

**BEYOND WALTER RODNEY'S
DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE:
IDEALISM TO PRAXIS**

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APPROVAL

**THIS RESEARCH REPORT HAS BEEN APPROVED FOR THE
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This is to certify that the Thesis:

**“BEYOND WALTER RODNEY’S DEVELOPMENT
DISCOURSE: IDEALISM TO PRAXIS”**

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By

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the most High God for His mercies that endureth forever and to my late parents – Mr. & Mrs. J.A. Adefarasin who died on 24th and 26th January 1999 respectively. To my father, your self-denial, led to my self-fulfilment.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my original work in the Department of Philosophy, University of Lagos.

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Adefarasin, Victor Olusegun
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ABSTRACT

The work argues the thesis that the adoption of Walter Rodney's development discourse can serve as a viable paradigm for practically achieving the goals of integrated development in contemporary Africa if emphasis is placed on human development and effective leadership. Leadership, derives from the verb "to lead". To lead means to "guide or cause to follow one" or to direct, as by persuasion or influence, to a course of, to conduct in a certain direction, or to be the head. Thus, leadership involves providing guidance to people for the purpose of achieving some specific goals. Leadership is the ability to take an initiative to motivate, to influence, to direct and control the thoughts, opinions and actions of the followers in any given society towards the achievement of purposeful desired goals. By human development, we mean the holistic qualitative improvement of human person and the society. Human development is when there are continuous opportunities given and open to man to improve his skill and abilities, to unleash his potentials, to be creative, self-disciplined, responsible, educated and patriotic. We therefore submit that the development of Africa is and will continue to be very much dependent on its human development and effective leadership. Almost all the countries in Africa need this paradigm shift in their leadership roles towards effective development. In Nigeria, for example, not until the country is able to evolve

good leadership models and develop its human resources through functional, cultural, moral, socio-economically based, scientific and creative educational system, the aspirations of integrated development on the country will continue to be illusionary. This submission applies to all other countries in Africa. It is our conviction that a continent which is unable to develop the skills, knowledge and values of its people and effectively utilize them in the developmental process will not be able to develop anything else.

INTRODUCTION

This work examines the efficacy of Walter Rodney's thesis on development in the light of contemporary Africa. Indeed, the problem of development has been a recurrent one that has given scholars of African affairs a major concern. In the last four decades, intensive efforts have been made by scholars from diverse ideological orientations and intellectual backgrounds to understand the causes of the problem in order to be equipped with solutions to the African predicament. One of such scholars who have made significant contributions to development discourse in Africa and whose views are of pertinent interest to us in this work is Walter Rodney (1942-1979). Walter Rodney is a prolific writer. He is the author of several books, booklets, pamphlets and articles in academic journals. His works as an academic, Pan-Africanist, historian, social scientist and political activist are well known throughout Guyana, and indeed, the Caribbean and the world. His most influential publication, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, is a brilliant examination of the historical roots of modern Africa's underdevelopment through European exploitation.

This treatise serves as the pillar on which our further investigations about Rodney's contributions to Africa's development stand. Thus, our concern in this work is the application and interpretation of Rodney's development

discourse as expressed in his *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* with a view to determining the aspects of it that can be used in further transforming Africa's development. It serves as our intellectual platform, because it behoves on us to look beyond Rodney's Development Discourse. The problems in Rodney's development discourse have different dimensions; however, these dimensions collectively raise and constitute the barrier of idealism to praxis. By barrier of idealism to praxis, we mean Rodney's idealistic thinking and abstraction on development in Africa and its disconnectedness with systematic transformative actions in the practical affairs and world experiences of contemporary Africa. Furthermore, the work argues contra Rodney, that development is not limited to materialistic economic conception, nor should it be measured only through comparative standard analysis. Rather, development should be seen in a holistic and integrated sense where man is conceived not only as a material being, but also a spiritual, artistic, creative being with values. The study findings reveal that development is a multi-objectives process, designed to achieve, among others, the liberation of the individual from ignorance and illiteracy, increase productivity with a secured ecosystem, social security, respect for and protection of human rights, social justice and equity, cultural dignity and stable society, the eradication of poverty and diseases and the overall well-being of man and the society. While appropriating certain relevant

insights from Rodney's position on how African states can truly develop, the work considers utopian Rodney's insistence on complete elimination and radical break with capitalism in contemporary Africa. These shortcomings notwithstanding, will find Rodney's development discourse as the springboard for proposing a viable solution to Africa's development crises.

Our choice of Rodney's development discourse therefore is predicated on among other reasons; his thought provoking intellectual discourse on Africa's underdevelopment, the premium paid on history in his invigorating Africa's past, present and future; and more importantly, his analysis of the socio-political and economic milieus that plunged Africa into the stream of backwardness; his analysis of basic concepts such as development and underdevelopment. This is very significant because philosophy according to the Logical Positivists is the analysis of language and concepts. Rodney sees history as didactic, providing guidelines for the proper understanding and solution to current problems. Thus, he sought to show how many of the major problems facing Africa today were the result of injuries suffered during the long era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

One of Rodney's major objectives in his discourse was to challenge the numerous historical myths that have been implanted in the minds of black people. He considers such myths as borne of ignorance, prejudice and loss of

memory, and as formidable obstacles to the realization of the urgently needed socio-economic change in Africa and the Caribbean. In his view, mental liberation as a result of the acquisition of true historical knowledge was an indispensable precondition for the black man's total liberation. Rodney deals with development issues in African and Caribbean history, while at the same time situating them in global perspective. Some of these themes are the history of capitalism, socialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and Pan-Africanism. However, central to his discourse on development is that he provides a historical explanation for the current crises of underdevelopment in Africa, and his presentation of what he calls, "a correct historic solution" (Rodney, 1972:32). Rodney argues that the only way out of solving the problem of underdevelopment, especially in Africa is a radical break with capitalist system and a complete elimination of the exploitation of dependent countries by the developed capitalist countries, with all the consequences that this may entail. Concerned with the contemporary African condition, Rodney describes the state of underdevelopment in Africa as a product of the injuries suffered during the long era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial exploitation, which have currently been supplanted with capitalist and neo-colonialist exploitation. According to him, the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for Africa's economic retardation by draining Africa's

wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent. The capitalists of Western Europe and their unwitting accomplices, Rodney believes, manipulate the process of development in Africa through actively extending their exploitation from inside Europe to cover the whole of Africa (Rodney, 1972:29).

His concern and research interests are mostly propelled by the very dynamics of the Africa's socio-political milieu. Kwame Nkrumah was probably right in declaring that social milieu affects the content of philosophy, and the content of philosophy seeks to affect social milieu either by confirming it or by opposing it (Nkrumah, 1964:56). These socio-political milieus are ever changing phenomena and which create new challenges. It is imperative therefore to address such challenges by either applying some of the existing theories of development or formulating some other new ones which can sufficiently and effectively address the problems of development in Africa. Essentially, it is discovered that there are certain elements in Rodney's position in his *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* which may therefore be applied to address some of these challenges of underdevelopment.

This study attempts to examine the panacea to the problem of underdevelopment in Africa by using Walter Rodney's discourse on development. The essence of this exercise is to enhance and enrich Rodney's

development discourse such that it becomes more relevant and suitable for achieving the desired goals of development in the 21st century Africa, and Nigeria in particular.

The problem that inspires this work is the crises of development in Africa. The evident paradox crises of development in Africa are that despite the vast volumes of research done on this theme, the issue itself seems impervious to any viable solution. Contemporary African states suffer significant crises of development, which could be interpreted at different levels. For about some decades now, many African states had gained their independence from Western Colonial powers. The global development index categorizes Africa as lagging behind every other continent in development and economic growth.

In this work, a serious attempt is made to examine and address conceptually: the concepts of development and underdevelopment, kinds of development, factors responsible for sustainable development as well as obstacles to human development as in Africa. Also, an attempt is made to examine the historical causes of Africa's underdevelopment, the philosophical implications of developmental discourse of Rodney's theory, relevance of Rodney's theory of development to interpreting the underdevelopment syndrome in Africa, and how effective Rodney's developmental theory could

serve as a model for rehabilitating and transforming the developing nations of Africa.

This work is structured into eight chapters. Chapter One is titled: **“The Background Analysis”**. This chapter discusses the background, purpose, aim and objectives, theoretical framework and methodology of study. It also examines the existing literature on the concepts of development and underdevelopment and raises some research questions to give this work a focus. Chapter Two is titled: **“The Background of Walter Rodney’s Philosophical Posture”**. This chapter takes an intellectual trip into the background of Walter Rodney with a view to discussing his personality and the circumstances in which he grew influenced his Philosophy, especially his view on Africa’s underdevelopment crises. Chapter Three is titled: **“Pre-Colonial Africa: Some Basic Assumptions”**. This chapter considers the African condition and some basic assumptions which explain it, in the pre-colonial times. In this respect, many African political philosophers have made attempts at exhuming the African past with a view to showing how glorious it was. Chapter Four is titled: **“Conceptual Analysis of Development and Underdevelopment”**. This chapter discusses meaning and definitions of development, dimensions of development, theories of development, and features of development. It also

delves into the definitions of underdevelopment, nature of underdevelopment, features of underdevelopment, its effects and finally attempted proposed solutions to underdevelopment. Chapter five is titled: **“An Exposition of Walter Rodney’s Development Discourse”**. This chapter takes an intellectual trip into Rodney’s concept of development, features of development, his views of underdevelopment are also discussed. The roots of underdevelopment of Africa as well as Rodney’s concept of features of underdevelopment is also treated. Chapter Six is titled: **“The Philosophical Implications of Walter Rodney’s Development Discourse”**. This chapter treats the philosophical implications of Rodney’s development discourse. Rodney’s conception of development is one that deals with the economics of development because it is essentially focused on how economics change from primitive stages of organization and production to complex modern ones. The chapter discusses at a great length some of these implications which are: that the principle of equality being advocated by Rodney is utopian, that his conception about development is socially relative; he places socialism over capitalism among others. Chapter Seven is titled: **“Beyond Walter Rodney’s Development Discourse: Idealism to Praxis”**. This chapter maintains that it is important that the adoption of relevant insights from Rodney’s development model as well as effective leadership, will

determine the place of Nigeria vis-à-vis African's states in the league of advanced nations of the world.

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to look beyond Rodney's development discourse. What informs this is that though, Africa was colonized and that colonization had dire consequences on Africa's quest for development, but the fact still remains that effective leadership is the major problem that militates against Africa's quest for development. After almost sixty years of independence, Africa ought to have come of age. Decades after independence, uncertainty and fear still rule the African continent. The freedom and justice that many people sacrificed their lives for have been replaced by tyranny and oppression. The promise of a decent living has been betrayed by misgovernance and corruption. Most Africans fought so hard to liberate themselves from colonial rule only to be used and abused and their nations ruined by their leaders. Today, Africa has very little to show for its independence because of inhuman and incompetent leadership coupled with wrong-headed policies. We kicked the British out and replaced them with our brothers and sisters who turned out to be more brutal than the British. Independence was thought to be the beginning of the golden era where political freedom and expression, freedom of association, free enterprise, economic prosperity, responsibility and accountability of each and everyone

prevailed. These lofty ideals never happened because we replaced white imperialism with the black one. People who are voted into office to help build the country turn it into their personal property. Much of post-colonial Africa came to be ruled by “educated barbarians”. For most countries, independence means only a change in the colour of the administrators from white to black. The new leaders began to act in the same manner as the colonialists. In fact, in many places, they are worse than the colonialists. What Africa needs today is effective and purposeful leadership. Chapter Eight is titled: **“The Relevance of Walter Rodney’s Development Discourse to Nigeria”**. This chapter examines the relevance of Walter Rodney’s development discourse to Nigeria. Our major concern is to find the relevance of Walter Rodney’s development discourse to our society, Nigeria. Nigeria at present is at the crossroad of her integrated development. Rodney’s development discourse is relevant to Nigeria for the following reasons: liberation of the individual from illiteracy and ignorance, increase productivity, social respect cum promotion of human rights, cultural dignity, stable society, eradication of poverty and disease and over all well being of man and society.

While there is no quick fix to the complex developmental crises in Africa, it is our conviction that such solution can only gradually evolve. This demands a pragmatic adoption of relevant insights from Rodney’s development model,

as well as effective leadership, human development through morally and scientific reinforcing education, self-reliance and social co-operation, guided by social justice. The extent to which these philosophical ideas are vigorously pursued and given attendant practical implementation will determine the place of African states in the league of advanced nations of the world in the 21st century.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The conception of development agitates human mindset through history. Its discourse in Africa's socio-political terrain is no exception. Walter Rodney, in this train of thought, addresses the crises of development in Africa out of the impact of colonial and neo-colonial practices. Rodney contends that these oppressive ideologies are the basic underlying principles of *Laissez-a-faire* practice of developed World. As a result, Rodney diametrically opposes its flourishing historical and exploitative tendencies for an awakening consciousness towards a new developmental orientations/policies which can

sufficiently and effectively address the problems of development in contemporary Africa.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The problem that inspires this work is the crises of development in Africa. The evident paradox crises of development in Africa are that despite the vast volumes of research done on this theme, the issue itself seems impervious to any viable solution. Contemporary African states suffer significant crises of development, which could be interpreted at different levels. For about some decades now, many African states had gained their independence from Western Colonial powers. The global development index categorizes Africa as lagging behind every other continent in development and economic growth. Quite a number of states in the continent have, in recent development reports, been classified as failed or fragile states (Anyiam-Osigwe, 2006: 4). African states are scored very low on the index of human development drawn by United Nations in year 2002. This index is based on life expectancy, educational enrolment, adult literacy and income per person. Out of 175 countries ranked, Nigeria, for instance, was ranked 125th while Norway, Ireland, Sweden, Australia, Netherlands, Japan are all ranked high. The Middle East countries are ranked above African countries. South Africa occupies the 111th position,

followed by Kenya's 146th and Uganda's 147th position (Alozie, 2005: 17). Africa's development problem appears all the more acute in recent times given the progressive advancement and changes taking place in other parts of the world (such as Latin America, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, etc), which were hitherto grouped within the awkward club of Third World (Oguejiofor, 2001: 6).

In fact, among the above hitherto tagged third-world nations, Africa wears unrepentantly, the look of pity and has become the first symbol of soliciting for and receiving development aids, which among other things, is a clear indication of the weakness of Africa to develop on her own. It is worthy to note as Maduabuchi Dukor rightly observes that, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, China and other Asian countries are gradually isolating Africa from the pitiable circumstances in which Africa is still sunk (Dukor, 2007:8).

Moreover, Kolawole Owolabi, (2011:42) is of the view that "Africa's recent history is one of a continent of corrupt and despotic leadership; a continent of misery, want and pandemic diseases; where the various polities cannot be properly organized, and many states are collapsing owing to their inability to sustain a democratic mode of governance. Africa has become a continent where a daily struggle for existence and survival is constantly being negotiated. Africa is a continent where groups are pitted against one another,

and the overpowered groups are under the threat of annihilation". It has become customary and nauseating as well, to recount Africa's problems: hunger, disease, mental and material poverty, unemployment, injustice, insecurity, ethnic conflicts and political instability, marginalization, human rights abuse, corruption and bad governance pervade the continent. Given the negative overall effects of all these problems on human welfare and condition in Africa, the conclusion is apparently and paradoxically drawn that Africa is underdeveloped.

This paradox of Africa's condition is entailed in the fact that, on one hand, Africa has both human and natural resources at its disposal and, on the other; Africa is the poorest and least developed continent in the world (Ogungbemi, 2007: 34). Kwame Nkrumah (1970) and Ali Mazrui (1980) give us a general geographical view and enormous natural wealth with which Africa is endowed respectively. According to Nkrumah:

Africa and its islands, with a land area of some twelve million square miles... could easily contain within it, and with room to spare, the whole of India, Europe, Japan, the British Isles, Scandinavian and New Zealand. The United States of America could easily be fitted into the Sahara Desert. Africa is geographically compact and in terms of natural resources, potentially the richest continent in the world (Nkrumah, 1970: 13).

Writing on the enormous natural wealth with which Africa is endowed,

Ali Mazrui noted that:

Estimates of Africa's resources are on the whole tentative. Not enough prospecting for resources under the ground has taken place, but it is fair to say that Africa has 96 percent of the non-communist world's diamonds, 60 percent of its gold, 42 percent of its cobalt, 34 percent of its bauxite and 28 percent of its uranium. Africa's iron reserves are probably twice those of the United States, and its reserves of chrome are the most important by far outside the Soviet Union(Mazrui, 1980: 71).

Given the above picture of the vast natural and mineral resources together with the favourable climatic condition for agricultural production, which Africa is endowed, it is sad to note paradoxically that Africa is enmeshed in the crises of development. Instead of maximally utilizing Africa's natural and mineral resources for the benefit of the people, African states have become infamous in mismanaging these resources to the extent that the resources have turned out to be the greatest sources of misery.

Following the above assessment of the general living condition of Africans and the state of development in Africa, which altogether is quite poor, we are compelled to examine Rodney's intellectual contributions to the understanding and changing the pathetic state of development in Africa. We therefore reason that the integration of leadership and followership

considerations into Rodney's analysis will enhance the realization of Africa's development.

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

In this work, a curious attempt is made to examine and address conceptually: the concepts of development and underdevelopment, kinds of development, factors responsible for sustainable development as well as obstacles to human development as in Africa. Also, an attempt is made to examine the historical causes of Africa's underdevelopment, the philosophical implications of developmental discourse of Rodney's theory, relevance of Rodney's theory of development to interpreting the underdevelopment syndrome in Africa, and how effective Rodney's developmental theory could be a model for rehabilitating and transforming the developing nations of Africa.

By and large, the study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To examine the extent to which historical approach by Walter Rodney in his work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, could be considered as realistic and relevant in the search for sustainable development in 21st century Africa.

2. To examine the conditions necessary for the rehabilitation and modification which are germane to the adoption of Rodney's developmental theory in contemporary African states.
3. To show the problems associated with transition from idealism to praxis in Rodney's development discourse and how to systematically overcome it.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The work examines the panacea to the problem of underdevelopment in Nigeria in particular, and Africa in general, by using Walter Rodney's discourse on development: to assess the causes and problems of underdevelopment in Africa, and to determine the current level of development in 21st century Africa.

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF STUDY

The scope of this study is a philosophical consideration of Walter Rodney's development discourse, exposing its erroneous and contradictory assumptions. It aims at investigating the extent to which his theory of development can be applied to the contemporary developmental challenges in Africa. It is reasoned that Rodney's thesis can only be useful in this case after it has been scrutinized in order to understand its main structure and constituents. It provides ways by which some of his positions could be modified, applied and made more relevant in the Africa's quest for development.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In seeking to understand Walter Rodney's development discourse and the philosophical relevance of his book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, in relation to the present Africa's developmental predicament and the quest for sustainable development in the 21st century Africa, this work provides plausible answers to the following fundamental questions:

- What do we mean by development?
- What are the definite parameters, factors, structures and character of development in Africa?
- Does Rodney's work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, correspond with the actual history of development in pre-colonial Africa?
- How relevant is Rodney's development discourse to solving the crises of development in Africa?
- Can Rodney's development discourse be rehabilitated such that it will become a viable development paradigm most appropriate for achieving the development goals in Africa?
- What are the imperatives of development in 21st Century Africa?
- What are the problems posed by the transition from idealism to praxis in Rodney's development discourse?

1.6 THESIS

The work argues the thesis that the adoption of Walter Rodney's development discourse can serve as a viable paradigm for practically achieving the goals of integrated development in contemporary Africa if emphasis is placed on human development and effective leadership. What then do we mean by leadership and human development? Leadership derives from the verb "to lead." To lead means to "guide or cause to follow one" (Uduigwomen, and Ogbinaka,1999: 304-305) or to direct, as by persuasion or influence, to a course of, to conduct in a certain direction, or to be the head. Thus, leadership involves or connotes providing guidance and/or to people for the purpose of achieving some specific goals by the people, and by the leader.

We reasoned that it is no longer fashionable to explain exclusively, Africa's crises of development on externalist ground of slavery, colonialism or imperialism as done by Rodney. Given the complex interaction between the external forces and the internal social dynamics of African states, the study argues that it is more fundamental to explain Africa's crises of development on internalist ground of leadership and followership problems. Hence, the question, which engages the focus of this work, is not only that of 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' (which was the focus of Rodney) but also 'How

Africans Underdeveloped Africa'. We are not saying that Africa was not colonized nor that colonialism did not have dire consequences on Africa's quest for development, but the fact still remains, that there are two sides to a coin; a one-sided coin will not and cannot be a legal tender. Taking this to philosophical realm, we may ask the poignant questions: what was even the level of development in Africa before colonialism? Again, years after colonialism, why is it that Africa is still in crises? Is Africa not caused by her leaders? Is post colonial State in Africa not a replica of the colonial State? To talk in plain terms, Nigeria today is "the colony of its own leaders." Chinua Achebe (1988: 141) gets it right when he says "It is the failure of our rulers to re-establish vital inner links with the poor and dispossessed of this country, with the bruised heart that throbs painfully at the core of the nation's being." The truth of the matter is that, it is no longer the colonialists and the imperialists who exploit and rape our economies; now it is we on us. The wealth being generated in Africa, which would have been more than enough to raise her above the "bum-and-beggar-nations" is still being siphoned off through various guises, not the least being the trans-national corporations which pose as agents of development, and heads of state who are numbered among the wealthiest in the world while their nations count among the most wretched of the earth. The picture that African countries present now, if Nigeria is anything

to go by, is that the harder we work and the more we produce, the poorer we get (Oladipo, 1998:283). Also, we should note that Africa needs another form of reparation, which is from our leaders, past and present, that have raped the resources of the continent in greater proportion, perhaps more than the slave trade could rape Africa. (Robert, Press 1999:30) underscores this when he says that "as negative as colonial rule was for Africa, it should not be used by Africans and their leaders today as an excuse to explain away current problems." By and large, there was colonial exploitation in the past, but today, the oppressors of the African peasants are often the African elites. We should equally note that the Africans are worse off than they were at the time of independence in the 1960s.

1.7 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The key concepts of this research are:

Philosophy

Development

Underdevelopment

Internalism

Externalism

Idealism

Praxis

Self -Realiancism

In order to enhance subsequent understanding of the meanings of these key terms as used in the study, we clarify below their operational definitions.

i. Philosophy:

Philosophy is a rational search for answers to the questions that arise in the mind when we reflect on human experience. It can also be defined as a rational search for answers to the basic questions about the ultimate meaning of reality as a whole and of human life in particular.

ii. Development: By development, we mean a multi-objective state of being and a process of becoming of the human person and/or a society. It involves transforming a state of being into a better state; expanding and adapting human capacity of the society in satisfying the materials and cultural needs of the people in order to achieve among others, increased productivity within a balanced economic system, the eradication of poverty and disease, individual liberation, social security, cultural buoyancy, self-reliance and a sustainable socio-political order.

iii. Underdevelopment: An underdeveloped country can be defined as one whose natural and human resources are partly utilized, partly underutilized and partly misutilized, and in which there is a gross deficiency in the quality of

the three productive agents of labour, capital and organization. It also means comparing levels of development.

iv. Internalism: This is an orientation in African development discourse, which traces and explains African developmental crises with reference to internal factors and forces. The problems of Africa, according to this orientation are internally generated by indigenous African leaders, foisted on Africans and to the impoverishment of the continent. Also, the internalists are the group of scholars who hold the position that Africa's problems are internal. One of the major proponents of this group is George Ayittey who holds the view that the problem with Africa is not external, but with African leaders. Another member is Muiyiwa Falaiye who believes that the problem of leadership is the basis of Africa's underdevelopment. He however, advocates the establishment of the 'centre for justice and equity' where potential African leaders would be trained in the democratic principles.

v. Externalism: It refers to an orientation in African developmental discourse that seeks to explain the continent's crises of development on externalist grounds and factors, which are historically imposed on Africa (such as the Atlantic slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism, etc.). Externalists are those who defended these external factors as the root of Africa's development of underdevelopment. In the same vein, the externalists are the group of

scholars who hold the position that Africa's problems, past and present and even for the future are caused by external factors particularly, the European incursion into Africa. Members of the externalist school include Walter Rodney and Ali Mazrui.

vi. Idealism: It is the philosophical view that the ultimate nature of reality is based on mind or ideas and that the external world is inseparable from mind or consciousness. Idealism, in brief, asserts that reality consists of ideas, thoughts, minds, or selves rather than of material objects and forces.

vii. Praxis: Praxis in philosophy has to do with the practical application of theories to social human existential conditions. It can also be defined as the practical application of ideology or the practical side of something as opposed to theory. Praxis is therefore, an end towards which philosophical theorization is structured in the achievement of practical realities.

viii. Self- Reliance: It is the realization of the principle of self –reliance

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical framework connotes theoretical principle(s) upon which a research work is based. In philosophical studies, it is referred to as the philosophical foundation or principle, which the work proceeds from. The

theoretical principles underpinning Walter Rodney's development discourse, which this research work draws on, are Self-reliance and Pan-Africanism. To understand the philosophical implications of Rodney's development discourse, such a diverse set of theoretical perspectives is considered essential. The work of Karl Marx provides an important foundation for Marxism. Marx's critical analysis of capitalism provides invaluable insights into capitalist dynamics, the transformation of resources and people into 'forms of production,' and the self-destructive consequences of the capitalist ideology. Furthermore, Marx's analysis of the profit motive, exploitation and the inevitable alienation of man and of the environment resulting from capitalist systemic organization is extremely important in the context of African underdevelopment and impoverishment.

Marx's work criticizing capitalism is important because it has given rise to a number of theoretical perspectives that consider critically the destructive consequences of globalized capitalism. In spite of the importance of his work, Karl Marx fails to provide a socioeconomic model that is sustainable in the long term. This is so because of the unending drive for economic growth and expansion, which capitalism promotes at the expense of human communal interests, ecological diversity and the masses. The increasing capitalist domination of people and resources, demonstrates clearly that the capitalist

drive for economic expansion and growth is profoundly destructive because it demands increased profits even when such profits contradict the human and ecological interests of sustainability. In the context of the African states considered in this thesis, where many African states are embracing capitalist socioeconomic models for the development of their nations, a critical evaluation of capitalist dynamics as they are manifested in degrading resources, human relationships, and the deterioration of sustainable development is attempted.

Walter Rodney's work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972), is an important Marxist perspective framing the discussion of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods. Rodney strongly argues that the underdevelopment of the African continent is directly attributable to the colonial and postcolonial exploitation and oppression of Africans by the Western, European and U.S. powers and their active involvement in African states' economies. Rodney's works provide an important foundation for understanding African history in terms of indigenous practices and beliefs and the ways in which 'traditional' and 'modern, Western' systems of thought, socioeconomic, and political structures have interacted over time. Rodney's work maintains that the ideological and socioeconomic systems imposed upon Africa by Western Europe and the United States were extremely disruptive of sustainable systems

of indigenous development and conservation strategies and are directly related to the poverty and underdevelopment crises in Africa today.

Pan-Africanism, is a theoretical construct and ideological movement for envisioned change. Pan-Africanism is a search for dignity by African peoples. That search for dignity has gone through much repetition in African history. At the time of enslavement, Pan-Africanism meant freedom from slavery, freedom from bondage. And at the time of colonialism and the partitioning of Africa, Pan-Africanism meant independence. At the time of apartheid, Pan-Africanism was the struggle for the dignity of the African people. And at that moment, the leaders of Africa articulated a vision of Pan-Africanism leading to the unification of the continent of Africa (Campbell, 2006: 8). Unification in this sense means the question of the cultural, psychological and historical unity of the African peoples. Cheikh Anta Diop dealt with this question of cultural unity in his tripartite conception of the aspects of this cultural unity: historic unity, cultural unity and psychological unity (Diop, 1989:9). In redefining Pan-Africanism, Rodney posits that:

Any pan-concept is an exercise in self-definition by the people, in the establishment of a broader re-definition of themselves than that which has so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, this exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole (Rodney, 1990:20).

Writing further in the book, *Walter Rodney Speaks*, Rodney notes:

To talk about Pan-Africanism, to talk about international solidarity with the black world, with every center of the black world where we live, there is a series of responsibilities attached. One of the most important responsibilities is to define our own situation _ that is the first responsibility. A second responsibility is to present that definition to other parts of the black world, indeed, the whole of the progressive world." "A third responsibility is to help others in different sections of the black world to reflect on their own specific experience (Rodney, 1975: 7).

What can be inferred from Rodney is that we need to move from the Pan-Africanism of yesterday, which can be said to be Pan-Africanism of Congresses and leaders, to a new conception of Pan-Africanism that is not incongruous with today's reality and experiences. In this sense, the emphasis has now shifted from Pan-Africanist vision of the leaders of Africa to the envisioned Pan-Africanist of the people, their interests, plights and dignity. Fundamental to the front burner of Africans' interests at this particular moment, is the question of and desire for development.

In his book, *Self-reliance: Philosophy of a New Order*, Kolawole Ogundowole develops the concept of self-reliance. Self-reliance is the realization of the principle of self-reliance. It is the ideology or orientation

based on this principle (Ogundowole, 2007: 25). Self-reliancism can be seen as a paradigm, philosophy and an ideological world outlook. Self-reliancism as a paradigm in thought and action emerges in a people at a particular level of self-awareness, and self-knowledge concerning their worth and readiness to act in accordance with such knowledge (Ogundowole, 2006: 51). This symbolizes a certain degree of self-determination, which is anchored on the will to be free. The will to freedom is the first act of self-cognition and it finds its complete enfoldment in the very act of self-determination. Self-determination, then, is self-realization and self-reliance (Ogundowole, 2005: 130). As a philosophy, self-reliancism offers realistic exit from economic entrapment and it is capable of fostering sustainable development and heralding a dramatic change in Africa's economic prospects. The philosophy of self-reliancism "demands the utilization of indigenous potentials to the maximum level possible and that development which promotes progress must be internally based (Ogundowole, 1988: 162).

Being a worldview, self-reliancism is a rationalized set of purposive activities directed towards self-realization, self-fulfillment and total emancipation. As a worldview, it is a conscious purposeful orientation that guides and arms a nation with definitive criteria by which to judge the value of possible actions and objectives. In this sense, Ogundowole writes:

... self-reliancism calls for organizing the entire activities of a people into a definite set of preferences and priorities the aim of which is to attain a system of activities or a way of life, which is found to be the most coherent with the principle of self-reliancism on the whole, the realization and maintenance of which involves the totality of the activities of a nation (Ogundowole, 2002:160).

From the above, it can be seen that self-reliancism demands of the entire citizens, competence, dedication, national awareness, inventiveness and creativity, which are the hallmarks for self-respect and self-realization. The thrust of self-reliancism anchors on the ability of a people to control their resources, economic and socio-cultural heritage as necessary conditions for realizing a self-reliancist society. Ogundowole sees self-reliancism as a progressive ideology that defends the necessity for radical change in the basic direction of historical and social development in constructing this ideology, Ogundowole builds it on the principles of dialectical and historical realism. Dialectical and historical realism of self-reliancism cognizes the universal dialectical historical nature of labour and production and it is based on the socio-cultural cum political economy as well as the sum total reality, experience and circumstance of each world historical people.

Commenting on the development problem of the new states, Ogundowole observes that:

The deepest problems of contemporary [African] world derived from the need of the underdeveloped individual nation to pressure the autonomy and sovereignty of its existence in the face of overwhelming world historical forces, of international economic system and practices, of external influences and of the technique of survival (Ogundowole, 1985:1).

Expressed differently, this problem involves the imperialistic nature of the exploration, exploitation and appropriation of the natural resources of the new states by the advanced capitalist states through the carting away of the natural resources of the former by the latter, and thereby making the former apparently and permanently dependent on the latter. Compounding this problem is the lack of viable ideological orientation among the people of the new state. Contrary to the general trend of ideological pendulum swinging between those who advocate capitalism as the ideological messiah and those who see socialism as the needed vessel of salvation, Ogundowole maintains a distinct position. He does not even favour the clamour for mixed economy as being canvassed in many quarters of the new states. Rather, he believes that to overcome backwardness, eradicate poverty and starvation in developing states and throughout the world, it is imperative to build a new system of trade relations among states that is based on the self-reliancist principle. For him, neither capitalism, which seeks to build happiness upon exploitation of a person by another, nor socialism, which seeks to build happiness upon

inevitable conflicts between social groups, can aid development in the Third world nations. Self-reliancism, he argues, promotes those objectives which capitalism totally undermines because of its undue emphasis on the individualistic instinct in men. The efforts of communism, which is the advanced stage of socialism is also inhibited by the fact that it superimposes the abstract collective will on the individualistic nature of the consciousness of the human person. Because of the difficulties involved in the bipolarized ideological walls of socialism and capitalism, Ogundowole posits that “self-reliancism, therefore, is the product by the means of dialectical realist process, of the antagonistic conflict between the communistic and the individualistic instincts inherent in human nature” (Ogundowole, 2007: 27).

