In an address before the ‘*Foreign Policy Association*’ in New York City, October 20 1945, Senator James William Fulbright (1905-1995), illumines on the merit of law: “Peace is not a negative, static concept. It is not a tranquil state of felicity and blessedness. It is a positive method of adjusting the endless conflict inherent in the nature of restless and energetic men. The institution of law based on justice and adaptable to the ever-changing life of man has been such a method in the history of

mankind...Throughout the long and troubled history of mankind, the only organizations which have been successful in providing security for human beings have been based upon law. It seems clear to me, therefore, that the possibility for a decent and peaceful world lies in the adoption of laws of universal application and sanctioned by the moral and physical force of the civilized world...Peace and order have rarely, if ever, been achieved by good will alone. In all ages, rules of conduct accepted by all and superior to all have been the indispensable basis for a decent and peaceful society.”

“Freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one in that society and not be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man”, so noted John Locke. The Law by touching on the common denominator of the sum total of people’s aspirations, behaviours and characters forbids certain actions that have a definite tendency to jeopardize the welfare of their particular community. It rests on the uncontestable fact that, one person’s ambition is not another’s ambition, nor will the same event or object satisfy both; but the humanity of one person is the humanity of everyone, and the same object touches this passion in all human creatures, due to *human species specific* behaviour. Whatever conduct gains our approbation, by touching our humanity, procures also the applause of other people, by affecting the same principle in them; but what serves my avarice or ambition pleases these passions in me alone and affects not the avarice and ambition of others.

“No civilization...would ever have been possible without a framework of stability...Foremost among the stabilizing factors, more enduring than customs, manners and traditions, are the legal systems that regulates our life in the world and our daily affairs with each other”, thus commented Hannah Arendt (1906 – 1975). By relying on point of view common to everyone; moving along some common principle which everyone to some degree concurs; and touching a string to which all the stakeholders have an accord and sympathy, the Law reduces all tendencies pernicious to society to a reasonably very minimum level; the essential conditions for civilization, the basis for freedom and propelling factor for development. “Freedom is the mainstay of society” said former Egyptian leader Anwar al Sadat (1918-1981), and that “no individual in his search for identity should ever be made to feel that he is at the mercy of any force of coercion or that his will is subordinate to that of others. The moment this happens, there can be only two reactions – coil up and surrender your very humanity or fight back”.

By first contending that corruption is the worst threat to any society’s potential for development, it is an unpardonable fact that out of the crooked timber of our society, no straight thing can ever be made. But if we believe as we are and convinced as we should be that we are destined to become great and honourable; to enter the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue; to avoid degeneration or drooping to a fatal decay, we have to outlive these pangs and wax young again by casting off this old and wrinkled skin of corruption. The words of Singaporean statesman, Kuan Yew Lee (1923- ) may be vital in setting the datum for our analysis of this antidote: “Once a political system has been corrupted right from the very top, leaders to the lowest rungs of the bureaucracy, the problem is very complicated. The cleansing has to start from top and go downwards in a thorough and systematic way”.

“The politician who steals is worse than a thief. He is a fool. With the grand opportunities all around for a man with political pull, there is no excuse for stealing a cent”, so noted U.S politician George Washington Plunkitt (1842-1924). With bigger fishes – of moving the society forward – to fry, a politician stooping to low by succumbing to the lure of a bribe or corruption is not worth the responsibility squarely resting on his or her shoulders. He therefore can be perfectly described as an infidel with a *‘punctured personality’*, who if convicted should be made to repay amount doubly and then be made to serve a jail term, besides being barred from holding any future public office.

One of the most crucial lesson of history is that any system in which the fate of the people depends upon the wisdom or shortsightedness of leaders is explicitly and implicitly wrong. Any society’s salvation lies not in the wisdom of leaders alone but also in the wisdom of laws. Time has come when we are supposed to draft constitutional mechanisms throughout the continent or to insert clauses in the present constitutions whose main aim should be to shield and protect the gullible and highly anxious citizenry; who are taken for granted during the campaign time, by the power mongers, political conmen, spin doctors, holier-than-thou rascals and sliver-tongued devils, whose villainy is clothed in the language of deceit. An important step in this direction is to focus on power sharing and power relationships.

The question of power sharing should be superseded by the question of power relationship between the political centre and the instrument of production – the taxpayers in general. Thus the question of how much power we give to an institution ought to depend wholly on how much responsibility we give to that institution. It should be obvious that if we do not give it power commensurate with its responsibilities, the result is that it will not perform effectively. On the other hand, if we dole out power without defining responsibilities programmatically, the result is that it will be used corruptly. The constitution must work out a broad framework through which to reward those who perform their constitutional responsibilities well and to punish those who flout their powers. Thus an important constitutional provision must be to specify ways of doing things, time framework for achieving all goals and mandatory relieving and punitive measures for those who prove inefficient or unequal to their tasks or those who abuse their offices.

In a word, we must unhaltingly and without wavering, direct and concentrate our efforts towards designing a ‘Triangular Pattern’ of governing any social or economic unit in our society. The first corner is the set tasks or prescribed goals. The second is the institution or instrument for implementing the set tasks and goals. The third is the system of reward and punishment for those who have succeeded in their tasks and those who fail to deliver in their respective roles. The constitution must be specific on the way of recalling all those hypocritical liars, those bunch of opportunistic chameleons who know when and how to be politically correct; who assumes the helms of power through deception by preaching what is ‘of interest to the public’, and who might prove inefficient and incompetent in representing the will of the people, failing to pursue what is ‘in the public interest’.

There ought to be a concise assignment for each elected official, made public and the database of their performance updated regularly. Their performance will have to be measured first from the standpoint of the promises they made during the political campaigns as well as their performance on the floor of parliament or in other elective offices.

## Chapter (5)

# UNCONTESTABLE UNIFICATION

## CONTINENTAL COALESCENCE

When we are talking of ‘Commissioning Civilization’ in our African continent, one may ask, what is our policy? The answer is, to wage war against ignorance, poverty, sorrow, misery, hunger, malnutrition and all *myriadmalaise* that afflicts the continent, and bring prosperity, posterity, self-sufficiency and general well-being to our people with all our might and with all the strength that God endows us with. To assert our natural, legitimate and justified desire to be free and independent, to become strong and influential, to not only be the makers and shapers of our own history, but also to influence the history of other continents, as Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961) noted: “Without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men”.

One may also ask, what is our end view? The answer is contained in two words, AFRICA'S UNIFICATION. Having been considered by other continents as some kind of 'inferior specimens', 'stunted siblings' unmotivated by the 'natural ambition' to curve our own destiny, our future lies in a United Africa. Absolutely aware that this journey is a marathon not a sprint, we will have to pursue it, however long and hard the road may be; for without a Continental government, there will be no survival for the future Africans.

As convulsions of the present and past decades are the clear symptoms of dead and decaying political systems throughout the continent, the ultimate goal of our efforts must be the solution of our economic and social problems. Sovereignty of the general African community and the regulation of the interdependence of all Africans by a Continental Law are the two central pillars upon which the Cathedral of democracy in this undemocratic land shall rest. To build the Cathedral in order that we may live as free human beings in security and prosperity is the chief assignment of this generation.

In these early days of 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Africa has totally degraded herself as a football for kicking around between Asia and West. It is very unfortunate that, this 21<sup>st</sup> Century 'Scramble of Africa' by both the West and China for unfettered access to Africa's resources and markets carries eerie echoes of its 19<sup>th</sup> Century forerunner, especially the idea of Africa as being in need of being 'saved' from conflicts, disease and hunger, with some African intellectuals openly advocating recolonisation.

In an article which appeared in '*SundayTimes*, April 7, 2008', South African David Bullard asserted that "uncolonizedAfrica wouldn't know what it was missing". He argued that colonialism is the best thing that ever happened to Africa, and that, had the continent escaped being sliced into chunk in 1884 Berlin Conference it would be a sitting duck for Chinese colonizers, "looking for coal, metals, oil, platinum, farmland, fresh water and cheap labour". Writing against the backdrop of the horrific events in Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia, Kenyan Ali Mazrui in an article that featured in '*International Herald Tribune*', August 4, 1994 argued that "decaying parts of Africa need benign re-colonization", under the banner of humanitarian in order to stem "the cancer of chaos". Mazrui courted the idea of a trusteeship system like that of the United Nations over Congo in 1960 and theorized that it may have rationalized more than eight UN peace-keeping missions in Africa.

However, with all due respect, we beg to differ with these voices calling for the continent's recolonisation. What Africa urgently need in order to combat civil wars, improve security, promote development, health, education, democracy and economic growth is not relegating our 'Sovereignty' through recolonisation – colonization in whatever garb or shade is the worst form of slavery – but to assert our 'Sovereignty' through a UNITED AFRICA.

But is the idea of Africa's Unification a modern speculation? Of course not, as it traces its tap roots to the Pan-Africanism and OAU of the 1960's.

With an express purpose of securing the continent's long-term economic and political future, the idea of Organization of African Union (OAU) was hatched in 1963 by post-independence, African leaders such as presidents Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) of Egypt, Julius Nyerere (1922-1999) of Tanzania, Ahmed Sekou Toure (1922-1984) of Guinea, Ahmed Ben Bella (1919- ) of Algeria among others. With the primary aims of promoting solidarity between African states and speak as one collective voice for the continent, however, OAU lacked power to deal with the massive poverty, political corruption and tribal conflicts that gripped many of the nation-states

In 1999 Libyan leader Muammar al-Gaddafi (1942 - 2012) called an emergency summit of the African head of states in Tripoli to discuss the condition of OAU and the need to transform it into an African Union (AU), with the ultimate goal of being the immediate formation of a United States of Africa, a decision which was ratified in Lusaka Zambia in July, 2001 and witnessed by 41 member nations

As the most optimistic move in the direction of unifying Africa, July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2007, is a day in which any loyal African who has been conscious and disgusted by the hemorrhaging condition of our potentially rich continent may have found something relieving or to celebrate about. This is the day when the African heads of states assembled in Accra Ghana, for the ninth African Union heads of state, to deliberate on what has been the dream of any sincere African since the times Pan African movement in the early sixties, namely the Unification of Africa.

In what was dubbed as the 'Grand Debate', the outgoing AU chairman Ghanaian president Alpha Konare in his opening speech, made a strong pitch for progress towards an African unity, taking the view that the AU would remain a talking shop unless it acquired legislative power that could only come with creation of a United States of Africa. This view was corroborated by the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Declaring himself a 'soldier for Africa', Gaddafi called on the continent to unite under a single government so it could compete in a globalized world. He said: "For Africa, the matter is to be or not to be...my vision is to wake up the African leaders to unify our continent". On his part Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade said: "There is no salvation for Africa outside political unity...if we remain fragmented into little states, we will remain, politically weak".

These views were supported by Human Right Groups all over the continent; which called for the removal of visa requirements between Africa's states and lifting of commercial barriers. In a joint statement, just prior to the beginning of the summit, the group said: "Without continental citizenship, continental government is meaningless".

The establishment of AU was seen as merely the first big step toward the dream of Africa political and economic union. However, about ten years later, most of the 53 AU members appeared to favour a gradual, step-by-step creation of a United States of Africa. In this moderate group belonged, South Africa, Uganda, Lesotho, Nigeria and Kenya

amongst others. On the other side of the spectrum belonged the radicalists; Libya, Ethiopia and Chad amongst others.

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, the leading outspoken members of the gradualist group was quoted to have said rather scornfully that: “You cannot unify the continent by decrees...you cannot pass a resolution and that becomes the basis for unification.” According to President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, while economic integration was possible, people from different regions of Africa were incompatible, politically and forcing them together would create tension. He commented: “I salute the enthusiasm of those who advocate for continental government now. I however, do not want us to move from one mistake – Balkanization – to another mistake of oversimplification of very complex situations”. In his contribution and stressing the need for methodological approach toward unity, Kenya’s president Mwai Kibaki said: “The creation of a supranational union will require enormous resources and consensus on the modalities of achieving such a goal.” Lesotho’s Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisli summed the view of the moderates: “Even as we pursue this noble objective, we cannot ignore the factors that militate against it...surrender of national sovereignty is a tall order.”

In the final analysis the hope for all altruistic progressives in Africa was scorched down to ashes as the debate and resolutions were reduced into moderates and radicals, or much worse into North – South personality contest between Libya’s Gaddafi and South-Africa’s Mbeki. At one point Gaddafi discarded diplomatic niceties and openly accused the countries calling for gradual approach of being against the unity. This prompted Mbeki to angrily respond: “We are not against union, it is you who is saying that we are against the union. We are for union but not in the shape and pace you are pushing.”

During the ‘Grand debate’ one of the most persuasive arguments leveled against a speedy African Unification which seemed to hold water, which was pursued by Lesotho’s president Pakalitha Mosisli is that many countries had not acceded to the ‘African Peer Review Mechanism’ that sets the benchmarks for good governance, such that before talking about an African government, minimum standards of compliance on values needed to be identified and agreed upon.

If we are to advance up a reasoned summary against those against the African Unification hiding under the masks of gradualist or moderates, we will notice that, these arguments leveled against dictatorial and corrupt regimes may be true at face value, but they do not have any practical bearing on the general effort to salvage the continent from the jaws of poverty, civil wars and other vices. It is true that, a good number of African countries may surely not be models of progressive governance – which is a pity to its citizenry – but as things stand, there is no Global or Continental institutional mechanism to compel them towards this end. The African Union as it stands now is helpless as people continue to be slaughtered in places like DRC, political crisis in Somalia amongst other forms of nation-states malpractices. In a word AU can be designated as a big fiercely looking toothless dog or to be more precise a ‘*Paper Panther*’

We should therefore be prompted to think that, to wait for these countries to improve on their home governments so that we can start endorsing the idea of an African Unification is being dishonest. We are therefore compelled to propose that the most practical pattern to pave way for internal restructuring of their mode of governance is the creation of a United Africa. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized owing to the fact that with a central African government, with other countries serving as federal states, with little autonomy, the central government will precisely be able to institute those governmental structures which may be lacking in the federal states easily. The larger point advanced here is that, only African Unity has a capacity to serve as catalysts of change, economically as well as politically across the continent.

We may revolutionize our ‘Psychic Patterns’, which is an individual enterprise, but if we continued restricting ourselves within the shallow confines of the nation-state, we will equally remain doomed and stunted. The only justification for a strong state structure is only the extent which it will form as foundational pillars of a workable UNITED AFRICA. Even if each African nation may strength its state structures, and remain as an isolated phenomenon expect it will utterly be incapable of shielding itself from the harmful effects and pervasive impact of globalization. In other words, the creation of a UNITED AFRICA is a linear Top-Down process and to construe it otherwise is simply to wrestle with impossibility. The crucial point here is to strengthen and refine our collective psyche by sealing all those cracks whereby the few in the power, besides amassing for themselves public resources are further used by foreigners and TNCs in particular as grooves in the monstrous act of drawing and siphoning away our resources for their personal gains.