Self-reliancist society is thus the consequence of socio-historical development of mankind. It is only self-reliancist state and economic structures that are most probable of registering meaningful development in the new order. Self-reliancism, has as its composites, principles of harmonic determinism, state harmonic inter-dependence and nationalization of state property. Harmonic determinism is the total determination and liberation of the citizens of the new states from the shackles of wretchedness and alienation. Harmonic inter-dependence is the total liberation of the new state from neo-colonial and subjugationist strongholds. Nationalization is the cohesive

mobilization of all resources of wealth available to the new state for optimal development through rapid elimination of the disparities created by exploitative forces (Ogundowole, 1988: 202).

Rodney's development discourse, as explicit in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* theoretically shares the philosophical principle of self-reliance. Rodney, having given the historical accounts of the brutalities of slavery, of the subjugation of African civilization, exploitation of African human and natural resources to serve the imperialist interests of the West, of the neo-imperialistic forces in post-colonial Africa, concluded like Ogundowole that the only way out of Africa's underdevelopment impasse is through a revolutionary break with the prevailing externalist capitalist system, which is responsible for the continent's misery. Reliance on foreign economies and investments is not meaningfully responsive to our internal development needs, and cannot therefore be the solution to Africa's economic backwardness. Consequently, Rodney's supports an internalist overthrow of the structural dependence of African states on the developed capitalist countries as the only way out of the vicious circle of underdevelopment in Africa.

1.9 METHODOLOGY

The work is essentially library based. The methodology used in this research is conceptual analysis and critical evaluative reasoning. Conceptual analysis is essentially a philosophical method and tool used in the act of philosophizing. It is otherwise called analytic philosophy, which started in the early 20th century and was predominant in the English speaking world (Falaiye, 1996:51). Analytic philosophical method consists of logical clarification and analysis of the meaning of language in order to make propositions clear. Conceptual analysis is traditional to the humanities and philosophy in particular as a method of investigation. Philosophers always employ the tool of conceptual analysis in explaining and demystifying conceptual knots and puzzles involved in issues, ideas and problems.

Similarly, the methodology of this work would in addition entail critical analysis. Critical analysis involves a number of interrelated approaches such as thematic and expositional analysis, logical consistencies, evaluation, examination, argumentation, synthesis of the entire process of investigation. Critical analysis is the hallmark of philosophy. It involves a rigorous scrutiny of propositions and facts bothering on the subject matter in a discourse. This critical and reflective engagement on any issue underscores the master-servant conception of philosophy. Through this methodic approach, the errors and inconsistencies in issues and beliefs are carefully discussed and avoided. As a

matter of fact, philosophy strives on mutual criticism and criticism is best when it is directed at those who are in position to reply. Peter Bodunrin rightly notes this in his remark that “the greatest compliment you can pay a philosopher and any scholar for that matter is to criticize his works” (Bodunrin, 1985: 15). The critical character of this work consists in the rigorous scrutiny, evaluation and rehabilitation of the philosophical implications of Walter Rodney’s development discourse: Idealism to praxis. The method of critical reasoning and analysis will show that Rodney’s view on development is fraught with difficulties, which if corrected can better enhance the suitability of his theoretical paradigm of development in achieving the goals of integrated development in 21st century Africa. In the same vein, this critical appraisal will expose the state of development in Africa, and explore viable solutions towards ameliorating contemporary African predicaments.

1.10 LITERATURE REVIEW

This work seeks to propose that a rehabilitation and modification of Rodney’s development discourse would serve as a viable and resonant paradigm most suitable for achieving the goals of development in the 21st century Africa. The quest for development and social transformation has been incessant in the history of ideas, such that human societies were not static, but

have undergone periodic transformations from one state to the other. While this position is explicit in the theories of post-Enlightenment European thinkers like Auguste Comte, J.S. Mill, Karl Marx and G.W.F Hegel, Africa must not be an exception in this drive and quest towards development.

Frantz Fanon (1963) in his classic work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, provides a radical analysis of colonization, decolonization and freedom of Africa with a specific illustration of the French Algerian experience. He gives a vivid description of the horrible experiences of the Africans (natives) in the hands of the colonizers (settlers). Taking the historical conditions of life of the natives into consideration, Fanon maintains that decolonization is necessarily a violent phenomenon, which sets out to change completely, the order of the world, and to create a new man (Fanon, 1963: 27). Fanon argues that the liberation of Africa must and can only, be achieved by revolutionary force (Fanon, 1963: 57). Development for him is the enhancement of liberation. Total liberation is that which concerns all sectors of the personality and which truly makes them masters of all the material means that make possible the radical transformation of society. Fanon regards as wrong, the obsession and desire of African states to catch up with/or imitate Europe in their development process. Seeing such imitation has mortifying set backs, Fanon urges that “European achievements, European techniques, and the European style ought no longer to

tempt us and to throw us off our balance” (Fanon, 1963: 252). Accordingly, he maintains that:

If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe....then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us. But if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it up to a different level than which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries....we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man (Fanon, 1963: 254-255)

Fanon’s admonition and revolutionary position provide a new orientation to development discourse in Africa, and his Marxist leaning consequently influenced scholars and politicians’ thinking on development in post-colonial Africa. The violent revolutionary approach of decolonization as suggested by Fanon could not drive home the realization and genuine development. It has been observed that development requires an enable environment despite the threatened oppression and dehumanization in which contemporary African states are subjected to. Examples are those violent revolutionary wars against the governments in Sudan, Somalia and Democratic Republic of Congo. It has come to the fore that freedom and equality before the law do not thrive on violent means.

Kwame Nkrumah (1965), worried by the poor state of development in post-colonial Africa, gives an externalist account of Africa’s underdevelopment

in his book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. Nkrumah anchors the problem of underdevelopment of political economy in post colonial Africa on neocolonialism, which is a continuation of the imperialistic agenda of erstwhile colonizers. Neocolonialism, according to him, “is based upon the principle of breaking up former large united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable states which are incapable of independent development and must rely on the former imperial power for defense and even internal security” (Nkrumah, 1965: 13). Nkrumah fails to realize that it is not possible for Africa to break totally from the Western powers because no continent is self-sufficient.

As a way out, Nkrumah came up with the socialist agenda of Pan Africanism, which involves political and economic pooling of resources as a necessary condition for unified economic development in Africa. This socialist model of Nkrumah was one, which empowered the state with the major tasks of development in the form of control and harnessing of capital for rapid growth in various spheres of social existence. Nkrumah sees socialism as a complex of social purposes and the consequential social and economic policies, organizational patterns, state structure, and ideologies which can lead to the attainment of those purposes. He believes that the aim is to remould African society in the socialist direction; to reconsider African society in such a manner that the humanism of traditional African life re-asserts itself in a modern

technical community. In his early thought, Nkrumah approves of African socialism, which is precedent in the communitarian and egalitarian attitude of traditional African societies. Like some other African political leaders and writers (like Julius Nyerere, Leopold Sedar Senghor among others) who used the term “African socialism” to label the concrete forms that socialism might assume in Africa, Nkrumah also initially defended a reinvigoration of the principles of socialism into the organization and reformation of post-colonial African states. However, at the wake of 1965, Nkrumah’s language in this early period changed from African socialism and reformation to socialism in Africa and revolution. As he writes, the realities of the diverse and irreconcilable social, political, and economic policies being pursued by African states today have made the term “African socialism” meaningless and irrelevant. It appears to be much more closely associated with anthropology than with political economy (Nkrumah, 1967:3). However, despite the proposed unifying humanist principle, Africans must propagate for developmental purpose, there are still problems with Nkrumah’s theoretical approach to development. For instance, Nkrumah did not recognize the diversity identity in the geographical Africa.

The phrase “African socialism”, for Nkrumah is an expression of the view that the traditional African society was a classless society imbued with

the spirit of humanism and an expression of nostalgia for that spirit. Such a conception of socialism makes a fetish of the communal African society. There is certainly no historical or even anthropological evidence for any such African classless society (in which there were no rich and no poor). Nkrumah believes that the basic organization of many African societies in different periods of history manifested a certain communalism and that the philosophy and humanist purposes behind that organization are worthy of recapture. Thus, what socialist thought in Africa must recapture is not the structure of the traditional African society, but its spirit, for the spirit of communalism is crystallized in its humanism and in its reconciliation of individual advancement with group welfare.

He postulates that each man should be an end in himself, not merely a means; he accepts the necessity of guaranteeing each man equal opportunities for his development. The implications of this for socio-political practice have to be worked out scientifically, and the necessary social and economic policies pursued with resolution. Any meaningful humanism must begin from egalitarianism and must lead to objectively chosen policies for safeguarding and sustaining egalitarianism. Knowing fully well that the defeat of colonialism and even neo-colonialism will not result in the automatic disappearance of the imported patterns of thought and social

organization, because those patterns (Islamic and European civilizations) have taken root, and are in varying degree sociological features of our contemporary society, Nkrumah did not advocate a return to the communalistic society of ancient Africa for solution. Rather, he demanded an integration of the positive impacts of Western civilization, Christianity and Islam with the humanistic values of traditional African culture. We want to maintain that it is wrong for Nkrumah to say that traditional Africa no longer exist: contrary to his belief, traditional Africa has not been totally corrupted by Afro-Islamic and Euro-Christian traditions.

Given the contemporary problems of African underdevelopment, which have arisen from political subjugation, economic exploitation, educational and social backwardness, increases in population, and other complexities, Nkrumah resolves to scientific socialism as the panacea to the problem of underdevelopment in Africa.

The way out is only forward, forward to a higher and reconciled form of society, in which the quintessence of the human purposes of traditional African society reasserts itself in a modern context-forward, in short, to socialism, through policies that are scientifically devised and correctly applied.... It is the elimination of fancifulness from socialist action that makes socialism scientific (Nkrumah, 1967: 7).

Economic emancipation exists when a political sovereign country, independently of outside control or direction, organizes the exploitation and deployment of its total resources for the benefits of its entire people under a system in which the forces of supply and demand and of marginal utility are controlled for the common good (1968:2).

This is the basis of the central argument in his book, *Consciencism*. He observes that African conscience is occupied by tension occasioned by conflicting elements in Euro-Christian, Islamic and traditional African heritages. Philosophical consciencism is therefore that philosophical standpoint which indicates the way in which progress is forged out of the conflict in that conscience (Nkrumah, 1970:79). In other words, Consciencism is a body of connected thoughts which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society that the Africans have found themselves and elevate the ideals underlying the traditional African society in a mutually reinforcing manner. The scientific socialism of Nkrumah is embodied in Marxism, which he believes is the ideology liberation and development in Africa. He favours dialectical materialism as the only metaphysics that cognizes nature and inspires an egalitarian organization of society. As he observes, "the unity and fundamental identity of nature suggests the unity and fundamental identity of man in society. Idealism favours an oligarchy,

materialism favours an egalitarianism" (Nkrumah, 1970: 75). We must note that Nkrumah fails to spell out the feasibility or modality for collapsing or integrating the positive aspects of Western culture with the traditional humanistic values synonymous with African culture, in order to fulfill resound human developmental policies in Africa. Indeed, Nkrumah's scientific socialism is merely a paraphrase of standard Marxian socialistic view point which has, over the years effaced from the underlying principles tagged ideology, liberation and development in the contemporary society, perhaps, in African continent. Nevertheless, it is against the background of communalism that our discussion on Nyerere's *Ujamaa* suffices.

Ujamaa is the African concept of familyhood and it is the foundation of Nyerere's political philosophy of African socialism. Nyerere's conception of African socialism is four-dimensional: socialism as the application of the principle of human equality to the social, economic and political organization of society, socialism as an attitude of mind; socialism as an institution; and socialism as familyhood or brotherhood. Nyerere believes that *Ujamaa* is different and opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the exploitation of man by man. It is also different from and opposed to doctrinaire/scientific socialism, which seeks to build happiness upon inevitable conflict between man and man. Socialism is indigenous to traditional African

cultural heritage, which has the family as the basic unit. Being an expression of the natural African condition, Nyerere advances the thesis that *Ujamaa* is the needed ideological framework that is potent in liberating African states from the broth of Western ideological flood making in-road into post-colonial Africa. However, in confronting post-colonial African challenges of development, Nyerere says that *Ujamaa* cannot be confined to the idea of the social family within the limits of tribe, community or nation. It must be extended to mean African unity and brotherhood, and equality of the whole of mankind. By promoting human equality and equal access to opportunities, respect for human dignity, welfare and brotherhood, Nyerere's conviction is that *Ujamaa* will engender the development of high quality human talents and abilities required for national development. *Ujamaa*, for him, is the basis of oneness and brotherhood, that will elicit friendship, co-operation, and promote national consciousness and patriotism required, which are values that promote human, societal and national progress.

Critically, the problem inherent in Nyerere's conception of *Ujamaa* is its theoretical and practical difficulty in the praxis of African freedom from neo-colonialism and imperialism as well as development. Indeed, the revolutionary praxis of *Ujamaa* is questionable in the sense that it could not provide answers to the challenging task of economic empowerment against the economic and

technological advancements of the Western World, and against the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism. In the same vein, he discusses self-reliance which centres on using the internal resources for development. In other words, he is of the belief that resources should be used in a spirit of self-reliance as the basis for development and progress. Nyerere sees self-reliance at the levels of an individual, community and a nation, thus: A self-reliant individual is one who cooperates with others, who is willing to help others and be helped by them, but does not depend on anyone else for his food, clothing and shelter. For a community, self-reliance means that they will use the resources and the skills they jointly possess for their own welfare and their own development. And for the nation, self-reliance will come if the individuals and different communities are self-reliant, and if the citizens together recognize that their way forward must be determined by their joint resources and their common efforts. It means choosing the path to development which does not depend upon outsiders. This will without doubt, lead to real progress affecting the lives of the masses. In addition, the point is that Nyerere considers a socialist society superior to a non-socialist one. That is why we believe that this provides a different justification for socialism from that founded on its African genesis.

Writing on the state of development in Africa, Obafemi Awolowo (1972) notes that African states are underdeveloped because majority of the people

live at or only slightly above subsistence level, because they have underutilized their natural resources, because of economically backward population and because the states are foreign-trade oriented. The remedy to Africa's economic backwardness and underdevelopment, Awolowo posits, is economic emancipation. Julius Nyerere's conception of development and the problem of development in Africa are very instructive. Development for him is not building of pyramids or provision of physical infrastructures. Rather, development is liberation. In his view, "development is liberating this person who, until now has been suffering under colonialism and under all kinds of superstitious beliefs, and so forth" (Cox and Stark, 1973: 5). Development for Nyerere entails two dimensions: personal and social dimensions. At the personal level, "the person must develop himself. No one can liberate another, one must develop oneself; it is self-liberation, hence self-reliance" (Cox and Stark, 1973: 5). At the social level, Nyerere claims that *Ujamaa* and self-reliance are the "twins which liberate our people" (Cox and Stark, 1973: 5).

The role of human capital investment in the evolution of an economically vibrant population, which is emphasized in Awolowo's analysis of mental magnitude is worthy of note. Beside this, it is important to note some understatement in Awolowo's remark on the causes of underdevelopment in Africa. One, the natural resources of Africa have not only been underutilized,

but also the proceeds from the utilized and explored ones which ought to have raised the standard of living of the people, have been massively mismanaged and plundered. Second, Awolowo's recommendation of economic emancipation, besides being utopian, has some theoretically problematic assumptions, which deserve further comments. One basic explicit assumption of his position on foreign-trade orientation of post-colonial Africa is the unequal exchange relationships that exist between African states (viewed as developing) and developed states of the Western World. What is instructive and problematic about this position is that it points out that development is virtually impossible, given present existing structural relations between the industrialized nations and their ex-colonies. His option of economic emancipation left unanswered the question of how and where to raise capital for transforming the present trend.

The idea that development is intrinsic to the path of human history was central to the philosophy of history formulated by the German thinker, Hegel, which later had a major influence on Marx in the nineteenth century. For Hegel, the development path of human history was characterized by the idea of increasing self-consciousness on the part of humans. This process was facilitated by the movement of 'Spirit' (*Geist*) as it progressed from East to West. The historical progression of the world was sub-divided into three by

Hegel (Wilkins, 1974:178). Hegel associated the first period with the history of the peoples of the Ancient + Orient – Man. He says at this period, the Orient-Man was unaware that freedom was essential to him and therefore all people were slaves. According to Hegel, the second period is referred to as “classical antiquity” period. In this second period of the world history, some people came to realize that freedom was their natural state, but most of them had not yet reached that level of consciousness and remained slaves. Hegel says the third period of the world historical progression saw the attainment of universal freedom. At this period, all people realized their true free nature. That occurred in the Christian middle ages, and it was in Germany that self-consciousness process reached its apogee. Hegel claimed that at this period, the spirit has not passed through Africa in “Absolute Idealism”. He says that the spirit had not yet attained self-consciousness in Africa and that Africa had no history in conclusion. The implication of not entering the path of human history is that Africa has neither culture nor civilization, nor the necessary criteria for development. This Hegelian conclusion presupposes that Africa would be permanently undeveloped. Critically however, the objective study of the world history clearly shows that there is no race without history or culture however barbaric and archaic it might be. This Hegel’s assertion that Africa has no history only portrays his ignorance about Africa.

Comte and Marx argue that human society progressed from stages that were less developed to stages that were more developed. Marx specifically argued that human society progressed through the stages of primitive, slavery, feudalism, and capitalism to culminate in the future with communism, the most developed phase of human existence (Swingewood, 1977:4). Marx deterministic theory of the dynamic of history argued that it was the historic function of capitalism to spread itself into societies that were not developed, thereby setting the conditions for their eventual progress into socialism and communism.

For Chinua Achebe, the problem with Nigeria, nay Africa is that of leadership:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness, or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal examples, which are the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe, 1983: 1).

The position of Achebe on leadership as the core problem of Nigeria's (as well as other African states') disappointment in her quest for development is sacrosanct. Leadership problem here is construed in terms of both lack of political will and statesmanship competence, and leading by example. While it may be reductionistic to reduce the problem of underdevelopment in Nigeria in

particular, and Africa in general to that of leadership as Achebe has done, as there are still many other fundamental factors, the roles played by poor leadership in fostering corruption, 'dirty-politics', social injustice and consequently, underdevelopment in Africa cannot be undermined. Most studies focusing on Nigeria's endemic failure have identified state and leadership failures as prime causes. This is true. But some questions arise: is the state not the people writ large? Does leadership emerge from somewhere else than among the people? Why is it that most of the leaders that the system throws up always fall in the bracket of the bad? And, are the followers any better than the leaders? Have the followers behaved differently each time they have the opportunity to assume leadership position? If we accept that the state is essentially the people writ large and that leadership cannot but emerge from among the people, then, should not our analysis dwell on the ethical make-up of the people, that constitute the polity? There can never be development where the people lack the virtue of frugality; where people toil daily only to fritter away the proceeds. No nation ever achieves development without the people going for it. Development is never given. It has to be planned and worked for. Again, no nation ever translates a developmental plan into positive action without the people having a positive attitude towards it. For development to take place therefore, the people of a country must think it,

believe it and attune their lifestyles towards it. As empirically shown among the fast-developing countries in the contemporary world, no nation ever achieves greatness without the presence of a moral code as guiding philosophy for its leadership. No development ever takes place in a society where anything goes.

In his book, *The Africans*, Ali Mazrui (1986:164) notes that almost everything that has gone wrong in Africa is the fault of Western Colonialism and imperialism, which halted indigenous technological development and caused the collapse of infrastructure in modern Africa. Mazrui ascribes this to the shallowness of Western institutions, the lopsided nature of Colonial acculturation and the moral contradictions of Western political tutelage (1986: 202). He observes also that the political decay currently plaguing contemporary African states is partly a consequence of colonial institutions without cultural roots in Africa. In Mazrui's view, decay in law enforcement institutions and mismanagement of funds, which are the greatest obstacles to African quest for development today, were all the faults of Western colonialism (1986: 210). Mazrui's position on the problem of development in Africa suffers the same fate as that of Rodney. While we quite agree that external factors have undermined the quest for development in post-colonial Africa, the internal factors, which Mazrui ignored, have been more fundamental in determining

the current state of Africa.

E. K. Ogundowole in his work, *Self-Reliancism: Philosophy of a New Order* observes that the root cause of the bulk of developmental problems of the new states ties in foreign relations (1988:238). Most of the new states allow “wide upon unrestricted trade and economic interaction” (1988:157) between them and the advanced capitalist states. Ogundowole notes that instead of African States working for their own self-reliance, they subordinate themselves to the imperialists’ countries and their agents, thereby facilitating the development of the capitalists’ states. Many of the indegenisation policies implemented in the new states, Ogundowole argues, contribute to the economic backwardness of these states. Such policies promote the maintenance of foreign domination and enhance neo-colonialism and flowering of subjugationism” (1988:203). Consequent upon this problem of African underdevelopment, Ogundowole argues the thesis of self-reliancism as a way out of the impasses in socio-economic maladies of African states. For him, self-reliancism in economic practice is not only an inevitable strategy, a political economic orientation borne out of the suffocating international imperialistic, neocoloniastic trade and economic relations, but also to protect the overall economic activities of our people at every stage of economic planning and execution. The point in Ogundowole’s argument is that self-reliancism is the urgently needed ideology

for sustainable development in Africa. From all indications, economic actions in Ogundowole's proposal still rests with others and what they are willing to do to help African states. Here, it should be noted that Ogundowole's self-reliance may not be an adequate approach to resolving the current developmental impasse it is a one sided discourse which attempts to downplay the historical affinity of the African continent. It is a truism that colonialism was primarily exploitative, but, it had undoubtedly effected changes on the traditional culture of the indigenes. As a result, development is a two-edged phenomenon which requires the synthesizing or infusion of the positive culture, political, economic as well as technological know-how of the indigenes with the positive Western or foreign culture to forge a developmental policy for mankind.

Claude Ake (1989) in a paper titled "Towards an African Paradigm of Development" argues that, there are so many factors responsible for the underdevelopment of Africa. These are the colonial legacy, social pluralism and its centrifugal tendencies, the corruption of leaders, poor labour discipline, lack of entrepreneurial skills, poor planning and incompetent management, inappropriate policies, the stifling of market mechanisms, low level of technical assistance, the limited inflow of foreign capital, failing commodity prices and unfavourable terms of trade, and low level of saving and investment. For Ake,

the solution to these causes of underdevelopment in Africa lies in a new conception of development, which is development as process of self-determination. This alternative paradigm gives the people the opportunity to develop “pride in themselves as worthy human beings inferior to none” (Ake 1989:8). This is a pride without which no endogenous and self-sustaining development is possible. In this new conception of development, the state will not be the determiner and controller of the goals of development, but rather the motivator and facilitator of development. For Africa to meet the challenge of development, Ake submits that the people must be actively involved as initiators of plans and programmes for their well-being.

Ake’s submission brings to the fore the important question of the role of government or the state in this new paradigm of African development. Ake’s position is more of a liberal market economic theory which gives a minimal role to the state in economic transformation, which will be a commitment to privatization of as many economic enterprises as possible, providing enabling environment and socio-economic order, and implementing the economic reforms agenda. However, the economic history of those nations (like Germany, Korea, Malaysia, etc) that have successfully broken free from the constraint of underdevelopment reveals that the state needs play more active

role than canvassed by Ake, if the goal of economic development through self-determination is to be achieved..

Stephen McCarthy (1994), in his book, *Africa: The Challenge of Transformation*, maintains that the failure of Africa's development can be located in the low investment in human development. He stated that:

The importance of the human dimension in accounting for Africa's past economic difficulties and in determining its future prospects cannot be overstated. In the end, all of the problems of underdevelopment revolve around this central issue. People who are uneducated, unskilled and unhealthy have limited resources to reach their own potential. Societies and economies grow because the people, of whom they are made up, grow too' (McCarthy, 1994: 163).

He then concludes that 'thus for both economic and political reasons, the vicious circle of under- investment in human capital which has affected Africa for the last generation need to be turned around into a virtuous circle' (Ibid:164). While we quite agree with McCarthy that one of the most fundamental problems faced by contemporary post-colonial African economies is that of low capital investment in human capacity development, which has indeed caused unemployment, underemployment and largely responsible for our technological underdevelopment, we find his inability to concretely outline possible remedies for overcoming this problem worrisome.

Again, in the existential ontology of Martin Heidegger, development can be understood as the achievement of authentic nationhood; and underdevelopment, the inability of a nation to overcome confidence-crisis. Any nation that thus refuses or is incapable of building on its factual givens cannot be a sovereign nation where a sovereign nation is understood to be a nation that is free from external determination and control. Any externally determined nation can hardly acquire stature and maturity. A nation without a sound ideological framework of its own to guide social action, a nation that goes about copying every available piece of ideology is vulnerable, and like an edifice without foundation, such a nation easily falls prey to the windstorm of imperialism. Such a nation is not genuine and is therefore lost in the inauthentic 'they world' where failure and misfortune are explained away in terms of sabotage. A nation that keeps another in the hope that one of them would provide a permanent solution to its social and economic problems is an inauthentic nation. The mode of being of such a nation is fraudulent and counterfeit. In the same way, a nation that refuses or is unable to act decisively, nation that cannot reject external control or is unable to throw off the yoke of alien manipulation because the stakes are too high is gripped by confidence – crisis and such a nation dwells in the domain of inauthenticity (Unah Jim; 1996:118-119).

The moral dimension of development and its paucity in Africa engages the attention of C.B. Okolo. In his paper, "Intellectuals, moral education and public morality", Okolo states that the problem of development in African nations is essentially a consequence of dearth of public [and private] morality (Okolo, 1996: 39).

The consequence of which his loss of sense of truth, honesty, justice, moral integrity, lack of moral conscience by public officials, businessmen and professionals; lack of restraints and discipline in private and public lives of the citizens; lack of moral sense of right and wrong in practical life...(Okolo, 1996: 39).

All these and other related vices and immoral actions of individuals or groups (such as corruption, unbridled self-interest, unpatriotism, etc.) are direct anti-thesis to the health, stability and progress of the African society. As a rescue to the moral crisis of development, Okolo advocates two things. First, that morality must be the foundation of African educational systems at all levels, and second, he charged intellectuals to be connected with public morality, with advancing public awareness and sense of right and wrong, public order, right goals and values for individuals and society (Okolo, 1996: 41-42). In consonance with Okolo, the problem of underdevelopment in Africa has its moral dimension in the vicious attitude and behavioural patterns and habits of many Africans. However, as laudable as Okolo's proposed solutions

are, such proposals are faced with a problematic conflation of 'knowing the right course of action' and 'doing the right course of action' as necessary conjoint. Okolo's recommendation of intensive moral education by intellectuals in African educational systems, who are supposed to be the vanguard of public morality takes for granted the ethical problem of *akrasia*, which involves actually having the knowledge of the good, willing to do the good, but having the moral weakness and wherewithal of doing that which is good. Similarly, it is very vital to note that the doctrine of "moralism" and active oath taking as suggested by C.S. Momoh, will play a significant role in solving Nigeria's developmental crises. Moralism according to Momoh, is a doctrine that puts the other before or alongside the self. It holds that honesty, service and concern for the interest of the other ought to be the basic and measure of all actions and policies. The objective test of moralism is how much the action of an agent meets and satisfies the legitimate wants and demands of the other or how it minimizes the avoidable and unnecessary sufferings and pains of the other. Moralism he maintains, is a doctrine which applies in the system, in offices, in factories and in homes. It can apply equally in the political and economic realms and in local and international politics. He goes further to opine that all Nigerians except the Marxists and the political Bureau, agree that our problem is moral in the sense that we are corrupt and we hate to be accountable. As a

pious and sententious doctrine, moralism can take care of corruption in the sense that if a ruler puts the interest of the people and the nation first, he would need not line up his pocket with public funds. Again, if the ruler thinks of the burden of leadership, the interests of other people and the nation first, he too will not be corrupt and he will perform his duty.

Apart from paying high premium on moralism as a solution to Nigeria's nay Africa's problem of development, Momoh also states in clearer term that the present oath by our public officers during swearing-in ceremonies is a passive one. What we need is an active oath which is to be followed by an invocation, spelling out what should befall the oath taker if he willfully and deliberately enriches himself, friends or relations by exploiting or abusing his office. He believes that such oath should be invoked in the name of indigenous gods, spirits or juju. Everyone should be made to swear on juju specifically prepared for that purpose. It is irrelevant whether the swearer believes in juju or not. After all, sugar does not need anybody's testimonial for its sweet taste. The taste of sugar is different from the taste of bitter leaf irrespective of anybody's belief. The efficacy of juju is not a matter of belief. It is real. And the man who believes that juju is not really efficacious is not losing anything. Let him swear by it all the same. The most important aspect of the active oath-taking is that it will engender faith in the system. This will prevent leaders from

being corrupt and consequently promote progress cum development. However, it is recommended that while public holders take oath, the followers too should take in the same token, that they will not mount unnecessary pressure on political office holders such that will tempt them into corruption, because it has been proved that people often expect material gains rather than official commitments from government officials. It is equally instructive to note that in the oath that the Nigerian officials take before they are sworn in, for instance, and according to the 1999 Constitution, all issues raised are 'promises' upon promises, with no condition attached. This is a good example:

I... solemnly swear/affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Federal Republic of Nigeria... that I will not allow my personal interest to influence my official conduct or official decision... And this is ended with the cliché 'so help me God.' (Nigerian 1999 Constitution, 232)

A critical analysis of this oath reveals that it is empty and non-contractual. It is quite spurious, superfluous, ambiguous and porous. There is no part, of the oath that says something like *If I derail from these promises, may so so so, do so and so to me*. Rather, what ends it is 'so help me God.' Any criminal can bend the rule and destroy the people only to give the excuse that God did not help him.

To avert this type of confusion, the toughest god in each community should be involved in oath-taking by government officials. The Igbo people should use Amadioha; the Yoruba can use *Sango, Sonpanna or Ayelala*. No one who knows these gods will break a contract with them.

Olusegun Oladipo (1998) in a paper "Modernization and the Search for Community in Africa: Crisis and Conditions of Change", argues that an important factor in the explanation of the poor state of development in Africa is the failure of African states to achieve a balance between the regulative and beneficent functions of state. African states have been more of an instrument of power and legal order than a provider of public benefits. The state in Africa, rather than serves as a facilitator of development, has been the greatest obstacle in the path of its realization (Oladipo, 1998:8). Because of lack of legitimacy, many African leaders have been autocratic and have not been able to govern well and effectively. Rather than securing the support and loyalty of the people, brute force and manipulation have been the style of leadership in many African states. On this basis, Oladipo concludes that post-colonial states in Africa have failed to fulfill their mandate.

As a way out, Oladipo (2000:29) recommends the structural and normative conditions of leadership as viable alternatives to Africa's quest for development. The structural restructuring is imperative because it ensures that

the new democratic processes in Africa enhance the capacity of the state to serve as the facilitator of development, while at the same time, ensuring that the people are self-determined by developing their lives. The normative condition would involve a commitment by African leaders to recognize the right of the people to participate in the management of their own affairs through creating an enabling socio-economic environment for individual self-fulfillment and social development. Objectively, Oladipo is very sympathetic to the African condition and the need to restructure, both normatively and structurally, the conditions of political leadership in Africa. However, the major problem with his conclusion is that it fails to project possible resistance (such as cult of personality, political entrepreneurship, fear, self-interest, sabotage, among others) to the political reforms recommended and how to effectively combat them. For one, the ruling cabals in post-colonial Africa are not really interested in real reform since they are unwilling to give up power. Where there is restructuring at all, such are minimally cosmetic or rather maximally, at least, for the sake of attracting Western aid and keeping afloat access to World Bank loans.