There is also the pervasive misplaced fear among those who may fear losing or surrendering their national sovereignty. But the truth of the matter is that the problem is not negative and does not involve giving up something we already have. The problem is positive – creating something we lack, something we have never had, but that we imperatively need.

Those who might talk of ‘surrendering’ the sovereignty of the 54 nation-states in African continent are simply parading their ignorance as pertaining to the meaning of ‘sovereignty’. A democratic state cannot ‘surrender’ sovereignty, for the simple reason that it is not sovereign. Only a Totalitarian or Fascist state is sovereign. A democratic state is sovereign only to the extent to which sovereignty is delegated to it by those in whose, under the democratic concept, sovereignty is vested – the people. Should the people realize and come to the conclusion that in certain fields they would be better protected by delegating part of their sovereignty to bodies other than the nation-states, then nothing would be ‘surrendered’, rather would be created for the better protection of the lives and liberties of all people. Sovereignty would continue to reside in the people in accordance with the original conception of democracy, though the context has changed, but institutions would be created to give realistic and effective expression to the democratic sovereignty of the people in place of the inefficient and tyrannical, outdated and outmoded institutions of the nation-states.

In total cognizant of the fact that sovereignty has changed in its definition, concept and application throughout history since the times of ‘divine right of kings’, our conception of ‘Sovereignty’ is simple: *The sovereignty of the state is directly proportional to its ability to guarantee the best interests of its own citizens; for where we have sovereignty, everybody is guaranteed to have what is within his or her power to have, without jeopardizing the other person’s desires and abilities towards this end.*

Thus if a state cannot act in the best interests of its own citizens, it should be thought, construed, or perceived of as ‘sovereign’, and should categorically designated as null and void.

When some *oligois* hiding under the banner of ‘Sovereignty’ have gathered immense power into their own hands at the expense of ‘citizens’, and having subjected our people to a great portion of thwarting, our African ‘nation-states’ has sufficed out as hostile to that fortitude which should accustom us in our actions, as well as in our opinions to judge for ourselves, to obey our inclinations, and to feel competent to the discharge of our duties in order that we may fulfill our wishes.

To transfer and augment various aspects of our false sovereign rights as they are manifest in national legislative, judiciary and executive bodies, to truly democratically elected and democratically controlled continental legislative, judiciary and executive bodies in order to create, apply and execute law for the regulation of human relationships in the continental field – in a field, where such law has never existed – is not ‘surrender’ but ‘acquisition’. It is an exchange of a phantom asset, the product of unfulfilled and unfulfillable promises, for a real and realizable tangible asset.

The other reason advanced by our present conservative leaders, is that people can’t form a political or an economic entity until they are first ‘united in spirit’. That it is impossible to shift loyalties from national to supra-national objectives, that Kikuyu’s, Luo’s, Chaga’s, Swahili’s, Hutu’s, Zulu’s, Ibo’s, Oromo’s, Buganda’s, Nyamwezi’s, Dinko’s, and the many other racial, linguistic groups cannot be merged into a unified organization or placed under a one sovereignty or a common law.

### **COUNTERING CRITICISMS**

These arguments, reiterated only too often by the most representatives of the nation-states, are the shallowest of all contemporary sophisms only used to divert the peoples’ awareness of their exploitative machinery. In the first instance they should be reminded that, when the colonialist curved our continents into spheres of influence, which our people swears their allegiance to, our forefathers were not consulted either. In other words our people were not involved in curving out the current nation-state structure. As such, the current allegiance to a particular government is not natural but an artificial state-of-affairs, and this loyalty can be augmented by swearing allegiance to a superior authority, a ‘Continental Authority’.

German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1821) attempted to paint a picture of an ideal state: "A State is well constituted and internally powerful, when the private interest of its citizens is one with the common interest of the state; when the one finds its gratification and realization in the other". States are thus formed solely for the sake of obtaining security and posterity especially against the aggressiveness and exploitation of other human beings. All human beings are essentially selfish and seek only their own good. In this way the good of everyone is threatened by selfish actions of all human beings. Accordingly people enter into a tacit agreement with each other neither to inflict nor to suffer harm. Thus, the state and law come into existence as a *contract* to facilitate cooperation between all people in a particular social unit.

As every society is an artificial device only welded together by this 'social contract', existing only for the sake of its members as individuals and properly judged only according to criteria or 'terms of contract' established by them as individuals, it therefore means that, the end of social, political and economic organization is the 'greatest good' for the 'greatest number' who are bound by mutual honour of this contract. As the welfare of the individual, is of the highest and supreme value with each individual existing as an independent *unique unit* with the state serving only as a means to accomplish the ends of the individual, if the 'state' therefore interferes or serves as an impediment for the actualization of individual potentials, and free expression of their ideals, in the general 'market place of ideas', then its justification is watered down and becomes obsolete.

As we accept the democratic conception that the state, created by the people, exists only to protect them and maintain law and order, safeguarding their lives and liberty, it is therefore indubitable that once Continental institutions are established which bring people security, peace, wealth, which unites them in common ideals and common interests, which protects them from the insatiable corrupt appetites of the few in power, the loyalty of the people, today claimed by the inefficient institution of the nation-state, will infallibly turn to them. Real patriotism, real love of one's own country, has no relationship whatsoever to the fetishism of the outmoded concept of sovereign nation-states, where the tax-payers are dying of hunger due to mismanagement, and political strife initiated by their greedy political leaders. Real patriotism can have but one single purpose; to protect one's own country, one's own people, from the devastation of internal conflict, external aggression, poverty and diseases.

As people realize that in fact the current set-up of nation-state institution destroys their countries and murders their kinsmen, true patriots ought to revolt against that institution. Nothing is more incompatible with true patriotism than the present African nation-state structure. Therefore, Africa's nation-states must hang together, or essentially they will perish separately. The creation of a **Federated Africa** is the best method of bringing peace and prosperity to this unhappy continent and an essential condition for self-reliance. It is the sole stimulus to **African Renaissance**.

Since the end of the cold war and the speed up of economic globalization, political turmoil in Africa has led many to question the meaning of nationalism and the future of

the nation-state. Because globalization produces an increased demand for free economic information, it breaks down authoritarian political systems and spreads liberal democracy besides breaking the virtual boundaries as far as the flow of goods is concerned.

A vital catalyst for a *dislocated* Africa, to *locate* its *bearing* and move forward, is realization that, the security, stability and development of every African country is inseparably linked with those of other African countries. Consequently, instability in one African country undermines the stability of all other African countries. Security of any country goes beyond military consideration; it embraces all aspects of society, including economic, political and social dimensions of the individual, family, community, local and national life. The security of a nation must be construed in terms of the security of the individual citizen to live in peace with access to the basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of ones society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human rights. As the things stand now, the freedom, progress and prosperity the individual can only be actualized if we shift our false loyalties at national level to real loyalty at a continental level.

If our continent is to be made a tolerable place, if we are to have a break from the myriad malaise bedeviling us, Africa must forget its emotional attachments to the colonial-imposed ideal of national sovereignty. Under modern conditions it will only continue to make worse the many ailments affecting us. The truth is that the passion for national sovereignty is a leftover from a dead past. Once there are many nations whose boundaries are permeable with extensive cultural as well as religious ties and interdependent economic systems; in permanent relations by the exchange of goods, ideas, services and persons, then the ideal of self-determination of each nation having the absolute right to choose the form of government it deems fit, the economic and social systems it wishes, of each having the unquestionable right to untrammelled national sovereignty, becomes totally worthless and absolutely nonsensical.

As realities can never be circumvented by slight of hand, our choice in adapting our society to existing and changing realities is precisely between the option of either progression or regression; of thriving in future or succumbing to the looming danger of extinction. There are three contentions that waters down, the conception of self-determination in our African context. First is the false belief that every nation reserves the sacred right of doing as it pleases within its own frontiers, no matter how monstrous or how harmful to its population, or to the rest of the world. Second is the bizarre assertion that every aggregation of people has a right to split itself into smaller and even smaller units, each sovereign in its own corner. Third is the blind assumption that the extension of economic or political influence over larger units along centralized interdependent lines is unjust.

Preached and advocated by those who are beneficiaries of impunity, determined as they are to cover their past ugly deeds, and preoccupied with furthering the exploitative machinery, self-determination of each nation-state is a false philosophy which purports to offer security, and greater opportunity to its citizenry, but which practically denies people their liberties and certainly the only reward for the majority is denial of their intellectual

capacity as well as the inalienable right to free thinking and justice, after being subjected to deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny. Viewed from all possible angles and through all available lenses, self-determination of each separate African nation emerges out as bankrupt and impotent; an outmoded conception and an anachronism.

Unfortunate as it is, for Africa, national sovereignty has come to simply mean the exploitation of organized minority against the unorganized majority, with absolute impunity. This is why the word find its utmost expression when the international community and human rights watchdog giving out a voice of concern, on a certain country's elitist rate of plunder, those in power shamelessly invoke the term 'sovereignty' and are heard saying: 'we don't want interference by foreigners', 'we want to be left alone' and 'we need home grown solution to our problems'.

Each human being is his or her own individual self, a self-hood which then extends to the family, the clan, the tribe, the race and mankind at large. These are natural parameters that serve to explain human aspirations, interactions and achievements, and they work freely unrestricted without conflicting each other unless an artificial entity is trespassed in, in the manner of the nation-state. The point being underscored here is that, '*self-determination* of every human being' then flows out freely along those natural lines until it hit a very great artificial impediment of the '*self-determination* of the nation-state'. And this scenario finds its worst manifestation in the African continent because whereas other societies like Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, Arabs to mention but a few, were able to coalesce together united as they were by either geographical, racial, religious or lingual ties, the African nation-state were curved out simply as 'spheres' of influence by colonizers in total disregard of all other considerations.

After being enclosed together within certain borders, they were deceived into feeling that they belonged together through all sorts of lies like a national language which was precisely the language of the colonial masters or a national flag, or a national anthem, amongst other shallow and callow deceptions. And because these deceptions benefited nobody but the colonialists, for the colonized the lies could no longer retain their cohesive force, which explains why after the physical exit of colonizers the continent was plagued by civil wars almost everywhere. As it has come to bitter realization that these artificial borders encompass people with different chemistry and means of conflict resolution, the implication is that these borders themselves generate conflicts within as we have very few cases of inter-border conflicts in Africa. As such, to let loose all the pent-up potentials, so that the continent may *locate* its *bearing*, we have to remove these artificial barriers in the name of national boundaries and consequently we will have facilitated the self-determination of everyone, towards great fountains of self-sufficiency.

It has come to a further bitter realization that whereas colonizers utilized the Africa nation-states only as entities for exploitation, the African leaders have also inherited the same parasitic mode of governance, such that for Africa to make any lead forward to temples of modernity, these parasites will have to be eliminated first. And the most convenient cloak which these parasites have comfortably hidden themselves in is the nation-state, with its most contemptuous phrase 'national sovereignty', giving rise to the

contention that, to send these stranglers of societal development packing, we will have first to clear the mess which is African nation-state.

Democratic 'sovereignty' of our African people can be correctly expressed and effectively instituted only if tribal affairs are handled by elders, county affairs handled by county government, national affairs by national government and continental affairs by continental government.

A bit of hindsight informs us that, the seeds of twentieth century began to germinate almost immediately after the establishment of the modern democratic nation-states particularly in Europe. Quite independently of the organization of the nation-states and the political conceptions of eighteenth century democracy, almost at the same time industrialization was gaining momentum and it was destined to become an equally strong movement and an equally powerful factor of human progress. The Europeans found the ideal of nation-states incompatible with situations precipitated by Industrial Revolution and increase in communication and endeavoured at forming the European Union. In our African situation, the ideal is made more incompatible and absolutely out of synch with situations precipitated by the Information Technology Revolution.

The history of Africa from the 1940's when many countries started clamouring for national independence from the colonizers, reveals that many futures have been and can be imagined, that political activism have taken place and can take place on a variety of lines, and that such mobilizations can turn what seemed impossible into an everyday fact. Such observation applies as much to Africa's future as to its past. We therefore hold a sincere believe as well as an absolute conviction that it is certainly within the realm of possibility to improve, if not perfect our African society so that it may operate rationally for the benefit of everybody. This conviction alone carries within it the seeds of our quest for a UNITED AFRICA.

Are we indulging in a scheme which would give us a great deal of trouble without doing us much good? Are we placing a pretty high premium upon conjectures? Are we biting off more than we can chew? Are we setting unrealistic goals tantamount to boiling the ocean? Are we flying too much close to the sun, thereby risking getting scorched? The answer is a resounding NO!

As a role model for Africa's *political union* we should look to the American federation, going back to the efforts of the original 13 colonies. On the other hand, the role model for Africa's *economic union* is the record of European continental integration. The United States is an example of effective political union while European Union is a workable model of a perfect economic union, and both can be regarded as the vanguard of globalization. Large-scale unification is almost always inspired by a past (or present) nightmare, on the one hand, and a future dream on the other. European unification was inspired by the past experience of Europe at war with itself and the dream of a future when war between western European countries would be inconceivable. While pan-Africanism was inspired by the nightmare of colonialism and humiliation and the dream of a truly empowered Africa, 21<sup>st</sup> Century quest for African Unification is propelled by

the desire to exorcise the curse of nation-state with its fallacy of each nation's self-determination which has served as precursor of the many civil wars and subsequent haemorrhaging of the continent.

Long before the world and the human condition were alerted to the crisis of the nation-state everywhere, *industrialism* as a movement was itself a challenge to the nation-state. In the wake of *globalization*, governments' freedom of action has been diminished prompting them to reexamine their national policies so that they may be in synchronicity with the 'new global economic order', forcing them toward neoliberal economic policies. As such, the nation-state as a system of political organization is rendered absolutely obsolete. For instance, the trend toward enlargement of economic and political scale, as in the evolution of the European Union (EU), has made individual members to embark on the process of giving up more areas of jurisdiction that were once regarded as inseparable from national sovereignty, and it has succeeded in being the lion-tamer of the beast of nationalism in Bosnia, Serbia, and the Balkans more generally.

If we believe that we are endowed with a capacity for critical, conceptual, perceptive and phenomenological thinking, then it is time to realize that our inherited method of observation in political and economic matters is primitive and hopelessly inadequate. Through honest application of our intellectual muscles, we should aim at the abolition of this conglomeration of separate, political and economic entities and strive for unification or federation. This is because as evident everywhere, the present turmoil in Africa is merely a manifestation of the impossibility of maintaining national particularism in the face of continental and global economic forces, which in order to operate must disregard national frontiers. "Germany is our fatherland, the United Europe our future", thus boasted Helmut Kohl. On the same vein, through resolute commitment to the realization of the Africa dream, we African should take it as a motto: "Each of our nation-state is our fatherland, the United Africa our future".

If Europe with nation-states which have fought very many devastating wars over centuries could form an economic federation and a common currency, if immigrants who came from almost every corner of the world, a people with very diverse cultural background could form such an enduring political federation in the name of United States of America, what of Africa with an almost same or at least homogeneous cultural heritage? It is therefore, no longer a speculative longing or a fantastic dream, and a **United States of Africa** is actually a matter of practical politics.

### **STRATEGIC SELF-INTEREST**

This Africa of the future if it is to rise from its ashes must find some ways by which the minerals, agricultural products, access to the best harbors and the surplus labor supply can be pooled for the common continental good. If we become weary of this singing and dancing on the back streets of our minds in servitude to the god of the *purchasingpower* creatively curved by foreign forces for their selfish gains; when we rebel against this forced smile as we are struggling to make the best of poorly negotiated deals which have perennially relegated us to the edge of exploitation; when we provoke our psyches to a

reasonable *existential elevation* by outlining our continental ‘Strategic Self-interests’, then the whole myth of ethical consumerism being the false human face of foreign capitalistic exploitation would burst and be exposed as the outrageous political transgression that it is.

Self-interest as the propelling forces of development and the essence of civilization was well articulated by Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith(1723-1790) in ‘*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of wealth*’ (1776): “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker, that we expect diner, but from the regard to their own self-interests. We address ourselves not to their humanity but their self-love”. We still ourselves to no purpose and still our self-interest, when we continue clinging to the dogma of sovereignty of the African ‘nation-states’. To a people who are fragile, feeble and condemned to last for an absurdly short time, where crushing loss and failure has become the order of the day; with our dignity greatly imperiled by internal as well as external forces, we can only define, articulate and further our continental ‘Strategic Self-interests’ only if we first assert our self-esteem as individuals.

We are now on the conception of the triadic relationship between individual’s self-esteem as well as self-interests, the lords of national self-determination who have steamed away the people self-esteem for their narrow self-interests, and the divine goal of the continental ‘Strategic Self-interests’ where all the ‘*perennialpossibilities*’ for the ‘*GreatestGood*’ of greatest number of Africans will find utmost realization.

In the present global set-up, our self-interest as individuals will remain a distance mileage in the context of pseudo self-determination of our African nation-states where small band of *oligoi* use a good chunk of our resources to further their egoistic narrow self-interests at the expense of the general tax-payers. It therefore goes that, for our individual self-interests to be anchored and made to flower, we will have to break these *oligois*, give a good riddance to all these mischievous wrecks who have been a stench in the nostrils of our continent, and therefore assert our ‘sovereignty’ wherein our self-interests shall find its utmost manifestation through a UNITED AFRICA.

It was Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901-1981) who noted: “The cruelties of property and privilege are always more ferocious that the revenges of poverty and oppression. For the one aims at perpetuating resented injustice, the other is merely a momentary passion soon appeased.” The bottom line here is that while this antiquated dogma of the African ‘nation-states’ is wrecking havoc on our ailing African society, the current crop of egomaniacs masquerading as leaders are hell bent in completing the destruction; on putting all of us on the same sack and to eventually chuck us unto the water.

As such, in advocating for the African Unification we should be forewarned of being over-optimistic lest we become blind of the great impediment in the manner of the HEROD COMPLEX which is haunting the current crop of politicians across the continent. Herod the Great (74-4BC) who had reigned between 37 to 4BC was a savage iconoclast, a man who would trample on anything, a man ready to defy Heaves and Earth. He was a madman driven by an appetite for power who murdered his own family and a

great many rabbis, who when he heard that a King (Jesus), had been born in Bethlehem, ordered the killing of all male-infants – only for Jesus to escape the deluge by being sneaked into Egypt. The HEROD COMPLEX is an all-encompassing and all-consuming obsession by a profane instinctive or conscious dynamic will and neurotic life urge – a function which takes over the whole person - to further once hold on power and probably pass the mantle to ones descendants even if at the cost of killing ones real or imagined opponents, literary or through suffocating their creativity or arbitrarily denying them opportunities, which becomes a pervading force and propelling motive of ones explicit or implicit thoughts as well as actions.

We have to contend with the fact that, besides all hypocritical rhetoric on democratic governance and shameless masquerades of the rule of law, almost all of African nation-states are held hostage by a small ‘gang’ of politicians who dishes out all important administrative offices not on the ground of competence, but loyalty and future parochial considerations of retaining power. To wish away these tribal chieftains and the priests of the *status quo* who rely for their survival on the poverty, ignorance and gullibility of the majority of the populace, which they would be willing to perpetuate to their last drop of blood, is sheer folly. But by utilizing the modern cheap way of communication, to organize an effective front against them is becoming easier as the days passes on. Ultimately, it is only upon the solid foundation of a UNITED AFRICA that creativity and competence will be brought to prominence and showered with floodlight, as the mud-masks of these power-inheritors (as opposed to power-earners) shall be scorched to dust. So we should seek first the UNITY of our continent, and everything shall be added to us or their absence will count unto us as but a little thing

Due to deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, the African continent is faced with the challenge of crafting a persuasive foreign policy and designing fool-proof self-interest strategies, in interacting with other states of the world as well as other non-state actors, in order to safeguard our Continental interest with an eye at maximizing benefit from multilateral international cooperation, such that a paramount and predominant article in our foreign relations policy will be to take the ameliorative steps of cushioning our resources from depletion, plunder and exploitation by foreigners. This will be alloyed to the second article of being vigilant in disabling all those fellow continental men and women who are well seasoned and versed in science and art of colluding with foreigners in this murderous act.

If we are determined to continually invent, higher and higher value-added manufactured products, at comparatively if not absolutely lower prices, by making them increasingly smarter, through increasing their knowledge content, we will eventually gain the competitive end in the globalization. Coupled with strong state structures, we will be able to move to the next phase of having more clout thereby improving on our bargaining power. This is the only way we can tilt the current technological advances which are currently benefiting the rich to be also fine for the poor. It is the only way we can reverse the trend of making life worse for the presently poor continent; the only way to rekindle for the first time in history the hope for *diminishing the gap between the poor and rich*.

We will eventually not require to be pitied upon by other continents that are in dire need of our resources, but we will precisely be in a strategic position to sell our goods in the global market in total conformity with the market forces of demand and supply. As a consequence, social antagonisms will be toned down and fortune will smile and grant us realization of our fondest hopes, the *location* of our *bearings* and *actualization* of our *potentials*.

It is in this way that we will be able to work towards a community rooted not only in common perils, for instance civil wars, poverty, diseases, but also in common values and aspirations as well as shared goals, which touches a common chord in our collective psyche. This will fundamentally imply the accommodation between our needs and our capacities. A united Africa is the only sure alliance for progressive development; a vast cooperative effort unparalleled in magnitude and purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of Africans for work, health and education. A united Africa will turn the continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas; which is the tribute to the power of the creative energies of free men and women.

Another vital article of our 'Continental strategic interests' shall be to ensure that we pursue politics, both at home and abroad that ensure there is domestic economic growth and jobs creation. And to be precise, the question of economic self-sufficiency is precisely the question of using the abundant human capacity lying to waste as well as utilizing the immense natural resources of our continent which is only well misused by foreigners. By joining together as **United States of Africa**, our latent potentials will be let loose for productive ends. Our big markets coupled with economic stability will attract investors (not plunders) and new ideas will be generated, good catalyst for growth, reduction in poverty, diseases and ensure a higher standard of living.

**IF WE CAN DEPROGRAMME, DISCONNECT AND DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM THE DISCERNIBLE, DISGUSTING, DANGEROUS AND DEPRAVING DOGMA OF THE NATION-STATE, WHICH DEPRIVE AND DETACH US FROM OUR DESIRES, AS WELL AS DEVITALIZE, DEVALUE AND DERAIL US FROM OUR DEVELOPMENTAL DESTINY, WE CAN DECISEVELY DECLARE DELIGHTFULLY THE DECIPHERABLE DE-FACTO DAWN, AND BECOME THE DEDICATED DISCIPLES OF THE DOCTRINE OF AFRICAN UNIFICATION.**

As time is out for us to continue practicing antiquated 'CAVE politics' of 'self-determination' of each separate African nation-state, we need to come out to the outside world and be illumined by the sunshine of the ideal of melting together all these separate entities into a common mould, whereby more windows of opportunities will be thrown open. The best time is now when things are still fluid and if we allow them settle it will be very hard for us to influence the events to our advantage. If we don't define, articulate, pursue and defend our strategic interests by being conscious of 'characteristic fragments' of our African scene that unites the continent by their diversity, nobody else will do it for us and if we fail to do that, we shall remain pawns in the global chess game. If we

continue showing unwillingness to think outside our ‘virtual cave’, then we shall continue being treated by other continents simply as an afterthought.

### PROGRESSIVE P’s

Our African Strategic self-Interests shall be summarized in 5 Progressive P’s, namely, Paper, Power, Peace, Prosperity, Principles.

#### PAPER

Paper would mean envisioning a continental order, where the domestic society will be governed by constitutional designed laws and not by whims of men and women in power. Rule of law here means the protection of the people by a well designed constitution and legal codes from arbitrary acts of those in power as well as greedy motives of fellow human beings.

Key element in our laws shall be the creative distinction between dissent with disloyalty. Debate, disagreements, creative tension and review of policy can facilitate a more thorough consideration of the issues by subjecting questionable assumptions to serious scrutiny. They can bring about constructive compromises around a policy that serve the Continental interests better than either side originally proposed. This shall be achieved through a creative shift from confrontational, hardline stance to an emphasize on the 3C’s (Cooperation, Compromise, Competence), between the executive arm and the legislative arm in matters of foreign policy. Cooperation, implies converging on a coordinated policy to be pursued, competition shall be manifested in conflict over institutional prerogatives and the balance between the need for executive accountability and legislature oversight. Compromise entails bridging conflicts and narrowing down to a policy that proves better than either’s original position.

#### PRINCIPLES

The first article in our principles is the acceptance of the reality that Africa is a conglomeration of very many tribal entities, and that each entity should have an unrivalled right to practice its own cultural values and to elect their own tribal chiefs only in as much that this does not defeat the common good, as outline by other principles.

The second article in our principles shall be proselytization of the fact that whereas each tribal entity should strive for a harmonious co-existence with other tribes, free movement of individual members as well as the right to marry or own property within and outside ones tribal confine should be accorded supreme value.

**Chapter (6)**

**LAUDABLE  
LEADERSHIP  
LESSONS**

An insight into the general religious experience of mankind as shaped by the respective great leaders and founders of various major religions may be a vital key in unlocking some of the most vital personality orientations or 'ego strengths' or 'gears of leadership', important in putting into effect an original idea. It also sheds more light on the relationship between an *idea*, its *historical relevance*, a *total believe in it* and the force of its *dissemination* and *propagation*.

Ego-Strength, Ego-Vitality or Ego-Positivity, in our context here is that organizing capacity, the unifying factor of the individual reflected in ones synthesizing power to reconcile discontinuities and ambiguities, all in a simple alternative, in order to make one battle and one strategy out of bewildering number of skirmishes, the chief propelling yardstick for moving forward in spite of myriad retrogressive forces. The key word for Ego-strength is enduring tolerance, the ability to refuse to be put off by stress, frustrations, or disappointments, which implies the potential to deal with reality without falling back to infantile defense mechanisms. It is our ability to play the 'Game of Life' according to whatever curves life throws at us; the power, determination, road ability to engage reality for whatever we find it to be; to hold still upon the swing of things and to eventually look at the world situation in the face without caving in or being overwhelmed.

In Metallurgy (the science of metals), strength is the ability of a material to withstand Tensile, Compression, Shear or Impact force without breaking. Tensile strength is the ability to withstand a stretching load, Compression strength is the ability to withstand a squeezing load, Shear strength the ability to withstand off-set loads and Impact strength (toughness) is the ability to withstand a hammering load. We can also sneak in the Corrosive strength which is the ability to resist chemical or electrochemical reactions.

Besides honouring these historical figures (Moses, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and Luther), it is in our best interest if we explore how the ego strengths of these individuals were able to transform the conflicts that inhibit others so that they became leaders who made an impression on their era. We will strive to penetrate beneath the surface of actions and ideals of these 'Pushers', 'Shakers', and 'Shapers' who have been able to utilize a certain predominating Ego-Metallurgical-Strengths to surmount incredible difficulties, shed a curative light to a darkness-engulfed people, offer compelling leadership in times of great social turmoil, give a coherent direction to a bewildered people and probably leave a comprehensive referential material which endures to date.

Our choice of religious examples is deliberate, because religious sentiments have permeated from time immemorial, and continues and will continue to permeate the lives many people. It is important to note that to change a people's political conviction is not a big deal in comparison to changing their religious convictions. It is also good to note that, to devise a political theory or ideology is a shadow task compared to coming out with a comprehensive religious or theological doctrine. So our focus on how these historical Titans were able to accomplish a seemingly impossible task is a pure and

*precisepracticalpiece* of morale builder for us who are faced with a particularly simpler assignment of UNIFYING AFRICA!

## Moses

Living in the thirteenth and early part of the twelfth Century BC., Moses also called Moshe Rabbenu (in Hebrew Moses our teacher), was a religious leader, lawgiver, and a prophet to whom the authorship of the Torah is traditionally attributed. He was a grand and illustrious personage, of strong character, high purpose, and noble achievements, so deep, true and efficient in his religious convictions as to thrill and subdue the minds of an entire race for centuries after his death.

One day at the age of 80 years, after forty years of grazing the flocks of Jethro, a priest of the Midian on the slopes of Mt. Horeb, Moses speaks with God. A bush there flaming unburned attracts him, but a miraculous voice forbid his approach and declares the ground so holy that to approach he must remove his shoes. Moses experienced the presence of Holy Being so intensive that his life and subsequent destiny of his people were thereafter altered.

Under the regime of Pharaoh Ramses II of Egypt (reigned 1290 – 1224 BC.), the Hebrew people were enslaved and forced to work on state building projects. But only after the Ten Plagues were unleashed on Egypt by Mosses that the adamant pharaoh conceded to Mosses's request to set free Israelites, who led the exodus of the Hebrew people out of Egyptian yoke across the Red Sea, and in about 1270 BC., they journeyed to Mt.Sinai and compassed the borders of Edon. It was at this time that Moses received the Ten Commandments, whose central theme regarded cultivating faith, the action of love and the type of behaviour expected for a person to have a close relationship with the Divine Source and the Sacred Spirit.

Before their emancipation and at time of Mosses's '*Numinous Experience*' at Mt.Horeb, the Israelites already had been shaken from their earlier religious tradition by the catastrophic events of Egyptian oppression; and by uprooting of the new migration. They were susceptible to Moses's conviction that they should enter into a sweeping covenant with this mighty Yahweh; a sole Deity who would lead them and protect them.