Corroborating Oladipo's claim, Muyiwa Falaiye in a paper titled "African Democracy: Its Problems", argues that the problem with African underdevelopment is that of *"bad and light fingered leadership"*. He argues that

the ultimate solution to the knotty problem of Africa's (Nigeria's) underdevelopment is leadership. In his opinion, Falaiye says he does not see how democracy with all its problems can solve the problems of poverty, instability, hunger and disease in Africa)... [unless] through effective and purposeful leadership. Falaiye strongly believes in the youth as the solution to the leadership crisis. He holds that the educated and skilled youth in Africa will find it easy to understand and accommodate the African sense of belonging, eradicate profligacy for the economic good of the people and enhance societal development. As plausible as this appears, the greatest tragedy of our youth today is that they are hardly loyal, patriotic, and committed to the course of African social transformation: (with the exemption of few). So the question remains, where lies the solution to African leadership crisis?

With the humiliating defeat and demise of the Soviet Union, ideological arguments are routinely mounted against what are perceived as the limitations of socialism because it could not meet the challenges of modern times and the Western capitalist system. Nkrumah, like many other African nationalist leaders and intellectuals, was opposed to capitalism because of its erroneous assumption which sees capitalism as a necessary product of colonialism. Given that colonialism is evil and exploitative and since the colonialists were capitalists, the conclusion is easily drawn that capitalism too is evil and

exploitative. But this is not true as pre-colonial Africa was characterized by free enterprise, free markets and free trade (Ayittey, 2002:8).

In another work, "Why Africa is Poor", Ayittey (2002:17) argues that the causes of Africa's crises or poverty have little to do with colonial boarders, American imperialism, racism nor alleged inferiority of the African people. Rather, they have more to do with bad leadership. He observes that the struggle for power, its monopolization by one individual or group, and the subsequent refusal to relinquish or share political power is what triggers an insurgency, and explains why Africa is in the grip of a never-ending cycle of wanton chaos, collapsing economics and continuous drift to underdevelopment. As a consequence, Ayittey advocates political and economic reforms in Africa. According to him, "power needs to be taken out of the hands of the elite and given to the people, where it belongs. This entails both political and economic reforms; democratization, market liberalization, decentralization or diffusion of power and adoption of power-sharing arrangements" (Ibid, 2002: 7).

A critical overview of Ayittey's positions as cited above might suggest that he is inconsistent in his assessment of African condition. However, upon further thought, one would come to realize that his first externalist account and his later view, which is more internalist in orientation, are indeed not mutually

exclusive. This is because, post colonial leaders and tyrants in Africa have been practicing politics of exclusion, and out of sheer naiveté, they have received so much foreign aid programmes from various Western governments, development agencies and multi-lateral financial institutions, which have failed to spur economic growth in Africa. Critically however, Ayittey's error could be seen in his inability to project aptly what the structure of a developmentally transformed Africa would look like and how his much propagated political and economic reforms could be achieved realistically in Africa.

What can be evidently inferred from the above literature review is that most theorists of African development tend to offer prescriptions for development without raising questions about the imperative of a viable and realistic ideological basis which will guide Africa's drive towards development in the 21st century. From the literature reviewed thus far, the imperative of Africa's development has been emphasized; however, this idea of development is usually couched in nebulous terms about economic and political reforms, good leadership, investment in human capital, Pan-Africanism, among others.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND OF WALTER RODNEY'S PHILOSOPHICAL POSTURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

To every philosophical view or position one desires to uphold in life, there is always a background influence and intellectual inspiration. Sometimes, these sorts of influences are deliberately attained by being sympathetic to world-views, ascriptions, and intentional disposition of admirable scholars and to those who seem to appeal to our mental state of mind on various issues of life. But it can also be formed by non-deliberate means; in a way that one does overtly defend a view while being covertly sympathetic to other intellectual stance. Whatever is the case, philosophers are undoubtedly the product of what can be described as a collective experience of an age; they are deeply affected by various social, intellectual, and cultural influences whether directly or indirectly. The case of Walter Rodney is very significant because his intellectual development span through both his home country, Jamaica and Europe. The interplay of cross-cultural interference would have, most likely, contributed to the formulation of his ideology.

Furthermore, Walter Rodney's philosophical posture was developed within the vagaries of a turbulent social system that left so much to be desired

about human well being and social welfare. It is instructive to note that no world-view or intellectual position can be convincingly held by an individual in isolation of the realities that persist in the social framework. So, it would be plausible to say that Rodney's background philosophical posture was formed in the process of trying to salvage his people from the vicissitudes of a collapsed social system where human oppression, exploitation and denigration was the order of the day.

A philosopher in the true sense of the word should be able to mirror the society and aim to affect it by trying to bridge the gap between theory and practice; this is in a bid to actualize the hope and aspirations in such societies. Rodney was a typical example of how intellectuals can creatively use their skills and education to positively use their skills and education to affect their society. In one of his commentaries on Rodney, Zinul Bacchus (1972:355) typifies these qualities as exhibited by Rodney. He made it clear that Rodney was convinced that it is the responsibility of academics to share their knowledge with the masses in order to ensure the development both mentally and physically.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Rodney's philosophical posture was essentially Marxist; but one cannot ascribe so much to his ideology without recourse to the existential conditions that gave birth to it. This is always a

challenge to every scholar especially when it comes to the formation and the consolidation of beliefs. A good point to put into consideration here is that most scholars from every other parts of the World that schooled in the WesternWorld, always have to face the challenges of the formation of ideology in an environment permeated by plural orientations; this is often times not an easy task due to the irrepressible fact of transposition, interaction of cultures and the inter-play of cross-checked experiences that most certainly will contribute to the overall outlook of a person. If this assertion is anything to go by, then, we may consider the opinion of C.O. William (2006:114) as apt. He believes that prolonged contacts with a new World and new cultures could lead to cultural hybridity and cultural evolution. But this will in turn lead to a further problematic end which is: the problem of cultural identification. Although, our interests here is not to rehash the age long debate on the problem of autochthonous identity, we cannot help but mention it because Rodney had a growing up experience that spanned through different geographical and cultural settings. First, he had his bachelors degree in Jamaica then went to London for his doctorate degree, after which he returned to Africa to take up teaching appointment. There is no way one can deny that all these background happenings could have contributed to his general outlook and concretized World view.

More so, Walter Rodney's philosophical posture was influenced by deep passion he had for the poorest people of Guyana in Jamaica. He was determined in his resolution to struggle against the oppression, exploitation and deprivation his people were being subjected to by the ruling dictatorship headed by Forbes Burnham, a leader imposed on the people by the ruling bourgeois party (PNC). As a matter of responsibility and a respect for the ideals of humanism, Rodney deserves to be commended for taking up such lofty cause of sacrificing what could be regarded as a brilliant and successful academic career in the course of fighting for the common good of his people. No wonder Bertrand Russell (1996:2) says that the circumstances of men's lives do much to determine their philosophy, but, conversely, their philosophies do much to determine their circumstances.

Russell's comment above helps to bring the point we are advancing here to its crescendo; that is, Rodney's radical philosophical posture which was largely inspired by the critical writings of Karl Marx was determined by his quest to create a perfect society where there won't be any form of human oppression. But in the long run, his philosophical posture determined his circumstance when he died for the cause he so much believed in – sad enough, Rodney did not live to witness the restoration of democracy in his country. Hence, Rodney was a victim of a social process – a social process he doggedly

fought against with everything he had, including his life. However, Hans Flink (1981:2) posits that “the social process is the life of human beings, their birth, procreation and death and their production and distribution”. Given this, it is probably safe to argue that Walter Rodney died for a worthy cause.

Factually speaking, Walter Rodney’s philosophical disposition was deeply influenced by the radical approach to social change championed by Marx and Lenin. That is, Rodney’s philosophical posture is an extension of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Marx’s vision was rooted in the struggle for a classless society that would bring about the emancipation and liberation of the proletariats from the shackles of bourgeois capitalism. According to Zotov (1988:86); Marxist conception of history is such that following the disintegration of primitive community, all human history has been one of class struggle – the struggle between exploiters and the exploited. Similarly, Alasdair Maclyntyre (1971:45) sees this type of society envisioned by Marx in this light:

A society in which none can achieve true humanity must be replaced by a society in which all can achieve it. This is socialist society. It is to be a society of true communists in which the needs that are satisfied will not be the demands of an economic system, but the needs of man. The values of this society will be human values. Men will deal with other men, neither as with capitalists nor as with proletarians, but as with men. (Maclyntyre (1971:45)

This is a vivid picture of the kind of society Rodney hoped to create with his radical ideologies. Hence it is plausible to say that Rodney's philosophical ideology was tilting towards the Marxist conception of the historical development of society by applying the strategy and tactics that would lead to the revolutionary transformation of the World.

2.1 RODNEY'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

Walter Rodney, the indefatigable social critic and revolutionary academic was born in multiracial Georgetown; British Guiana (now Guyana) to working-class parents in 1942. His family was a working class family that was very much involved in the politics of the local community. His father was a tailor by profession and was complemented by his mother who was a seamstress. As at the time of Rodney's birth, there was already a growing movement aimed at repelling the holds and antics of colonialism and political oppression within the local community. Rodney was involved at a very tender age in political activity as a result of his father's participation in the anti-colonial movement with the People's Progressive Party (PPP), led by the Indo-Guyanese leader Cheddi Jaga. Rodney's mother was a domestic worker and a seamstress. His grandparents were farmers. This humble background of Rodney did not deter him from

pursuing his convictions to a logical conclusion; his early influence on vibrant political activities had a very huge impact on his later philosophical outlook.

Rodney's father was a leader and pioneer in these liberation movements even at the earliest stages of Rodney's formative years. He was deeply involved in the campaign against Western and colonial domination; he effectively mobilized the working class people to the grassroot level of the society to form coalitions and formidable front through which these goals can be achieved. Numerous commentators on the historical development of Guyana political cycle has made it clear that Rodney's parents were activists of the first order and gave most part of their lives towards the attainment of self-liberation and emancipation from the evils of colonialism.

This is probably why some scholars conceived of Rodney's early involvement in political activity as beginning from the time of his awakening; his destiny was said to be tied to the destiny of the poor. His concerns about the liberation of the poor people was not restricted by geographic location because his activism was mainly geared towards confronting the deprivation of the oppressed classes inside any given country regardless of whether Rodney has any affiliation towards them or not. He was a scholar whose interests transcend just racial bias and social conscriptions. His concern also embraces the plight of the oppressed class – the subject of peoples of the earth by oppressing nations.

Given the above premise, it would be apt to describe Rodney's birth as that which was conceived in the situation of great political upheaval and social tensions. That is, the passion with which Rodney fought for liberation all through his life was developed in him at birth as his activities later in life was essentially an extension of the visions which his parents earlier pursued with vigour. He was brought up in a way that the struggle against exploitation and oppression by foreign institutions became a categorical imperative even though such objectives were inspired by certain literary experience and philosophical lineage. He practically took over the campaign against colonialism and imperialism from where his parents stopped.

Although, Rodney's parents didn't have the benefits of getting a formal education, they made it a point of duty to give their son a formal education which made him to be able to achieve greater feats than they did within and outside the local Guyana community. Rodney was enrolled at the local Primary School at first, but he later proved to be a prodigious child by winning various scholarships at different levels of his educational pursuit to be able to complete his education up to the Ph.D level. From a very early age, Rodney had formed a critical view of authoritarian rule and rejected the role of the middle class political elite people, a class Rodney himself belonged to. His intellectual disposition was also affected by this bias as his choice of topic for doctoral

research was designed to expose some of the activities of the colonialists within the African region. His dissertation, "A history of the Upper Guinea Coast; 1545-1800" sets a precedence in this area of research as a pristine contribution to knowledge that challenged the erroneous impressions and assumptions of Western historians about African history and did set a new approach for looking at the history of the oppressed peoples without pride and prejudice.

It is instructive to note that one cannot have a comprehensive understanding of a person's disposition to life without first attempting to understand the family in which that person was brought up. That is to say, a commentary on Walter Rodney personage cannot be achieved without a good understanding of the social underpinnings and other social relations that contributed largely to his general outlook. The people of Guyana (especially the working class people) had been oppressed for too long that they always needed a messiah to champion the cause rebellion and anti-government protests geared towards the attainment of freedom from alien domination. This was the sort of leadership provided by Rodney's parents to the Guyana people even before Rodney was born.

Although their activities were faced with a lot of challenges, they achieved a considerable amount of success by providing a platform for the unification of the people and sensitizing the uneducated ones among them on

the importance of fighting for their human rights and total freedom. After their demise, the people needed another leader who could appeal to various aspects of the local people and carry on with the anti-Western domination struggle. As at this time, no other person was more qualified than Rodney who, apart from the fact that he was a brilliant scholar and a successful academic, was the son of two people who earlier provided and pioneered such leadership. So Rodney's parentage greatly influenced his choices in life and the social situation in which he found himself:

He was convinced that academics, especially in developing countries, had an urgent responsibility and obligation to share their knowledge and experience with the masses. Furthermore, he understood the relationship between theory and practice, and recognised that academics themselves can only formulate valid theories and offer reliable advice if they, in his own words, saw with the eye of the people and heard with the ears of the people. (Bacchus, 1975:140)

This may not be unconnected to his upbringing: Rodney was introduced to class relations in Guyana and how the battle for liberation could be fought and won by his consanguine. As a freedom fighter, he had an intimate understanding of Britain's (and later the United States) artificially created divisions between different nationalities, including South Aslans, Africans, Portuguese, Indigenous people and Chinese. This was the divisive method used by Europeans to subjugate their colonies.

Moreso, Rodney's rich knowledge of African and Caribbean history was great asset to his course. Walter Rodney had no doubt that there was an abundance of wasted talent among the poor and oppressed masses, and he argued that, apart from the personal frustrations experienced by these people of the Caribbean, or any other region, could not afford to allow this talent to go to waste without jeopardizing the development of the study as whole. He was a staunch believer in the fact that justice and freedom were fundamental to human life which clearly explains why he doggedly continued to mobilize and unite Guyanese people to oppose the ruling dictatorship of Forbes Burnham. He went a step further than his parents in the political struggle to evolve a political party known as the Working People's Alliance (WPA), which was a front that helped him to achieve a greater followership and more penetrating criticisms of the government, such that the ruling regime became so malicious and desperate that they plotted the murder of Walter Rodney. Zinul Bacchus presented the build up to this event in a very interesting way when he writes thus:

In his determination to struggle against exploitation and oppression, Walter Rodney organized among Jamaica's poorest people. His work was having such a tremendous impact less than one year later, he was banned from re-entering Jamaica while attending a writer's conference in Canada. At that time (1968-1969) liberations movements were sweeping Africa, Asia and Latin America: the U.S.A.

was experiencing opposition to the Vietnam war at home and abroad; and the civil rights movement was gaining ground also ... since Walter Rodney was viewed as revolutionary in Washington, D.C., many other Caribbean government banned him from their country even before he expressed interest in visiting (Bacchus, 1975:356).

Rodney is a good example of living by the rules and principles in which he was groomed. His first precept on political struggle and grass root campaign was instilled in him at birth. He never departed from the ways in which he was brought up not even at the point of death.

2.2 THE MAN WALTER RODNEY

Walter Rodney was one of the most important Guyanese scholars and political figures of the 20th century. His inclination towards radicalism and repealing of capitalist tendencies was developed early during his childhood days because of his parent's involvement in grassroot politics with respect to the anti-colonial movement in Guyana. Rodney as a person can be described in different respects even though he lived a very short life. He was born in 1942 and died by assassination in 1979, which means he lived for only thirty-seven years. Despite the fact that he didn't enjoy a long life span, he was able to impact the political economy of the Guyana of his age; he also contributed immensely to its political future through his critical writings, speeches and

teachings which were all aimed at achieving one goal – the refutation of racist bourgeois domination in all facets of the social framework. He worked tirelessly in four continents and in several parts of the Caribbean in order to propagate his ideas on Marxism. His ideas on Marxism were formed during his education in London where he learned the science and working of dialectical and historical materialism under the strong influence of CLR James, leading West Indies scholar. Rodney can be described as a historian and theoretician on the one hand, and as a social crusader and activist on the other. As a scholar, his teachings were predominantly critical of capitalism, political slavery and other imposing ambitions of the West. Hence he centres his views on Pan African and Afro centric political awareness which he believes is a necessary template for the emancipation of the working people of Guyana and other colonies in the regions of Africa and the Caribbean. He was influential for opening up new vistas of hope for African learning and discussion especially on self-liberation and self determination. His scholarly advances made a considerable deal of impact on the political movements of black people towards achieving such ends. As an aspiring scholar, Rodney wrote a doctoral dissertation on the slavery in Upper Guinea Coast; his contributions to this area of scholarship were greatly rumoured to be ingenious because it challenged conventional wisdom in this area while opening up new frontiers. In the course

of this research, he had to learn Portuguese and French so as to have a full grasp of the complexities involved in the work. This no doubt proves that Rodney was a very brilliant Scholar.

The high point of a scholar's career arguably comes with publishing as a hallmark of exceptional scholarship and research activities. And in this regard, Rodney was not found wanting. Although his published works were very few in number, one of his works '*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*', published in 1972 was considered as magnum opus. In this work, he described how Africa's continuous exploitation of European imperialist has led to its underdevelopment. It also describes how the political, social and economic structures of Africa were being destroyed by the Europeans during their exploration of the continent. The book is also just controversial as it is popular because Rodney argued that the foundation of African economic underdevelopment was laid during its initial with the Western World where slave relations was orchestrated for the oppression and exploitation of the people from a number of countries in this region. He argued further that while this trenchant political disparity and other negative consequences from this scheme of affairs exists, Africans must take their destiny in their hands by fighting off these capitalists from the African territory by sensitizing the people through massive enlightenments to build their political consciousness – a

consciousness predicated on Marxian socialism. Interestingly, there is a unique way society responds to scholars who are viewed as being sensitive to the yearnings and aspirations of the common people; in the case of Rodney, the common people of Guyana responded actively. We can ascribe such responses to the consciousness of the working people and marginally to that of other pressure groups which play and will continue to play a key role in the forward movement of anti-government uprisings and rebellion. In the words of Eusi Kwayana, who contextualized this sort of social response within the Guyanese society, there has always been something in the Guyanese understanding of life that responds to outstanding scholars. This is true of most formative economies. There is particularly an even stronger something that responds to the victim of oppression. When outstanding scholarship and victim are both combined in the same person, the size and weight of the response would rise accordingly (Kwayana, 2001). Such is the effect of Rodney's academic legacy in the society.

As an activist and a social crusader, Rodney can be described as the Caribbean Marxist revolutionary who was committed to the struggles for the liberation movements even in the wake of the stiffest opposition. The complete dynamics of Rodney's personality cannot be underscored without proper mention of his radicalism and activism which were geared towards the self-

determination of the ordinary people of Guyana. Walter Rodney was once described by Louis Proyect, a commentator on African politics, as an unrepentant Marxist due to the activities he was rigidly committed to all through his life time. From the outset, Rodney knew that the emancipation of the oppressed could be brought about only by the oppressed themselves just as Marx predicted in his social theory. Thus, it was useful for those who had knowledge, or were in the course of getting knowledge, which the very institutions of oppression had kept from them to point their vision in the direction of that knowledge and open up their appetite for self-discovery. There is nothing in this that can be in conflict with Marx, and if it is, then it only shows that Marxism has a potential for growth and is not a closed Bible as some regard it (Kwayana, 2001). Most of his teachings and activism were predicated upon the threshold of Marxian principles especially on the historical development of the society.

Rodney canvassed his people to support his vision about how the dangerous effects of class oppression in Guyana could be overturned by the application of Marxists revolutionary principles on African politics. He believes that Marxism has a great deal of relevance to African society even though he advocated a non-direct application of those principles. In one of his speeches titled: "Marxism and African Liberation" delivered at Queen's College, New

York, USA in 1975, he clearly demystified the intricacies of his intellectual appeal to Marxism when he posits thus:

In class, all ideologies are class ideologies. All ideologies derive from and support particular class. So for all practical purposes we have grown up in capitalist society, and bourgeois ideology is dominant in our society. These institutions in which we function were created to serve the creation of ideas as commodities, ideas which will buttress the capitalist system. Now, I would suggest, historically, as Marx suggested himself, that the set of ideas we call Scientific Socialism arose within capitalist society to speak to the interest of the producers in that society, to speak to the interest of the oppressed, of the culturally alienated; and we must understand that of the two major sets of ideas before us, idealism and materialism, bourgeois philosophy, that each of the two is representative of a particular class (Rodney, 1975).

Africa, for him must demonstrate a necessity for ideological development along these lines; that is, it must drastically move away from the whims of capitalist structures whose goal is to exploit and enslave the people to a more welfare-oriented socialist structure that would ensure the flourishing of people and the maximization of human capital and its productive resources.

According to the various scholarly reports, Rodney showed signs of activism from a very tender age, his interest in politics can be described as home grown because his parents had been involved in post-colonial struggle prior to his birth. Commentators on Guyana politics believe that Rodney was

involved in politics since his student days in Jamaica and later in England. Horace Campbell reports that while he was at UWI, Walter Rodney was active in student politics and campaigned extensively in 1961 in the Jamaican Referendum on the West Indian Federation. While studying in London, Walter Rodney participated in a number of discussion circles expounding his idea on the relevance of Marxism to African and Caribbean social praxis.

Rodney has also been described as a prophet of self-emancipation because he was concerned with the deprivation of the oppressed classes inside any given country and also with the oppression of the subject peoples of the earth by oppressing nations. In relation to the fate of the oppressed classes in a given country, he believed that they must discover themselves in order to understand their historic mission in their own oppression (Kwayana, 2001). Odeen Ishmael (2007:5) captured such calls for self-emancipation in his edited collection of Walter Rodney's articles; in Rodney's own words:

One can sum up on the national question by saying that all classes in Guyana have an objective interest in unity. That is to say, each class has suffered materially from economic chaos, each class has suffered in one way or another from arbitrary rule, insecurity and lack of the opportunity to do an honest job. Collectively, we are faced with the threat of disintegration and the loss of commitment to Guyana as a nation state. This is tragically seen through the large numbers lining up at the embassies and passport offices, and in large numbers who have but one ambition in life – to leave Guyana. This is a time for calling on our resolves of

patriotism. The road to recovery of national purpose lies through the restoration of democracy. All parties and all interest groups must somehow be represented in a Government of National Reconstruction and National Unity. Burnham Must Go! (Ishmael, 2007:5).

This anti-government stance of Rodney got to a point that it became unbearable for the dictatorship in power as the activities of Walter Rodney became increasingly threatening to their continuous stay in power. So, they knew that something had to be done about this growing unpalatable situation before things got out of hand within the polity. So the ruling party put in place mercenaries to doctor the activities of the dreaded man so that they could expel him from the country. They felt that Rodney's expulsion from Guyana would kill the movements for self-emancipation already growing inside the country; they felt that he would be unable to cause any trouble while in exile. By the later part of 1968 Rodney's work titled: "Groundings with my Brothers" which was much fancied by the poor of Jamaica had begun to attract the attention of the government. Thus, when he attended a black writers' conference in Canada, he was banned from re-entering his country. This action gave rise to widespread riots and revolts in Kingston in which several lives were lost and property worth millions of dollars were destroyed. The police and security forces were ruthless in their brutal assault on the citizens.

The expulsion of Walter Rodney from his native land came along with its own consequences. Michael West (2008:93) opines that Rodney's expulsion from Jamaica in October 1968 was at once a singular moment in the Island's postcolonial experience, then just six years old, and in the life of the black power movement in the Caribbean. At the time, Rodney was not just the visible exponent of Black power in Jamaica, but, he also symbolised the potential for black power unity. The most worrisome aspect of Rodney's activities for the Jamaican authorities was his ability to speak to the diverse audience to which Black Power appealed, namely Rastafarians, religious rebels imbued with liberationist theology, urban youths, university students, and radical intellectuals. Although these groups lacked coherence and coordination among them; the Jamaican government believed that Rodney could supply – indeed, that he was intent on supplying – the missing link. Rodney, the intelligence services reckoned was potentially dangerous since he might succeed in bringing together various disaffected elements in Jamaica to form a formidable force capable of unseating the government in power.

In spite of the political troubles and persecution Rodney was facing at that time within and without his home country, he didn't allow the man in him to die. Against all odds, he was able to put the expulsion from Jamaica behind him and went to Tanzania where he first lectured after the completion of his

doctoral work in African history. He lectured there from 1968-1974 and continued his activism and other scholarly engagements. His interests in African politics grew deeper because it was the period of the African liberation struggles and he was able to demonstrate his fundamental beliefs about intellectuals using their skills and intellectualism for the emancipation of the people. This turn of things in his life largely contributed to the ideas that formed the basis of his second major and arguably his best known – *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Indeed, as an astute intellectual and pro-people activist, Rodney proved his worth, and the true measure of a man does not lie in the accumulation of material possessions but on the amount of influence the life of such a man is able to exert on the society.

Further still, the man – Walter Rodney can be discussed from two broad distinct and complementary perspectives. On the one hand, his penchant for social change was inspired by the fundamental yearnings for a change in the predominant ideology which subsists within the material economy of the society. This is in lieu of the deformational or deformational role ideology could play in the determination of a people's situation and historiography. Then, on the other hand, he was deeply concerned in the disparity and social stratification that existed within the substructure which can only be confronted, in his view, by radical means only. This is not all surprising because Rodney is

a thorough going Marxist who believes that the exegesis of the superstructure determines the conditions of life within the substructure. Scientific knowledge must be aimed at improving the society in all ramifications of social change. In the opinion of Nigel Westmaas (2005) it appears that from the moment that Rodney encountered the science of history he wished to utilize it to serve society and not to be led by it. In his own analytical approach he would go forth boldly to challenge assumptions that the thought required redefining if not destroyed, and all societies he touched felt his restless and relentless search for the laws of social motion in the specific location, together with the method and the organization to engage the motor for change.

2.3 RODNEY'S EARLY DAYS AND EDUCATION

From his early days, Rodney had shown signs of intellectual prowess and outstanding brilliance in academics, this largely contributed to how he was able to successfully complete his education despite his poor background. Fortunately for him, at the time of his youth, the Eurocentric dictatorship in power still favoured sponsoring indigent students on scholarship in order for them to secure a brighter future armed with Western ideologies. But education like any potent weapon can bring good to its precursors while it could, at the same time prove potentially harmful to them. Rodney did not allow the fact

that he was granted scholarship to study abroad for his graduate studies by the colonialist to affect his later trenchant criticisms of the negative tendencies of this oppressive class on the third World.

Rodney began his educational peregrination in George town, at Queen's College and the University of the West Indies in Jamaica where he got a First Class Honours BA degree in history; a remarkable achievement indeed. Rodney grew up during the country's anti-colonial movement; his father was a member of the Marxist-oriented People's Progressive Party, which led the struggle for freedom from British rule. Rodney went on to complete his doctoral dissertation, titled "A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800," at the school of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1966. It was widely acclaimed that while at Queens College, young Rodney excelled academically, as well as in the fields of athletics and debating; his oratorical power was going to pay off later in his struggle for liberation of the working class of Guyana. It was precisely in 1960, that he won an openly competed scholarship to further his studies at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. After graduating with a first-class honours degree in history in 1963, he was given another open scholarship to study for his Ph.D. at one of London's finest Universities. In 1966, at the age of 24, he was awarded a Ph.D. with honours in African History. What this goes to further prove is that Rodney

was a genius that showed great promise as a scholar even from a very young age.

In addition to this, his doctoral research which focused on slavery on the Upper Guinea Coast was the result of long meticulous work on the records of Portuguese merchants both in England and in Portugal. His investigations in this area were able to open up new vistas of knowledge widely adjudged as original because it challenged previous patterns of thought in this field. Meanwhile, in the process of his research, he learned Portuguese and Spanish which along with the French he had learned at Queens College made him a linguist. In 1970, his Ph.D dissertation was published by Oxford University Press under the title, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800*. This work was to set a trend for Rodney in both challenging the assumptions of Western historians about African history and setting new standards for looking at the history of oppressed peoples. After his sojourn in the Western World, it was Africa that benefited first from the intellectual genius of this great scholar-activist. Walter Rodney took up his first teaching appointment in Tanzania before returning to his alma mater, the University of the West Indies, 1968. This was a period of great political activity in the Caribbean as the countries began their post colonial journey. But it was the Black Power Movement that caught

Walter Rodney's imagination and interest. He became totally committed to the agenda of this movement even to the point of his death.

A very important point to note about the early days of Rodney was that he was deeply committed to impacting his country, especially his home town, with the knowledge he had acquired from a reputable institution abroad. Even though, he could have stayed abroad to pursue a very successful academic career, he returned to his native country, now called Guyana, in 1974 and was denied a job by the University of Guyana by President Forbes Burnham led administration. Burnham saw the young scholar-activist as a political opponent and a threat to his political ambitions and did all he could to keep him out of Guyana. During this time, Rodney was associated with the Working People's Alliance, a political organization that aims to offer a non-racial approach to Guyanese politics in a country where party politics had been divided between Cheddi Jagan's East Indian-based People's Progressive Party and Forbes Burnham's African-based People's National Congress. His activities can be described as somewhat progressive because his foundational principles were centered on all-inclusive all-participating system of political governance. He believed that people's participation in politics is as germane as the very air they breathe because such involvement would not only lead to the development of

political consciousness but also to bring about the determination of their political future and general well being.

As earlier highlighted, Rodney, a brilliant student, attended universities in the West Indies before going abroad to earn his higher degrees. Rodney taught in a variety of locations, including Africa, before returning to the Caribbean. He expressed sympathy for the working class people of the region and was sharply critical of the elites for mimicking colonial systems and traditions. He became increasingly drawn to Marxist, Pan-African, Rastafarianism, and other Black Power movements – a cause he was ready to give up his brilliant career for. Rodney believed that all people of the African Diaspora, wherever they may be across the globe, had a special connection and formed a special cultural identity. This made him to vigorously pursue various agenda that were aimed at fostering brotherly relationships among the poor working class people of Guyana.

Rodney's Marxism, however, was independent of the Soviets and Chinese, which he found dogmatic and counterproductive for the Third World. He thinks that the modes of thought that operated in those societies were pretentious and are nothing but disguised forms of imperialism and bourgeois manipulations. He was an avid scholar of comparative revolutions and wrote about the working class in Guyana. His advocacy for the proper understanding

and application of the thesis of Marxism was unparalleled in the history of social thought in Africa and the Caribbean. Rodney's most dramatic and long-lasting contribution to scholarship was as a historian of Africa during his stay in Tanzania. His first work *The Groundings with My Brothers* was published in 1969 and expressed sympathy with working-class people in Jamaica. His dissertation titled: *The History of the Upper Guinea Coast* was published in 1970 as an attestation to his inimitable brilliance. Rodney is significant in establishing a new focus on African history and underscoring the need for black scholars to do history by participating in the determination of their social conditions, and to take back their past in order to make their own future. Most works published by Rodney after this time, were all aimed at correcting the bourgeois sponsored erroneous impression about Marxism being a dysfunctional system of thought and dissolving the question of whether it is also a bourgeois ideology that needed to be eschewed.

For many Africans, Walter Rodney's legacy remains his influential and seminal book: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. A book that was published when Rodney was only 29 years old having obtained his Ph.D at the age of 24! By whatever standard – whether professionally or politically – Rodney was an exceptional person whose influence will continue among all struggling peoples desiring a different World and working to make it possible.

In *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney laid bare the historical process through which Africa became the mess that we see all around us. He established that there was nothing natural or God ordained about the processes. They were man made and therefore changeable by act of human will and determination. He showed how Africa developed before contact with Europeans through slavery (400 years) and colonialism (100 years); what happened under slavery and colonialism and how both led to Africa contributing to the development of Europe while Europe was under developing Africa in the same process.

Rodney was also a gifted and compelling speaker whose arguments were backed up by a mastery of contemporary data. His political assumptions were based on facts gathered from a long tradition of rigorous study. He possessed a capacity to communicate complex ideas to small study groups and large audiences with great clarity drawing on his solidly rooted knowledge of African and Caribbean history. This is why he was much loved by the working class people in Guyana and in Africa; he spoke to them not just as an iconoclast but as someone who identifies with their hopes, aspirations and yearnings for a brighter future and the exploration of their human potentials to the fullest possible ends. In the later years, the oratorical skill possessed by Rodney was to prove useful both as a scholar, commentator, and teacher. He spoke

convincingly to numerous Guyana society at the grass root level both to the youths and to the working class people. The first step in every revolutionary change is to convince the people that the struggle is a worthy cause and when this proves successive, the struggle will follow suit. Rodney was very fluent with words and lucid in the expression of ideas probably because of his background as a teacher and public commentator.

The traces of Rodney's radical intellectual and political thought had started to develop in his early days when he was still trying to find his feet as a man. He was undoubtedly affected not only by the radical activities of his parents prior to his birth, but also by the sufferings of the people whom he worked and lived with within the community. In his homeland, Guyana, Rodney always worked shoulder-to-shoulder with the working class, be it in the sugar cane fields or bauxite mines or other work and cultural spaces. He was a very humane person filled with compassion for the people, even though he knew that he could do little or nothing at that time. This could have largely contributed to his resolve later in life to fight for the emancipation and liberation of these poor working class people. He could feel their pains, unspoken wishes, and distilled dreams even from a distance; he must have wanted to know why the destiny of his people were the way they were when he decided to study history in the first instance. Rodney all through his struggle

emphasised the importance of uniting the working class people. He once wrote that:

There are no ifs and buts about our commitments to building a society in which working people enjoy the fruits of their own labour. A united working class is the base on which national unity is to be built. It is the working class (including housewives and the unemployed) who suffer most under the corrupt dictatorship. It is the working class which sacrificed most in the struggle for bread and justice. A working class interpretation must win over the progressive elements of other classes and strata... working people require fundamental change in the political structure to permanently guarantee rights which they temporarily won in the face of colonialism. The Guyanese working people who are in the immense majority will expect to have their labour power reflected in the power of the state.(Bacchus, 1975:133)

Furthermore, it is important to note that apart from Rodney's natural ability to appeal to people, his activism could have been derived from the already 'radical' nature of Guyanese politics at the time he was growing up. The activities of political parties and pressure groups as at this time was already very much involved in anti-imperialistic campaign that it was only natural for Rodney to be influenced. According to Eusi Kwayana (2001:1), Walter Rodney was concerned, from the time of his awakening, with the destiny of the poor. His activity off the campus at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica showed this. He was concerned with the deprivation of

the oppressed classes inside any given country and also with the oppression of the subject peoples of the earth by oppressing nations. In relation to the fate of the oppressed classes in a given country, he believed that they must discover themselves in order to understand their historic mission in their own oppression. From the outset, Rodney knew that the emancipation of the oppressed could be brought about only by the oppressed themselves. An understanding of this background will shed more lights on why Rodney was doggedly committed to the plight of the working people.

Let us bring it to the fore that Rodney's birth and early education was very significant in recounting the historic experiences of Guyana and other parts of the Caribbean, his relevance as a person also goes beyond his local territory to other areas like Africa and Asian societies. As highlighted by Nigel Westmaas (2005) Rodney argued that the time must come when the Indian and African will organize around their interest as producers in the Guyanese society as distinct from pursuing this myth of racial superiority and racial subjugation. He further argued that exploitation has little or nothing to do with whether one is Indian or African in the Guyanese context. Rodney was an unswerving advocate for the oppressed and exploited classes. In the Guyanese context this included the Indian, African, Amerindian, Chinese, Portuguese, etc. What the above submissions portend is that the set of ideologies propagated by

Rodney were not constrained by geographical location or racial variation. His primary concern was to ensure that man was free and has the capability for self thought and expression without the pressure of dictatorship and various forms of oppression.

2.4 LITERARY EXPERIENCE AND PHILOSOPHICAL LEANING

Walter Rodney as a scholar, intellectual, social crusader, commentator, and historian was deeply influenced by the writings and teachings of Karl Marx, especially those aspects that deal with the struggles of the working class against capitalist exploitation and oppression. His analyses of the structure of the society in his historical writings were mainly based on the dichotomy between two different classes – one often seen as being at the disadvantaged end. Rodney believes that every generational transition within the society comes with this form of divide albeit in different guises. He suggests that economic expansion is one good factor could have been the case that the expansion of the economy leads eventually to a change in the form of social relations – unbalanced social relations (Rodney, 1972:6). From the foregoing, it is worthy of note that Rodney held a materialist conception of social change in the tradition of Marxism in which the scientific study of the society is achieved by looking at the revolutionary activities of the working class cum the offensive

activities of the ruling class, and all the workings inherent in the society with bias for the lower cadre of the stratified society.

Rodney is principally of the view that Marxism as a social theory and ideology can be meaningfully applied to other societies contrary to widespread speculation in the 19th century that Marxism is racist ideology that was properly designed for Europe. In one of his speeches titled "Marxism and African Liberation" delivered in 1975 at Queens College, New York, Rodney espoused his ideas on how relevant Marxism is as an ideology to African, Caribbean and other third World societies. In his view, the methodology of Marxism is based on a body of thought which has been carefully conceptualized and expound to cater for the weakness and shortcomings of previous bourgeoisie ideologies. That is, the crisis caused by capitalism and imperialism today in the society could only be remedied by searching for a new system of doing things and modes of thought which could rationalize the existing system and bring it to its total collapse.

The influence of Marxist literature on Rodney cannot be over-emphasised because all through his life, he advanced claims on how the methodology of Marxism can be gainfully employed within the society to achieve social change. In his own words:

I would suggest two basic reasons why I believe that Marxist thought, scientific socialist thought, would exist at different levels, at different times, in different places and retain its potential as a tool, as a set of conceptions which people should grasp. The first is to look at Marxism, as a methodology, because a methodology would initially by definition, be independent of time and place. You will use the methodology at any time rate, at any given place. You may get different results, of course, but the methodology itself would be independent of time and place (Rodney, 1972:2).

A close examination of Rodney's statement here will show that he is not just insisting that the methodology of Marxism be understood before it is applied in a given social praxis, but he is also convinced that the relevance of this methodology is universal as it goes beyond borders. A good question to ask here is: what is the substance of this methodology? Rodney did not fail to provide this answer. He suggests further that:

...one of the real bases of Marxist thought is that it starts from a perspective of man's relationship to the material World; and that Marxism, when it arose historically, consciously dissociated itself from and pitted itself against all other modes of perception which started with ideas, with concepts and with words; and rooted itself in the material conditions and in the social relations in the society.(Rodney, 1972:2).

With this postulation in mind, it won't be difficult to place the ideological framework that permeates Rodney's activities and all that he stood for as a

person and a scholar. Little wonder, therefore, that Rodney is wittingly referred to as unrepentant Marxist and as the James Bond of social theory by friends and an international man of mystery by foes. But one of the most interesting things about Rodney is that even though he believed in Marxist philosophy, and he saw himself as a progressive. He believed in the rate of change and the rate at which problems are being confronted.

One huge factor that contributed to the philosophical lineage of Rodney was the development of capitalism in the 19th century Europe (classical period of capitalism) which later moved to Africa, the Caribbean and other third World countries. How monopolistic capitalism quickly transformed into imperialism was just a matter of trans-generational metamorphosis and the extent and manner to which the relations of production within the society are manipulated. The effect of these manipulations was in varying degrees, depending on the economic, political and exploitative tendencies of the conqueror. This fact has been well documented by various scholars and social commentators on African political history.

According to Zotov (1988:72) the whole of capitalist social formation is based on the social manifestation of the class antagonism inherent in production relations, with the bourgeoisie political superstructure that protects the rule of capitalist class. Cahrlie Kimber (2007:9) similarly opines that under

capitalism, the relationship between the workers and the rulers takes different form. Workers do not own any of the tools required to produce what they need to survive. Capitalists own the factories, machinery and raw materials. Workers can only get what they need to survive by selling one thing they have, which the capitalists need – their ability to work. However, Rodney believes that it was under capitalism that the greatest form of human exploitation was recorded in history. In the words of Rodney, capitalism was characterised by the concentration in a few hands of ownership of the means of producing wealth and by unequal distribution of the products of human labour [labour which] became something to be bought and sold. Capitalism is a system based upon private ownership of the means of production which explains why people are alienated from the products of their labour under this system. This kind of social arrangement where the goose that produces the golden eggs is starved to the point of severe impoverishment leaves much to be desired. Therefore, capitalism and its arrangements of capitalist imperialist mode of production, has to hit the rocks. The agitations of the working class, who are now armed with full knowledge of their deprivations stemming from the class distinctions that exist within the society, had to fight back to bring capitalism to its total collapse. So with the collapse of capitalism as an ideology that dictates the flow of the means and relations of production within the society, there has to be

some ideology to take its place. This is where the Marxists much advocated scientific socialism comes to bear. The point being expressed here is that, the crisis of capitalism directly leads to the search for an alternative ideology – scientific socialism.

Rodney is a strong advocate of this brand of ideology not merely because it greatly influenced his ideological World view, but also because its tenets promise a brighter and a rewarding future to the local people. (Working class) when compared with the standard of life that was obtainable under the capitalist regime of arrangement. He believes that Africans and the black people of the World as a whole would better their lots if they embrace this new form of ideology that preaches the gospel of welfarism in contrast to capitalism's exploitation. His staunch insistence on the methodology of Marxism as the harbinger of a meaningful livelihood was based on his conviction that the crux of the scientific socialist perception is to restore the dignity of man which has been badly damaged and battered by the capitalist arrangement. According to him, the basis of Marxist thought is that it starts from a perspective of man's relationship to the material World; and that when Marxism arose historically, it consciously dissociated itself against all other modes of perception which started with ideas, with concepts and with words;

and rooted itself in the material conditions and in the social relations in the society.

It is instructive to note that his philosophical appreciation of Marxism wasn't credulous. He believes that one must seek to understand the underlying principles of the Marxist ideology before routing for its application within the society. That is, the methodology of the scientific socialism can be effectively appreciated if and only if the scientific socialism's philosophical assumptions are fully grasped. Rodney defines the methodology. As a methodology which begins its analysis of any society, of any situation, by seeking the relations which arise in production between men. There are a whole variety of things which flow from that man's consciousness is formed in the intervention in nature, nature itself is humanized through its interaction with man's labour and man's labour produces a constant stream of technology which in turn creates other social changes (Rodney, 1975:105).

The key word from his definition of the Marxist methodology is "change". Change and revolution is the watchword for all Marxists. An implicit fact in what has been said so far about the methodology of the Marxist is its relevance and impact time and place – it can be applied to different times and different places, just as Marx, taking the broad framework of methodology, applied it to a range of societies in different places and at different times.

However, within the context of African social realities, Rodney was influenced by the philosophical writings and teachings of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, whose brand of scientific socialism, *Ujamaa*, largely contributed to African liberation from the pitfalls of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. While he was living in exile at Tanzania, after running into problems with the ruling government in Guyana, his home country, he taught courses in African Diaspora and dedicated most of his time to the socialist movement in Tanzania, where he worked closely with President Julius Nyerere. While he was working in Africa, he defended the thesis that scientific socialism is the weapon of theory to dismantle capitalism.

He sees socialism as a social theory that by far caters for the working class and oppressed peoples – in short, by the time the principles of socialism are fully embraced all forms of class struggle would have been abolished and the quest for revolution would die natural death because there will be no more class distinctions. Another reason he gave for his position was that bourgeois ideas derive from bourgeois relations of production. Meanwhile, they are intended to conserve and maintain those relations of production socialist ideas derive from the same production, but they derive from a different class interest and their aim is to overthrow that system of production.

His readings of Marxist literature exposed him to various recurrent themes which made it possible to achieve rapid success in his revolutionary activities. He studied historical materialism as characterised by the failures of the nineteenth century Western society and the various trends on social consciousness with regards to how it affects the material economy of a state. At this period also, he kept himself abreast of how primitive communalism was practiced; with respect to ascertaining its successes and failures. It is important to note that:

The first humans handed together in primitive herds. Their chief occupation and means of subsistence were gathering and hunting (appropriate economy). Their tools were primitively sharpened by ordinary sticks, stones or animal bones. During this period, the collectivity was the basic organizational principle of primitive social life (Sabirov, 1987:11).

In consequence, the primitive communism was not an option for the revolutionary activities because the society has advanced beyond that form of social order. So he strived to espouse the view which seems appealing to him – that is, the view that socialism is the system of governance that should be applied in a new type of society that is devoid of all nefarious, injurious and exploitative tendencies including all forms of class segregation and inequitable distribution of all the benefits of production. As the foundation of a socialist society were laid down, all types of human relation, socio-economic, class,

moral and family – were being restructured along new, community principles, private property alienates people ...socialist ownership give rise to a completely new system of human values and relationships. A person's wealth is measured not by his work. Once free from exploitation people do not regard each other as enemies or rivals, but rather as colleagues working together for the common good (Sabirov, 1987:222).

Perhaps, Rodney's literary experience was solidly formed while he was studying for his graduate degrees overseas. His romance with Marxism was engineered by C.L.R. James, West Indian scholar he greatly admired. As at this time, he learned the fundamentals of the science of dialectical and historical materialism in company of others who share the same history with him. Other works that had a great deal of impact on Rodney include works from scholars like, Aime Cesaire, Frantz Fanon, Cabral. Marcus Garvey, V.I. Lenin, George Padmore and W.E.B. Dubois. Even though most of these scholars were not Africans, Rodney dismissed the view that Marxism could not be applied to outside European context as racist and bourgeois assertion.

Summarily, Rodney's philosophical and literary lineage was deeply influenced by the body of thought which is called Marxism; he believes that without Marxism, there cannot be anything known as African liberation – that is, the relevance of Marxism to African liberation cannot be overemphasised.

This explains why he used the Marxian method to record African history in its various stages of metamorphosis; communalism → Slavery → feudalism → Capitalism → Socialism. To him, it is at this stage of socialism that the dignity of man would be restored through the application of the principle of economic and social equality within any given social framework. From all we have discussed so far, it is important to note that Rodney is a man of integrity because he lived and died for the ideas and beliefs he considered to be necessary truths and did not vacillate or rescind on his conviction even in the face of lethal and stiff oppositions. Unfortunately, the social conditions which Rodney sought to abolish with his radical activities still exist in many parts of Africa today; this implies that the quest for liberation of African societies through revolutionary struggle is still meaningful and many African scholars today must take it as a challenge to perpetually engage in this kind of struggle until all forms of exploitation, oppression, injustice and bad governance is eschewed from the society. Having said this, we shall now discuss in the next chapter, Pre-colonial Africa: Some Basic Assumptions.

CHAPTER THREE

PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA: SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the African condition and some basic assumptions which explain it, in the pre-colonial times. In this respect, many African political philosophers have made attempts at exhuming the African past with a view to showing how glorious it was. These African Philosophers are as convinced today as they were before that African societies did not have to wait for contact with Europe before evolving their traditional political order, which they describe as communal. They argue that capitalism has never truly had a foot-hold in Africa.

3.1 THE AFRICAN CONDITION

The long history of Africa pre-dating the coming of the Europeans implies among other things that Africans could not have existed without the essential World-view, which sustains these assumptions. Africans must have developed their own responses to the environment in which they found themselves. They must also have evolved their own socio-political and economic relations, even if such relations are considered today as crude and uncivilized.

Africa is not only the home of the black people but their home-based as well, in the sense that in actual fact, the continent contains the heaviest concentration of black people in the World. Consequently, to speak about the African condition, the powerlessness or the impotence of the black man in Africa in a strong way speaks on the reason or reasons for the powerlessness, exploited and exploitable conditions of the blacks in Diaspora too. What is of interest to us in this work, what in fact generally draws pathetic criticism from foreign nationals as well as from black or African intellectuals is the modern African condition, the very life-situation of the present day African.

We must say that a close unbiased critical look at the African (black), his status and human condition since his heroic struggles for political independence and autonomy, one easily realizes that his over-all condition is far from being healthy. Historical existence since the end of colonialism has been clearly marked by poverty (material and mental), disease, famine, squalor, wars, ethnic conflicts of different sizes and duration, border clashes, refugee problems, overt and covert foreign manipulations and exploitations, coups, counter coups with resultant tragedies, again, of different kinds and magnitude, and so on. The African after much trial and error, would himself readily acknowledge to be incapable, so far, of wielding an effective workable political systems, adapting modern science and technology to solve his basic

needs in the areas of staple foods (his cassava, yam, beans, etc), of fighting against mass illiteracy, disease, endemic, corruption, nepotism and so on, by himself.

As a matter of fact, when his history of conquest is clearly and objectively analysed from the partitioning of the continent in the last century, colonialism, slavery, neocolonialism, imperialism (the white man's burden) to self-inflicted burdens of ethnic rivalries, fratricidal wars, coups and counter-coups, border disputes, unworkable political systems, unstable economy (the black man's burden) one sees the effect of powerlessness at its peak. One painfully realizes that the history of the black man has remained, in most cases, that of numbers without power, quantity without quality, indeed with very little achievement to show for it. For, after all, what real power can the modern African exercise of himself, by himself? What real needs can he solve of himself? A critic of the African condition once commented that machines, for instance, cannot operate properly in his country or continent without "yelling" for foreign experts. He cannot even fight his foreign enemies whom he blames for most of the ills in the continent without their weapons.

He constantly slaughters his kith and kin in ethnic rivalries, border clashes, fratricidal wars, etc with foreign weapons and worse still, personnel (mercenaries). He cannot have peace in his own country with the neighbouring

town or tribe without outside help. When he is really sick, he flies overseas for help. He also takes off at the outbreak of war, coups and counter-coups and even when he is a wanted man after embezzling his country's funds, for instance, he flies overseas for protection and to squander his loot. Indeed the record of the modern African is not at all flattering to his ego. The will-to-achieve something meaningful, to make the continent stand on itself and by itself is simply not there. His serious problem is impotence. It is impotence, sheer powerlessness all the way, with regard to his ability to master his environment, solve his basic problems and tap his natural resources primarily for his own advantage. Self-frustration and disgust appear increasingly to characterize his daily mood. Obi B. Egbuna (1993:4) expresses this existential anguish thus:

We (Africans) do not control our land, our lives or our direction. We do not command the means of distribution and production. We do not even earn a reasonable living wage but we were born here and our forefathers claim ownership of the land.(Egbuna, 1993:4).

Historically therefore, the black man or the African in his own eyes, more so, to those of his foreign critics particularly, has not commanded power or will vigorous enough to free him from domestic, national and international problems, whether self-imposed or alien-imposed. He has remained powerless

to be self-sufficient and self-reliant. The result of it all in many African nations today is “despondency”, somehow a national disease which the late Martin Luther King Jr. of United States once called “given up.” For the African, from the look of things in the continent and the insuperable conditions of the African in the Diaspora, appears to have *given up* on himself of ever redeeming himself, by himself in the continent and around the World.

Robert H. Schuller’s inimitable idea that “Tough Times Never Last but Tough people do,” for all its worth, might offer some consolation and hope but it has not and cannot disguise nor minimize the gravity of the African condition. Ali, A. Marzui (1980:3) in his critical study of the African condition, more than anyone in recent times, details it in six paradoxes which he summarized as follows:

- ❖ Africa is the first habitat of man but is the last to be made truly habitable.
- ❖ Africans are not the most brutalized of peoples but are probably the most humiliated in modern history.
- ❖ African societies are not the closest to West culturally but have been experiencing the most rapid pace of Westernization of this century.
- ❖ Africa is not the poorest of the regions of the World in resources, but it is the least developed of the inhabited continents.

- ❖ Africa is not the smallest of the continents but it is probably the most fragmented.
- ❖ Africa is the most central of all the continents in geographical location, but politically, and to some extent militarily, it may be the most marginal.

Indeed, on the African and his status in modern times, these paradoxes spell one thing, namely, powerlessness or weakness, the inability of the African to successfully fight against and master the odds of his environment or human situation in his continent. Consequently, rather than being self-reliant and self-sufficient, he has remained increasingly indigent and other-reliant.

3.2 AFRICAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS' ATTEMPTS AT EXHUMING THE ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND THE AFRICAN CONDITION.

Many African political philosophers have made attempts at exhuming the assumptions behind the African condition. In this respect, the views of Walter Rodney, Obafemi Awolowo, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Placide Tempels, George Ayittey, and others will now be examined. These African philosophers are of the view that African societies did not have to wait for contact with Europe before evolving their traditional political order they describe as communal. They have equally argued that capitalism has never

truly had a foot-hold in Africa. J.I. Nyerere (1968:242) opines that in the old days, the African had never aspired to the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of dominating his fellows.

Julius Nyerere further claims that rooted in our past (African) society which produced us is communalism. Modern African socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of society as an extension of the family unit. Arguing from a similar premise, Leopold Senghor, (1964:29) explains that:

Negro African society is collectivist, or more exactly, communal because it is rather a communion of souls than an aggregate of individuals... Africa had already realized socialism before the coming of the Europeans... but we must renew it by helping it to regain spiritual dimension.(Senghor, 1964:29)

We must note that the communal past which we have been urged to return to by Nyerere is said to be humanistic, cooperative, collectivist and egalitarian. As a form of humanism, it aims at the complete development of the whole man and insists on the respect which is due to man's dignity as a rational being, against all forms of racialism and against any system which would use man as a means rather than as an end. As African, it wishes to respect the African values, not merely as they existed in a traditional society which cannot be truly reconstructed, but as developed in a modern way upon the foundations of African traditions. In addition, as Senghor points out, the

African experience of colonialism has added a racial and political dimension to the economic and social alienation which is the root from which European socialism has grown. The African socialism, as a response to a total human alienation, and not merely a socio-economic one, will of necessity be coloured by this total dimension and experience. It is the hope of most African socialists eventually to bring these values to bear on and play a role in the universal culture of mankind (Anyanwu, 1981:330). For no true African socialist can look at a line drawn on a map and say the people on this side of that line are my brothers, but those who happen to live on the other side of it can have no claim on me; every individual on this continent is his brother. But we must not stop there. Our recognition of the family to which we all belong must be extended yet further beyond the tribe, the community, the nation, or even the continent to embrace the whole society of mankind. Tom Mboya similarly argues:

The basic tenets of socialism are universal – a mental conditioning or an attitude of mind established in order to achieve rational relationship and harmony in the society... socialism stands for equality of opportunity, security of income and employment, equality before the law, the rule of law, individual freedom, universal franchise, state regulation of economic life, state control of vital means of production and distribution, etc. (Mboya, 1981:331).

It must also be stressed that Senghor claims that socialism is nothing but the technical and spiritual organization of human society by the intelligence

and the heart. Again, it was Senghor's belief that Negritude which can respond to the needs not only of modern Africa, but also of the modern World: it is the humanism of the twentieth century. This is because its theory of knowledge corresponds to the new discoveries in science which shows "that facts and matter, which are the objects of discursive reason, were only the outer surface that had to be transcended by intuition in order to achieve a vision in depth of reality" (Gbadegesin, 1991:164). In other words, even scientists recognize the inadequacy of discursive reason that it has to be complemented by intuition to have an adequate grasp of reality. The point that is worth noting here, is that for Senghor, negritude represents an elaboration of the black people's contribution to the civilization of the universe. In the realm of knowledge, they have their own methods; the sympathetic and sensitive approach to things that come to their consciousness. They are endowed with more emotive response and ability to participate sensuously than the European and, as a result of the belief that the World is composed of life forces in complementary relations and that they all emanate from God to fulfill its purpose. Africans, on this view, would see each object, person or thing as a necessary link in the chain of the universe and treat them accordingly. It is a past in which he explains, 'everybody was a worker; everybody was his brother's keeper'. Nyerere often repeated in Swahili, 'Ngeni siku mbili, siku yatatu n pe jembe' meaning treat

your guest for two days, on the third day, give him a hoe. This past, according to Nyerere was peculiar to traditional Africa. It is on this ground among others, that Nyerere rejects scientific socialism claiming that Karl Marx and Engels knew nothing of pre-capitalist African society. Again, (Nyerere, 1968:5) says that, to us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community. Each individual within our society had a right to the use of land.

Another African political philosopher was Obafemi Awolowo, (1968:209) who stresses that though there was, by and large, absence of greed in primitive African communities for material acquisitions and extensive ownership of private property, this, in our view, was not due to any adherence to the principles of socialism of which they were never conscious of, but rather to insuperable physical obstacles to such acquisitions and ownership.

Awolowo's argument hinges on the fact that Africans could have been nothing else but communal, in view of the situation which prevailed and not because they were consciously trying to recapture an innate communal tendency. Awolowo further argues that in the absence of portable and durable means of exchange which apart from anything else, could serve as store of value, the desire and the greed to accumulate the things of this World were reduced to the barest minimum. Awolowo illustrates with examples of (five shillings) being the equivalent of 'one sack' which requires one able-bodied

person to carry. Being wealthy then meant owing several 'sacks' require an equal number of persons to carry. In time of emergency, Awolowo concludes that it would be madness for anyone to possess too much of either perishable farm products or cowries (Ibid, 209). This argument becomes plausible when one remembers that the moment portable and durable means of exchange were introduced, excessive greed and capital accumulation came to the fore in Africa.

Furthermore, Nyerere, (1970:2) claims that socialism is an attitude of mind. If this claim is granted, then, it is possible for a capitalist to be a socialist. In this regard, the "millionaire (i.e. a capitalist) could be a good socialist," especially, one that has altruistic attitudes. In other words, altruism makes a man socialist. Nyerere's view of socialism as an attitude of mind is premised on the assumption that socialism is mainly a question of distribution of wealth. In his opinion (1970:2):

The basic difference between a socialist society and capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed. While, therefore, a millionaire could be a good socialist he could hardly be the product of a socialist society (Nyerere, 1970:2)

Nyerere's view implies that anyone who is ready to, or who indeed, distributes his wealth – i.e. a philanthropist – is a socialist.

However, it is not enough to have just an attitude of mind to socialism. The attitude of mind to socialism must be a right one. A.M. Babu, had identified some objective conditions, which, we believe, are complementary to the possession of right attitude of mind to socialism. They include the following Babu, (1983:150-151):

The development of scientific method of investigation and a scientific approach to implementation. Social development, like all other development, is subject to contradictions and our investigation and analysis need to be directed at discovering these contradictions and at understanding them in order to resolve them. A correct analysis of the present situation ensures a correct posing of questions about future development, and the latter ensures the discovery of the relevant contradictions, whose resolution determines the solution of other contradictions. 'A two-way traffic' must be evolved in the working relationship between leading cadres and the masses, who are the real agents of change. In order to facilitate change, we are obliged constantly to evaluate our experience, to locate it within the context of the theory of socialism, and put the result into practice.

Nyerere – like Kwame Nkrumah and Obafemi Awolowo, among others believes in "human brotherhood and the unity of Africa". In his view, universal brotherhood is the creed of true socialism. It is also the basis of traditional

African socialism. Altruistic attitude metaphorically pervaded the air of traditional African society: in that society, everybody tried to be his or brother's keeper. Nyerere affirms that Ujamaa is founded on the institution of cooperation rather than conflict. As he observes, "the basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words is human equality (Nyerere, 1970:38).

Nyerere and Nkrumah (before the latter became a scientific or Marxian socialist) agree that communalism and African socialism are identical or that communalism shares certain features with socialism. For instance, Nkrumah believes that communalism and socialism share humanist and egalitarian principles and that socialism can be and is modernized communalism. He was of the view that it is necessary to modernize communalism in order to transform Africa into socialist society (1964:72). He observes further that one of the characteristics of traditional African society is the display of socialist attitude towards man. In Africa, man is considered as primarily a spiritual being originally blessed with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value. According to Nkrumah, this idea of the original value of man is the theoretical basis of African communalism and it expresses a socialist attitude (1968:68-69).

Nyerere affirms that familyhood or brotherhood (that is. Ujamaa) is the basis of socialism and communalism practiced in traditional African society. He

stated further that “we, in Africa, no more need of being ‘converted’ to socialism than we have of being ‘taught’ democracy. Both are rooted in our past – in the traditional society which produced us” (1970:12). He identified African socialism with communalism. He opines that African socialism did not have the benefit of agrarian revolution of industrial revolution. He is also of the view that African socialism did not start from conflicting classes in society. “African socialism” is thus synonymous with communalism.

Furthermore, it needs to be stated that advocates of African socialism especially Senghor and Nyerere also argue that the entire frame work of African socialism rests on a unique African epistemology. Senghor, for instance, argues that “from our ancestors, we have inherited our own method of knowledge” (Senghor, 1964:30). He goes on to explain that the Negro African does not draw a line between himself and the object, he does not hold it in the distance, nor does he merely look at it and analyze as it is done in the West. Rather, he takes it vibrant in his hands, careful not to kill it. He touches it, feels it and smells it. The Negro-African could safely say, Senghor concludes, I feel, I dance the other, I am? Thus, the conclusion that the Negro African reasoning is intuitive by participation unlike that of the West which is described as analytical, discursive by utilization is reached. It is on this assumed unique African epistemology that Senghor hinges his African socialism. In the same

vein, it must be mentioned that “the idea of vital force as the supreme ontological principle of Bantu thinking as expounded by Placide Tempels plays an important role in African epistemology (Kebede, 2004:3). Again, John Mbiti says that Africans have their own ontology, and to understand their religions, we must penetrate that ontology (1986:15). More so, the black man knows the inherent irrationality of life. Thus, black culture is aimed at the experience (Anyanwu, 1981:86). Senghor here seems to summarise the entire process of attaining knowledge in traditional Africa; the same way Tempels summarizes the ontological assumption of the African World view shared before the Europeans came.

Again, Traditional African society was strongly structured, made up of family cooperation in the framework of the village mutual. Religion played an important role in this society, (Ovitz, 1969:146). Obafemi Awolowo also shares the same view by postulating that “the entire family recognizes its obligation to assist and care for those of its members who, for reasons of age, sickness, disability, or adventitious circumstances are unable to earn a livelihood. In short, the well being of each member of the family is the concern of all, and vice versa; and the wealth of the family is shared among its members with manifest fairness and equity (1968:78).

Furthermore, we should note that one of the epistemological assumptions is that “the African culture assumes that a life force permeates the universe, that the World is centered on the self, that reality cannot be separated from personal experience and that all life forces are in constant interaction in a hierarchical order (Anyanwu, 1981:94). The African maintains that there can be no knowledge of reality if an individual detaches himself from it. To the African, a life force, is not a passive spectator of the universe, but an active participator of the life events. So, he operates with the logic of aesthetics which holds that the whole is the real. Knowledge, therefore, comes from the cooperation of all human faculties and experiences. He sees, feels, imagines, reasons or thinks and intuits all at the same time. Only through this method does he claim to have the knowledge of the other. So, the method through which the African arrives at the trustworthy knowledge of reality (God, man, spirit, society, social facts, etc) is intuitive and personal experience. Every individual has knowledge and this knowledge depends on his personal experience. For instance, when an African looks at a tree within the assumptions of his culture, he sees and imagines a life force interacting with another life force. He sees the colour of the other object (tree), feels its beauty, imagines the life – force in it, intuitively grasps the interrelationships between the hierarchy of life forces (Anyanwu, 1981:94).

Moreover, Placide Tempels' theory of forces tries to show that the traditional African had a Philosophy when he says "behaviour can be neither universal nor permanent unless it is based upon a concatenation of ideas, a logical system of thought, a complete positive philosophy of the universe, of man and of things which surround him, of existence, life, death and the life beyond (Anyanwu, 1981:74). .He is of the opinion that life force permeates the whole universe and that matter and spirit are an inseparable reality. Behind the natural things and intimately co-existing with them is the non material power. This life force, according to him, has existed from the beginning of the World. This force is active. Man, animals and plants share from this life force and it can be communicated to things. Spirit and divinities or mystical beings possess this life force. This life force is impersonal and non-conscious yet constitutes the individuality of every living force or individual. Life force is under the direction or guidance of the soul which is also a force; though it does not vary quantitatively or qualitatively.