After rescuing the Israelite from over a century of oppression by the Pharaohs, Mosses was able to give the determining shape to Israelites' religion (Judaism) which it has retained, not without difficulty through centuries. His work was a revolution whereby the Israelites were liberated from previous allegiances and submitted to a single Lord, in accordance with a sweeping and wide ranging covenant. When his strong and determined body ultimately yielded to the superior force of death at an advanced age of 120 years given in the Bible, Moses had not reached the promised land of 'milk and honey', the region long since promised to the seed of Abraham, the Palestine of later years.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the tremendous and incredible achievements by Moses were accomplished at an advanced age, whereby his physical as well as psychological

strengths could presumably be at very low ebb. Even when the ‘Tensile Forces’ of the Jews reverting to idol worship (his brother Aaron had also yielded to this pressure), and the persistence of the Israelites to be returned to Egypt, in the face of hunger and thirst, Moses remained strong and focused.

From Moses we learn that any leader besides being intelligent and capable should possess a psychological gift of sympathetic caring, ability to stand up to hard work, pain, voluntary endurance and competitive trials; that we should have the courage of our convictions, and believe often against considerable opposition in the success of our endeavours.

## **Buddha**

Gautama Buddha (563-483 BC) apparently showed an early inclination to meditation and reflection, displeasing his father, who wanted him to be a warrior and ruler rather than a religious philosopher. Yielding to his father’s wish – his father was the head of the Sakya warrior caste, with private name of Siddhartha – he married at an early age and participated in the world by life of the court. Buddha found his carefree, self-indulgent existence dull, and after a while he left home and began wandering in search of enlightenment.

At the age of 29 he came upon a mendicant monk, calm and serene, whereupon he aspired to adopt his way of life and consequently forsook family, wealth and power in the quest for truth; a decision known in Buddhism as the ‘*Great Renunciation*’ and which is celebrated by the Buddhists as a turning point in history. After many wanderings, Buddha discovered the Middle Way – a path of moderation away from the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification, and he was able to articulate the Noble Eightfold Path; right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.

This is the path which leads to a state of supreme liberation or enlightenment, attainment of ‘*Nirvana*’, which is believed to be possible for any human being. The Buddha described Nirvana as the perfect peace of mind that is free from ignorance, greed, hatred and other afflictive states or defilements. Nirvana is also regarded as the ‘end of the world’, in that no personal identity or dualisms of the mind (right and wrong, good and evil) remains. In this ‘deathless’, permanent, highest joy, the Buddha was able to see the empirical world in the light of his shining experience of this transcendental state. He had gained the pure ‘heavenly eye’ which enabled him to see clearly and deeply into the condition of living beings.

However, as it is evident in his later teachings (most of which were addressed to his Bhikhu’s or disciples), his was not just a pure mystical experience; it was insight that, while depending on such a higher state of consciousness, its intellectual character was made possible in the way of application to the realm of ordinary experience. Through his perceptions on the causes of suffering during his previous wanderings and meditations and through critical evaluation of the teachings he had heard from other recluses and holy

men, he was able to evolve a very vivid philosophy. Whereas his ideas owe something to a stock of ideas current and fashionable in his day, he however, with great subtlety and originality, gave a new application and interpretation to these ideas; a power that alone gave him an upperhand over other unorthodox teachers of his time whose doctrines and lives have now largely faded from the consciousness of mankind.

Even when the 'Compressive Forces' of being a prince and a future great king which tended to suppress Buddha's propensity for meditation, he stuck to his guns. From Buddha we learn that, for an idea to take root, its dissemination and propagation requires enthusiastic, zealous, courageous, aggressive and purposive missionaries. Eloquence is also very vital, simply because, any person who has an idea and cannot be able to communicate it effectively is at the level of one who has no idea at all.

### **Jesus**

About the year 4 B.C., a certain Judas of Galilee led a bloody rebellion against Herod Archelaus (23 B.C-18 AD), who was the ethnarch of Samaria, Judea, and Edon from 4 BC to 6 AD, a very cruel son of Herod the Great (74-4 BC). In a rebellion that was sparked off by the question of tribute monies due to the Romans, Judas and his Zealot Party captured Sephories and seized Herod's palace. However, the revolt was ruthlessly crushed and the city of Galilee was razed, with more than 2,000 rebels savagely crucified, an event which was followed by placement of Judea to the direct rule of the Roman Procurator in A.D. 6.

Jesus the Christ was born on 4 B.C. or earlier (traditional dating being erroneous). According to the Gospels of Luke and Mathew, he was born in Bethlehem, but his home was probably in Nazareth, and it was there he was brought up, as the son of relatively humble parents. It was only at about the age of thirty that he emerged from obscurity to the full light of his ministry.

This young man, who was later to be revered as Messiah, lived in times which were characterized by bitterness, confusion, rivalry, argument and uncertainty; a tempestuous time of storm and tragedy. These tensions and strives comes out clearly in the Gospel narratives, especially because Jesus himself was attached to none of these groups – the Zealots, the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes - and either overtly or by implication criticized them all.

In the atmosphere of a ruthless Roman Imperial power, the Zealots cause was nourished by hatred, and the promise of a Messiah who would through the force of arms, drive out the Romans and reestablish an independent Commonwealth, was a powerful hope. But not all Jews felt as the Zealots did; others were more peaceably disposed. The influential Pharisees believed that a return to the full application of Torah would be a means of purification and piety independent of political issues. The Sadducees worked for a peaceful coexistence with Rome. The Essenes withdrew to a communal life, patiently waiting for the coming Messiah.

Jesus had zealot friends. One or perhaps two of his disciples were zealots (Simon the zealot and maybe Judas Iscariot). Yet he rejected their predisposition to violence; 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's' was a repudiation of armed rebellion and a criticism of the revolt of Judas the Galilean which had been occasioned by the levying of tribute money. Though he had friends among the Pharisees, and though they did not appear to have criticized him for his Messianic claims, they were put off by his strictures on the way in which they interpreted the law. He wished to exhibit the essence of the Law, rather than to insist on minutiae. His interference with the Temple administration alienated him from the priestly Sadducees, and his claims to authority could not commend themselves to the scribes, traditional exponents of the law. Though he and his disciples may have lived communally, as did the Essenes, he was not concerned with the withdrawal from the world. Thus the kingdom which he promised did not fit well into the categories and presuppositions of the people among whom he moved. Even his Judaism was suspect; he moved freely amid aliens and social outcasts; a hated tax-gatherer was one of his disciples.

Though the ministry of Jesus began when He was around 30 years old, and lasted a period of 1-3 years, the originality of His manner of life and teaching is something to reckon with. The most notable feature of his teaching was his constant use of Parables, which are seemingly simple and memorable stories, often with imagery and each conveys a deep message. They are not mere similitudes which serve the purpose of illustration but as internal analogies where nature becomes a witness to the Spiritual.

Through the allusive and parabolic nature of his teachings Jesus was trying to induce in his hearers a new vision, a turning-around of their point of view. He was concerned with shaking people from their old categories, whether they were the sophisticated thought-pattern of the learned or the simple faith of the farmers, prostitutes, and fisher folk among whom he moved. His easy relations with people of all types – alien Samaritans, tax-gathers, Pharisees, insiders, outsiders – betrayed no fear of ritual regulations or social prejudices. He was in his intercourse indifferent to man-made barriers.

Even when the conflicting interests and aspirations of various sections of His born-society were threatening to tear Him asunder, the Christ's Shear Strength was enough for Him to move forward without taking sides. From Jesus the Christ we learn an exhibition of tough independence of mind, shrewdness to criticism, high degree of sociability and non-commitment to any dominant thought pattern which might rob one the power and freedom in expressing ones original idea. We learn that if we creatively and candidly refuse to accept and yield to the limits imposed by the conventional thinking of our era, we should be destined to make an indelible mark upon history.

### **Muhammad**

Muhammad (A.D. 570 – 632) began his mission in an atmosphere that exhibited the mixture of pagan religion and the teachings of both Judaism and Christianity. At the age of forty, he received a dramatic call which started him on his career as a prophet. One

night, while he was in the mountains, in his usual meditations, the angel Gabriel appeared to him with a text written on silk and commanded him to recite.

It is worth to note here that, at the time of his inaugural vision, Muhammad was convinced that he had a divine revelation. But after a few weeks, doubt began to beset him; whether he was really a prophet of God. In his self questioning, his wife Khadija, comforted and supported him, whereby his visions began to return, and after a few months he was finally convinced of his divine call.

When his mission begun it had little early success. He preached outside Kabah, where he was met largely with incredulity and scorn, especially among the Quraysh. Although a few converts began to meet in secret, his denunciation of idolatry was disturbing and dangerous, leading to unprecedented multiplication of his enemies especially the people who believed in the old religion who began to gather their forces in the face of the revolutionary prophet.

In the first years of his preaching he had only about forty converts. But Muhammad was willing and able to put up with many tribulations, and finding Mecca unsuitable for him he tried to establish his faith at Taif, but without success. Medina offered hope for him, simply because its citizens, concerned at the internal strife which plagued the city were attracted to Muhammad as a leader who might bring peace and a reordering of the community.

The situation in Medina gave the prophet remarkable opportunities. Possessing both political and religious authority, Muhammad proceeded with tact to fashion a community which would be able to carry his message widely through out Arabia. As an astute diplomat he was able to reconcile many tensions which grew up. After establishing military security and strength of the city, through his great leadership capacity – he was no mere visionary – swiftly shaped medina into the first Muslim theocracy.

Mohammad was able to give his followers and converts the highest authority in Islam in the manner of the Holy Quran, which as Muslims believe, contains the exact words of God as revealed to Prophet Mohammad and recorded by his companions. In applying the Quranic teachings to everyday life, Muslims rely upon the *Sunnah* (sayings and actions) of the prophet. This Sunnah is construed by Muslims as a concrete implementation, a tangible form, and the actual embodiment of the will of God in the form of Muhammad's deeds. They were recorded in what are called *Ahadith* (pieces of news, stories, or reports)

Even when He was bombarded by the hostile forces of His own tribesmen, the Impact Strength in Mohammad could not succumb to the degradations of His time. His shrewd appraisal of others and of the significance of what was going on in the world of his time, and his persistence in the face of constant opposition accounts much for his phenomenal success. He had never collapsed in the strain of battle or controversy, or failed away when strong action called. We also learn from Muhammad the importance of associating with people who are confident and who believes in our ideas so that they can give us support in those trying moments of self-doubt which are normal to any human being.

From Islam we get a demonstration of the way faith can be harnessed to the creation of a complex and successful community upon earth – not a Utopian one, but a matter-of-fact one – a community in which men’s chief wishes, needs, and ambitions are not denied, but channeled into a pattern of pious brotherhood.

### **Luther**

Though born in a poor home background, Martin Luther (1483-1546) went to school at the cathedral school of Magdeburg and at Eisenach. At the age of eighteen, he went on to the university of Erfurt, where having worked hard at the usual curriculum, he took his bachelor’s degree in 1502 and his master’s in 1505, both at the earliest time permitted by the regulations. It is an odd but apparently an undeniable fact that Luther, though piously brought up and well educated, saw a Bible for the first time in the university library, when he was twenty years of age. He knew the gospels as read in the church, but he was astonished to dip into the Old Testament and to discover the stories it contained.

In 1505, Luther suddenly decided to enter the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt, abandoning his project of a doctor’s degree in law and sold his book; a decision that surprised his friends and appalled his father. Later in life, Luther explained it by recalling several brushes with death that had occurred at the time making him aware of the fleeting character of life. In the monastery he observed the rules imposed on a novice but did not find the peace in God he had expected. He was ordained priest in 1507, and after intensive theological studies, was sent as lecturer to the new university at Wittenberg. He became a doctor in theology and professor of Scripture in 1511. Although still uncertain of God’s love and his own salvation, Luther was active as a preacher, teacher and administrator.

In 1510 he had been sent by his Order to Rome, and like many another pilgrim, he was both excited and disappointed. The squalor, ignorance, and corruption of much of the religious practices in the HolyCity were a shock; he accused himself of being taken in by the ‘stinking lies’ which led pilgrims on to visit churches and crypts in order to gain indulgences. More dramatic and important was Luther’s so called ‘*Tower Experience*’. During the years succeeding his return from Rome in 1511, Luther was increasingly overwhelmed by despair. He had the strongest sense of his own sin and unrighteousness, and he could not convince himself that there was a way out of this predicament. Somehow the teachings of medieval piety had turned sour on him. For a time he gave up saying Mass and reciting the Divine Office. Though he received some comfort from Staupitz, the Vicar-general of his Order, he was not relieved of despair. After thorough dipping into the Scriptures, he in a sudden and startling manner gained a whole new insight into what he conceived as the central meaning of Scriptures; that it is the grace of God (*solagratia*) rather than the efforts of man as an independent self that brings unity and reconciliation.

Gradually over the years before 1518, the consequences of Luther’s insight began to work themselves out in his mind. If justification was by faith, not by works, then not only ascetic practices (conceived as way of breaking into heaven), but also the works

performed by the church on behalf of the faithful were useless as a means of salvation, and the like ways in which the Church presumed to mediate between man and God. These ideas, fermenting in Luther's mind, help to explain the stand which he took against the indulgences preached in Germany by eloquent Dominican friar John Tetzel.

To learn from Luther it's good to turn to Erick H. Erickson who concentrated on how Luther was able to overcome some of his limitations and become an influential leader of Protestant Movement. Erickson conceives of a seizure, which Luther is said to have experienced on the choir of his Monastery, he assumed a negative identity, for his parent wanted him to become a lawyer. Furthermore, he engaged in "Foolish Monkery" in his efforts to become a perfect monk. He was meticulous and scrupulous in his religious practices to the point of being absurd. It is said that his confessor once told him not to return until he had something significant, such as murder, to confess.

Luther's behaviour makes sense in terms of his personal history. His parents were stern, thrifty and superstitious Germans, who did not hesitate to apply corporal punishment in their efforts to instill the differences between right and wrong. At one point Luther relates that his father beat him so brutally that there was a subsequent period of estrangement between them. In another instance, his mother beat him for stealing a nut 'until the blood came'. Such child rearing practices were probably typical of the sturdy peasant stock that gave rise to the leader of the Protestant Reformation. In the light of harshness of school and home, it is easily understandable that Luther became preoccupied with the idea of a highly judgmental and punitive God.

Through intense scriptural and theological studies (in the context of Church history), it dawned upon Luther that in the course of time many false doctrines crept into the Church, that undermined its very foundations. He therefore embarked on one of *hardest historical* task of countering the teaching of the then dominant Catholic Church, which he construed as usurping divine attributes or qualities for the Church and its hierarchy, especially its head, the Pope. He was disgusted by the fact that instead of adhering strictly to the Gospel doctrine of salvation by faith through the grace of God, the priests taught a doctrine of salvation by works, or worst still through Papal Indulgences (letters of pardons sold by and signed by the Pope for the sins committed on earth).

In 1517 John Tetzel (1465-1519) a Dominican friar, mustered his salesmanship skill in Juterberg, near Wittenberg to sell Indulgences, in order to raise money for the rebuilding of St. Peters Basilica. "As soon as the gold in the casket rings; the rescued soul to heaven springs", he said, pronouncements which prompted Martin Luther to craft out the '95 Thesis on disputation on the power of Indulgences', which caused great excitement and were immediately translated from Latin into Germany and widely distributed. Luther's spirited defense and further developments of his position through public university debates in Wittenberg and other cities resulted in an investigation by the Roman Curia (the highest administrative body of the Church).

When Pope Leo X (1475-1521) issued a Bull ( or Edict), in 1520, that forbid Luther to preach and ordered his books to be burned, in defiance Luther burned the Papal Bull in

public provoking Pope to excommunicate him in 1521. When summoned at the Diet (or assembly) at the city of Worms (in what is now Germany) or Edict of Worms, conducted from 28 January to 25 May 1521 and presided over by Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), Luther was once again pressed to recant. Absolutely aware of the consequences of being declared an outlaw or a heretic, which could cost his life, Luther refused to recant and made his famous statement: “Unless I am convinced by scripture and plain reason – I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen.”

Fortunately, the ruler of his own German State, Elector Frederick of Saxony, came to his aid and offered him shelter in Wartburg Castle, where he devoted his immense energy and intellectualism to translating the Greek Scriptures and writings into German. Luther’s bold and unorthodox move of marriage to a former nun Katharina von Bora (1499-1552), in 1525 set a model for the practice of clerical marriage, allowing protestant priests to marry. His commitment to the institution of marriage is evidenced in his love for Katharina who he often fondly called ‘My lord Katie’.

The Reformers inspired as they were by creative power of Luther were able to summarize the ‘Five Solas’ (Latin *sola* means *alone*), which articulated the fundamental beliefs of the Protestant Reformation, pillars which were believed to be essentials of Christian life and practice. These are *Sola Scriptura* (by scripture alone), *Sola Fide* (by faith alone), *Sola Gratia* (by grace alone), *Sola Christo* (through Christ alone) and *Sola Deo Gloria* (glory to God alone).

Luther refused to ‘Corrode’ in the face of the corrupt Church of his time and succeeded in giving a new direction to the Church. His ego strength enabled him to overcome the concept of, and rediscover a biblical meaning of the righteousness of God that stressed his mercy and care.

## Chapter (7)

# VIVID VOYAGERS

It was Henry Kissinger who noted: “A leader does not deserve the name unless he is willing occasionally to stand alone. The task of the leader is to get his people from where they are to where they have not been.”

It was Abraham Lincoln who said: “Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable – a most sacred right – a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world.”

It was Mahatma Gandhi who said: “A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history.” “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has”, so taught U.S. anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901 - 1978). Leadership is magnetically stimulating, but an electrically elusive quality that everyone knows when he or she sees it, or feels energized when in contact with it, but difficult to describe, owing to its mysterious intangibility. It was referred by Field Marshal

Bernard Law Montgomery (1887-1976) as: “The capacity and will to rally men and women to a common purpose”.

A leader was described by Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) as: “A man who has the ability to get other people to do what they don’t want to do, and like it”. Being the will to tell other people what to do, but still retaining their respect or gain that respect, influencing their beliefs and feelings, convincing and channeling their energies into action, besides taking control of a crisis, a leader is always visible when an innovative response is needed.

“The leader’s unending responsibility must be to remove every detour, every barrier to ensure that vision is first clear, then real”, thus noted U.S electronics executive Jack Welch (1935-). Pivotal in leadership is having a vision of what can and should be done; see the problem that needs to be fixed or goal that needs to be achieved; posses a drive and commitment to achieve that vision, and the skill to make it happen. However, as it is not merely enough to have great thoughts, effective leaders, should have the courage to let the words out of their mouth ahead of time. Possessing the qualities which are arguably central to the survival and success of groups or organizations, these arbiters of people’s fate should be able to act creatively in non-routine situations, try new things and refine ideas that don’t work as U.S business executive And author Max de Pree (1924 - ) commented: “The first responsibility of a leader is to define reality. The last to say thank you”

Being a virtue that entails endeavoring at being a mover and a shaker; being able to push and get things done, leadership means, in the last analysis the substitution of brain for brawn and muscle, of knowledge for folkways and superstition, and of cooperation for force. It means the substitution of responsibility, for obedience to rank and of authority of performance, for the authority of rank. Much more, effective leaders never say “I”; and that’s not because they have trained themselves not to say “I”; they don’t think “I”. They think “team”. They understand their job as that of making the team function. They accept responsibility and don’t sidestep it, but “we” gets the credit as Truman advised: “It is amazing what you accomplish if you do not care who gets the credit”. This is what creates trust, what enables the task done. A keen sense of leadership entails combining a clear understanding of ones goals with both a carefully judged assessment of what degree of change one’s teammates or followers are ready to accept and a strategic sense of when to accommodate oneself to opponents who may be ready to yield on significant points.

Prominent 21<sup>st</sup> century historian Robert Dallek informs us that great United States of America’s presidents were those who rallied the nation to meet large challenges and who found workable answers to big questions, whereas some of the least memorable presidents were those who served in time free of social turmoil.

After analyzing the conduct of 41 US of America’s Chief Executives, he was able to distill six key qualities in president’s success: “Activism is only one element in the mix of ingredients that make a great president. Throughout American history at least six other influences have been at work in contributing to success in the White House. First, the

country's most highly regarded presidents have all been great visionaries who could imagine a new national future. This trait was balanced by a second important trait – pragmatism. This pragmatism meant that the visionary leaders could respond to changing public moods and political circumstances. Third, all of the country's great presidents have had great personal charm or charisma. A fourth trait of great presidents has been their ability to earn and keep the trust of the public. The great presidents used this trust to become consensus builders in domestic and international policies, the fifth important element in presidential greatness. The sixth element in making a great president has been simple luck or favourable circumstance, which has enabled the leaders to put their skills to work.”

## **SUPERIOR SOULS**

Our current African situation is a mildly extreme case calling for mildly unusual measures and more prevalently the exception may and will invariably prove the rule. In confidently trending this direction, we have to be as open-minded and receptive as it is practically within our means, and categorically deride any attempt at dogmatism. Fortunately, both the immediate situation as well as the immediate future offer absolute certainty for the success of the ideal of a progressive and UNITED AFRICA. But this can materialize only when the mantle is taken by the ‘Vivid Voyagers’; men and women with plenty of go in them, endowed with a lot of energy and accustomed to making rapid decisions, who though comfortable with the sophisticated and refined members of society, will always be determined and dedicated to ‘going off into the wilds amongst the yokels’.

I deliberately use the tag ‘Vivid Voyagers’ to designate adaptability and capability for radical action, a willingness to think beyond the thinkable; to reconceptualize procedures, programs and purposes before crisis makes drastic change inescapable. They will be vocationally well-adjusted ladies and gentlemen who will not be held back by ‘*Uncouth Utopians*’; social wrecks who live entirely in the past and who are incapable of visualizing the future otherwise than as a projection of the past, and who call themselves realists and pragmatists and deride any attempt at rational and creative thinking as ‘misconceived idealism’.

It is a recurrent historical fact that, new ideas always take shape within a small group of men and women whose next task is to spread them and get them accepted by the people. But the first vital step is that, those who for one reason or another, are in a position to influence, transform and redirect public opinion and events should know the exact meaning of the words they are using and clearly define and clarify the ideas they are advocating. This is because, when most people first come into contact with a new idea, there is an inherent if not unconscious tendency towards its resistance or abhorrence, but because eloquence supported by facts always has great power of persuasion, if the idea is constantly pumped, bombastically propounded and disseminated with precision and sincerity, people become accustomed to it and endure it. If the people remain in contact with it long enough, they finally embrace it, and become possessed by it; they ultimately become its ardent defenders and dedicated ambassadors.

“There is no worse lie than a truth misunderstood by those who hear it”, so taught American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842-1910). “All great truths begin as blasphemies”, thus noted Irish playwright, George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950). It was English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) who asserted: “New opinions are always suspected; and usually opposed, without any other reason but because they are not already common”. “As I look back upon our history or upon my own experience, nearly every progressive or fruitful move, especially if it was novel has been considered naïve”, thus commented James William Fulbright. So, if we construe history in terms of the ‘Progressive Forces’ of the ‘Superior Souls’ and the ‘Regressive Forces’ of mediocrities, it becomes apparent that ‘Superior Souls’ have always found violent opposition from the common herd. Mediocrities cannot understand it, when a real ‘existentially’ authentic individual does not thoughtlessly submit to hereditary prejudices but honestly and courageously uses his or her intelligence. Mediocrities never takes the initiative; they are afraid, and probably never dreams that any need exist, for they are captives of most traditional responses, custom and habits.

That creative fecundity which is the reserve of ‘Superior Souls’ which creates a mental exaltation that predisposes them to extraordinary insights, which is a kind of wild-eyedness which induces them in a kind of Lao Tzu’s ‘effortless effort’ to strive to channel some power which to mediocrities seem to be greater than themselves, is born of a refinement of being in touch with their inner selves; their Godliness. It is a feeling of an outsider status, a feeling of being outside the mainstream, which gives one the sense that the world one sees is different from the world seen by the mediocrities, which further motivates them to articulate that vision.

“It is unfortunate considering that enthusiasm move the world, that so few enthusiasts can be trusted to speak the truth”, thus complained Arthur James Balfour. In their gate-clashing, in the manner of voicing their truth to their society, at times these ‘Free Spirits’ may have some trouble putting their psychological lid back on, however, this psychological unease, is a kind of restlessness, discomfort to express oneself – even more pervasive and free-floating – which they attach to a problem and when the problem is solved, it motivates them to seek out new problems to work on, and when they seems to hit a snag they devises another formula to work on the problem, *adinfinitum*.

The essence of creative process is the ability to hold several antiethical ideas in the mind at once, a task that demand robust mental power. With a preternatural awareness of their general environment, Superior Souls, take risk, they defy order; traits that make them both more vulnerable and more original than others.

“Intellect is invisible to the man who has none”, so noted Arthur Schopenhauer. Every new idea, every original or creative conception presents itself to our minds as a pathological focus, as a conjecture of a diseased mind; which explains why mediocrities resist every novelty so strenuously; a resistance which is a form of self - protection. This also explains why Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton and any pure and wise spirit that ever took

fresh. Whereas this disgust may faintly be attributed to the envy aroused in the hearts of mediocre persons by contact with superior ability, it is upon the minds and hands of these creatively well-adjusted (but construed as maladjusted) individuals that human salvation lie. As is the case of past 'Superior Souls', amidst all possible resistances, through persistence, the present 'Superior Souls' should rest assured that their ideas will bear fruit, as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe noted: "Daring ideas are like chessmen moved forward; they may be beaten but they may start a winning game".

Common people imitate the standards set by the elect. Great personalities are the pathmakers who blaze the trail that other people follow. The light generally comes through individuals who are in advance of society. They see the light shining on the mountain heights while their fellows sleep in the valley below. They are, in the words of Jesus, the 'salt', the 'leaven', the 'light' of human communities. When they proclaim the splendour of that light, a few recognize it and slowly the many are persuaded to follow them.

The great majority of the human beings never realize the fundamental changes taking place during their lifetime. Universal History therefore, is the history of the 'Superior Souls' who have lived and worked in this world; the leaders of humans, the great ones, the modelers. So, behind economic changes are mechanical changes, behind these is the progress of natural science, and behind these is the solitary thinking of the 'exceptional human being'. In a thorough consideration of all the geographical and economic conditions, someone must take the initiative in every event and in every change; a 'Superior Soul' in all important respects. It accrues only to the 'Superior Souls' to feel the need, to think and the whirlwind of change is triggered. Perhaps circumstances may be against them and they may fail. But if they are able to surpass the temporary barriers of opposition, a wave of lesser individuals, still exceptional will creatively imitate them and push the idea further. If they succeed, waves of imitation runs like a flood through the community, and the idea is ultimately consolidated.

A fundamental historical fact worth noting is that, each age and place calls for and needs certain brands of genius rather than others. But what distinguishes cultural sort of geniuses is that they can only crop up when their practical predecessors have cleaned the forest and prepared the way. So, as it is practically evident that, the most fertile of soils cannot yield fruits if there are no seeds planted. In our honesty therefore, we should not forget to give merit to all other former '*Awakened Africans*' who prepared the ground and planted the seeds for our new '*Societal Set-up*'. Though these 'Progressives' like Kwame Nkrumah or Nelson Mandela may seem to fall out of the mark, we cannot deny the remarkable subtlety of their minds or the undeniable sincerity of their hearts and we can never accuse them for failure to immerse themselves fully in the intellectual and ideological depths of their times.

"Great men make history, but only such history as it is possible for them to make. Their freedom of achievements is limited by the necessities of their environment", thus noted Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901-1981). Refreshing as it is, it is only in our times that, the conditions have ripened for the realization of this noble ideal of UNIFYING the

continent. However, we should be not be ashamed to confess that, our posterity acclaims are not greater than our *progressivepredecessors*; they too had placed their stones upon the pile. But somehow we have the good fortune to come at this specific time in the history of our society and when we place our stone, the arch *shall stand self-supported*. So we the celebrities of to-day and to-morrow are the heirs (so to speak) of a long succession of men and women who have advanced our noble ideal bit by bit, and so have developed it to its present form; we have the blessings of sitting on the shoulders of these giants, thus seeing further than them. What we need is to have an insight into the requirements of our time; and be conscious of what is ripe for development and maturation. Though we might not wholly qualify to be original creators of this noble idea, we shall however be midwives; helping the time to bring forth that which is already in the womb; helping in the birth of the world that is struggling to born, to replace the current world that is dying, as the Yoruba, Nigerian proverb goes: “If we stand tall it is because we stand on the shoulders of many ancestors”.

It is a vital historical lesson that, even the most economically, politically or ethically degraded society can align, capture and assert good values and positive attitudes. Political, economic or moral entropy is not a problem unique to Africa. Europe which is geographically smaller than Africa has a history tainted with all kinds of vices and sins; thirty year’s war, two world wars, extermination of a whole ethnic community, slavery, child pedophile, robber baron capitalism, to name but a few examples. But the point is this: *No matter how bad things gets, it takes a few good, courageous and creative men and women to stand up and chart the way out of the morass*. Therefore, guided by their personal ‘North Stars’ and with demonstrable resolve, the future African ‘*ResourcefulRedeemers*’ should understand that a decent person may appear to be coming last but that it is only because he or she is running in different race; and the race that matters in the end is not won by racketeers and charlatans, but by hard workers and dedicated people. The words of Kwame Nkrumah in this respect are very inspiring: “Circumstances can be changed by revolution and revolutions are brought about by men who think as men of action and act as men of thought”.