The African has no definition of such forces but only describe them in terms of their functions. Soul would be something like the individual will, his thought, conscience and judgment. The African does not even say that the soul is a kind of entity or a determinate thing that goes to heaven or hell after death. Vital force and soul co-exist. In the same individual, interactions between man

and man, man and nature, man and God are those between vital forces and souls. Superior or higher forces directly influence lower ones, while the lower ones have indirect influence on superior ones. Everything the African thinks about and feels has to be in the image of a living force interacting with other living forces (Anyanwu, 1981:90). Now, it is worth mentioning that because everything is a vital force or shares in this force, the African feels and thinks that all things are similar, share the same qualities and nature. This does not mean however that the African does not know the distinction between a tree and a goat, a bird and a man. Rather, what this boils down to is that the ontological relationships among life forces do not permit him to see things in isolation. In fact, he denies the existence of an individual as an isolated entity unrelated to others. He affirms the ontological relationship as the ultimate nature of things.

According to Tempels, "the African traditional metaphysics is one which being is identified with force. The force is inseparably tied to being and this is why these two notions remain tied to each other in their definition of being. Force is not merely an accidental attribute of certain beings: For the Bantu, being is the thing which is force" (Anyanwu, 1981:148-149).

As a consequence, the African concept of change is not centred on the physical efficient causality, which is the "princes analogatum" of the term cause

in Western thought, but rather on a non-physical, invisible, mystical property of being as such. We might say that in the African conception, the capacity for thing is identified with being and therefore with act or perfection. A being exists in as much as it is capable of doing certain things. A being is defined by what it can do, rather than what amount of active potential it represents. Temples argues that force can be increased or diminished, thus acquiring more being or being reduced to less being (Anyanwu, 1981:149).. One could say that in terms of an explanation of the World, the force confers being rather than the other way around. Hence, a being with force not only can do more than a being without force, but is more. He is of the view that force is not communicated or reduced primarily by some form of physical casualty, because force does not belong to the primary order. It is metaphysical. It is therefore not accessible to scientific or empirical verification. It belongs to the order of invisible entities which cannot be known but only believed in; which cannot be rationally proved, but only revealed by tradition which cannot be coaxed into action by exercising a direct causal influence on them, but only a symbolic and ritual form of causality. Temples argues further that the supreme value for the Bantu is force, to live strongly to have a powerful life, or more simply to be healthy, rich, to live long etc and he concludes from this that prayers, magical rituals

and medicine are aimed primarily at strengthening life force. Hence, according to him, life force refers essentially to the quality of life (Anyanwu, 1981:154).

The essential thing to note is that this theory of forces has been in existence in pre-Colonial Africa and that it serves as one of the essential World-views explaining the African condition. It can equally be explained in a way Africans respond to the environment in which they find themselves. In the same vein, it is to be stressed that “forces, spirits and esoteric spoken words are both theoretical models and entities that guide one to reality or constitute a picture of reality. They are just metaphysical as the infinite divisibility of matter (Oguejiofor, 2005:18).

Moreover, Ayittey, (1992:18) says that “before the arrival of the European, Africa had participatory and direct democracy, free village markets and free trade. Freedom of expression also existed in traditional African societies. At village meetings, the natives of Africa freely expressed their ideas and exchanged viewpoints. Africans had a value system, they knew of the work ethics, justice, order and fairness. There were kingdoms, empires and civilizations in Africa”. Some were “primitive”, but others were highly organized and sophisticated. Gold was used as money by coastal peoples of West Africa before the Europeans arrived there. The initial discovery and use of this precious metal as money were distinctly due to black Africans. Gold

provided the basis for a stable and robust Western monetary system. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost all Western's currencies were backed by gold (or on the gold standard). Although, it should be mentioned that the knowledge and use of gold in Africa predated the arrival of Europeans and Arabs, subsequent refinements of its use in international monetary systems, however, was made by the Europeans. From this perspective, it can be said that the Europeans never really introduced new institutions into Africa; they introduced only the advanced and more efficient forms of already existing institutions. Ayittey goes further by claiming that "over the centuries, there has been a cross-cultural fertilization and borrowing of ideas and institutions between the West and Africa that makes claims of "invention: absurd. Much of this borrowing is still evident. For example, there has been a great deal Western borrowing from African music and art. Many Western countries and organizations also use lions and elephants animals – indigenous to Africa – in their emblems. The lion in particular, has appeared in the coat of arms of Western institution, and elephant is the symbol of the American Republican Party (Ayittey, 1992: 18).

Similarly, Ayittey argues that "then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings. Then the country was ours. In our name and right... All men were free and equal and this was the foundation of

government. The council of elders was so completely democratic that all members of the tribe could participate in its deliberations. Chiefs and subject, warrior and medicine man, all took part and endeavoured to influence its decisions Party (Ayittey, 1992: 36). The organizational structure of indigenous political system was generally based on kinship and ancestry. Survival of the tribe was the primary objective. Each ethnic group had its own system of government. There were no written constitutions. Custom and tradition established the procedures for government.

In addition, Walter Rodney describes how well-developed ancient African societies were and how much potential they had for further development before Africa was colonized by Europe. Rodney adopts the words of Casely Hayford to support his point: Before the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our own institutions, having our own ideas of government (Rodney, 1972:40). Also, as far as Africa is concerned during the period of early development, it is preferable to speak in terms of culture rather than civilizations. What then is culture? A culture is a total way of life. It embraces what people eat and what they wear and the way they talk and the manner in which they treat death. Obviously, unique features came into existence in virtually every locality with regard to all social details. The continent of Africa South of the Sahara desert formed a broad communion

where resemblances were clearly discernible. For instance, music and dance hold key roles in 'uncontaminated' African society. They were ever present at birth, initiation, marriage, death among other things as well as appearing at times of recreation. Africa is the continent of drums and percussion. African peoples reach the pinnacle of achievement in that sphere.

Rodney (1972:42) argues that "African dance and art were almost invariably linked with a religious World – outlook in one way or another. As is well known, traditional African religious practices exist in great variety, and it should also be remembered that Islam and Christianity found homes on the African continent almost from their very inception. The features of the traditional African religions help to set African cultures apart from those in other continents but in this present context, it is more important to note how much African religion had in common with religion elsewhere and how this can be used as an index to the level of development in Africa before European impact in the 5th century." Religion is an aspect of the superstructure of a society, deriving ultimately from the degree of control and understanding of the material World. However, when man thinks in religious terms, he starts from the ideal rather than with the material World (which is beyond his comprehension). This creates a non-scientific and metaphysical way of viewing the World, which often conflicts with the scientific materialist outlook and with

the development of society. African ancestral religions were no better or worse than other religions as such. But by the end of feudalism, Europeans began to narrow the area of human life in which religion and the church played a part. Religion ceased to dominate politics, geography, medicine only to mention but a few. To free those things from religious restraints, it had to be argued that religion had its own sphere and the things of this World have their own secular sphere.

Walter Rodney observes that religion can play both a positive and a negative role as an aspect of the superstructure. In most instances in early Africa, religious beliefs were associated with the mobilization and discipline of large numbers of people to form state. In a few instances, religion also provided concepts in the struggle for social justice. The negative aspects usually arose out of the tendency of religion to persist unchanged for extremely long periods, especially when the technology of earning a living changed very slowly. This was the case in African societies as in all other pre-capitalist societies. At the same time, the religious beliefs themselves react upon the mode of production, further slowing up progress in that respect. For instance, belief in prayer and in the intervention of ancestors and various gods could easily be a substitute for innovations designed to control the impact of weather and environment. It must be noted that the same kind of two-sided relationship also exists between

the means of earning a living and the social patterns that arise in the process of work. In Africa, before the 15th century, the predominant principle of social relations was that of family and kinship associated with communalism. Every member of an African society had his position defined in terms of relative on his mother's side and on his father's side. Some societies placed greater importance on matrilineal ties and others on patrilineal ties. Those things were crucial to the daily existence of a member of an African society, because land was owned by groups such as the family or clan – the head of which was responsible for the land on behalf of all kin, including fore parents and those yet unborn. As a matter of fact, by the 15th century, Africans everywhere had arrived at a considerable understanding of the total ecology – of the soils, climate, animals, plants and their multiple interrelationships. The practical application of this lay in the need to trap animals, to build houses, to make utensils, to find medicines, and above all to devise systems of agriculture.

Walter Rodney, (1972: 48) maintains that “in the centuries before the contact with Europeans, the overwhelmingly dominant activity in Africa was agriculture. In all the settled agricultural communities, people observed the peculiarities of their own environment and tried to find techniques for dealing with it in a rational manner. Advanced methods were used in some areas, such as terracing, crop rotation, green manuring, mixed farming and regulated

swamp farming. The most important technological change underlying African agricultural development was the introduction of iron tools notably the axe and the hoe, replacing wooden and stone tools. It was on the basis of the iron tools that new skills were elaborated in agriculture as well as in other sphere economic activity.”

Besides, when it comes to the question of manufacturing in Africa before the coming of the white man, it is also essential to recognize where achievements have been underestimated. African manufacturers have been contemptuously treated or overlooked by European writers, because the modern conception of the World brings to mind factories and machines. However, ‘manufactures’ means literally, ‘things made by hand’; and African manufacture in this sense had advanced appreciably. Most African societies fulfilled their own needs for a wide range of articles of domestic use, as well as for farming tools and weapons (Rodney, 1972: 50).

Rodney contends that one way of judging the level of economic development in Africa, five centuries ago is through the quality of the products. He goes further to show examples of articles which came to the notice of the outside World. Through North Africa, Europeans became familiar with a superior brand of red leather from Africa which was termed ‘Moroccan leather’. In fact, it was tanned and dyed by Hausa and Mandinga specialists in

Northern Nigeria and Mali. When direct contact was established between Europeans and Africans on the East and West coasts, many more impressive items were displayed. As soon as the Portuguese reached the old kingdom of Kongo, they sent back word on the superb local cloths made from bark and palm fibre and having a finish comparable to velvet. The Baganda were also expert bark cloth makers. Yet, Africa had even better to offer in the form of cotton cloth, manufactured before the coming of the Europeans.

Moreover, it must be emphasized that a survey of the scene in Africa before the coming of Europeans would reveal considerable unevenness of development. There were social formations representing hunting bands, communalism, feudalism and many positions immediate between the last two. In other words, efforts will be made in order to review the principal features of several of the most developed societies and states of Africa in the last thousand years or so before Africa came into permanent contact with Europe. These areas to be considered are Egypt, Ethiopia, Nubia, Morrocco, the Western Sudan, the Inter-lauustrine zone of East Africa and Zimbabwe. Each serves as an example of what development meant in early Africa and what was the direction of social movement. To a greater or lesser extent, each was also a leading force on the continent in the sense of carrying neighbours along the same path, either by absorbing them or influencing them more indirectly.

EGYPT

Rodney (Rodney, 1972: 57) maintains that it is logical to start with Egypt as the oldest culture in Africa which rose to eminence. The glories of Egypt under the Pharaohs are well known and do not need recounting. One of the first features of feudalism to arrive in Egypt was the military aspect. The Arabs, Turks and Circassian invaders were all militarily inclined. This was particularly true of the Mamluks who held power from the 13th century onwards. Political power in Egypt from 7th century lay in the hands of military oligarchy which delegated the actual government to bureaucrats, thereby creating situation similar to that in places like China and Indo-China". It must also be noted that under the patronage of the Fatimid dynasty (969 A.D. to 1170 A.D.), science flourished and industry reached a new level in Egypt. Windmills and water wheels were introduced from Persia in the 10th century. New industries were introduced, paper making, sugar refining, porcelain, and the distillation of gasoline. The older industries of textiles, leather and metal were improved upon. The succeeding dynasties of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks also achieved a great deal, especially in the building of canals, dams, bridges and aqueducts, and in simulating commerce with Europe. Egypt at that time was still able to teach Europe many things and was flexible enough to receive new

techniques in return. The Fatimids founded the city of Cairo, which became one of the most famous and most cultured in the World, seat to the legendary “Arabian Knights”. At the same time, they established the Azhar University which exists today as one of the oldest in the World.

ETHIOPIA

The wealth of Ethiopia rested on an agricultural base. The fertile uplands supported cereal – growing and there was considerable livestock raising, including the rearing of horses. Crafts skills were developed in a number of spheres, and foreign craftsmen were encouraged. For instance, early in the 15th century, Turkish artisan settled in the country and made coats of mail and weapons for the Ethiopian army.

NUBIA

It must be stated that Kush was a centre from which many positive cultural elements diffused to the rest of Africa. Brass – work of striking similarity to that of Meroe was reproduced in West Africa and the technique by which West African cast their brass is generally held to have originated from Egypt and to have been passed on via Kush. Above all, Kush was one of the earliest and most vigorous centres of iron mining and smelting in Africa and it

was certainly one of the sources from which this crucial aspect of technology passed to the rest of the continent. Little wonder the middle Nile was a leading force in the social, economic and political development of Africa as a whole.

THE MAGHREB

Here, mention must be made that like Islamic Egypt and Christian Nubia, the Maghreb of the Islamic dynasties inherited a rich historical and cultural tradition. It was the seat of the famous society of Carthage which flourished between 1200 BC and 200 BC, and which was a blend of foreign influences from the Eastern Mediterranean with the Berber peoples of the Maghreb.

THE WESTERN SUDAN

The Western empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai have become by – words in the struggle to illustrate the achievements of the African past. That is the area to which African nationalists and progressive whites point when they want to prove that Africans, too were capable of political, administrative and military greatness in the epoch before the white men. Mention should also be made that when Portuguese arrived at the river Gambia and got a glimpse at

how gold was traded on the upper reaches of the river, they marveled at the dexterity shown by the Mandinga merchants.

It has been considered necessary for the purpose of illustration to consider some of the outstanding areas of development in Africa before the coming of the Europeans. Those described above should be sufficient to establish that Africa in the 15th century was not just a jumble of different tribes. There was a pattern and there was historical movement. Societies such as feudal Ethiopia and Egypt were at the furthest point of the process of evolutionary development (Rodney, 1972:80).

Moreover, land was considered by most of the African peoples in much the same way as Europeans think of sunshine and air – equally plentiful, equally necessary, and equally to be shared by all members of the community according to their needs. Land had no price and was not for sale. It is true that in areas of dense population, where trade had developed and land was less plentiful, the idea was already being modified to some extent before the arrival of Europeans. Among the Kikuyu of Kenya a man could pledge his land to creditors, but he parted only with the use of it, and he retained the right of taking it back when he had paid his debt. Also, although even before the coming of Europeans, persons from other tribes were allowed to hold land after they had given presents to the clan authorities, the gifts were not looked on as

payment for the land. They were community, or as tribute in recognition of the authority of the chief or elders. Membership of the community, not payment of price, was the condition of land-holding (Batten,1960:14-15).

Furthermore, precolonial Africa was characterized by great freedom of movement of people and of trade. A dense web of trade routes criss-crossed the continent, along which the natives moved freely and engaged in trade. Africans have long had an ingrained cultural propensity to trade. Throughout their history, they have been known to travel great distances to purchase goods from strangers at cheaper prices to sell at higher prices to make a profit. Much of this activity was free from state controls and regulations. State intervention in trade, commerce, and markets by Africa's traditional rulers was also the exception rather than the rule. There was no native African law which forbade Africans from entering into business if they wished. By nature and tradition, Africans have always been free enterprises. Markets were the nerve-centres of traditional African societies (Ayiittey, 2005: 102).

Finally, Africans have their own values, and their own identity derived from a common heritage and different from the European culture, the European values and the European identity... feelings and sentiments take precedence over abstraction in African way of life (Odumegwu, 2006:178).

By and large, it can be concluded from the above that having explained these basic assumptions, it is obvious that Africa was developing before the contact with Europe. In the next chapter, we shall discuss a conceptual analysis of development and underdevelopment.

CHAPTER FOUR:
A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT AND
UNDERDEVELOPMENT.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In chapter three, we gave a detailed analysis of the nature and standard of development in the pre-colonial Africa, as well as the various reasons for the underdevelopment of the continent. But, we need to know what actually development and underdevelopment are and the types of development which this work aligns with. Therefore this chapter discusses meaning and definitions of development, dimensions of development, theories of development, and features of development. It also delves into the definitions of underdevelopment, nature of underdevelopment, features of underdevelopment, its effects and finally attempts proposed solutions to underdevelopment.

4.1 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT.

The World currently revolves around development. This is because the need for development occupies a primary place in the lives of individuals, groups, nations and states. The desire is always for a people to move closer to development. Those who are farthest from it wish they were closer and

consistently strive to be closer to it, while those who are close to it wish there were nothing separating them from development. Perhaps, the most intriguing aspect of the situation has to do with those by whom we sometimes measure development. They are involved at another level, in the race for further development and this involves discovering new frontiers of development and the process increases, as much as possible, the developmental gap between themselves and others. In this situation, the term 'Development' turns out to be a very vague term. This is because in our ever-changing World, there are no archetypes of development. Changes that are considered to be developmental today, may be considered primitive tomorrow. Also, what is considered to be development in one place, may be seen to be an index of retrogression in another. This makes it difficult to articulate a definite concept of development.

The problem of development is a nagging and recurrent issue. Like an ailment, it has received several diagnoses, prognoses and treatment. Yet the disease persists. It does not seem that it can be totally cured. Some countries seem to have achieved self-sustaining growth. Some are striving for it, while others are not only finding it difficult to attain, but also seem to be stagnant especially, economically. Citizens of some countries participate in the determination of their environment whereas this is not the case in others. Similarly, peoples of certain nations have the opportunity to choose and use

their resources to maximum capacity, while others do not seem to be so privileged. Usually, developed countries, particularly advanced capitalist ones, initiate and execute ethnocentric policies with little or no regard for the interests of underdeveloped one. The following questions are pertinent: What is responsible for these states of affairs? Why are some countries developed while others are underdeveloped?

The vagueness of the term notwithstanding, most people assume that they have a clear idea or, in the very least, an insight into the nature of development. Their means of arriving at this assumption is identified by Starr, John (1973:30) who observes that: "a series of stages is postulated through which the underdevelopment system must pass through in order to reach the condition of being politically developed. These series of stages, based on the Western experience, then comes to be revealed as being an absolute rather than an arbitrary scale for measuring political and social development and in the process, the values that govern the definition of the condition of being developed are never made explicit."

Although, Starr's comments refer, primarily to political development, it could be generalized to cover all aspects of development. Starr's comments become even more valid when we recognize the fact that most assumptions concerning the concept are based on a naïve identification of development with

modernization. But as Wiredu observes, “modernization is the application of results of modern science for the improvement of the conditions of human life. It is only the more visible side of development ... Because, modernization is not the whole of development, there is need to view it in a wider human perspective” (Wiredu, 1980:43).

In the same vein, it needs be stated that every country, nation, is of course developing, for no nation in the World has yet reached the highest point of development, nor is that even possible. No country in the World has ceased to develop or has no further need for improvement. Every country is therefore a developing country for there will always be need for improvement and to cease to develop amounts to retrogression. This is, of course, not deny or ignore the plain fact that some countries are more developed than others. But this is a matter of degree within the same process, for all countries are going through the same process of development though some have attained higher degrees of it than others.

Now, the fundamental questions that can be asked are:

- (1) What do we mean by development?
- (2) At what dimension of ‘development’ do we mean when we begin to talk about underdevelopment?

- (3) What are the definite parameters, factors, structures and character of development in Africa?
- (4) Has Africa experienced a situation when there was no development at all?
- (5) In the other words, could development have been static or retrogressive in Africa?

According to Henry McGurk, (1975:28) "development implies not only a change in time but also change which has direction; development frequently implies advancement or improvement over some more primitive status". Harris Dale defines development as "a sequence of continuous changes eventuating in some outcome" (1957:15). What this adds to the McGurk's position is that developmental change is not isolated incident. It must be part of a process emanating from the past and gradually building up to the present and the future. Harris also adds that it has as its essential components "the notions of a system possessing a definite structure and a definite set of pre-existing capacities; and the notion of a system yielding permanent but novel increment not only in structure but in its modes of operation as well" (Ibid, 17). This is to say that developmental changes cannot be accidental but must emanate from perceptible capacities, which exist in a well structured medium. Also, such changes result in a state that is not only different but also

qualitatively more desirable than the former state. Thus, development is not something that can be thrust upon a state or a system; it must be something that emanates from within. A question can be asked whether a change has to be purposive and intentional in order to be developmental. This query emanates from Sidney Hook's characterization of development. Hook refers to development as any change which has a continuous direction and which culminates in a phase that is qualitatively new. Hence, the term should be used to characterize any series of events in thought, action or institutional arrangement which exhibits a directional cumulative change that either terminates in an event marked off by a recognized qualitative novelty or which exhibits in its course, a perceptible pattern of growth. The suggestion by Hook that the term, development be applied only to events in thought, action and institutional arrangement seems to suggest that every developmental change is purposive, and intentional. But is this really the case? Is Hook correct in limiting the application of the term to the human sphere? The problem raised here goes beyond the scope of the present enterprise because; it raises the general question of applying human concepts to non human events. This notwithstanding, it appears that making a distinction between a general concept of development and a concept of development within the human

sphere amounts to creating a strawman. This is because, the general concept of development, just like any restricted concept of the term, is a human concept.

Besides, the term development is borrowed from biology. It describes a process through which the potentials of an object or organism are realized, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form". (Oladipo & Olorunyomi, 1999:13). Development can also be defined as "growth plus change. Change; in turn is social and cultural as well as economic and qualitative as well as quantitative. The key concept must be improved quality of people's life" (Oladipo & Olorunyomi, 1999:13). Development is "the act of developing into a form of something". To develop is to expand or realize the potentials of bringing gradually into a fuller, greater, or better state" (Williams, 1980:360). Development, here is progressive with the potentiality to achieve fuller realization. Development refers "to the progressive changes that take place in the growing organism as he/she advances towards maturity" (Amao Kehinde, 2000:17). Though, this definition is biological, the relevant point in it is that development has to do with progress, changes and maturity. Obasanjo and Mabogunje(1991:3) said development could be defined as "a change or a transformation into a better state". After tracing the evolution of the idea of development, Obasanjo and Mabogunje said that "development now emphasizes people as the object of attention. It is no longer just about growth in

the volume of goods and commodity. It is now to be thought of as a process concerned with people's capacity in a defined and over a defined period to manage and induce positive change" (Obasanjo & Mabogunje, 1991:3). Rita Abrahmsen (2000, 15) is of the view that the idea of development entered into epistemology immediately after the Second World War in 1949 when President Harry Truman (Of the United States), in his speech introduced the term, 'underdeveloped areas' and marks the launch of the global effort to develop the World and eradicate poverty".

In his own conceptualization of development, Baster Nancy says that 'the questions to ask about a country's development are: What has been happening to poverty, unemployment, inequality? If all these three have become less severe, then beyond doubt, this has been a period of development for the country's concerned" (1972:22). For Frances Stewart (1977:19-22) technology is the backbone of development without it, no country can be said to have developed.

Again, in the existential ontology of Martin Heidegger, development can be understood as the achievement of authentic nationhood; and underdevelopment, the inability of a nation to overcome confidence-crisis. Any nation that thus refuses or is incapable of building on its factual givens cannot be a sovereign nation where a sovereign nation is understood to be a nation

that is free from external determination and control. Any externally determined nation can hardly acquire stature and maturity. A nation without a sound ideological framework of its own to guide social action, a nation that goes about copying every available piece of ideology is vulnerable, and like an edifice without foundation, such a nation easily falls prey to the windstorm of imperialism. Such a nation is not genuine and is therefore lost in the inauthentic 'they World' where failure and misfortune are explained away in terms of sabotage. A nation that keeps another in the hope that one of them would provide a permanent solution to its social and economic problems is an inauthentic nation. The mode of being of such a nation is fraudulent and counterfeit. In the same way, a nation that refuses or is unable to act decisively, a nation that cannot reject external control or is unable to throw off the yoke of alien manipulation because the stakes are too high is gripped by confidence – crisis and such a nation dwells in the domain of inauthenticity (Unah, 1996:118-119).

In Hegelian idealism, development is not only in terms of ideas, it is also, essentially dialectical. It is the inescapable consciousness of the mind for progress even in the face of opposition. Development for Hegel is therefore inevitable. It is craving, the desire of the mind to reach for the highest level of spiritual advancement that culminates in the Absolute idea, the overall

governor of the World, of existence and of the being of man (Findlay, 1971:1). According to Hegel, development is fundamentally mental; it is *prima facie*, an idea before it can be concretized. Ake Claude, (2001:32) argues that development can only be related to and driven by social will in the context of democracy. It is only in this context that the people can be a means and the end of development." Put differently, development is best initiated internally and nurtured by the people in need of a particular development, otherwise, there can never be development. Development can also be described as "the mind leading to a complete mastery over nature in which can be the humanity of man is no longer subjugated to nature" (Balogun et al., 1988:178). Udoidem Iniobong (1992:25) maintains that development can be defined as "a process leading to the realization of full human and environmental potentials. If, therefore, in our thrust toward community development, the full human and environmental potentials are not realized, then, the community is yet to be developed". Also, Ogundowole, E.K. (2002:162) opines that "meaningful development is self-realization". This implies the use of the resources of geosphere, imagination and unprecedented ingenuity to achieve overall societal objectives. It entails the increasing expansion of what a purposeful self-reliant mind, poised at full realization and recovery can do with simple objects of his immediate geographical and historical environment. Hence, it

may be said that development is not so much a matter of what we have, but of what we do with what we have; how we do it and how well". He goes further to say that development, thus, is the desire and ability to use what is available to continuously improve the quality of life, liberate people from the hazardous power and influence of natural geophysical, socio-historical and World environment. In a nutshell, development must begin with the desire to improve lot through our own efforts. According to Ogundowole, development then, is like ambition, it cannot be received by people from another people. Development requires the ability to learn how to improve one's own well being. It involves the ability to act and while acting to apply knowledge thoroughly in all spheres of activity. He goes further by stressing that development as a process and as a concept is broader and is multi-dimensional. It may mean a mechanical motion, the spatial displacement of objects. It may mean a forward, backward, sideways, upward and/or downward movement. It may mean rectilinear, rotatory, oscillating, etc motion" (Ibid, 164). He goes on to say that for Frantz Fanon and Nkrumah, both hold that development means decolonization, and Nyerere who insists that development is liberation.

According to H. Miller, (1974:105) "a development is a temporal change having a beginning and end. It is unit of progress, a real unit of change. Secondly, it is a recognizable and describable process, one that recurs again and

again at different times and places. And thirdly, it is a cumulative or directed process, one which points throughout its course to certain definable goal or terminus". On his part, Pearson, (1970:7) maintains that development is partly a process whereby a country achieves a reasonable self-sustaining growth which facilitates and enhances industrial and technological progress in the interest of its people". Some of the pre requisites for this type of development according to him are: the application of modern science and technology, reasonable political stability, and efficient administration and organization. He affirms that development takes place when the people participate in the determination of their environment, and are allowed to choose and use their resources to the maximum capacity.

Development is also seen as "a growth from a certain stage of life conceived to be primitive to another stage conceived to be modern" (Oduwole, 2000:49). Development involves "a series of interactions (social relations) and other factors which in Africa would include values, way of life, beliefs, traditions as well as good governance, which allows human participation at all levels of decision making" (Dukor, 2003:97). Now, of all these plethora of definitions of development, I will like to pitch my tent with one of the definitions which says that development is the act of developing into a form of something. In other words, to develop is to expand or realize the potentials of

bringing gradually into a fuller, greater, or better state. One of the reasons for this is that development should not be a stagnant thing; it should go with changes; it should equally go with new dimensions, innovations, advancement and new ideas. It should move from one stage into another that will lead to new discoveries.

4.2 DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is a many-sided process. It is not a unitary or homogeneous concept; it is multidimensional, for, it appears in all aspects of human endeavour. The term development stands out as primary icon in various aspects of human theatre. This idea of development as being multidimensional is further reinforced in that “development has economic, social, political, cultural, educational, technological, human and personal dimensions” (Fadahunsi, 1998:157). In addition to these dimensions, we shall include and discuss moral and religious dimensions of development.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

If any development drive is to be meaningful, it must be people oriented. Development efforts that are not targeted at the well being of the people cannot be said to be meaningful. In the opinion of Omoregbe Joseph, (1999:197)“the

primary aspect of development in any country is the development of human dimension. In other words, development of human personality is primarily the development of a nation. All other aspects of development are subordinate and instrumental to human development". Some scholars have also expressed their views on human development. Ann Babu (1981:157) maintains that "hitherto untapped human ingenuity and material resources will come into full play, crushing all obstacles, natural or man-made on the way". A development according to Iroegbu Pantaleon (1996:148) is people oriented, human centered and citizens anchored, when the people are accorded primacy as the subject and object of attention in development effort." In other words, human development is an existence when there are continuous opportunities given and opens to man in order to improve his skills and abilities.

In the same vein, Julius Nyerere (1973:12) maintains that development is nothing but human development. That is, it is a process whose primary goal is human well being, both its material and moral dimensions. He stresses further by saying that "roads, building, the increase of the crop output, and other things of this nature are not development, they are tools of development. A new road extends a man's freedom if he travels upon it. An increase in the number of school buildings is development only if those buildings can be and are being used, to develop the minds and the understanding of the people.

Development, which is not development of the people, may be of interest of historians in the years 3000. It is irrelevant to future that is being created. From this, it can be deduced that the enhancement of the well being of the people is the primary goal of any development

Having said the importance and indispensability of the human dimension of development in any meaningful discourse on development, the question may be asked: How can a society realize human development? Or can people be empowered in their bid to utilize their capacity in a defined area over a defined period to manage and induce positive change and qualitative progress? Human development can be realized and enhanced in a state when it is seen as a process which involves practical quality education as the topmost need to satisfy in the society, establishing and operating well funded and well equipped educational institutions, and fully applying the knowledge – skills, abilities, psychology in training the citizenry. We can decipher from this that qualitative and practical education is central in any meaningful drive towards human development.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development is characterized with improvement in quality of life coupled with the liberation from the yoke of unproductivity and

retrogressiveness as well as static economic situation. A country is said to be economically developed, when the country is independently of outside control or direction, organizes the exploitation and development of its total resources, for the benefits of its entire people under a system in which the forces of supply and demand and marginal utility are controlled for the common good (Awolowo, 1968:2). What this boils down to is that the extent to which a country maximizes the available resources determines the strength of her economy.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Educational development occupies another aspect of development worthy of discussion. And for there to be human development, the educational prerequisite for development must be fulfilled. The more a state is developed educationally, the more it is susceptible to an all-enhancing development. But what is educational development? It can be conceptualized as the emancipation of human beings from the cave of ignorance and illusion to the limelight of knowledge. It entails qualitative change and increase in literacy acquisition. Educational development emancipates a people from the shackles of ignorance and improves their efficiency. It brightens the prosperity of the people and gives them a promising future. Hence, for a state striving towards qualitative

and quantitative educational development, education should never be seen as a privilege, but as right of the entire citizens.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

To speak of political development, is to emphasize on “the qualitative increase in the level of the involvement of the people in the appointment of those with whom they trust their political destinies” (Onimode & Synge, 1995:96-77). A politically developed state implies an enhanced political participation based on the principle of accountability. That is, those who govern the state are accountable to those they govern. Political development in a state is determined by the degree and level of the democratization process in the state.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Related to political development is social development. Though, many people have erroneously conceived social development to mean the provision of social services or the promotion of social welfare or independence from development aids. It involves the promotion of social reform human dignity and justice. Social development involves the respect for the views of others, acceptance of plurality of opinions as well as respect for the views of others.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Technological development is the qualitative advancement recorded in the civilization of science and the technical application of its results. Technological development is the consistent increase in the application of the result of science for the improvement of the conditions of human life and control of man's environment for the suitability and comfort of man.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

While there exists a sort of relationship between cultural and social development [earlier discussed], there still exists a difference between them. Cultural development is the expanding and adaptive capacity of the society in satisfying the material and cultural needs of its members'' (Wiredu, 1995; 1-2). It is a change in the anachronistic aspects of culture to the enhancement of such important aspects of cognitive of fostering societal progressive development. It involves a continuous and conscientised effort at subjecting culture to critical analysis via assimilating those useful aspects of culture and jettisoning the unuseful aspects either foreign or indigenous. It includes tapping deep into the society cultural heritage in a quest for transformation into contemporary relevance. The extent to which a culture is developed, depends on the extent to which such a state has undermined the foundation of superstition and how far

she has cultivated the spirit of rational enquiry in all spheres of thoughts and beliefs.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

No development programme is completed without including within it a programme for religious upliftment and development. Religious development is the qualitative and quantitative increase in the purification of man's soul and accentuation towards the will of the supreme being- God. Religious development affords the citizens to foresee, identify, condemn and abstain from evil always wherever and whenever it surfaces in the society.

MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Morality is indispensable to development. The recent call for moral regeneration by scholars admits the quest for development, reinforces the importance of moral development. In fact, it can rightly be said that moral development is the basis for a well-rounded development. In other words, the prosperity of a society depends on the moral disposition of its members. Put differently, a state or society can never experience true development when the citizens are morally deficient. This position is akin to Omoregbe's conception of development when he opines that: moral development on the part of the

citizens is therefore a condition sine qua non for the development of any nation. It must precede the economic development through modern technology. Neither science nor technology can develop a country, if its citizens are not morally developed" (Omoregbe, 1993:150). It is the moral development of the citizens that constitutes the development of the country.

4.3 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

In addition to the meanings, definitions and dimensions of development earlier discussed, the idea of development will not be fully comprehended without a discussion of the theories of development. To this end, our concern here is to delve into the two prominent theories of development viz:, growth and modernization theories respectively. The foremost representative of the growth theory is W.A. Lewis, while that of modernization theory is W.W. Rostow. The two theories will now be fully explained.

DEVELOPMENT: THE GROWTH THEORY'S PERSPECTIVE

W.A. Lewis, like other growth theorists, regards per capita income, gross domestic product, etc., as indicators of the level of development. He claims that three 'proximate causes' are essential to an understanding of growth and developmental issues. These are (1) the effort to economies (2) increase of

knowledge and its application and (3) effort to increase the amount of capital (Lewis, 1963:11).

On the issue of capital, Lewis examines capital requirements, main sources of savings and process of investment. Any country which desires economic growth needs to increase its capital per head, among other things. He distinguishes between countries whose national income per head is not increasing and those with progressive national income per head. The former invest four or five percent of their national incomes or less whilst the latter invest twelve percent per annum or more. It is, however, possible for a '5 percent saver' to convert to '12 percent saver'. According to Lewis, this conversion is intelligible not merely in terms of increasing thrift, and of better use of savings but essentially in terms of immense increase in the share of profits in national income engineered by newly emergent class of profit making entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs are "a small group of persons, private investors or public officials, who are disposing of large sums of capital, which employ large numbers of other people. (Lewis, 1963:265).

Lewis claims that savings can be obtained through domestic and external sources. Domestic sources mainly include "hoards, taxation, banking and profits", etc. On the other hand, external finance is provided by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.), World Bank,

International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.), etc. The necessity of saving to growth is inferred from the necessary of investment to economic growth. This is explained by the fact that “investment has to be matched by saving. Lewis maintains that inadequate savings constitute impediment to greater investment in underdeveloped nations. Too low tendency to save, according to him, explains the inadequacy”. He affirms that “three-over-riding shortages which determine the shape of most production programmes are the shortage of capital, the shortage of skilled labour and the shortage of foreign exchange”. Other factors which cause decline in investment include decline of risk-taking, the growth of monopoly and the slowing down of population growth.

Lewis recognizes two chief institutional requirements for an easy flow of savings from lenders to borrowers. They are limited liability and easy marketability of assets. Assets are principally grouped into two; namely, liquid assets such as shares, bills of exchange, bonds, etc. and physical assets such as machinery, land, jewellery, factories, stocks, etc. (Lewis, 1963:266-268).

Lewis enumerates the benefits of economic growth as follows:

*...It increases the range of human choice...
It gives man greater control over his environment and there by
increases his freedom.(It) gives us freedom to choose greater
leisure... it is economic growth which permits us to have more
services as well as more goods or leisure... (It) also permits
mankind to indulge in the luxury of greater humanitarianism.
(In) societies where political aspirations are currently in excess of*

resources,... growth may forestall what might otherwise prove to be unbearable social tension. (Lewis, 1963:420- 424).

DEVELOPMENT: MODERNIZATION THEORY'S PERSPECTIVE

Rostow, among other modernization theorists, regard “the process of development as the business of the acquisition by the underdeveloped countries of the traits and characteristics of the developed countries”. In other words, development is determined by the rate at which a country accumulates social, cultural, industrial or technological and other artifacts. This view tends to suggest that the development of countries such as Britain, Germany, etc. can be explained by the abundance by these artifacts. Another corollary of this conception of development is that countries which are underdeveloped remain so because they have not obtained enough of these artifacts. If they wish to develop, therefore, they need to acquire the traits and characteristics of the economically advanced countries. (Preston,1982: 17)

In his theory, Rostow maintains that economic growth spans through five stages. They are the traditional society; the pre- conditions for take- off; the drive to maturity; and the age of high mass consumption. As he puts it:

Traditional societies, evolved within limited production functions... limitations of technology decreed a ceiling beyond which they could not penetrate. They did not lack incentives and innovations. ... (But) they lacked... the tools and the outlook towards the physical World of the post-Newtonian era. (Rostow, 1960:307)

4.4 FEATURES OF DEVELOPMENT

These are some of the features of development:

- Promotion of equality of the people. This means that everybody is equal to enjoy the resources of the land, no difference between the rich and the poor.
- Absence of exploitation. There should not be any form of exploitation from the rulers to the ruled.
- Promotion of the dignity and respect for human beings. Human dignity and values must be respected at all times. People should not be treated like slaves or second class citizens.
- Avoidance of discrimination on grounds of sex or colour. There should neither be discrimination nor segregation on the grounds of sex or colour. In other words, being feminine or masculine should not be a basis, yardstick, parameter or a criterion in the distribution of resources.
- Promotion of national independence at self-reliance. Self-reliance is the realization of the principle of self-reliance. It is the ideology or orientation based on this principle; a set of purposeful activities directed towards self-realisation.

- Subordination of economic growth to social growth. Here, efforts should be made with a view to making sure that both economic and social growths are not hindered in order to ensure integrated development.

(Julius Nyerere, 1970:38 & 50).

Nyerere defines self-reliance at the levels of an individual, community and a nation thus: A self-reliant individual is one who cooperates with other, who is willing to help others and be helped by them, but does not depend on anyone else for his food, clothing and shelter. For a community, self-reliance means that they will use the resources and the skills they jointly possess for their own welfare and their own development. And for the nation, self-reliance will come if the individuals and different communities are self-reliant, and if the citizens together recognize that their way forward must be determined by their joint resources and their common efforts. It means choosing the path to development which does not depend upon outsiders.

4.5 DEFINITIONS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The word “underdevelopment” has different meanings. It may mean the blockage which forestalls a rational transformation of social structure. Lewis, W.A. identifies some of these meanings. According to him, “a country may be underdeveloped in the sense that its technology is backward, when compared

with that of other countries, or in the sense that its institutions are relatively unfavourable to investment, or in the sense that capital resources per head are low when compared, say with Western Europe, or in the same sense that output per head is low, or in the sense that it has valuable natural resources (minerals, water, soil) which it has not yet begin to use (Lewis, 1963:19-21).

However, “underdeveloped” has other meanings which Lewis does not seem to recognize. For instance, a country can also be underdeveloped in the sense in which most of its citizens live at, a little over, or slightly below the subsistence level. In other words, a country is also underdeveloped if the quality of life of the majority of its people is low. A team of United Nations’ experts defines economically backward country as one in which “per capita income is low when compared with per capita real incomes of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Western Europe” (Awolowo, 1972:10). Per capita income is used as a parameter of measuring the development of societies. It is obtained by dividing the National Income by the number of inhabitants to get an idea of the average wealth of each inhabitant. On one hand, countries such as Britain, Japan etc having high per capita incomes are regarded as developed countries. On the other hand, countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, etc. which have low per capita incomes are said to be underdeveloped. Again, Awolowo Obafemi (1968:297), defines underdeveloped country as “one whose natural resources

are partly utilized, partly underutilized, and partly mis-utilized, and in which there is a gross deficiency in the quality of the three productive agents of labour, capital and organization” (Ibid, 299).

4.6 NATURE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Underdevelopment has various nature such as economic underdevelopment, social underdevelopment, and political underdevelopment. All these will now be fully explained in order to get a clearer picture of the nature of underdevelopment.

4.6.1 Economic underdevelopment:

The most salient characteristic of most Third World countries is their poverty. This is manifested at the national level by some combination of low per-capita income [technically expressed as low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capital], highly unequal income distribution, poor infrastructure (including communications and transportation), limited use of modern technology and low consumption of energy. At the individual level, economic underdevelopment connotes widespread poverty, including unemployment, substandard housing, poor health conditions and inadequate nutrition. (Howard Handelman, 2005:3).

4.6.2 Social Underdevelopment:

Poverty and poor public policy have often adversely affected social conditions in the Third World, narrowing opportunities for human development. Consequently, among the greatest challenges facing less developed countries has been improving their educational systems. Indeed, expanding education, particularly raising literacy rates, is a major prerequisite for economic and political modernization.

4.6.3 Political Underdevelopment:

This involves the non-creation of specialized and differentiated government institutions that effectively carry out necessary functions, such as collecting tax revenues, defending national borders, maintaining political stability, stimulating economic development, improving the quality of human life and communicating with the citizenry.

4.7 FEATURES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Africa is number one on the list of the underdeveloped areas of the World. But whenever we think of the development of Africa, our minds turn at building of factories and hotels, the construction of roads, the establishment of mercantile marines and airlines and so on and so forth. All of these, which are

eminently desirable things in themselves, are development symbols, but not the real development itself. Many eminent economists, including Leibenstein, Rostow, Mount Joy, Meir and Baldwin, and Lewis to mention a few, have devoted a good deal of time to the study of the economics of underdevelopment. From their writings, we can gather all the characteristics of an under-developed economy, which we shall sum up as follows:

- Ignorance.
- Illiteracy.
- Disease.
- Calorie deficiency.
- Dependence on subsistence agriculture and excessive underemployment of the rural population.
- Deficiency in techniques, organization and capital (Awolowo, 1977:66).

Elsewhere, Awolowo goes further by saying that: the characteristic features of an underdeveloped country are poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and poor health, superstition, dependence on subsistence agriculture, excessive and widespread underemployment, unwholesome foreign dominated economy epitomized in unfavourable terms of trade, unstable export markets, a persistent adverse balance of payments caused by dwindling foreign reserves, deficiency in technological, capital and technical and manpower know-how

and widening social gap and stratification between the rich and the poor in the society” (Ogunmodede, 1985:215)

4.8 CAUSES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Having seen the features of underdevelopment above, it will be very easy for us to know and possibly to delve into the causes of underdevelopment. It will be worthwhile to ask some questions that are pivotal and germane on the causes of underdevelopment before highlighting these causes. Given this therefore: How do we account for these causes? What are the factors responsible for these causes? Do these causes are internally motivated or not? Are they as a result of misguided economic planning?

According to Opafola (1997:7) causes of underdevelopment of countries such as Nigeria are divided into two; namely external and internal causes. External causes include slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and “World wide recession”. We agree with Rodney that the European slave trade was a basic factor in African underdevelopment. Captives were obtained through trickery kidnapping, banditry and warfare. Being able-bodied men and women, the slave estimated to be over one hundred million – represented a massive loss to African labour force. Also, the new method of exploitation is known as neo-colonialism. It is the method employed by the economically advanced countries

to control or influence the economies of their former colonies or underdeveloped countries. In most cases, the imperialists use multinational corporations to achieve their objectives. In Ogundowole's (1988:238) opinion "the root cause of the bulk of developmental problems of the new states lies in foreign relations. Most of the new states allow wide open unrestricted trade and economic interaction between them and the advanced capitalist states". It is ironical that rather than working for their own self-reliance, most of the new states – that is, economically backward states not only subordinate themselves to the imperialist countries and their agents, but, also facilitate the development of the latter clique. The truth of the matter is that economically backward countries maintain links with the following international institutions which are further used by the economically advanced countries to perpetuate their underdevelopment: International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank For Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.), World bank etc.

Some of the internal causes of underdevelopment are: duplications in activities, institutions; functions and enterprises (Wilmot, 1979:160). Employment of foreigners to handle jobs that can be done by indigenes or natives; award of contracts to foreign firms to the disadvantage of local firms. Others are: mismanagement of human, natural and financial resources; natural causes such as drought; dependence on one or two export products as foreign

exchange earners also contribute to the underdevelopment of economically backward countries. We equally have other factors such as: low capita income, low level of technology, heavy dependence on foreign aids, grants and loans, political instability and high rate of inflation, etc. These, will no doubt, have some dire consequences, hence, some of these effects will now be explained.

4.9 EFFECTS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The fact cannot be disputed that underdevelopment has a lot of effects. These effects will now be marshalled. One of these effects is low level of income. Others are: low labour productivity, high rate of illiteracy, abject poverty, poor standard of living, of the masses, low level of infrastructural facilities, high rate of diseases, high mortality rate, high rate of unemployment, and general insecurity of lives and property. The crises in Jos, Borno and Bauchi states and other states have resulted in the loss of precious lives and valuable properties.

On a final note, Rodney (1972:34) posits that throughout the period that Africa has participated in the capitalist economy, two factors have brought about underdevelopment. In the first place, the wealth created by African labour and from African resources was grabbed by the capitalist countries of Europe; and in the second place, restrictions were placed upon African capacity

to make the maximum use of its economic potential – which is what development is all about. This explains why Africa has realized so little of its potential and why so much of its present wealth goes outside of the continent. African economies are integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist economies, and they are integrated in manner that is unfavourable to Africa and ensures that Africa is dependent on the big capitalist countries. It is interesting to note that when a child or the young of any animal species ceases to be dependent upon its mother for food and protection, it can be said to have developed in the direction of maturity. Dependent nations can never be considered developed. It is true that modern conditions force all countries to be mutually underdependent in order to satisfy the needs of their citizens; but that is not incompatible with economic independence, because economic independence does not mean isolation. It does, however, require a capacity to exercise choice in external relations, and above all, it requires that a nation's growth at some point must become self-reliant and self-sustaining. Such things are obviously in direct contradiction to the economic dependence of numerous countries on the metropolis of Western Europe, North America and Japan.

4.10 PROPOSED SOLUTIONS TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT

To remedy a problem, it should first be exposed. Then one must carefully diagnose its causes, prescribe a solution, and monitor the efficacy of the

prescription. To this end therefore, we shall now propose some solutions which if strictly adhered to, will solve, to a large extent, Africa's problem of underdevelopment.

Having stated in clearer terms, the causes cum effects of underdevelopment, it is very imperative and instructive to proffer some proposed solutions or essential antidotes to the ailment of underdevelopment. They consist in full development and full employment of every African – man or woman, child or adolescent. Whatever ideology African leaders choose to adopt, we must note from the out set that they make full development and full employment of every African their first and topmost priority and the cornerstone of all their development plans. Full development and full employment of man are inseparably complementary. To pursue one without the other is not only not to achieve the objective of rapid economic development, but also to do wanton social injustice and inequity to every African who is discriminated against in the process. Also, these countries need to dismantle all the economic structures erected by the imperialists during the colonial period and build new ones which will genuinely promote their development. It is imperative for the new States or underdeveloped countries to overthrow neo-colonialism and other forms of foreign domination.

Again, the underdeveloped countries should eliminate all sources of wastage spending and block all loopholes which aliens exploit to cart away their resources. The new state should endeavour to develop an internal-oriented economy. Preference should be given to local industries and firms in the award of contracts in order to promote economic emancipation.

What do all these mean in concrete terms? Since only a very small minority of African families can cater for the full development of their members and use their positions in society to secure full employment for those members, it follows that the state must accept full responsibility for the provision of education at all levels and health facilities free of charge, employment for every African without discrimination. Health facilities we must note, does not consist in the provision of hospitals alone. They embrace the whole compass of preventive medical facilities, good food, good water, decent housing and a clean and wholesome environment.

The underdeveloped countries should eliminate all sources of wastage spending and block all loopholes which aliens exploit to cart away their resources. The new state should endeavour to develop an internal-oriented economy. Again, underdeveloped countries should dismantle all the economic structures erected by the imperialists during the colonial period and build new ones which will genuinely promote their development. It is vital for the new

states or underdeveloped countries to overthrow neo-colonialism and other forms of foreign domination (1997:10-11).

Above all, it is interesting to note that if African leaders apply the solutions or better still subscribe tenaciously to these proposed solutions, it is my firm belief that Nigeria, and Africa will develop and join the comity of Nations.

CHAPTER FIVE:

AN EXPOSITION OF WALTER RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In chapter four, we discussed a conceptual analysis of development and underdevelopment. In chapter five now, we shall discuss an exposition of Walter Rodney's development discourse. In other words, we shall discuss Rodney's Concept of Development, Rodney's Concept of Features of Development, Rodney's Concept of Underdevelopment, Rodney's Concept of Features of Underdevelopment, the Roots of Underdevelopment of Africa: Economic, Technological, Socio-Cultural and Political Factors.

5.1 RODNEY'S CONCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

For Rodney (1972:9), development in human society is a many sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capability, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being. Rodney stresses further that some of these are virtually moral categories and therefore, difficult to evaluate depending as they do on the age in which one lives, one's class origins, and one's personal code of what is right and what is wrong. Rodney believes that the achievement of any of those aspects of

personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole. Rodney is of the belief that from time immemorial, man found it very convenient and necessary to come together in groups to hunt and for the sake of survival. The importance of this is that the relations which develop within any given social group are fundamental to an understanding of the society as a whole. For Rodney therefore, freedom, responsibility, skill among others have meaning only in terms of the relations of contact with others and that relations between individuals in any two societies are regulated by the form of the two societies. Consequent upon this, their respective political structures are important because the ruling elements within each group are the ones that begin to dialogue, trade or fight, as the case may be.

According to Rodney (Rodney, 1972:9) development at the level of social groups implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationship. Again, Rodney shares the view of Aristotle that men are social animals; men are not the only beings which operate in groups, but the human species embark upon a unique line of development because man has the capacity to make and use tools. The very act of making tools is a stimulus to increasing rationality rather than the consequent of a fully matured intellect. In historical terms, man the worker was every bit as important as man the thinker, because the work with tools liberated men from sheer physical necessity, so that

he could impose himself upon other more powerful species and upon nature itself. The tools with which men work and the manner in which they organize their labour are both important indices of social development.

Rodney goes further to say that the term development is used in an exclusive economic sense- the justification being that the type of economy is itself an index of other social features. This will definitely lead us to what economic development stands for. According to Rodney, (Rodney, 1972:10) a society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependant on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature, (science) on the extent to which they put that understanding into practice by devising tools (technology), and on the manner in which work is organized. Taking a long term view, it can be said that there has been constant economic development within human society since the origin of man, because man has multiplied enormously his capacity to win a living from nature. The magnitude of man's achievement is best understood by reflecting on the early history of human society and noting the following: Firstly, the progress from crude stone tools to the use of metals; secondly, the change over from hunting and gathering wild fruit to the domestication of animals and growing of food crops and thirdly the improvement in organization of work from being an

individualistic activity towards being an activity which assumes a social character through the participation of many.

Rodney stresses further that development is universal because the conditions leading to economic expansion are universal. Every where, man is faced with the task of survival by meeting fundamental material needs; and better tools are a consequence of the interplay between human beings and nature as part of the struggle for survival. Also, Rodney (1972:114) sees development as a capacity for self-sustaining growth. What this boils down to is that an economy must register advances which in turn promote further progress.

Rodney also asserts that the term development is often used in an economic sense. The justification of this is that the status of a state's economy is itself an index of other social features in the state. By economic development, Rodney tells us that it is the rate at which a society develops economically such that its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. The implication of this is that economic development has been with humans since time immemorial, because humans have sensitized themselves to eke out a living from nature. In Rodney's view, development is part of humans' existence and survival, irrespective of the hue of the skin or spatio-temporal location in the universe (Muyiwa Falaiye and Sandra Grayson

2005:44). Rodney also sees development as a capacity for self-sustaining growth. That is, an economy must register advances which in turn will promote further progress.

5.2 RODNEY'S CONCEPTION OF FEATURES OF DEVELOPMENT

Walter Rodney is of the view that developed economies have many features which contrast with underdeveloped ones. For the purpose of clarity and elucidation therefore, these features will now be fully itemized and explained. According to him, developed countries are all industrialized. That is to say, the greater part of their working population is engaged in industry rather than agriculture, and most of their wealth comes out of mines, factories etc. (Rodney, 1972:24). They have a high out put of labour per man in industry because of their advanced technology and skills. This is well known but it is also striking that the developed countries, have a much more advanced agriculture than the rest of the World. Their Agriculture has already become an industry, and the agricultural part of the economy produces more although it is small. He stresses further that the countries because they rely on agriculture and have little or no industry; but their agriculture is unscientific and the yields are far less than those of the developed countries.

Another feature of development according to him is that the social services provided by a country are of importance equal to that of its material production in bringing about well-being and happiness. It is universally accepted that the state has the responsibility to establish schools and hospitals but whether these are provided by the government or by private agencies, their numbers can be established in relation to the size of the population. The extent to which basic goods and social services are available in a country can also be measured indirectly by looking at the life expectancy, the frequency of deaths among children, the amount of malnutrition, the occurrence of diseases which could be prevented by inoculation and public health services, and the proportion of illiterates. In all these respects, the comparison between the developed and underdeveloped countries shows huge and even frightening differences (Rodney, 1972:25)

Again, he opines that it takes a large number of skilled people to make an industrial economy function; while the countries of Africa have a woefully insufficient number of highly qualified personnel. In African countries professionals, technicians, high level of administrators and skilled workers emigrate from their homes and the small number of skilled people available to the underdeveloped World is further depleted by the lure of better pay and opportunities in the developed World. It is therefore ironical and paradoxical

that the lopsided nature of the present international economy is strikingly brought home by the fact that the under developed countries have in turn to recruit foreign experts at fantastic cost.

Besides, he is of the view that it is typical of underdeveloped economies that they do not concentrate on those sectors of the economy which in turn will generate growth and raise production to a new level altogether, and there are very few ties between one sector and another so that agriculture and industry could react beneficially on each other. In the same vein, it is to be maintained that whatever savings are made within the economy are mainly sent abroad or are frittered away in consumption rather than being redirected to productive purposes. Much of the national income which remains within the country goes to pay individuals who are directly involved in producing wealth but only in rendering auxiliary services civil servants, merchants, soldiers, etc. What aggravates the situation is that more people are employed in those jobs than are really necessary to give efficient service; and to crown it all, these people do not reinvest in agriculture or industry. They squander the wealth created by the peasants and workers by purchasing cars, whisky and perfumes (Rodney, 1972:26).

5.3 RODNEY'S CONCEPTION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Having discussed development, it makes it easier to comprehend the concept of underdevelopment. In Rodney's opinion, underdevelopment is not absence of development, because every people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent (Rodney, 1972:21). He is of the belief that underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic view point, some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming wealthier. The moment that one group appears to be wealthier than others, some enquiry is bound to take place as to the reason for the difference. After Britain had begun to move ahead of the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century, the famous British economist, Adam Smith felt it necessary to look into the causes behind the 'wealth of nations'. At the same time, many Russians were very concerned about the fact that the country was 'backward' in comparison with England, France and Germany in the 18th century and subsequently, in the 19th century. Rodney maintains that our main pre-occupation is with the differences in wealth between on the one hand, Europe and North America and on the other hand Africa, Asia and Latin America (Rodney, 1972:21). In comparison with the first, the second group can be said to be backward or underdeveloped. At all

times, therefore, one of the ideas behind underdevelopment is a comparative one. What this means is that it is possible to compare the economic conditions at two different periods for the same country and determine whether or not it has been developed; and (more importantly) it is possible to compare the economies of any two countries or sets of countries at any given period in time.

Another meaning or interpretation of underdevelopment according to him is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely the exploitation of one country by another. He therefore posits that “all of the countries named as ‘underdeveloped’ with which the World is now pre-occupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation” (Rodney, 1972:22). He declares in categorical term that African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. When that happens, exploitation increases and the export of surplus ensues, depriving the societies of the benefit of their natural resources and labour. This without doubt is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense.

The question as to who and what is responsible for African underdevelopment can be answered at two levels. Firstly, the answer is that the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible

to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent. Secondly, one has to deal with those who manipulate the system and those who are either agents or unwitting accomplices of the said system. The capitalist of Western Europe were the ones who actively extended their exploitation from inside Europe to cover the whole of Africa. In recent times they were joined and to some extent replaced by capitalist from the United States; and for many years now even the workers of those metropolitan countries have benefited from the exploitation and underdevelopment of Africa. Rodney therefore concludes that every African has a responsibility to understand the system and work for its overthrow.

5.4 RODNEY'S CONCEPT OF THE FEATURES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Having explained Rodney's conception of underdevelopment, we shall now analyse the features of underdevelopment. In a nutshell, these features are: lack of heavy industry, inadequate production of food, unscientific agriculture (Rodney, 1972:26). Also, it has been noted with irony that the principal 'industry' of many underdeveloped countries is administration. He states that the salaries given to the elected politicians is higher than that given to a British member of parliaments and the number of parliamentarians in the

underdeveloped African countries is also relatively high (Rodney, 1972:27). For instance, in Nigeria, we have three hundred and sixty (360) members in the House of Representatives; while in the Senate, we have one hundred and nine (109) members, totaling four hundred sixty-nine (469). It is essential to point out that in describing a typical underdeveloped economy, the high disproportion of the locally distributed wealth goes into the pockets of a privileged few. He also believes that “any diagnosis of underdevelopment in Africa will reveal not just low per capita income but also protein deficiencies (Rodney, 1972:36). Again, African economies are integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist economies, and they are integrated in a manner that is unfavourable to Africa and ensures that Africa is dependent on the big capitalist countries. Indeed, structural dependence is one of the characteristics of underdevelopment (Rodney, 1972:34).

5.5 THE ROOTS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA: ECONOMIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS.

Africa without doubt is well endowed with mineral and primary energy resources. African potential is shown to be greater everyday with new discoveries of mineral wealth. In a way, underdevelopment is a paradox; this is

because, Africa is rich in both human and natural resources. Ogungbemi (2007:3) says that this paradox of Africa has both human and natural resources at its disposal, and on the other hand, Africa is the poorest and least developed continent in the World. Kwame Nkrumah and Ali Mazrui give us a general geographical view and enormous natural wealth with which Africa is endowed with respectively. According to Nkrumah (1970:13) "Africa and its islands, with a land area of some twelve million square miles could easily contain within it and with room to spare the whole of India, Europe, Japan, the British Isles, Scandinavian and New Zealand. The United States of America could easily be fitted into the Sahara Desert. Africa is geographically compact and in terms of natural resources potentially the richest continent in the World."

Writing on the enormous natural wealth with which Africa is endowed, Ali Mazrui (1980:71) states that "estimates of Africa's resources are on the whole tentative. Not enough prospect in for resources under the ground has taken place, but it is fair to say that Africa has 96 percent of the non-communist World's diamonds, 60 percent of its gold, 42 percent of its cobalt, 34 percent of its bauxite and 28 percent of its uranium. Africa's iron reserves are probably twice those of the United States, and its reserves of chrome are the most important by far outside the Soviet Union.

Having stated this, we shall now consider the roots of underdevelopment of Africa. In other words, all these identified factors shall be explicitly explained.

Economic Factor

Walter Rodney states that the question as to who and what is responsible for African underdevelopment can be answered at two levels. Firstly, the answer is that the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent. Secondly, one has to deal with those who manipulate the system and those who are either agents or unwitting accomplices of the said system. The capitalists of Western Europe were the ones who actively extended their exploitation from inside Europe to cover the whole of Africa (Rodney, 1972:37).

It is necessary for the purpose of illustration to consider the European slave trade as a basic factor in African underdevelopment. Strictly speaking, to talk about the trade in slaves is to talk about or to refer to “the shipment of captives from Africa to various other parts of the World where they were to live and work as the property of Europeans” (Rodney, 1972:103). For instance, in East Africa and the Sudan, many Africans were taken by Arabs and were sold to Arab buyers. The process by which captives were obtained on African soil

was through warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping. When one tries to measure the effect of Europeans slave trading on the African continent, it is very essential to realize that one is measuring the effect of social violence rather than in any normal sense of the word. He maintains that the massive loss to the African labour force is made more critical because it is composed of able-bodied young men and women. Slave buyers prefer their victims between the ages 15 and 35, and preferably in the early twenties; the sex ratio being about two men to one woman. Rodney asks a very fundamental question which is: what would have been Britain's level of development had millions of them been put to work as slaves outside of their homelands over a period of four centuries? What this boils down to is that slavery has monumental effect on Africa's quest for development. For the avoidance of doubt therefore, it can be deduced that the four centuries of Afro/European trade in a very real sense represent the roots of African underdevelopment.

It is also instructive to note that colonialism is not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose is to repatriate the profits to the so-called 'mother country'. From an African view-point, that amounts to consistent expatriation of surplus produced by African labour out of African resources. It means the development of Europe as part of the same dialectical process in which Africa is underdeveloped. To sum up briefly, colonialism

means a great intensification of exploitation within Africa – to a level much higher than that previously in existence under communalism or feudal type African societies. Simultaneously, it means the export of that surplus in massive proportions, for that is the central purpose of colonialism.

In the same vein, it is important to stress that what tropical Africa lost in terms of depopulation, Europe and the New World gained in terms of increased slave population from about the second half of the fifteenth up to the nineteenth centuries. It is common knowledge, for example, that some of the countries which presently harbour the largest concentrations of black and African people in the World, except Nigeria are found in the New World. Among these are Brazil, the United States of America, Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. Nothing illustrates better the historical roots of African underdevelopment, particularly in agricultural production and manufacturing, from the era of the Atlantic slave trade up to the present period, than the facts of the vacation of the continent by no fewer than seven million able-bodied Africans, who had been utilized, as manpower, for the development of Europe and the New World (Harunah, 2001:75)

Speaking further on colonialism which serves as one of the root causes of Africa's underdevelopment, Kwilmot states that "colonialism is the economic, political, and cultural domination of one human community by another human

community (Kwilmot, 1979:103). This will in no doubt, affect negatively the economy of such a country

Technological Factor

Technology is defined as “the practice of any or all of the applied sciences that have practical value and or industrial use” (Obe, 1996:11). Science and technology are the bedrock of national development and indeed the primary basis for the socio-economic advancement of any nation. The new industrial giants of South-East-Asia: Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and Korea are good examples of the transformational effect of science and technology. Many countries are increasing their already massive investments in science and technology viz, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan and the United States. The relevance of Science and technology to any nation cannot be over-emphasized. For instance, science can abolish poverty and excessive hours of labour (Russell, 1985:97). Again, “with the new forms of transportation, one can in a few hours travel to distant cities that once took months to reach. With electronic technologies (radio, television, computer networks and so on), the speed, range and scope of communication have vastly increased. The combination of visual image and auditory message has an immediacy not found in the linear sequence of the printed World. These new

media offer the possibility of instant Worldwide communication, greater interaction, understanding and mutual appreciation in the “global village” (Barbour, 1993:4). Also, among the general claims of the contribution of technology to man’s life is that of mass production of material goods and services to man. Through technology, man could produce sufficient, even excess food and other material goods with less effort. In the industrialized nations of today for instance, agricultural technology has made it possible for man to produce more than his immediate food needs. The same advancement has been witnessed also in manufacturing and industries, etc. Also, in managerial services, technology has promoted improved skills resulting in higher and improved services (Nwoko, 1992:112). These and many more are some of the benefits of science and technology to any Nation, hence, it can be said with all honesty and candour that science and technology are the bedrock of national development and indeed the primary basis for the socio-economic advancement of any nation. But, despite these benefits, Nigeria for instance has not yet been able to break through in science and technology. Ndubuisi (2001:117) captures this when he opines that “as a developing nation, Nigeria requires the requisite skills, technical know-how, machines and raw materials for accelerated development. Thus, in the national policy on education, emphasis is placed on the study of science and technology that could enhance

the acquisition of skills needed for the operation of our industrial concerns. It is equally on record that "Africa still depends on Asian-oriented scientific and technological pattern and products for survival. She is conspicuously absent on the World's science and technology stage" (Okpo, 2003:29) Science and technology are almost absent in Nigeria and Africa and as a result have contributed in no small measure to her underdevelopment. As a matter of significance, Africa cannot continue to rely so heavily on the scientific and technological culture of the advanced countries.