Owing to the mortal unreliability of our sense organs, even our psychic apparatus, it is a truism that one cannot measure an idea, even less the effects of an idea like the way temperature is measured by a thermometer. However, wisdom born of historical empiricism show that, if people cannot hang on to an original and noble idea, doubts starts to creep in, which then goes round and round inside them and collects more doubt leading to skepticism and pessimism, and ultimately they begin to weaken, to be less sure of their idea; finally the dreadful fear – fear of being wrong – of defeat cripples them. When the molecule of doubt get more and more magnified, it juggles and hammers ones reason and ones cherished convictions get swept away irretrievably. This gives us the reason why, although we must be driven by a fundamental conviction that, there is nothing stronger, stronger than the armies and police, including all underground gangs of the world combined, than the IDEA which has come at its right time, we must direct and gear all the resources at our disposal and all the organizational skills at our command, to the all-important battle of actualization of the noble ideal of UNIFYING Africa, as

Thomas Mann (1875-1910) noted: “Opinions cannot survive if one has no chance to fight for them.”

As Africa continues to grapple with the need for a breach of cultural continuity, an abolition of traditional society, and developing something new to its utmost creative and logical conclusion, what is urgently required are leaders who are strong, courageous and creative enough to be able to rise above our wary past and all its prejudiced and petrified outlook. Leaders who will never flag because they will be sustained by the urge of life and an intuitive prevision of the future they will be bringing to birth. In other words, the *Dedicated Doctrinal Dynamites*, or *Inspiring Ideological Icons*, in the name of **Vivid Voyagers**, who as depicted by G.W.F. Hegel: “World-historical men – the heroes of an epoch – must be recognized as its clear-sighted ones; their deeds and their words are the best of their time”. Or in the words of Karl Marx: “We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process”.

These **Vivid Voyagers**, besides being **vocal** and **vibrant**, will be well **versed** in the exposition of their **views**. **Vehemently** resisting any temptation at being **visionless**, they will be full of **vigour** and **vitality** in **vouching** for the transformative power of our noble **IDEA**. Desisting from all **vulgarvaluations**, they will be **valiant** to overcome all econo-socio-politico **vendettas**, by **validating** only the **valuable** ideas and **venturing** where the mediocre cannot. **Veracious** to their noble ideals, their **verdicts** will have to pass through the sieves of **versatility** and **variety**. **Vigilant** without either being **vicious**, **violent**, **vindictive** and **vengeful**, they will expose all ideological as well as theological **vandals** living under all kinds of hypocritical **veils**; avoiding all the tendencies at **victimizing** would be opponents, and critics. Out of their own **volition**, they will be **volunteers** who will disdain all kinds of **voluptuous** tastes and indulgences at expense of **voters**; never **veering** away from the objective of **vetting** the society off all economic, social, and political **vermins** and **vampires**.

‘Vivid Voyagers’ are precisely men and women who through a SELF-INDUCED ‘Psychic Revolution’ will have reached to a kind of ‘Psychic Precision’ to warrant them to qualify for either one of the following epithets: ‘Rare Birds’, ‘Noble Souls’, ‘Free Spirits’, ‘Great Minds’ and ‘New Men’, amongst other labels which designate a reasonable state of ‘Psychic Refinement’.

## VALIANT VISIONARIES

Physical sciences teach us that, the difference between a *scalar* quantity and a *vector* quantity is that the former has a magnitude and no direction whereas the later has both magnitude and direction. As we are reeling from ‘*past puerile politics*’, scalar as they were in nature, as they were focusless and directionless and whose magnitude was effective only to extent of its consolidation and misuse of power or use of power without responsibility - which is *precisepreogative* and *exclusiveentitlement* of the harlot throughout ages - what we require are ‘*Valiant Visionaries*’ who will initiate a vector quantified kind of politics with the magnitudinous potential of offering direction and

imparting vision to our people, as well as inject new blood to a ‘Hideously Hemorrhaging’ people, besides uplifting the society from ‘Conspicuous Conspiratorial Continental Catalepsy’ to ‘Hopefully Highest Heights’.

Each political historical entity that has made its footprints on this earth since antiquity, through its physical and historical environment and through its inner developments, is faced with problems of which it must stand the test. Civilizations therefore arose in response to some set of challenges (physical and social) of extreme difficulty, when ‘creative minorities’ devised solutions that reoriented their entire society. As we noted somewhere in this work, that, the degree of success and growth of any civilization is the measure of its ability to respond to the challenges of its times, what we require are ‘*Creative Civilizers*’, who having realized like Arnold Toynbee that civilizations were not intangible or unalterable machines but network of social relationships within the border and therefore subject to both wise and unwise decisions they made, will leave nothing to chance, and in the blessedness of their wisdom will leave no stone unturned.

“A revolution is not a bend of roses. A revolution is a struggle to the death between the future and the past”, thus noted Cuban leader Fidel Castro (1926 - ). Concentrating all their actions and might on eradicating the tyrannical institution of nation-state which has been a convenient vehicle for the self-perpetuation and self-glorification of few in power, at the expense of transforming the majority into beggars and slaves, these ‘*Resolute Revolutionaries*’ will be dedicated ‘*Barrier Busters*’ hell bent on breaking down all impediments and obstacles that stands on the way of realization of more human freedoms for the majority of the people. Unlike the past ‘reckless revolutionaries’, in achieving their ends, they will abhor all kinds of violence, bloodshed and terror as their clear understanding of what a revolution is will be stripped of all dogmatic leanings and trappings, as American political scientist Emery Reves notes in ‘*The Anatomy of Peace*’ (1945):

“Revolution does not mean merely to fight an existing order, a system, parties and men actually in power. It does not mean merely to shoot or to use violence to overthrow a regime. The ‘have nots’ will always fight the ‘haves’; those who are without influence will always oppose the powerful. Revolution means the clear recognition of the roots of the evils of society at any given moment, the concentration of all forces to exterminate those roots, and to replace a sick society by a new social order that no longer produces the causes of the evils of the previous regime.

In BOOK VII of ‘*The Republic*’, Plato presents his well-known ‘allegory of the cave’ which attempts to depict the progressive stages of human education and enlightenment. Plato asks us to imagine some lifelong prisoners chained to a wall in an underground cave where they can see only shadows on the opposite wall. The shadows are cast by various dispersed statues, vessels and figurines on an unseen parapet behind, where a fire burns. Now, if a prisoner were to free himself and actually see the artificial figurines in the flickering firelight, he would then be in the world of belief concerning realities. If he were to escape into the sunlight outside the cave he would be dazzled on seeing the real world of true realities. Here he would feel tempted to dwell forever. But if he were to

return to his chained companions they would throw scorn on his explanations. Therefore those who have seen light, in our case here the ‘Vivid Voyagers’, like all dedicated educators, have to be patient in their efforts to uplift and educate the students (in our case here the masses), gradually to behold and to cherish relevant truths and values.

Their ‘Psychic Precision’ therefore, shall be measured by the degree which they will be able to exhibit an appropriate style of thinking, a preference for thinking in novel ways, and an ability to ‘see the big picture’ – to think globally as well as locally; in essence, a propensity for escaping from mental ruts. These ‘*PatternPerceivers*’ will be able recognize opportunities for new ventures by noticing connections between seemingly unrelated events, trends, or changes – connecting the dots – and discerning an identifiable pattern in these connections. Through a balanced blend of analytic, creative, and practical intelligence, they will eventually converge on a ‘dominant design’, a common approach or standard used to achieve the goal of African Unification.

As an initial positive step in the liberation of the African continent, in these competitive times there is a great urgency to shift governing style from ‘Transactional’ to ‘Transformational’ in all facets of leadership from academic, to managerial, to administrative, to political. Transactional leadership has been a ‘*Terrible Tragedy*’ in our African society as it was obsessed on the superficial link between effort and reward as the key driver to performance. Besides anchoring the ‘philosophy of Tokenism’, inducements, rewards, punishment and sanction to control people and as tools of misplaced motivation, transactional leaders enjoy illusory peace and harmony, from the bootlickers who may be slowly killing the society by bleeding the public coffers dry, through complacency and outright theft. However to stir our people from false comfort zones of ‘Institutionalized Idleness’ to new orientations, to inspire our people to act beyond the minimum, what this ‘Cataleptic Continent’ requires are ‘*Transformational Titans*’ who are proactive, who are endowed with strong functional and technical qualifications, so that they can consciously build new expectations.

Being ardent believers in contingency approach, whereby they will be driven by the conviction that no single rigid style of leadership is always ‘best’, they will be able to adjust their actions to fit the requirements of the situation. Being task-focused they will be able to face situations involving high uncertainty and rapid change. These ‘*Ardent Arousers*’ by seeking to produce major changes, will not seek blind obedience, but rather strong commitment to vision of the future they propose. Dedicated at increasing the motivational and actual performance of the general populace, they will be more effective in situations that are highly challenging than in ones that more ordinary.

These ‘*BorderBreakers*’, burdened by the responsibility of defining and articulating the reality and possibility of CONTINENTAL COALESCENCE, and *divinelydevoted* to solidifying the *continentalcovenantal* relationships which will emanate thereto, will be ‘*MeritoriousMahatmas*’ fundamentally different from past and present quacks masquerading as leaders; who have neither beliefs nor noble ideals but only understands methodology, quantification and protocols; who are analogous to modern-day eunuchs; who can never engender competence or confidence; who can never be truly intimate; who

instead of clearing all the impediments for people to realize their aspirations have themselves become a great stumbling block.

### PRAGMATIC POLITICIANS

Plato was able to distinguish between two types of knowledge, *Gnostike* and *Praktike* episteme. The '*Gnostikeepisteme*' which denotes understanding connected with knowledge, is based on mathematical understanding or abstraction knowledge whereas '*Praktikeepisteme*' denotes understanding connected with practice. Plato described the ideal politician as the practitioner *par excellence* of the former, and his success was to be considered only in the light of his ability toward this 'art of knowing', irrespective of social rank.

To expiate the frustration of our people against our people, for the coming breed of '*PurePragmatists*', their fuel of choice ought to be 'intentional instrumentalism', which lies on the premise that, no successful leader can get any far without constantly accommodating to change – change in events, change in mood, change in ideas; perceiving ideas as only instruments facilitative in offering opportunities to advance people's interests. Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt were surely two of America's most successful *pragmatic politicians*. In 1864, Lincoln wrote privately in regard to the Emancipation Proclamation: "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me". Franklin Roosevelt was, in the words of his presidential predecessor Herbert Clark Hoover (1874-1964), 'a chameleon on plaid'. His New Deal, as Roosevelt himself described it, 'was a series of experiments'. In the UK, which has parties only in name, politics is up for grabs all the time. Tony Blair (1953 - ), a center- left pragmatist had to move his labor party to the middle, so that it would endure; a task he accomplished before taking office. Emerson may have captured this spirit best when he wrote: "I simply experiment, an endless seeker, with no past at my back".

As clearly discernible as it is, in our times, more than any other time, there is a *riperrevolutionary* situation, and all what is required are '*SubtleShakers*' who are bold enough to look with single-minded hope to the future and to turn our backs with contempt and shame upon our retrogressive past. For instance, the Japanese society during its period of modernization in the 1870s not only produced enough discontents and ambitions within Japanese elite of such nature and magnitude as to permit substantial innovating elements with sufficient energy and capacity to take the nation down new paths, but it also managed to fashion enough men of courage and strength who were ready to confront some of the ugly realities of the Japanese society itself and to act as leaders of that political revolution which swept away Japanese feudal order. This was facilitated by Meiji leaders who were revolutionary enough at the beginning of their efforts to have Japanese eyes fixed exclusively on the future and who were impatient and disgusted when a word was said of their past. The progressives among the Japanese were actually ashamed of their past.

History has testified the destructive influence of mass-minded and to some extent the

mediocre people, who if not directed by the intellectually and morally superior minority, unwittingly encourage the advent of social decadence. At this juncture, Africa requires '*Ambitious Adventurers*' who are prepared to face unpleasant facts; who shuns the pathetic search for simple and cheap comforting shortcuts, by putting the public welfare before private gain. Leaders who are continually skeptical of smooth sounding and sentimental platitudes, blessed with a frame of mind that is endowed with the impetus to transcend worlds ebb and flow. This intellectual vigor, knowledge and understanding will enable them realize that sufficient power, well augmented must be wedded to appropriate ideas, as Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) believed: "I repeat...that all power is a trust – that we are accountable for its exercise – that, from the people, and for the people, all springs, and all must exist".

These '*Societal Shapers*' shall understand that true leadership is not domination or exercise of power and shall therefore construe those whom they are leading as equals and respect their integrity. Their psyches having been nourished by the juice of mutual respect and their social engine having been lubricated by the oil mutual integrity, they shall never be irritated by any literary altercation, animated not by past sentiments, and never heated by dogmatic animosities. Their programmes shall therefore be the sweet fruits of good heads prompted by good hearts, their ideals shall be experiments better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relation of our continent to our historical epoch.

Discrimination involves either of two forms: 'Disparate treatment', in which people belonging to a certain class or group are treated contemptuously by virtue of their social standing; and 'Adverse impact', in which the same standard is applied to others but it affects members of a certain class more negatively. Having been subjected to the worst 'discernibly detestable' form of 'Dehumanizing Discrimination', first by the colonial masters who were able to rule our people through the legalization of injustice, and second by African exploiters who hid themselves on what was legal (exclusively in their favour) in total disregard of what was just, the Adverse impact of this Disparate treatment has effected very deep scar in the psyches of our people to the worst extent of trauma in some pockets of our society. To engage the masses in the process of curing these psychic scars and direct others in the personal process of a traumatic shake-up, what we require are '*Political Psychotherapist*' with a kind of third eye on the dynamics of working of the individuals' psyches and collective social psyche.

The catalogue of our past and to a certain good extent present leaders is literary written in blood as they exhibit a wide array of unethical ways when it comes to capturing, retention and exercising of power (political or administrative). Recourse to such obvious transgressions of reason and morality has been commonplace and went unpunished. Contrariwise, the process of constructing a common political realm of accountability and social cohesion involves not only setting up the right institutions and drawing up the right constitutions, but also leaders' acceptance of the competitive nature of democratic politics, the moralisation of our political life and respect for the voters. These old guards trapped as they are in the whirlpool of deceit and hypocrisy and being stuck in the murky waters of a mythical past, are absolutely incapable of embracing modernity. Therefore, to

avert this *terrible toll* that is being inflicted on our society, we need '*Benevolent Bravados*' who are creative enough to find efficacious legal avenues for people to voice their opinions besides being courageous enough to question the old concepts and look at new horizons.

It is the most degrading instance of mediocrity to deride ourselves that through any sort of *miraculous metamorphosis* of their *species specific* instincts, the foxes can gain a sincere interest in prolonging the lives of poultry. In the like manner, by changing laws and making them more responsive and more friendly and retaining in office the henchmen of our past bad governance who either aided or abetted the rape of society or watched in silence as our people were mutilated into economic helplessness is the worst anachronism we can allow ourselves to succumb to. At worst any positive compliment on the liberative power of our 'Incisive Ideology' which may emanate from these present beneficiaries of *status quo*, cannot be in any way sincere and would be like the sort greeting an undertaker would expect from a corpse. If we are to lift the continent to the next level of econo-socio-political awareness, we have to clean ourselves off these people who belong to a former age; who still retains the prejudices of that period and replace them with a whole new breed of young, creative, energetic and technologically responsive leaders, the '*Marvelous Modellers*', who will be the progressive images upon which the society shall model their future aspirations.

"No one is perfect in this imperfect world", thus noted Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961). "But perfection, though plainly intelligible and un-supposable, was never attained by any man", so acknowledged Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752). These 'Vivid Voyagers' though they should discard all pretensions at perfection should possess some or all of the qualities outlined by David Hume in '*An Inquiry Concerning Principle of Morals*' (1751):

"It may be esteemed, perhaps, a superfluous task to prove, that the benevolent or softer affections are estimable; and wherever they appear, engage the approbation and good will of mankind. The epithets *sociable, good-natured, humane, merciful, grateful, friendly, generous, beneficent*, or their equivalents, are known in all languages, and universally express the highest merit, which *human nature* is capable of attaining. Where these amiable qualities are attended with birth and power and eminent abilities, and display themselves in the good government or useful instruction of mankind, they seem even to raise the possessors of them above the rank of human nature, and make them approach in some measure to the divine. Exalted capacity, undaunted courage, prosperous success; these may only expose a hero or politician to the envy and ill will of the public: but as soon as the praises are added of humane and beneficent; when instances are displayed of lenity, tenderness or friendship; envy itself is silent, or joins the general voice of approbation and applause...No qualities are more entitled to the general goodwill and approbation of mankind than beneficence and humanity, friendship and gratitude, natural affection and public spirit, or whatever proceeds from a tender sympathy with others, and a generous concern for our kind and species. These wherever they appear seem to transfuse themselves, in a manner, into each beholder, and to call forth, in their own behalf, the same favorable and

affectionate sentiments, with they exert on all around.”

To initiate and scatter civilization among a people who in the face of entrenched evil and demonic power have become seasoned mourners and wailers; a people who have found themselves either shipwrecked in the depths of their soul or barely afloat with less wind in their existential sails, shall be the fundamental pillar of ‘Vivid Voyagers’ project. Through systematic investigation and intelligent understanding, their supreme duty shall be to aid our people in confronting the tragedy of life and the absurdity of existence. So besides seeing, analyzing, and empathizing with our people’s sadness, sorrow and suffering, they should feel it in their bones deeply enough and be intellectually open enough to position themselves alongside the sorrowful, suffering, yet striving ordinary folks. In this way they will succeed in being ‘*AudaciousArticulators*’ able of bridging the gap between sweet rhetoric and bitter reality in order to counter narrow ethnic divisions, stabilize the continent and assert Africa’s sovereignty.

The greater populace is yawning for intelligent young men and women who have a taste of their tribulations; who have seen the society from a ‘worms eye view’ to be absolutely unable to disconnect themselves from the needs of the people if they get the chance of viewing the society from the ‘birds eye view’. These ‘VividVoyagers’, having been *divinelydisgusted* by the reality of the African darkness to the extent of developing a *holyyhatred* of this wretchedness; having contended that our society is a meagerly developed one that has barely attained the dawning of civilization, will have to discard any pretension that poverty can be eliminated by mere meetings in five-star hotels; that the great questions of the day will never be settled in boardroom meetings, or emotionally charged, deceptively crafted convincing arguments. They will have to make people come to terms with true ground of their backwardness; a society is backward, not only because the economy is backward but also because its people are backward for it is a backward people who create a backward society. They should be leaders who like ‘*Faithful Fighters*’ shall be endowed as well as blessed by the power and will to get into the trenches and lead the people out.

“Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives forth to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened”, thus taught George Washington (1732-1799). Faced with the assignment of salvaging the society from chaos and waste, and in its place create a society that will never submit to regimentation but to knowledge; that will achieve peace and order not through spiritless legislations and compulsions, but through advance, spread and organization of intelligence, these creative future leaders will not be mechanistic lawmakers, but like the ‘*TactfulTeacher*’, will guide and suggest through *intelligibleinformation*, rather than invite pugnacity with *promiscuousprohibitions* and *charmlesscommands*.

To deliver the continent from the pollution of oppression, adversity, calumny and malice, so that our people may proceed with rapid strides in the path of happiness, where all our misfortunes will no longer exist but in history or in the movies or upon the stage, we require leaders who are ‘*PertinaciousPriests*’ endowed with generous optimism,

courageous idealism and genuine passion for our continental inhabitants. In order to inspire our people to wake up and face the true nature of their situation, to install and instill a sense of well-being and cheerful robustness to the multitudes of timid, melancholy and self-pitying people, we need leaders with confidence and able to radiate that confidence, and effectively repudiate and debunk various unworthy but crippling notions and myths like the genetic and lingual inferiorities of Africans amongst others, in order to trigger a steady build up of assurance amongst our people.

These ‘Vivid Voyagers’ must prepare themselves by fore-thinking out and practicing how to act on any accident or emergency so that they are never taken by surprise; should know exactly what to do when anything unexpected happens. Though focused to the end no matter the intensity of the present considerations, for these ‘*Passionate Planners*’, their ideals must include alterations and have a high degree of flexibility and they should cultivate a subtle ability to respond to the swift flux of events. Once they have examined the future possibilities and decided on the target, they should be able to build in alternatives and openness to new routes. Therefore, these future leaders will have to be clear, far thinking and open to adaptation; always believing in the direct methods of doing things. They will add to their armoury of ideas a very vital arsenal if they digest the twenty ninth law in the book ‘*48 Laws of Power*’ (2000), by Robert Green:

“The end is everything. Plan all the way to it taking into account all the possible consequences, obstacles, and twist of the fortune that might reverse your hard work and give the glory to others. By planning to the end, you will not be overwhelmed by circumstances and you will know when to stop. Gently guide fortune and help determine the future by thinking far ahead.”

### **CHANGE CHAMPIONS**

These glorified masters of public relation, shall have to be precise and be determined to spend most their times, utilize a good chunk of their energies in kissing people on the cheek, in order to invoke in them the *will* facilitative in getting them to do what is in their *power*, what they ought to do without the lure or motivation of a kiss. To focus the masses into the future and create a culture of following towards future possibilities, these ‘*Magnetic Mentors*’ will be endowed with the gift of attracting a people who are endowed with the awareness of freedom worth sacrificing for. As magnetism is an attitude and a quality that draws people to a leader, make them trust him or her and leave them not only willing but also eager to sacrifice for him or her, it will attract the best like-minded persons to build a team for any particular task and give inspiring leadership even during times of failures due to fearlessness of risk. These honest disciples of the ‘similarity-leads-to-liking’ rule, these creators of vision, combining the purest sublimation of subtlety with the most impassioned majesty, will have to ignite the young minds in particular. They will have to exercise change in the traditional role of despotic and dictatorial, from manager to mentor, from director to delegator, from commander to coach, and from one who demands respect to one who facilitates self-respect.

The African crisis is yawning for true, dedicated, and selfless messiahs who are prepared to die and to give without asking for hefty glorious rewards. In order to master the unruly

torrent of life, the learned man theorizes and meditates; the poet quivers and puts across the idea, whereas the political hero erects the fortress of his will. To clear all dregs and thorns in the 'perplexing paths' upon which our people are trending in utter weariness, these '*Messianic Movers*' will have the capacity to transcend the current mist over people's vision. They should have the potential to evoke unquestioning devotion (as opposed to unquestioned obedience), which is an extreme posture not unlike religious fanaticism and which is conferred on the leader who is viewed in highly positive terms.

Africa is preeminently the continent where there is practical substance in the advice of German philologist and philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) that, we should live not for our fatherland but for our children's land. To do this we have to substitute purpose for tradition. And because we can no longer treat life as something that has trickled down to us, we have to deal with it deliberately, devise its social organization, alter its tools, formulate its method, educate and control it. In endless ways we should put intention where custom has reigned, by breaking up routines, making decisions, choosing our ends and selecting our means. Thus Africa requires men and women, '*Nonpareil Nkrumahs*' who as Ghanaian post-independence leader and chief pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) believed, will have to be guided by a long-term historical perspective, by an unlimited public philosophy, endowed with the insight to understand the world turmoil and see beyond the turbulence of the present to future possibilities.

In a continent where its people are divided between attachment to a decaying past and their groping towards an incoherent future, a continent that is poorly nourished by its own intellectual effort, Africa needs energetic leaders, an energy coming from within them; leaders with the abilities to spur, to urge and to prod people into activities. These '*Sincere Saviours*' must be willing to do everything they ask of the people and must be able to work harder, concentrate longer, face the extra danger, carry the extra burden, go the extra mile, be more patient and see a bit further; a tirelessness guided by strong will power. These leaders must be endowed with the gift of 'Psychological Insight' which will enable them to appreciate people's half reasons, their faint aspiring, their present fallacies, their dim search for truth, their prejudices, their biases, fears, cares and doubts.

In a society where precipitancy detracts from the value of a judgement, and to a people whose joy in life is so tainted these '*Daring Designers*', will be blessed with the gift of turning everything and everybody into good account, and endowed with the ability of putting a case which is beyond the capacity of the ignorant and succeed in winning them over, for the common good of everybody. Their whole beings will be filled with the warmth of human kindness, and kept alight within their hearts the sacred fire of their self-esteem, their reserves of will-power will be capable of downing any opposition they might encounter

"The public Good ought to be the subject of the legislator: General Utility ought to be the foundation of his reasonings. To know the true good of the community is what constitutes the science of legislation; the art consists in finding the means to realize that good", so taught British philosopher, economist, and jurist Bentham Jeremy (1748-1832). It is

therefore only by a series of violent shocks and revolutionary actions, can Africa shake off the burdening hand of the past, which seem to cling so tenaciously to this continent, its institutions and people. A major assignment of these *'Loyal Lanterns'* shall be to rescue the continent from the reign of the dead; the spirit of ancestors and in its place provide that inner core of tough virility, that progressive creative tension, essential for any kind of progress.

These *'Romantic Realists'* having signed a psychological *'Contract with Africa'*, will have their gaze firmly fixed to the unification of the continent. Driven by a vow that *'from now all roads will lead forward'*, they will take as their motto the words of 32<sup>nd</sup> president of the United States (1933-1945), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945): "There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generation, much is given. Of other generation much is expected. This generation has a rendezvous with destiny". These perceptive bands of men and women will be blessed with sorts of eagle eyes which could pierce beyond the present wilderness of distress and suffering in order to open up sacred pages of our people's lives. To ensure that the political process does not undermine everything else, they will have to ensure that all technical discussions and formulation of documentation and policies should be guided by professionals while the larger political forum serves as validation and consensus building purposes. These discussions at the technical level should serve as incubators for objective, issue-based management process; for the maturation of the fragile ideas at the grass root level.

*'Freedom'* said French philosopher, social and political theorist, writer, musician and botanist Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), *'is a most succulent dish, but one that is difficult to digest'*. African society is a mould anachronism that has stifled the development of the human character and the human personality; a people perverted by *irresponsible illusions* and *misleading motives*. So our frail fellow citizens will have to be aided in building up their *'psychic powers'* long before they are able to digest the life-enriching nutrients of freedom. With their limbs stiffened from such long enchantment, their sight enfeebled by darkness of their dungeons, and their spirit crushed by pernicious servitude, our people will have to be persuaded to stride firmly toward the temple of freedom. Therefore, these *'Willful Warriors'* on obscurantism will be dedicated at enlarging the people's minds and of dealing a final blow at past fanaticisms; who would force the people to gaze unblinkingly into the splendid rays of redemption and inhale the pure air which surround it. They will be statesmen and stateswomen moved by a sense of passion and devotion and fortified by resolution and courage.

Like Sir Winston Churchill these *'Rare Birds'*, shall never flinch or tire of talking sense to our people; they should be persistent in telling our people the whole truth even when the truth is appalling, that *'there are no gains without pains'*. They will therefore have to possess demonic will- power in order to wage a highly concentrated war of cultural transformation. A number of Napoleonic- like measures will have to be applied and people must be taught how to channel profits into investments and accept the fact that production oriented economy is a harsh endeavor and the motive force for development comes from those with the urge to innovate. This task of injecting new blood into an economically hemorrhage people, requires *'Pertinent Pushers'* benevolently ruthless to

move this inert, passive, change resisting mass into action. Endowed with capacious vision, coherent goals and a pragmatic temper, they should be leaders with toughness and ingenuity to fashion industrial workers, and all other workers to have a sense of labor and discipline and to imbue them with a feeling of pride and responsibility in their work. They shall be in the words of MicereGithaeMugo (1942- ): “The fire that ravaged hypocrites, roasting their lies, burning their masks, scorching their wicked thoughts”.

These future leaders should not necessarily be popular or have long political curricula vitae (CV). Think of 33<sup>rd</sup>US president (1945-1953) Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) following Franklin Roosevelt, or John Major (1943- ), Prime Minister (1990 – 1997) succeeding Margaret Thatcher. Harry who?, was the reaction in much of the world when Roosevelt died in 1945. This man who kept as motto on his desk during his term in office, ‘the buck stops here’, Truman, a former small businessman and farmer, who served in the U.S. army in the 1<sup>st</sup> World War, who was elected a county official in 1934 U.S. senate before becoming Franklin D. Roosevelt’s third vice-president, and acceded to the presidency in April 12, 1945, when Roosevelt died less than three months after beginning his historic fourth term, was appreciated only after four months and an atomic bomb dropped on Japan. From leaving school at the age of 16, working as a banker for nearly two decades until elected to parliament in 1979, John Major, a conservative who was a protégé of Thatcher, rose rapidly through the ranks, serving as foreign secretary (1989) and Chancellor of the exchequer (1989) before succeeding Thatcher as Prime Minister and party leader in November 1990, only to be soundly defeated by labour party in 1997, whereby he made the most memorable statement; “when the curtain fall, it is time to leave the stage”, after which, people continued wondering who John Major was.

“You will find in politics that you are much exposed to the attribution of false motives. Never complain and never explain”, thus noted Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) British Prime minister (1923-1929, 1935-1935). In contrast to the present enemies of genius who are always hell bent on transforming – though metaphorically – the booming brilliance of the sun into an impassive yellow spot, the coming leaders, these ‘*Flamboyant Floodlights*’ thanks to their art and intelligence, dedicated as they should at shedding more and more light in the society, and blessed with the capacity to transform an impassive yellow spot into the booming brilliant sun, shall never be held back by any negative criticism and shall be able to handle it with shrewdness. The architect of German Unification and longest serving chancellor since Otto Von Bismarck (1815-1898), Helmut Kohl (1930 - ), headed the German government for about 16 years, a tenure longer than the transformation reign of that iron lady, Margaret Thatcher in UK, longer than Franklin Roosevelt occupancy of state house. However, throughout his career, and despite his doctorate in history and his enactment of a long term plan to first reform the economic and political infrastructure of the East Germany, and then reunify the nation, a plan which included promises of keeping a United Germany in NATO, to keep seeking European consensus throughout the reunification process, he was never considered an intellectual and was constantly subject to underestimation and ridicule. Despite his commanding grasp of foreign policy, his demonstration of sharp political and foreign relations skills in helping bring about a peaceful reunification, whose fruit were evident when he won Mikhail Gorbachev’s acceptance of the idea of ending Germany’s division,

he remained to critics, provincial. But those critics were repeatedly confounded by an extraordinary political talent captured in the German term *sitzfleisch*; the patience to be the last one at the table after everyone else has run out of task.