Socio-cultural Factor

This is one of the roots of Africa's underdevelopment. But here, it is to be noted that the term culture will be explained and one basic social factor which is corruption. What then is culture? Culture according to Babawale (2004:9), encompasses the tangible and intangible as it also incorporates the subtotal of the material and immaterial tools, art work of art of a people and knowledge accumulated by the people". The peculiarity of a given culture is a function of its distinctiveness as it relates to its impact on the attitudes, aspirations, motivations, representations, skills, and behaviour of the people celebrating some and discarding others. Without mincing words, we need a kind of cultural renaissance to enable us face challenges. By this, I mean the patronage of culture, which should concern itself with the entire way of life of the

Nigerian people; their creative, artistic, scientific and technological capabilities. If we may add: are there lessons from other lands? The response is affirmative. "Development in East Asia remains one of the global economy's most significant post-war developments. Taking over from Japan, from the 1990s and beyond, China and the 'Little Tigers' of Singapore, Taiwan, and most recently the South-East Asian economies, including Indonesia and Malaysia, have filled the top ranks of the World's economies in terms of not only their overall growth rates, but also of their human capital development, industrial and export growth rates" (Rapley, 1996:124). Literature on Chinese success story reveals that the rudiments of an industrial base were built on culture and traditional practices that are still being exploited even now that country has opened up to capitalist influences. It is worthy to note that China's current economic success story would not have happened so soon but for this meaningful synergy between traditional values and modernity. Today, regardless of her population, size and diversity, an appreciable percentage of Chinese population is still largely agrarian living on basic Chinese culture and even pursuing aggressive export of part thereof. From drugs to wears, foodstuffs and consumables, every Chinese is a proud culture ambassador for China.

Again, it is to be stressed that Chinese sense of moderation is indeed exemplary. Proud as they are of their culture, style, taste and values, they have been making substantial gains from their creativity, exploring their environment and producing and packaging just anything from bamboo through plants, herbs, fish and fish products, to mention but a few. Again, Malaysia has garnered substantial goodwill from her culture potential so much so that her hospitality industry smells and tastes malay traditional values Singapore is yet another good success story. Small as it is, the country had a diverse population of 2.5 million of people comprising 70 percent Chinese, 20 percent malay and 10 percent Indian and virtually no resources, but responds meaningfully to the dynamics of globalization, information and telecommunication technology. With political economy deeply rooted in singaporean tradition, productivity of her nationals reflects greatly in her annual earnings as distinct from and far beyond what is prevalent in countries like Nigeria and many other reservoirs of global energy resources. From this, it can be deduced that failure to embrace our culture is one of the causes of our underdevelopment.

On the social level, corruption is identified as one of the enemies of progress and development. As we all know, corruption is a cankerworm that has eaten into the fabric of our society at every level. Oladipo Olusegun

(1999:61) corroborates this when he says that “accountability and transparency are crucial to development. These qualities, unfortunately, have been in short supply in Nigeria. Small wonder, then that there has been a consistent mismatch between opportunities and accomplishments in the economic history of Nigeria. The consequences of this mismatch can be seen in the problems of inflation, unemployment, poverty and human degradation which now define social existence in the country”.

According to Jim, Unah (1995:124) corruption is essentially the product of man’s greed for earthly grandeur, power and authority. Also, contributing to this is Chinua Achebe (1983:38) who maintains that “corruption goes with power; and whatever the average man may have it is not power. Therefore, to hold any useful discussion of corruption, we must first locate it where it properly belongs – in the ranks of the powerful”. Elsewhere, Chinua Achebe (2003:141) argues that “It is the failure of our leaders to re-establish vital inner links with the poor and disposed of this country, with the bruised heart that throbs painfully at the core of the nations’ being”. In the same vein, “corruption by political office holders and bureaucrats in Nigeria has stigmatized the image of government, weakened its credibility and reduced the effectiveness of development programmes” (Tony& Terhemba, 2009:215).

At this juncture, we shall now outline some meanings or definitions of corruption; its nature, forms, causes and effects. At the end, we shall clearly state that corruption causes underdevelopment. Hence, corruption can be defined as “the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity. Corruption takes place when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functions in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations” (Azenabor, 2007:2). So corruption often goes with obligations and self-centered interest; corruption is asking, giving or taking a fee; the perversion or obstruction of the performance of such a task. It involves the violation of some existing order or norms. It has also been perceived as an act which deviates from the formal rule of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position by public authority because of private regarding motive such as wealth, power or status. We can equally posit that it is all about dishonesty, about influencing situations or people, with or without monetary inducement to gain an undeserved favour.

According to C.S. Momoh, (1991:115) corruption is the acceptance or the giving of something in the form of cash or kind like presents, gifts or bodily pleasures in order to perform an act, which one is in the position to perform or can cause to be performed. In other words, a corrupt practice is one in which

the performance of an act has been induced". With these definitions, we shall now proceed to examine the nature and forms of corruption. Corruption in Nigeria has been so pervasive and ubiquitous that it manifests in different ways and perspectives. The nature of corruption can be a solo undertaking, clandestine and sometimes even open. Its nature is such that it is located in the social, political and economic arrangements which govern the organization of society. It can also be contextual. It also differs conceptually from one culture to the other. We must also note that corruption in Nigeria takes many forms; such as using official stationery, using government drugs, dressings and hospital equipment for private purposes, using government labour for private work, misuse of government motor vehicles for private purposes, demanding sex from female applicants for jobs demanding money from applicants for jobs and contracts, tampering with applications, contract documents and payment vouchers, misuse of overseas tours, election malpractices among others (Adebayo, 1986:20-22). There are reasons or causes of corruption in Nigeria, some of these are: colonial legacy, prolonged military rule, poverty, pressures from extended family, commitments and the nature of societal values and expectations, social security among others. The effects, consequences or repercussions of corruption will now be examined. Some of these are: destabilization, increase in poverty, inefficiency and lack of productivity,

inflation and threat to economy, threat to development, and battered image. From the foregoing analysis, it is obvious that corruption causes underdevelopment and that corruption is check-mating growth and development.

Political Factors:

Political crises, election malpractices with their attendant consequences as witnessed in Nigeria during the first, second and third Republics cause underdevelopment. For instance, the Nigerian Civil War which broke out on July 6, 1967 and lasted for thirty months claimed several lives and destroyed valuable property. Also, political instability is manifesting itself in Africa as a chronic symptom of the underdevelopment of political life within the imperialist context. Military coups have followed one after the other, usually meaning nothing to the mass of the people, and sometimes representing a reactionary reversal of the efforts at national liberation. (Rodney, 1972:36). For instance, the post election violence in Bauchi State in April, 2011 in which many Youth Corps members who were of course leaders of tomorrow were brutally murdered. The question is will this not deter foreigners from investing in Nigeria?

CHAPTER SIX

PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF WALTER RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE.

In Chapter five, we discussed Rodney's concept of development, Rodney's concept of features of development, Rodney's concept of underdevelopment, Rodney's concept of features of underdevelopment, the roots of underdevelopment of Africa: economic, technological, socio-cultural and political factors. This chapter deals with the philosophical implications of Rodney's development discourse. Rodney's conception of development is one that deals with the economics of development because it is essentially focused on how economics change from primitive stages of organization and production to complex modern ones. The chapter discusses at a great length some of these implications which are: the principle of equality being advocated by Rodney is utopian, that his conception about development is socially relative; he places socialism over capitalism among others - philosophical foundations of idealism, praxis and philosophy and philosophical implications of Rodney's development discourse.

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Rodney's intellectualist approach to the issue of development especially within the African context is multi-dimensional but radical both in orientation

and in the approach to social change. He obstinately advocates a precipitous revolutionary transformation of political, social, and economic institutions as a means of ensuring development in the progressive sense within substructure or material aspects of a society. His philosophical conception of development is mainly revolutionary; it has its roots in the fundamental principle of Marxism in which class struggle and oppression is a central element in the analysis of social change. To him, development is a phenomenon that must be determined by tireless human efforts put together, in order to conquer nature and the benefits or wealth from this labour, must not be left in the hands of the privileged few (capitalists) so that human exploitation can be avoided. He firmly advocates a socialist system which encourages the principle of equality and a de-stratified economy. The classless condition of social existence being advocated by all those immersed in the traditions and beliefs of Marxism is often regarded by critics as an unbridled idealism because such an egalitarian society does not exist. This explains why Rodney's development discourse is mainly sense idealistic. But then, we need to clearly state that no matter how we view the concept of development, whether in the regressive or progressive sense, there must be certain factors, both human and non-human, responsible for such state of affairs in any social framework coupled with other underlying theoretical principles. Undoubtedly, the times in which Walter Rodney lived is

different from those we live in now; the challenges of the past cannot in any way be compared with those of the present. But every process of social transformation begins with a theory or set of theories which themselves are products of people's thoughts. Invariably, the doctrine of dialectical materialism holds that we can divulge the superstructure from the substructure (the material World). In this regard, we shall critically examine the thoughts of Walter Rodney on development to show its philosophical implications for social praxis when it is applied as a model for social transmutation or transformation.

As a matter of fact, Rodney holds that there are certain social scientific grounds upon which the destiny of the proletariat or the masses can be changed from the despicable state of capitalist exploitation and political dictatorship, to socialism which will bring about the realization of a free society where all men shall be viewed as equal. This is probably why most scholars have tagged him an unrepentant Marxist because he attempted to embark on a non-capitalist path of development in his mode of thought. Marx believed that the only way to end oppression, exploitation, deprivation, and dehumanization within the political economy is for the working class who are the larger part of the society (masses) is to engage in serious political struggle or class struggle which would bring about total emancipation and liberation from

the shackles of capitalism and the political dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Yu A. Kharin (1981:8) also captures the influence of the working class in bringing about social change when he asserts that:

The working class's World historical mission is to effect a transition from capitalism to socialism which is free from any social and national inequality, insures a radical improvement and continuous growth of material and cultural standards of all sections of the population without exception, and opens up broad vistas for all – round development of the personality that harmoniously combines intellectual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection
Kharin (1981:8).

But then, whether it is possible to have a society which is devoid of social stratification is another question we may need to consider when trying to underscore the fundamental principles of Marxist political economy which is benchmarked on the basic laws governing the equitable distribution of material benefits at different stages of the development of human civilization.

A further prejudice of Rodney's development discourse is such that the question of underdevelopment of African countries is conceived in general economic sense such that the capitalist expansion within the African social framework was as a result of the unfair dialogue between the more advanced industrialized nations and Africa which actually translated into blatant mistreatment and manipulation and exploitation.

However, it is pertinent to state that current existential condition in Africa and other human settlements have rendered the socialist ideologies that flourished in the early eighteenth century, unfashionable due to its inherent problems. But nonetheless, we cannot totally divulge the contributions of such an ideology to the movement of human history. Hegel for instance, believes that history is a phenomenon that moves in a tripartite formation from thesis to anti-thesis whereas synthesis makes up for the loops between the movements of the former. Such conception of human destiny within the social praxis is deeply influenced by his idealistic biases and the kinds of problems that confronted man in the society as at that time. Kolawole Ogundowole (2004:34) tends to support this view when he opines that “the emphasis made by each philosopher depends on the major problems prevalent at a given historical period of the development of mankind” Thus, in order to holistically deal with the issues at stake here, we shall attempt a conceptual clarification of some core issues.

6.1 PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF IDEALISM

Idealism is an interesting philosophical theory which holds that reality is composed of immaterial essences rather than material things. What exists for the idealist is simply a combination of mental qualities simply referred to as

idea. Suppose one looks through the window and is able to observe that there are certain physical objects which exist out there in nature, like trees, houses, cars, a beautiful lawn, conjoined electric cables etc. it is the belief of the idealists that such things are merely in existence as a result of our mental conception of them. That is, the existence of physical objects is nothing, but things that are ideas in our minds. This is why idealism is often defined as a philosophical theory about reality and the nature of existence that attributes consciousness or mental substances as the primary constitution of the World. As a matter of fact, ultimate reality for the idealists is basically non-material and it is absolute because it is a perfect state of things that can only be conceptualized by the application of reason. The idealist believes that in the shaping of World views, fashioning dynamic systems of human behaviour, and in understanding the purpose of life, reasoning should be applied; not just any kind of reasoning, but a serious engagement of the human mind in critical investigation of how and why things are, how they are, in order to ensure that the life of man becomes meaningful.

The *Chambers English Dictionary* (1998) defines idealism as “a tendency towards the highest conceivable perfection” such that every human conceptualization is confined within the limits of imagination only. In this regard, an idealist is considered as a person who strives after the ideal state of

things. But it is controversial whether there could be, in actual terms, an ideal state of things and as such, the person who holds the doctrine of idealism is considered an impractical person. By way of social analysis, a theorist of ideal social conditions which is devoid of any sense of human conflicts and should conform to certain absolute theories like Marx and later Rodney postulated, can be thought to be an embodiment of the principles of idealism. In more lively usage of the term, idealism has come to designate any body of ideas that seeks to place the perfection of human life outside the material order by clamouring for certain absolute principles, theories or ideologies which exist only as dimensions of human mental categories and general modes of abstraction which tries to cut society from ubiquitous social exigencies. This is lucidly emphasized by William A. Luijpen (1963:85); when he avows that the idealistic trend emphasizes consciousness as its priority, spontaneity and activity and tries to break-off in connection with the physical World. Idealism considers its major preoccupation to eliminate the World entirely as the source of knowledge. Following from this, we can understand the reason why the idealist philosophers maintain that there is a relation of ideology to social change. Such that thinking beget doing and doing relies on certain set of ideas or formulated principles which are tied to a people's sense of moderation, justice and social equity. For instance, if a nation is said to hold certain "set of ideals" as

important, it means that there are some specific body of knowledge it has come to accept as necessary truths for the growth of the society. Thus, idealism is very important for social equanimity within the society and it also serves as a foundation for the formation of Worldviews and the shaping of a people's attitude towards life.

In the history of philosophy, idealism has deep roots in rationalism – a system of thought in philosophy which emphasizes the use of one's mind in obtaining knowledge rather than through the senses. Different philosophers in various philosophical traditions have used the term in a number of ways to suit their purpose. According to Bertrand Russell;

The word 'idealism' is used by different philosophers in somewhat different senses. We shall understand by it the doctrine that whatever exists is, or at any rate, whatever can be known to exist, must be in some sense mental. This doctrine, which is very widely held among philosophers, has several forms, and is advocated on several grounds. The doctrine is so widely held, and so interesting in itself, that even the briefest survey of philosophy must give account of it. (Russell,1967:19).

From Russell's observation, it is important to note that there have been tendencies among classical-modern philosophers like Descartes, Berkeley Leibniz, Spinoza and even Hume to reduce the fundamental nature of reality to immaterial substances which can only be apprehended by reason alone without

any measure of experience. These rationalist philosophers also attempted to revolutionize philosophical thinking by the introduction of universal skepticism which seeks to doubt the foundations of all our beliefs so that we would not construct a tall philosophical edifice on a shaky foundation. For instance, Descartes assumes that by the application of methodic doubt to philosophical thinking, we can discover certain universal self-evident and indubitable truths which could be discovered by the use of reason alone. Although, in his “*cogito ergo sum*” (I think, therefore I am) he pushed his views to an extreme point of phenomenological existentialism which seeks to eliminate the possibility of the existence of the physical World. We cannot repudiate the fact that his introduction of systemic doubt to philosophy by rational analysis is worthy of mention.

Berkeley, on his own part, holds a theory of idealism that sought to reduce physical existence to psychical (mental) states. In his often quoted aphorism *esse est percipi* – ‘to be is to be perceived’, he constructed an idealist conception of the World which is dependent on human and other super-existent being’s (God) perception of it. This set of representative realism conceives of reality as what can be perceived by our minds through the vehicle of the senses. In *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, (1952) Berkeley avers that the interpretation of all our experience is subject to the

workings of our senses and the passions and operations of the mind. But beside all the endless variety of ideas, we can formulate our objects of knowledge, there is likewise something, a mind or soul which knows or perceives them; that is, the existence of an idea is dependent on its being perceived by the senses. Hence, he concluded that nothing can ever be known except what is in some mind, and that whatever is known without being in my mind must be in some other mind. (Russell, 1967). This view has been diversely criticized by philosophers; one that is worthy of mention is John Hospers (1967:73).

According to him:

Of all features of idealism, the one that is most likely to elicit scum and disbelief is esse est percipi – to be is to be perceived. That the physical World exists unperceived is not only one of our most deeply held beliefs; it is one that we feel completely justified in believing...(Hospers, 1967:73).

However, the doctrine of idealism has been discussed extensively in various forms in philosophical circles from different perspectives, but the major ones are objective idealism and subjective idealism. The subjective idealism assumes the primacy of consciousness to matter just like Berkeley and Hume argued; though, there are disparities as to their respective conceptions of consciousness and the nature of human thinking. Here, the term “Idealism” is used to describe a variety of philosophies which all in one way or another regard physical object as existing only in relation to an experiencing subject, so

that reality is conceived in terms of mind or experience (Macquarrie, 1981:23). The subject is the criterion for the subsequent existence of reality in the way that reality is, by its very nature physical. The objective idealism does not reduce reality to mental phenomena alone, rather, it contends that our mental apprehension of the external World does not rule out its possible existence. Plato, for instance, defended the primacy of eternal, immutable and independently existing ideas, 'spiritual essences'. The World of sensuous things, he says, is secondary and dependent on the Supernatural spiritual World of ideas, which is genuine existence. Kharin (1981).

The tradition of the idealist philosophical school of thought continues even up till this present day. But one of such variations that is more relevant to this discourse is the idealism of Karl Marx and the other German Idealists like Feuerbach, Engels and Hegel. Walter Rodney was mostly fascinated by the idealistic doctrines of these German theorists, especially the dialectical materialism expounded by Marx which sought to create an ideal society. An ideal society, to Marx, is one devoids of any form of human contradictions, strife and class struggle and does not allow for total human flourishing and the fulfillment of aspirations, hopes and dreams. In the words of Robert C. Solomon, (1988:59), Marx conceives of the structure of all his works as a dialectical progression up to and establishing the Absolute, a single idea which

encompasses and unifies every other idea in the system. This is benchmarked on the assumption that the destiny of man lies within rather than outside of him. So, there must be a dialectical understanding of history such that does social conditions that is unfavourable and life threatening to man would be expunged from the social order and new principles upon which the society must be re-established must be erected. This is, however, obstinately believed by Marx and contemporary Marxists to be the basis for social change – a systemic displacement of all anti-human policies and exploitative and alternative tendencies in order to create a perfect society. Following in this thread of thought, Herbert Marcuse (1976:5) opines that:

Marx and his followers enter upon a project of displacing institutions based on political and economic rationality by ones based on emotional and moral solidarity, in keeping a new vision of human perceptibility, in which psychological unity replaces ambivalence as the defining category of human nature. Marcuse (1976:5)

Critically speaking, it is difficult to ascertain the truth of a perfect society if there is anything like it; and human nature is conceived as something predictable in Marxian categories. But from experience, we know that one of the most complex things for human understanding is human nature. Marx, whose works have impacted a great deal of influence on social theory, was himself inspired by the philosophical idealism of Hegel, a German idealist who

was one of the most influential thinkers of the 19th century. History, for Hegel is a dialectical phenomenon that moves in a triadic manner, namely, from thesis to antithesis, and the contradictions between both is blended in a synthesis such that the past is examined in order to understand the present and the present, in turn, is understood in order to predict the future. The thesis may be an idea of historical movement which gives rise to stiff oppositions referred to as antithesis or a conflicting idea to previously existing ones. The third condition, synthesis emanates from the attempt to reconcile the conflict between thesis and antithesis by making use of the facts of both perspectives at a higher level. This synthesis would give rise to a new way of thinking which would later become the thesis and later generate antagonism and behold another antithesis, which would then be resolved the formulation of a new synthesis. Such is the way Hegel considers the veracity of intellectual or historical development. Hegelian idealism centers on the doctrine of the “absolute” or “absolute spirit”. Hegel regards the absolute as ‘pure thought, spirit or mind’ which evolves in a spiritual process that can only be known only through the application of reason. In this case, Pippin (1989:91) observes that:

Whatever else Hegel intends by asserting an "Absolute idealism," it is clear by now that such a claim at the very least involves Hegel in a theory about pure concepts, and the role of such concepts in human experience, particularly in any possible knowledge of objects, but also in various kinds of self-consciousness, intentional activities.(Pippin, 1989:91)

It is important to note that Hegel's idea of conceptual opposition is not in terms of the difference between conceptual framework and the external World, but an account of how and why an idealized subject would experience an opposition between its self-determining activity and what it is trying to determine. A careful examination of Hegel's postulations will reveal that he tries to provide a remarkable analysis of why there are oppositions in our conception of the ideal reality.

He tries to account for such things as how and why a subject would find its views of another subject 'opposed' by such a subject; how social subjects, groups, or classes, how political subjects with certain notions about political life would (and did) find themselves in sometimes "tragic" opposition... (Pippin,1989:91).

A determinant factor for this chain of social opposition could be the fact that man is a rational being who continually seeks to better his existential condition by applying his rational powers to better his life. But for Hegel, human nature, man is equivalent to self consciousness, while for Marx and Feuerbach, man is directly a natural being. As a natural being and as a living

natural being he is on the one hand equipped with natural powers, with vital powers, he is an active natural being. (Elie Kedourie, 1995:176). From the observation of Kedourie, it becomes obvious that man is innately fortified with the ability to express his being. To put it succinctly, natural beings must play a key role in the determination of their environment by ensuring that beneficial social structures are instituted within the society.

Kant is another philosopher who explores extensively the possibility of what reason can reveal about the nature of human experience. An idea as Kant puts it is to promote the goal of history 'from afar'. Kant argues that human beings should see themselves as members of an ideal kingdom of ends and should act as such. In this manner, the social framework must be organized in such a way that every person is treated as an end in himself rather than as a means to achieve other person's ends. This is clearly revolutionary – a movement for reason and liberty against tradition and authority. However, we must bring to the fore that Kant's idealism is sympathetic to rational concepts for which there can never be any adequate object in experience. They are neither apperceptions (like space and time), nor feelings, but concepts of perfection that one can never approach in reality without, however, being able to reach it completely (Kelly, 1969:126). What Kelly is claiming is that the ideas

being advocated by Kant are concepts of reason which reply to the necessity that reason can be used to establish the systematic ordering of the World.

Herewith, let us establish the fact that within the sphere of social and philosophico-political discourse, theorists are said to be idealists when their theories and the positions they seem to be clamouring for are far too from reality. To put it differently, when a system of ideas seeks to achieve what is ostensibly impossible, it is regarded as mere lust for abysmal thinking and coordinated abstractions. For instance, the quest by Marxist to short-change prevalent ideologies in the political economy with more radical ones can be regarded as something which is strongly fueled by an idealistic inclination. Walter Rodney's development discourse which deeply preaches the gospel of socialism in order to eradicate man's alienation from a society which he was originally designed to dominate is caught in the web of changing post-colonial African World. The consequence for the despicable scheme of affairs in that period was linked to the influx of colonial domination and exploitation majorly influenced by post-colonial capitalist paradigms of thought. In the view of Rodney, the backlog of Africa's underdevelopment comes from the European countries which delimited Africa's reality and left the continent in a loathsome impoverishment that persists to this present day. Even though Western control of African countries have been officially upturned, it is debatable whether this

is so in reality as there is now, as Rodney observes, the phenomenon of neo-colonialism and internal (indigenous) forms of colonialism of Africans by Africans. He is of the opinion that these new forms of colonialism must be investigated and combated in order to bring about African emancipation, liberation and development. He dared to challenge the ideological aristocracy and economic selfishness of the Europeans by giving out a clarion call for the elimination of human inequality from the society and entrenching the concept of justice. Given the text of what has been discussed so far, we shall now proceed to look at the concept of praxis in order for us to be able to ascertain whether Rodney's conception of development has any practical ascriptions.

6.2 PRAXIS AND PHILOSOPHY

Praxis in philosophy has to do with the practical application of theories to social or human existential conditions. It is a product of any kind of dispositional and mental adjustment to a certain Worldview or set of beliefs that one considers important and as an ultimate goal that would aid the realization of certain social ends. The Marxist ideologies, for instance that talk about the enthronement of socialist ideals in the political economy is a kind of practical response to the excruciating pains of crass oppression being meted out to the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. In order to foster liberation and autonomy

from such life threatening tendencies, a new set of practices based on a new system of thinking and alternative ideological framework has to be evolved. Such is the dialectics of historical connection between idealism and praxis when it comes to social transformation. But first, what is Praxis? Praxis in literal terms is defined as the practical application of ideology or the practical side of something as opposed to theory. It is also viewed as any established practice that has come to crystalize a people's outlook towards life over a long period of time, often as a result of long standing custom, tradition and social exposures. Philosophically speaking, praxis constitutes a social category and has been regarded by some philosophers as philosophy's practical outlet. In "Philosophy and Praxis in Africa" Ogundowole (2004:32) concludes that:

...philosophy, as a special kind of World-view, is equally a conception of the World, of the human self and knowledge of both. It is a general mode of generalising this knowledge, which has the significance of a theoretical, social, moral, practical orientation. It is an expression of a comprehended relationship to reality and the theoretical substantiation of this relationship, which manifests in people's decisions, behaviour, spiritual self-determination, and above all, general universal praxis (Ogundowole, 2004:32)

The above commentary shows the all-embracing dimension of praxis as the practical status of philosophy and how it concerns human total attitudes towards life. In short, every social reality ever conceived by man goes through the process of belief based-convictions to common permutations. This is

probably why Finn Collin (1997:26) submits that social reality or social fact is generated by the processes through which social agents think about, describe and account for their behaviour and existence, and the consensus they reach about it. This actually proves the point that human nature is expressed towards through intentional (mental), reflective, meaningful activity situated within dynamic historical and social contexts that shape and set limits on that activity.

According to Freire (1970):

The praxis that defines human existence is marked by this historicity, this dialectical interplay between the way in which history and culture make people even while people are making that very history and culture. Human historicity enables the realisation of freedom, opening up choices among various ways of being within any given situation. (Freire, 1970).

The importance of freedom here cannot be overemphasized. At the level of our being human, freedom cannot be eliminated from existence, while at the level of our concrete practices, freedom is not given but is always precarious and must be achieved. This explains Rodney's ambition to eliminate all forms of slavery, oppression and dehumanization within the social framework as a necessary condition for the achievement of human development and economic progress.

Generally, praxis in philosophy has been attributed to ideology; we cannot talk about praxis without referring to the idea or the driving force behind it. In this case, philosophy is not only thinking demonstratively and scientifically, it also involves thinking critically and dialectically, but all of such thinking must be directed towards an end which must be in reference to praxis. Praxis is understood here in its fundamental meaning which has to do with the total structure of the actions of an epoch; that is, philosophical thinking is placed at an ideological level which is understood as the systematic whole of ideas that seeks to explain, justify, or counteract and entrenched praxis. It is pertinent to note here that all philosophies are a product of an age, often influenced by the state of existential conditions. In this guise, philosophy must have a kind of reference or relation to the concrete historical totality of World-views from which it emerges and to which it returns – an everyday praxis. Hence, philosophy finds itself relatively determined by praxis.

Strictly speaking, praxis determines philosophy, although not absolutely, in a much more intimate manner in the constitution of philosophical discourse whether as a method or as a necessity for constructing categories that corresponds adequately in the application of a priori categories. For instance, the social change being clamoured for by Rodney is an adoption of a dialectical method which is demanded by praxis as a radical commitment to the

oppressed. In this regard, the praxis of social relations that must bring about visible changes in human conditions where fundamental needs are met without any iota of favouritism social categorization. This is a radicalization of the meaning of praxis in its most material sense. In fact, those who advocate for such fundamental categories of dialectics must be ready to stand for that cause no matter the consequences which is one thing Rodney makes sure he does. He calls for a liberation of the down-trodden in the society based on scientific-dialectical knowledge which gives thematic priority to the praxis of liberation of the oppressed. He considers the oppressed historically and socially as a deprived class and collectively as a people completely alienated from one another by the biting fangs of capitalism and unbridled feudalistic relationships. This however had a strong influence on his conception of development. So we shall, forthwith, examine his conception of development to determine its possible philosophical implications.

6.3 PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Walter Rodney's conception of development is one that tilts towards the economics of development because it is essentially focused on how economies change from primitive stages of organization and production to complex

modern ones. It is his view that insofar as there are changes in human societies, there must be a change to social relations. However, he gave reasons why development cannot be seen purely as an economic affair, but rather, as an overall social process which is dependent upon the outcome of man's efforts to deal with his natural environment. In the words of Rodney (1972:1):

Development in human societies is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well being.(Rodney, 1972:1)

He further explores the concept in-depth by giving an analysis of how social groups come into contact with one another and how the fight for survival at all cost breeds inequality within each group. However, it is significant for us to note Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, was actually written as a response to the imperialist and capitalist domination of the African continent led to the unmitigated exploitation of all the factors of production and a collapse of all other pre-existing forms of development.

Any discourse on development must take into account the datum that there are always two factors to be identified. The first has to do with the state of human conditions under a social hegemony or political economy; and subsequently, the causative factors that influences and are directly responsible for them. Rodney attempted an understanding of some of the complicated links

between the changes in the economic base and changes in the rest of the superstructure as a product of the interplay between the sphere of social beliefs or ideology and praxis. In the opinion of Rodney, issues surrounding Africa's development is critical and it is based on the same Marxist principle of class consciousness. He maintains that:

The notions of revolution and class consciousness must be borne in mind when it comes to examining the situation of the modern worker and peasant classes in Africa. However, for the greater part of Africa's history, the existing classes have been completely crystallized and the changes have been gradual rather than revolutionary. What is even more probably of relevance for early African development is the principle that development over the World's territories has always been uneven. (Rodney, 1972:8)

From the foregoing, it is important for us to note that Rodney painted a picture of development in Africa which could be made possible only on the basis of a radical break with the universal capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the years. The state of human conditions, in his view, within this scheme of things would not ensure the overall tendency towards the increase of human skills and formulation of techniques that would lead to increase production of goods which in the long run will bring about a change in the character of the society. It is incontrovertible that Africa, in the past and even up till today can still not boast of total economic growth. According to the United Nation's *Development and*

Globalization: Facts and Figures (2004) Africa's performance in the last two decades has been marked by slow and erratic growth. Another scholar that aptly captures this situation is Chijioke (2006:94). He writes thus:

Africa remains comparatively the least developed of all continents in terms of the production and sustenance of critically significant social goods such as physical infrastructure, telecommunication facilities, food supply, electricity, medical and health services, education, shelter, employment and other vital materials for human personal and social being. (Chijioke, 2006:94).

The above citation mirrors Rodney's contention that the African historical experience is pitiable and dismal. This is so because Africa has been subjected to various forms of naked slavery, exploitation, colonization and neo-colonization in the last four hundred years or so. The integration of the economies of Africa into the international capitalist influence which began between earlier days of civilization with consequences has created problems of development and survival for the people of Africa. In relation to this view, Freund in *The Making of Contemporary Africa* (1984:111) comments that:

The imperial conquest of Africa was undertaken to tap African resources in order to help resolve the economics of Europe. Yet the circumstances of the conquest brought the colonial rulers to grips with a basic contradiction: only a long, intensive process could create conditions within Africa that could bring about substantial opportunities for investment, sales and profits. Beneath the surface of colonial political administrative policy lay the unfolding process of capital penetration, a process that was far from reaching full fruition in colonial era. (Freund, 1984:111)

It is pertinent to state just like Rodney was out to prove that colonial rule and Western domination of Africa began with an act of political expropriation, with the use of threat or force, to extract surplus gains from Africa in the form of either direct labour or the product of labour which could then be commoditized at the expense of economic progress. Most of the colonial tactics used to exploit Africa was directed towards the crude ignorance of African peoples. It was under the guise that the traditional methods of conquering the environment, like mixed farming, cattle rearing, craft making etc. were said to be primitive because it can only bring about quantitative changes, but not qualitative changes. But Robert (1986:105) takes the view that if domestic development in the form of mixed farming held out little promise as a strategy for alleviating the fiscal crisis of the colonial state, neither did imperial assistance improve matters. It is the main intention of European countries to dominate and exploit Africa and nothing more – this is the central thesis of

Rodney's work. Regardless of the controversy on which system of administration employed, it is a truism that their mission was accomplished by all standards. J. D. Fage, in *A history of Africa*, (1978:396) observes;

The colonial administrations were set up on the cheap. There was very little sense among the early colonial governments that they had any urgent need actively to develop their new colonies. The aim was to provide minimum force, administration, communication and technical services needed to assert European control.. (Fage, 1978:396)

These are some of the reasons Rodney's belief is responsible for the underdevelopment of Africa. But why is Africa in such economic depression in spite of its natural endowment? Rodney believes it is due to the fact that "most of the wealth now being produced is not being retained within Africa for the benefits of Africans" (Rodney, 1972:24). He writes further that:

In order to understand present economic conditions in Africa, one needs to know why it is that Africa has realised so little of its natural potential and one also needs to know why so much of its present wealth goes to non-Africans who resides for the most part outside of the continent.(Rodney, 1972:24).