Driven by a clear conviction that relevance is more important than tradition, these '*Change Champions*' will develop a fundamental belief that even if the change is not comfortable the comfort of not changing will have a more devastating effect. Volcanic, dynamic and burning with unquenchable zeal, these men and women of action will be prepared to take risk; be bright and brave enough to wrong foot any opposition. These overriding virtues will reign supreme, such that for the coming breed of 'New Men', their economic level in the society shall be a point of no concern; neither shall the family or the communities they come from be a factor worth any consideration. The election of Barack Hussein Obama at the age of 47 years, as the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the world's superpower bears our testimony; that anyone can rise from an underdog position in life to a top dog position.

### **SOCIAL STIMULANTS**

Sincere, honest to themselves, to the society they are aspiring to transform and to God, these '*Munificent Motivators*' must be wary of getting drunk with power thus allowing the emergence of Hero Worship or Personality Cult. If we turn our eyes back to the Great Depression of 1930's which precipitated the rise of many dictators in many countries of Europe and North America, the most influential ones being Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) of Italy, Adolph Hitler (1889-1945) of Germany and Juan Domingo Peron (1895-1974) of Argentina among others, we can derive an important lesson on how high levels of frustrations can end up creating an ideal situation for the rise of authoritarianism. In our current state of hopelessness there is a high tendency of authoritarianism rising up its head. These '*Vivid Voyagers*' should therefore be required to have a thorough grasp of the essence of Hero Worship, whose fertile breeding ground is amongst a people who cannot get interested in the variety of life, a people who cannot get refreshed by daily happenings and a people who cannot make up their minds. In this state of wretchedness, people get discontented over almost everything and they long for a Hero to bow down before and follow blindly; a Hero to project all their wishes, passions and illusions and in such way escape the burden of responsibility which seems to them unbearable. In a state of timidity and boredom people tend to create Heroes who are supposed to carry off their dullness and bowing down to these heroes they feel exalted. As such the 'fiery force' that will have to drive these future leaders, is the desire to uplift our people's level of self assertion, self confidence and infuse them with a sense mission.

These '*Glamorous Gurus*' having been well versed in the history, art, science as well as philosophy of social management will be psychologically endowed not to regress towards the cheap, though dangerous short-cut of governance in the form of absolutism or authoritarianism. J. M. Foster in an article '*What I Believe*' (1939), commented in this reference: "No. I distrust Great Men. They produce a desert of uniformity and often a pool of blood too, and I always feel a little mans pleasure when they come to cropper – I believe in aristocracy, though – if that is right word, and if a democrat may use it; an

aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate and the plucky. Its members are to be found in all nations and classes, and all through the ages, and there is a sweet understanding between them when they meet. They present true human tradition, the one permanent victory of our queer race over cruelty and chaos. Thousands of them perish in obscurity, a few are great names. They are sensitive for others as well as for themselves, they are considerate without being fussy, their pluck is not swankness, but the power to endure, and they can take a joke”.

It is a proven historical fact that most one-time resolute revolutionaries degenerates into the worst rigid reactionaries. This can be explained by the fact that, having risen upon the ruins of a desperate people, after receiving very high decibels of applause thereby attaining a fanatical level of comfort and confidence in the success of their ideas, as time passes on, this emotional connection with past blinds them, as they get obsessed with protecting their achievement and preventing others to eat what they consider as their space, thereby making them to end up stagnating and missing all golden moment facilitated by change. As such, driven by a vow of remaining relevant, the coming ‘*InquisitiveInnovators*’ will have to develop a new-comer mentality of always crafting new breakthrough ideas. In contrast with old timers who are held down by destination thinking pattern, these agenda setters will have learnt the snakelike art of shedding the skin of yesterday’s innovation to look forward to tomorrows innovation by adopting a migration thinking pattern. Having refused to allow age to make them old (ageing means advancing in years, while growing old means slowing down) thus maintaining their astuteness even in old age, convinced as they will be that any idea has a shelf life (of birth, maturity and death), they will have developed a keen eye for the plucking point (the point at which an idea ripens and need to be plucked to give way for a new idea to sprout) of all of their ideas. These ‘*Vivid Voyagers*’ will always be dedicated at keeping the *liberationlamp* alight; always allowing the old template to die so that a new could rise; always taking a prophetic look into the future; always believing in the greatness of the present self that want to come out; always convinced that what propelled one towards the present destination might not catapult one into future.

Stable democracies like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Sweden have two factors in common; the development of representative government over a long period of time. All three countries had powerful legislatures before the French Revolution (1789-1799) transformed the rest of Europe. The thirteen colonies in the US were hardly political novices in 1775; the four estates helped to govern Sweden during the so-called Era of Liberty (1721-1772); the English parliament challenged King Charles I in the 1640’s and won. The long history of democratic evolution in USA, Western and Central Europe to present day near perfection is a testimony that, constitutional parliamentary government is a very high order of regime, based on special and diffused knowledge, as well as on many judicious compromises; the spirit of give and take. To entrust it to the hands any kinds of ignorant men and women, theorists, and uninformed adventurers, unversed in political history and actualities, is sheer folly, or rather dangerous madness. As such, the required ‘*Tenable Thinkers*’, though they may not be public philosophers, philosopher kings or statesmen in the traditional sense, their considerations will have to range beyond the day’s contentions by trying to place the immediate within the context of

the enduring, and shall be like Winston Churchill who was described by Stanley Baldwin as ‘hundred-horse-power mind’.

These ‘*FutureFlagrants*’, should be cautious of promising what they will not deliver, such that in the event of the failure to fulfill the avowed goals they may degenerate to the defense mechanism of disconnecting themselves from the people. In one of his campaign speeches in December 1964, Lyndon Johnson Baines (1908-1973), the 36<sup>th</sup> president of the United States (1963-1969) said: “I am going to build the kind of nation that President Roosevelt hoped for, President Truman worked for, and President Kennedy died for”. But Johnson’s failure to openly consult the public on escalation of the Vietnam War (1<sup>st</sup> November 1955-30<sup>th</sup> April 1975), joined with suspicions about his deviousness as a politician, created a ‘credibility gap’. Biographer Eric F. Goldman (1915-1989) referred Johnson as: “An extraordinary gifted president who was the wrong man from the wrong place at the wrong time under the wrong circumstances.” Goldman was probably echoing the words of French Emperor Napoleon I (1769-1821): “Ability is nothing without opportunity”. In referring to the Vietnam War, Tom Wicker (1926 - ) commented: “Lyndon Johnson came into office seeking a Great Society in America and found instead an ugly little war that consumed him”.

### ENLIGHTENED ECONOMISTS

To fulfill the promise of a free progressive continent, these ‘*CompellingCatalysts*’, will be driven to the extent of obsession, by a fervent plea for creativity to be raised from all areas of our society out of varying traditions and interests; to arouse the consciences of our land in order to achieve authority, power and responsibility in curving our destinies. Perceptive as they will have to be, these future policy makers will have *painstakingly poked* through the pretentious mask of holiness and honour, thereby discerning the *deceptive designs* as well as *predatory patterns* reminiscent of the international economic-political *creatively craftedenticing environment*, thus exposing its *Machiavellian manifestation* (Niccolo Machiavelli [1469-1527], advocated cunningness, duplicity, unscrupulous, clever trickery, amoral methods, and expediency to achieve desired goals, a strategy whose *tactful thrust* is basically a stab in the back, with an iron fist in a velvet groove and with sweetest of smile). These ‘Vivid Voyagers’ will therefore direct the our people in abhorring the flattering lies and tricks by developing the *psychic preparedness* of annihilating the slavish mentality of construing themselves as *immaterial inferiors* and viewing foreigners as *superior saviours* as well as aid and abet the society in overcoming the *contemptuous consequences* of these *baseless beliefs*.

Still grappling with the challenge of banishing the trauma precipitated by many years of foreign plunder, time has come when we should craft a ‘public political philosophy’ which emphasizes the ‘supremacy of self-interest for self-investment and self-reliance’. If we are to scornfully throw away our begging bowls and set our hands free for the noble task of asserting our humanity by putting on the cap of dignity, what we need are ‘*Competent Crusaders*’ whose worth shall be measured by the extent which they will direct the society in *categoricallycrushing* the infamous deceptively magnificent superstructure of ‘foreign exploitation’ resting on the false foundation of the ‘need for

foreign exchange’, which our people have been derided into bowing down in adoration since the dark days of colonialism.

If a question is posed as to why in times of draught most African countries would be keen on increasing state-sanctioned imports to fix the challenges as opposed to state-sanctioned people driven productivity initiatives, an objective answer would reveal that it becomes more lucrative for the present corrupt political elite to import food to feed the hungry than to get the people producing their own food, giving the reason why the African elite will go to the dangerous extents of colluding with international elite (the exporters) to sustain the country on food import at the detriment of domestic productivity. Having developed the *‘divine disgust’* borne of the fact that, the current African financial systems have religiously surrendered to market forces by relying on donors to finance imports, obligating leadership to international financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank, these *‘Focused Futurist’* will have to craft a market-driven economy that does not necessarily surrender to market forces but instead harness such forces to favour the continental interest of producing and exporting products.

To be precise, these future leaders will have to pioneer the untying the noose upon the hanging rope in Africa’s neck; the *‘DependencyDisease’* in the form of ‘Aid’ ‘Grant’ or ‘Loan’. Having arrived at honest labeling they will not talk of ‘development aid’ or of ‘development grants’, but simply talk of *‘incrediblyinflated’* loans; not talk of ‘Donors’, but of ‘Lethal Lenders’. These *‘EnlightenedEconomists’* will therefore get the facts correctly, that foreign ‘aid’ should only be important as a stopgap, as a temporary bridge to take the society away from disease burdens and inadequate educational facilities or in the instance of handling an inevitable unpredictable natural catastrophe that is beyond our means. Having contended that loans are never fiscal stimulus but only stunts economic growth, they will have to ingest and digest, to their every cell and marrow the fundamental truth that for African countries, LOANS have never been LADDERS to help the continent scale any higher development heights, but LOADS that have kept the continent grounded, as it toils with their repayments; that foreign ‘aid’ can help us in the short run, but more often than not it hurts in the long run by discouraging effort and implanting in us a crippling sense of incapacity. If these *‘SagaciousStrategists’*, will be armed with the blessedness of realization that the hand that receives is always under the hand that gives, they will consequently develop the deep, sincere conviction that no empowerment is as powerful as self-empowerment, and start strategizing on the practical ways out of this morass.

## CONCLUSION

Biologists inform us that in the animal world, the need to survive and the viability of cooperative behaviour as a *survivalstrategy* leads to a phenomenon known as *altruism*. An example of an altruistic act is the alarm call that is given when a predator is approaching. While this call will inform the community of a predator's presence, it will also inform the predator of the whereabouts of the animal that gave the alarm call. While this would appear to give the alarm caller an evolutionary disadvantage, it would facilitate the continuation of this animal's genes because its relatives and progeny would be more able to avoid predators. But unlike the 'instinctive' animals, the 'Vivid Voyagers' having been 'conscious' of the looming disaster in our society and having alarmed the society on the extent of its actual and potential deviousness will lead the awakening society by taking the courageous initiative of seizing THE PREDATOR (not physical presence of foreigner as this highly beneficial, but *Intellectual Indoctrination* and *Bastardly Brainwashing* with the aim of plundering our immense natural resources) by the horns and the people's task will be to descend on it with utmost force and with all the weapons at their disposal and to eventually devour it.

Like all besieged animals the fundamental choice confronting us Africans, in the face of 'myriad malaise' is either to 'Ferociously Fight' or 'Foolishly Flight'. Unfortunately, if we may opt to show our backs it will be no sooner than we will be caught up and be annihilated; leaving us with the only prerogative of bracing ourselves for the battlefield. In performing this cleansing act of self-redemption and self-salvation, we shall nevertheless not put aside our beneficent humanism and will in the words of Shakespeare

politely assert: “Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers...Let us kill ... boldly, but not wrathfully; let us curve ... as a dish fit for gods, not hew ...as carcass for hounds. We shall be called purgers not murderers”. And as there will be nobody to wipe out from us the blood incurred from this act, no water available to cleanse ourselves, no designable festivals of atonement to console us, and no sacred games of appeasement will be inventible, the Greatness of this deed shall be too great for us, such that we will have to elevate ourselves into becoming the ‘*MeticulousMasters*’ of ourselves, and upon our self-generated impetus, we will ascend ourselves to a *higherhistory* than all *historyhitherto*!

From the pre-contact days of deep slumber haunted by terrifying and unappeasable spirits, to the days of African chiefs selling our people for the trinkets of Americas and the Caribbeans, through the times when the whole world was covered and engulfed with the hell of Europe (cold war) to the days of our own political con-artists who weaved their lies on twisted logical mathematical progression reaping much on our people’s gullibility, we have reached an irretrievable point whereby the social, political and intellectual climate is very ripe for a creative paradigm shift. In this epitome of an era of intense despair, the ball of salvaging our society and pushing it forward lies in the court of those of us who construe themselves as above mediocrity; as ‘New Men’, ‘Rare Birds’, ‘Great Minds’, ‘Noble Souls’ and ‘Free Spirits’, ‘THE VIVID VOYAGERS’, to strive to be thermostats that effect public temperature as opposed to being merely thermometers that reflect public temperature.

The clarion call is to start a few ripples where each one of us is, all in the knowledge that small movements matter; creating the seeds around which a greater energy will gather. Having examined and questioned old concepts, values and systems; and having also found the right answers, our next assignment is to work for consciousness among our people to make it possible for everyone to move forward towards putting these answers into effect; putting into effect the new schemes, forms and strategies we have evolved and designed by making sure they suit the current needs and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values. If we construe our mission as that of Titans shaking the mountains of age-old evil - the blazers of the way - this mental preparedness to take upon ourselves the cudgels of the struggle is enough to see us through. Having set out on a quest for true humanity, somewhere on the distant horizon a glittering prize is evident.

Having been able to peer beyond the veils and mists of doubt, with a firm belief in the justice of our cause, close attention in the presentation of it, with the strictest integrity and God being always on our side, let us march forward with determination, drawing strength from society’s common plight and common ideals. Together we will prove ourselves stronger than events, and in time we shall be in a position to bestow upon our society the greatest gift possible – a harmoniously integrated, fully functioning society in the form of a UNITED STATES OF AFRICA. Ultimately, we will be able to face ‘existence’ resolutely, proclaim with a ‘Numinous Note’ the ‘Holy Hour’, of saying ‘YES WE DO’ to the ‘Continental Contract’ of UNIFYING AFRICA

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