Furthermore, Rodney contends that a progressive change could only occur within the society if man is liberated from the shackles of external domination and given more opportunities to develop his talents.

On the other hand, Rodney pitched his tent with Karl Marx on the issue of how drastic and revolutionary changes in the society will bring about

development. In his opinion, it must be clearly understood that the only way to solve the issues now besetting mankind is to eliminate completely the exploitation of dependent countries by developed capitalist countries, with all the consequences that this implies. (Rodney, 1972:1). A unique feature of Marxists' thought is that the economic aspects of the social environment were by far the most important in shaping human identity. It is from the social application of these that self-consciousness and individual identity evolve (Doyal, et.al. 1991:12). He was very fascinated by the Marxist indication that development is a movement in various stages like from the communal stages to the slavery stage, then from the feudal state to the capitalist state. It is under these capitalist structures that the greatest forms of human atrocities were committed. Rodney asserts that capitalism is characterised by the concentration in a few hands of ownership of the means of producing wealth and by unequal distributions of the products of human labour (Rodney, 1972:6). Rodney, however, painted a clear view of this kind of capitalist exploitation which he attributed to as the causative element of underdevelopment when he concludes thus:

A...more indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely, the exploitation of one country by another. All of the countries named as 'underdeveloped' in the World are exploited by others; and

the underdevelopment with which the World is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonial exploitation. African...societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by capital powers. (Rodney, 1972:16)

The above analysis shows that exploitation is the high point of capitalism. Capitalism begins with an initiatory process of what Marx called primitive accumulation of resources and labour. Marx believes that in every political epoch, the existing economic system by which the necessities of life are produced determine the organization, the political and intellectual disposition which form the basis for the history of the epoch. This economic condition in the history of societies has led to the struggles between the exploiter and the exploited, that is, between the bourgeoisie and proletariat i.e. between the oppressed and the oppressor. In the opinion of Marx, the despicable socio-economic conditions under capitalism can only be upturned and eliminated by a universal working-class revolution and replaced by a classless society. It is however predicted that socialism would be the system that would ensure this classless society because it is founded on the principle of equality similar to that in the communal stages of human development. Rodney essentially tries to re-echo Marx in some of his views. He imagines that capitalism is a deleterious system of social organization because it is characterized by the concentration in a few hands of ownership of the means of production and an unwholesome or

unequal distribution of the products of human labour. But his views are not without certain implications which shall now be pointed out.

Put succinctly, the principle of equality being advocated by Rodney is Utopian. It is doubtful whether there has been or could ever be such ideal and perfect society where everyone lives in harmony and everything is equally shared. Of course, Rodney's views on the principle of equality were so much influenced by the labyrinth of communalism a movement which was vibrant in the 20th century about the call for the overthrow of capitalism. It is assumed that capitalism aims to alienate the labourer from the fruits of his labour by unequal distribution of wealth between the social classes. Hence, Rodney envisaged a developed state where the goods of production were divided more or less equally among the members of society. But the question to ask here is: how possible is it for there to be a condition of equality within the society as prescribed by Rodney? In the real life situation, we know that it is impractical to hold a view as such because the products of labour or production can never be equitably distributed based on the nature of man. Philosophically, Rodney erred in his principle of equality because he thought that human behaviour within the social framework can be universalized. People's World views to life vary as much as the inherent polemics that exist within such societies. In fact, the concept of social classification was born from the out-set of civilization;

people organize themselves into classes or work in groups as a means of identification and social belonging. Even in some places, a person who does not belong to a social group is considered inconsequential to the aspirations of such societies.

Another aspect of Rodney's conception that has a philosophical implication is on the universality of development. He believes that development was universal because it appears as if the circumstances leading to economic expansion are universal. The truth of the matter is that the concept of development is socially relative; we cannot talk about two nations from different parts of the World and try to link them in terms of economic progress. For example, he compares Africa with China on how increase in the quantity of goods was associated with a change in the quality or the character of the society and how the principle of qualitative and change can be universally applied to both continents. But there is a sharp contrast between the basic needs of the one continent, say Africa from the other – China. Now, even though Rodney (Rodney, 1972:8) claims that “development cannot be seen purely as an economic affair, but rather as an overall social process”, he emphasized so much on the economic aspect of development. The most basic idea he supported was for the capital accumulation from the collective efforts of the people to be used or invested to increase productivity. But there is more to the

challenges that confront man in his everyday life than what Rodney captures in his work. It is pertinent to state here that there is no universally accepted definition about what constitutes economic development.

Furthermore, the emphasis placed on the concept of revolution and class consciousness make it seem as if radicalism is the only measure that can be employed to solve man's economic dilemmas. This is one shortcoming of unrepentant Marxists like Rodney. According to the *Cambridge Collections*, the followers of Marx, to this day, emphasize those aspects of their heroes' work that take them so far away from idealism that they can appear to be leaving philosophy altogether and replacing with radical critique, revolutionary activism, and rigorous empirical science. But philosophy is not the same as radicalism. Although, the exigencies of the African the political terrain at the time of Rodney was turbulent, prejudiced and life-threatening, revolution may not be the only way for the substantiation of ideology. If this is the case, then anarchism would become inevitable as a consequence of rebellion to previously existing political organizations because nearly everywhere, as Michael Biddiss(1977:128) observes, anarchism, though lacking much in rigour and organizational coherence, had considerable cultural impact as a general attitude of mind. The anarchist revolt here being advocated by Rodney was directed towards bourgeois- dominated mass society. It is supposed to correct the

contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty. However, Len Doyal and Ian Gough (1991:13) argue that one thing that made the revolutionaries did not do rightly in their opposition to capitalism was that in the midst of large scale poverty and exploitation, they also sow seeds of revolt through underlining what might be – the prospect of abundance and injustice of a social system where the needs of those who produce the wealth remain unmet. W.K.C. Guthrie (1956:85) sees any scholarly call for class distinction as an unbridled separatist attempt to deviate from the fundamental ontology of social existence. He believes that the aim of founding the society is not to give special happiness to one class over the other, but, to as far as possible, secure happiness for the society as a whole. In other words, Rodney's call for the emancipation of the proletariat or the masses, in his view, is misplaced.

Moreover, Rodney places socialism over capitalism because he feels that unlike capitalism which puts the wealth of the society in the hands of the few, socialism will ensure that the profits of production are equitably distributed. It is the only way to ensure that development within the social polity is ensured at all costs. In his own words:

Socialism has advanced on imperialism's weakest flanks – in the sector that is exploited, oppressed and reduced to dependency. In Asia and Europe, socialism released the nationalist energies of colonised peoples; it turned the goal of production away from the money market and towards the

satisfaction of human needs; it has eradicated bottlenecks such as permanent unemployment and periodic crises; and it has realised some of the promise implicit in Western or bourgeois democracy by providing the equality of economic condition which is necessary before one can make use of political equality and equality before the law. (Rodney, 1972:13)

Contrary to Rodney's belief or conception, socialism is not absolute theory so it is fraught with its own challenges. Socialism is a system where the means of production are collectively owned in the interest of all; it is opposed to capitalism which confines the ownership of the means of production in private hands. The principal aim of the socialist society would be to eradicate all forms of capitalist exploitation by any means, even if it involves violent revolution. But in reality, socialism itself has caused man more harm than good within Africa. For instance, the state controls of the means of production have led to "internal colonialism" and the evolution of neo-imperialist whose main objective in political activity is to embezzle and lavish the collective wealth of the people. It is an intellectual mistake for Rodney to assert that:

Socialism aims at and has significantly achieved the creation of plenty, so that the principle of egalitarian distribution becomes consistent with the satisfaction of the wants of all members of society. One of the most crucial factors leading to more rapid and consistent expansion of economic capacity under socialism has been the implementation of planned development. (Rodney, 1972:13-14)

A very strong criticism of this view of Rodney was given by Bertrand

Russell in his book, *The Principles of Social Reconstruction*; he opines thus:

Under the influence of socialism, most liberal thought in recent years has been in favour of increasing the power of the state, but more or less hostile to the power of private property. I believe that...both private property and the state, which are the two most powerful institutions of the modern World, have become harmful to life through excess of power, and both are hastening the loss of vitality from which the civilized World increasingly suffers. (Russell:1997:33)

It is such weaknesses that were noticed in the dictates of the socialist theory that all theorists that follow in the tradition of Karl Marx are regarded as utopian socialists because of their belief in ideal societies which can only exist as a chimera or expressed eloquently as wishful thinking and optimistic liberalism. Some other scholars like Ian Gough et.al. (1991:27) think that there may not be that sharp distinction between ideologies that are obtainable within a socio-cultural matrix. He opines as thus:

To argue that what counts as need satisfaction, whether provided by the market or by the state, contains elements which are harmful, degrading, oppressive is one thing. But to condemn all or most state activity – no matter how ostensibly valuable in the relief of suffering – is plain silly and very difficult to sustain in practice. The fact is that the welfare state is contradictory to human betterment, in some other ways doing the opposite. (Gough, 1991:27)

Herbert Marcuse (1976:5) also provides strong basis of criticisms for the followers of Marx. He believes that Marx and his followers (like Rodney) enter

upon a project of displacing institutions based on political and economic rationality by ones based on emotional and moral solidarity, in keeping with a new vision of human perfectibility, in which psychological unity replaces ambivalence as the defining category of human nature.

6.4 CONCLUSION

By and large, we shall try to answer the question of praxis in terms of the relation between thought and reality. In any philosophical study, the connection that exists between theory and praxis is considered as important because it shows the relevance of philosophy to practical life or the practical application of theoretical principles in order to shape human destiny. It is pertinent to state that philosophy does not examine concepts just for the sake of it, without any interest in their practical application to life. A philosopher does not look at issues simply and leave them, rather, he deliberately engages in a reflective process of critical analysis of issues in order that he may deconstruct the huge problems that trouble man; he attempts an understanding of this phenomenon that seems difficult to understand, in a bid to either resolve, solve or in some cases where the problem is identified as a pseudo-concept, dissolve them. Philosophers are not mere lovers of abstraction and absurdities as is

wrongly thought; they are people with creative minds who engage themselves in rigorous thinking in order to produce results.

Hence, transmutation from idealism to praxis becomes important in the wake of contemporary realities especially in Africa. Every ideology is subject to praxis in a way that the viability and non-viability of such theories or ideas can only be ascertained when they are looked at in retrospect to the existential human conditions or problems they are intended to solve. What this means is that, correlatively, a good politics is itself not a constitutional mechanics, but rather a spirit of politics in the service of the idea. (George Kelly, 1969:292). For instance, Rodney believes that for Africa to have any measurable form of development, there must be a change in the political system that is operating within the social whole. He, however, favours socialism as that alternate theory that is infallible both in content and in means. According to him, the socialist state has as its prime function the control of the economy on behalf of the working classes which constitutes a strong force in the World history of human development. But this is simply an expression of deliberate rationalism because in practice, socialism has been found wanting in various aspects.

Additionally, Fidelis U. Okafor (2004:57), in his work titled "Matching Theory with Praxis to the African Condition" emphasizes the importance of the shift from idealism to praxis when he opines that "our shift from theory to

Praxis in line with the changing character of philosophising in different places, spanning different periods in history.” Following in this line of thought, it is understandable why Rodney holds a very narrow conception of development; the challenges of that time centers on bourgeoisie mistreatment and oppression which was to be eradicated by any means possible even if it involves combative struggle. In praxis, such idealist chauvinism will bring nothing but, further underdevelopment to the polity because there will always be social stratification in World societies insofar as man remains man – we may be helpless about some of our most troubling social problems. As Akinyemi Onigbinde (1996:196) observes;

...human life is a stream of activities. We strive to attain a variety of objectives, obtain a diversity of goods, and retain what we have once achieved. We, like streams are the flow of these activities. Purposes enfold us and make demands on us from every side. If we are not conscious of them, they shape our existence and define our responses, regardless of our own identity, as though they were final or definitive of our being. (Onigbinde, 1996:196)

In the final analysis, the complexities embedded in nature have made it difficult to fashion an absolute theory that would cater for the aspirations, hopes and yearnings of people of the World. Every theory first, must begin as an idea – mental apprehension and conceptualizations on what best possible way the society can be put on the way to development. In fact, development

itself is a process and not a static state of things as is erroneously believed. Africa in this modern age needs to fashion an authentic mode of political system that would work in its indigenous terrain by grappling with the unique African situation in all ramifications; rather than importing dead ideologies from the WesternWorld. As we begin to formulate these pristine concepts of reason, we must make sure that they respond to most of our political problems in way that reason establishes the foundation for the systematic ordering of the World. Even Marx saw the connection between the superstructure and the substructure which is an attestation to the fact that every theory naturally should gravitate towards praxis. Hence, African intellectuals have a great task before them – fashioning of theories with practical relevance that would bring positive development to Africa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BEYOND WALTER RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE: IDEALISM TO PRAXIS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter six, we discussed philosophical implications of Walter Rodney's development discourse. Now, in chapter seven, we shall discuss beyond Walter Rodney's development discourse: Idealism to praxis. This chapter maintains that it is important that the adoption of relevant insights from Rodney's development model as well as effective leadership, will determine the place of Nigeria vis-à-vis African's states in the league of advanced nations of the World.

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to look beyond Rodney's development discourse. What informs this is that though, Africa was colonized and that colonization had dire consequences on Africa's quest for development, but the fact still remains that effective leadership is the major problem that militates against Africa's quest for development. Decades after independence, uncertainty and fear still rule the African continent. The freedom and justice that many people sacrificed their lives for have been replaced by tyranny and oppression. The promise of a descent living has been betrayed by misgovernance and corruption. Most Africans fought so hard to liberate

themselves from colonial rule only to be used and abused and their nations ruined by their leaders. Today, Africa has very little to show for its independence because of inhuman and incompetent leadership coupled with wrong-headed policies. We kicked the British out and replaced them with our brothers and sisters who turn out to be more brutal than the British. Independence was thought to be the beginning of the golden era where political freedom and expression, freedom of association, free enterprise, economic prosperity, responsibility and accountability of each and everyone prevailed. These lofty ideals never happened because we replaced white imperialism with the black one. People who are voted into office to help build the country turn it into their personal property. Much of post-colonial Africa came to be ruled by “educated barbarians”. Most African countries are poor and undeveloped because of bad leaders with the exception of Botswana. Botswana is a landlocked country located in Southern Africa. The citizens are referred to as “Batswana”. She got her independence on 30th September, 1966. It has held free and fair democratic elections since independence. A mixed-sized country of just over two million people, Botswana is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world. Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa when it gained independence from Britain in 1966, with a GDP per capita of about US\$70. Botswana has since transformed itself,

becoming one of the fastest growing economies in the world to a GDP per capita of about \$14,000. The country also has a strong tradition as a representative country.

Since independence was declared, the party system has been dominated by the Botswana Democratic Party. The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature. According to Transparency International, Botswana is the least corrupt country in Africa and ranks similarly close to Portugal and South Korea. Botswana has transformed itself from one of the poorest countries in the world to a middle income country. It has fourth highest Gross National Income at purchasing power parity in Africa, given it a standard of living around that of Mexico and Turkey. According to the International Monetary Fund, economic growth averaged over 9% per year from 1966 – 1999. Botswana has a high level of economic freedom compared to other African countries. The government has maintained a sound fiscal policy, it earns the highest sovereign credit rating in Africa and has stockpiled foreign exchange reserves (over \$7 billion in 2005/2006) amounting to almost two and a half years of current imports. Government announced in early 2009, that they would try and shift their economic dependence on diamonds, over serious concern that diamonds are predicted to dry out in Botswana over the next twenty years. Botswana is progressing well with the implementation of reforms

required to meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Significant progress has equally been made in education and in health. Botswana has one of the best preventions of Mother to Child Transmission programmes in Africa where 96% of babies born under the programme are HIV negative.

From the above, it can be deduced that good governance is responsible for Botswana's success story or what Plato calls ideal/perfect society. In trying to describe the perfect society, Plato was greatly influenced by psychological and biological theories of the time. He assumed, accordingly, that there was an analogy between an individual person and the society in which he lived. The only real influence was one of size- a society is nothing but 'the individual writ large'. If so, the question of what an ideal society would be like can be reinterpreted as the question 'What makes an ideal or perfect man?' And Plato's answers to this query came in part from the then current theories of psychology and biology (Richard Popkin, Avrum Stroll and Kelly, A.V. 1969:58)

The psychology of the day held that every man is composed of two different ingredients: his body and his soul. Thus, what makes an ideal man is a matter both of physical and of psychological perfection. By 'perfection' Plato here meant the same as 'health'. To describe such a man, therefore, is to describe men who are physically and psychologically healthy. A man is

physically healthy if he is not suffering from disease; but to determine when he is psychologically healthy is somewhat more complicated. Plato's reply was that the human soul was divided into three parts – what he called '**the rational element**', '**the spirited element**', and '**the appetitive element**'. The rational is that part of a man's soul which enables him to reason, to argue, to deliberate and so forth. The 'spirited' element is what makes a man courageous or cowardly and gives him strength of will, and the appetitive element consists of his desires and passions, such as the desire for food, drink, sex and so on. In terms of this three-fold division of the soul, Plato argued that a man will be 'psychologically healthy' if the three parts of his soul function harmoniously. Reason should be in command of the appetites and the spirited element should with its strength support the dictates of reason to ensure that the appetites are kept under control. The appetites should not be repressed completely but should be satisfied only when reason says that it is appropriate. If a man is too exclusively controlled by reason, his emotional life will be impoverished. James Mill, if we can trust the reports of his son, John Stuart Mill, seems to have been a man whose rational life dominated his emotional life to the detriment of the latter. On the other hand, men are frequently dominated by their appetites: in order to satisfy their desires, they engage in conduct which is detrimental to themselves and to others. They are controlled by their passions, their feelings,

and in this sense could be described as 'unbalanced'. In common-sense terms, a man is regarded as being 'sound in mind' when he is not unbalanced, i.e., if all the parts of his soul function harmoniously, each of them playing its role without dominating the other or without being so dominated. Thus, the Platonic answer to the question: 'What makes a healthy or ideal individual?' is 'An individual is healthy if all of the elements of his soul function harmoniously with each other' (Ibid, 59).

Since the state is nothing but the individual 'writ large', the same analysis can be applied to it. An ideal state would be composed of three classes: the rulers to administer it, warriors to defend it; and all other citizens to provide the essentials of life, such as food and shelter. Each of these classes corresponds to a division of the individual soul: The ruling class is the rational element of the society, the soldiers are its spirited element; and the other citizens are its appetitive element. Like the ideal individual, the ideal society will be one in which all these elements function harmoniously, with the warriors assisting the rulers to keep the rest of the citizenry under a benign but firm control. It would have no conflicts within it, and each class by doing what it is best fitted to do, would be happy and contented.

But the fundamental problem which the establishment of such a society raises is 'Who shall rule it?' since it is the rulers who ultimately will decide

which individuals belong to which class; and it is they who must formulate the laws by which the society functions. Poor leadership will lead to poor laws; a wrong decision in placing someone in a given class will lead to unhappiness, or worse, to rebellion. It is thus essential that proper rulers be chosen if the society is to be ideal.

Plato gave careful directions for choosing rulers, and for making sure, once chosen, that they would not work for their own advantage. All children should be raised communally – i.e., by The State – until they are about eighteen. At that time, they will be subject to three types of test in order to determine prospective rulers from those who are to become warriors and artisans. These tests are to take two years. They would be in part physical (since ruling imposes a severe physical strain upon men and also because Plato believed that physical health is a prerequisite of mental health), in part intellectual, and in part moral. If a man cannot withstand moral temptation, then he might sacrifice the interests of the society in order to satisfy his own interests. The individuals who passed these tests would be carefully isolated for further training – most of it intellectual. They would be schooled in the abstract sciences. They would study arithmetic, geometry, solid geometry, astronomy and harmonics to prepare them for the abstract thinking necessary for their subsequent study of philosophy. The study of philosophy or ‘dialectic’, as Plato calls it, is the

culminating of their theoretical preparation for the task of ruling, since it will lead them finally to a complete knowledge of the Good. They will always therefore, make decisions which are in the best interests of the state. They will in fact be 'philosopher-kings'. The second part of their schooling would be practical: these men would be appointed to administrative posts of a lesser order and a constantly observed in the performance of their duties. Anyone who failed to achieve competence in any of the above subjects would be dismissed as a potential ruler. After all the tests had been passed, the rulers would take part in the active administration of the society. But in order to avoid any chance of their placing their private interests over the public welfare, they would not be allowed to have private families, or to possess private property or wealth (Ibid, 60). Plato felt that family interests and the desire for riches are the two great obstacles to unbiased and impartial leadership. With these motivations which work against the public good eliminated, the guardians are to be given absolute authority in running the society. No one from the 'lower' classes is allowed to intervene in the administration of the government; for the members of the lower groups are not experts, as the rulers are. Plato justified giving the rulers absolute powers on the ground that ruling is a skill, just as medicine is a skill. In order to rule properly, one has to be trained for it; just as in order to practice medicine properly one requires special instruction. To allow

an untrained person a voice in the direction of the government is as foolish, in Plato's eyes, as to allow an untrained person to give advice for the proper conduct of a surgical operation.

For most countries, independence means only a change in the colour of the administrators from white to black. The new leaders begin to act in the same manner as the colonialists. In fact, in many places, they are worse than the colonialists. What Africa needs today is effective and purposeful leadership. A clarification of the concept of leadership, perspectives on the concept of leadership, theories of leadership, types of leadership, leadership qualities, the problem of leadership in Africa, the implications of the problem of leadership on the development of Africa, philosophical rescue for the failure of leadership in Africa, and a new initiative for Africa: Rethinking Plato's doctrine of the philosopher's king will be discussed.

Rodney's development discourse is historically conditioned and evolves in the quest to liberate Africans from the shackles of underdevelopment. It is therefore expedient that not until Africa is able to evolve good leadership models and develop its human resources through functional, cultural, moral, socio-economic, scientific and creative educational system, the visions of real integral development on the continent may be illusionary. This is premised on the ground that a continent which is unable to develop the skills, knowledge

and values of its people and effectively utilise them in the developmental process will be unable to develop anything else.

In Africa, the need for pragmatic, sincere and purposeful leadership has been discussed at many gatherings, both within and outside the continent. Quite sadly, however, most African nations are still not faring well politically, socially, and economically. It is no longer news that most of Africa's problems stem from the continent's leaders who have found nothing wrong with squandering the wealth of their nations, sometimes, in collaboration with their Western partners in corruption. Yet, we want Africa to develop and join the comity of Nations. What then is sustainable development?

Sustainable development is defined as development that lasts, it is development that does not endanger the environment and the resources therein for present and future generations. It is self-sustaining and meets the needs of present and future generations (Iyoha, 2003:256). Development in this context is viewed as increasing the availability and widening the distribution of basic life. Sustaining goods and services such as food, education, shelter, health and protection, it is raising levels living through higher incomes, employment of more people, better education institutions and facilities and improved accessibility of people to goods and services thus, improving the esteem of

individuals and nations thus freeing the people from servitude and continuous dependence on other individuals and nations.

According to Tunde Babawale (2004:31), sustainable development can be defined as a deliberate and systematic policy of ensuring the survival of a state in such conditions that the social, economic and political necessities that are imperative for the enjoyment of the good life and ensuring the greatest good for the greatest numbers are available now without this constituting a denial of the capacity of being able to generations yet unborn in the foreseeable future. Another way of understanding the concept of sustainable development is to say that the society should be managed in an effective and efficient manner such that it benefits all and sundry, with enough still available for the continuation of the human race in future. This is achievable through the judicious and careful use of global resources. A necessary adjunct to this concern therefore is the imperative of poverty eradication, control of diseases, improvement of the standards of living of the people and good governance.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Africa as a continent has recurrently experienced the crisis of leadership in its various facets of social life. This has unassailably affected it in variegated proportions evident in the collapse of moral standards and communal, ethnic, gross infrastructural decay, inter-tribal and religious crises, low and despicable standards of living, and total

mismanagement of available human and natural resources. Inadvertently, this problem of leadership is largely responsible for the stunted growth and underdevelopment in Africa today. But why should a continent richly endowed like Africa continue to wax in such a debilitating state when other nations of the World are constantly striving to improve on their already improved existential conditions? The answer to this question is bad and poor leadership. In every human society, there are certain agents or divers of social change whether progressive, regressive or oscillatory in a trajectory, which are responsible for the conditions of life, creation of cultural systems of human expression and interaction and the evolution of novel forms of life; including new modes of doing things which ought to be directed towards developmental ends for the benefit of all. One of such principal instruments of social change is *leadership*.

As a matter of fact, leadership plays a pivotal role in shaping the course of a nation or continent and mapping out its destiny because it involves the provision of direction and foresight in the making of decisions that could influence people's lives either positively or negatively. On the issue of leadership, Africa has never been lucky; poor leadership has been a depressing norm in Africa for decades. Thus, in the wake of current global realities, this discourse on the problem of leadership confronting Africa is not only relevant

but timely in the present circumstances, Africa cannot extricate itself from the global order so at best what is needed to be done is for intellectuals and thinkers to embark on a rescue plan geared towards combating this problem. The consequences of bad leadership on any society are enormous. For instance, the global financial recession or meltdown which is tearing the foundations of previously acclaimed World strongest economies into pieces is a malady that would be difficult to remedy because of the failure of leadership. In the case of Africa, the quest to attain or retain political leadership at all costs is what is tearing its foundation apart. We can cite a plethora of countries when it comes to such leadership crises in Africa. Some of these countries are: Zimbabwe, Kenya, Equatorial Guinea, South Africa, Nigeria are only but to mention a few.

From the foregoing analysis, it shows that no nation can survive without good leadership. Leadership refers to the ability of persons or group of persons to effectively guide, direct or influence a people towards achieving set goals, laudable objectives and favourable ends. This is what is lacking within the precinct of contemporary Africa. This, however, brings us to the central point of this work which holds that the problem of leadership is the bane of Africa's development.

Therefore, in order to tackle this issue at stake holistically, the work has been divided many parts. The first deals with the conceptual clarification of

leadership with particular emphasis given to certain aspects of leadership trends in Africa. The second part focuses on the implications of this leadership crises on the development of Africa vis-à-vis the role of African leaders in the regressive transformation of African states. On a third note, attempts aimed at solving this problem are brought to the fore – an urgent but critical search for a philosophical rescue. The fourth part is the conclusion. The work concludes that since the main cause of Africa's underdevelopment is the failure of leadership, then there is a dire need to rethink and by all means, rework the concept of leadership that is obtainable in Africa – this, however is a pristine approach that will usher in the much desired change that Africa urgently needs; this is a new initiative for Africa.

7.1 A CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership can be defined as the ability of a person or persons to exhibit principal control over a social process or situation, looking ahead to see far beyond others in dynamic circumstances, to provide initiative, innovative thinking when it comes to problem solving , guiding other group of persons often regarded as followers, towards the right direction. A good leader must be skillful in the art of recognizing challenges, threats and prospects that may exist in any kind of activity before embarking on them. He must also be ready to put

others before himself in all considerations because he has a responsibility to cater for the well-being and the flourishing of the group of people he leads. In other words, the concept of leadership entails the concept of followership. A leader is adjudged to be good when he has a maximum number of people following him. But in contemporary Africa, this perspective of leadership is not obtainable. Factually speaking, leadership is the backbone of any process of social engineering targeted towards confronting the challenges and yearnings of a people, meeting their dire needs and providing the right atmosphere for the fulfillment of their aspirations in life.

Leadership is the most important element for order and progress in any human undertaking. Leadership is extremely vital and in fact central to the control, motivation, and direction of every human society towards development, progress and meaningful achievement in all human affairs, whether social, economic or political, both domestic and national.(Oguejiofor, 1998:139-140)

The above postulation further points to the water-tight connection between leadership and the movement of a society towards development. Over the years, Africa as a continent has not been able to make this sort of connection due to a harvest of poor and bad leadership which has cost the continent so much in both material and non-material terms. It is pathetic to note that a continent like Africa richly endowed with so much human and natural

resources is still wallowing in abject poverty and a deplorable state of ideological confusion, power wielding madness, corruption, economic decay, and political disillusionment. Some scholars actually believe that when we are talking about leadership, we must concentrate on values (whether positive or negative) because values are what sharpen a person's belief about the ideal modes of conduct in the society. So for such scholars like, Mahmud Tukur, leadership is the ability to cultivate purposive values and effectively communicate such values to a group of people so that it can have a substantial effect on the society. In his words

(Leadership) values may be defined as the ethical parameters, standards and criteria through which individuals, groups, and societies order their goals, determine their choices and judge their conduct as these pertain to fundamental aspects of life, be they in the sphere of personal or public affairs.
(Tukur, 1999:19)

The term *leadership* has been defined variously by different people based on their thematic considerations. Psychologists and behaviourists alike have defined the concept from certain viewpoints like the evolutionary perspective, which looks at the evolution of man in nature and how man conceive of the insignia of leadership. Also, leadership has been extensively discussed from the business, tribal angles; this further extends to theoretical models on leadership like trait theory, behavioral theory, contingency theory, transactional theory,

transformational theory and so on. It is pertinent to state here that the purpose of this work is mainly to examine the reason why political leadership has ceaselessly failed in Africa. So, we shall not dwell on the explication of those socio-psychological theories. But for our purpose, we shall briefly consider three important perspectives on leadership that seriously concern and affect the African social framework.

7.2 PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP

From the sociological perspective, leadership can be identified with the arrangement or organization of a social process; in a manner that people take responsibilities, initiate and control the procedures of change within a given community. Within this purview, leadership is not just about a personality, but a group phenomenon. It is a kind of experience involving a number of persons in mental or ideological contact in which one assumes authority or dominance over the others. By this process, the lives of many in the society are sharpened, distorted, twisted or organized to move in a specific direction. A sociologist believes that leadership is principally a process in which attitudes and values of the many in the community are changed and streamlined by the one who occupies the place of the leader. Mark Van Vugt corroborates this when he opines that although leadership is defined by researchers in many ways, the

significant conception of leadership should be “in terms of influencing individuals to contribute to group goals and the leader coordinating the pursuit of those goals.” (Van Vugt, 2008:182-196)

From the theological standpoint, leadership is conceived as a catalyst that provides succor and meaning within the sphere of human existence; leadership is seen as a divine gift to man to shape, mould and direct the thoughts and destiny of human societies. This is well explicated in the divine command theory which holds that the position of leadership is orchestrated by a divine being, so they wield a strong political power that no one should disobey. All religious persons have a statutory obligation to submit to the authority of leadership because it is believed to be a divine command. This may be why religious leaders are seriously revered in this World; they are envisioned to be earthly representatives of God who in his supreme discretion has chosen such persons to direct the affairs of mankind (his children). It is true that most people in Africa, for instance in Nigeria, are said to be incurably religious (Odumuyiwa, 2002:10)

To this end, we should note that in every part of the World, we have discovered that religion is an ultimate fact of human nature. Whatever we think about the definition and function of religion, it is generally known now that

religion has always been an inescapable, inevitable, and concomitant of human life as we know it today.

The third perspective of leadership is that of political leadership; this concerns us greatly because the bedrock of Africa's problem whether economical, religious, social, moral, mental, educational, or political is chiefly as a result of the failure of this form of leadership necessary for any sustainable development efforts to be realized in any society. Africa in the past and even in recent times is still lagging behind when it comes to political leadership. Those who mount political offices and other top administrative offices, government, military or private are not selfless leaders; they are only out to embezzle, mismanage, and unashamedly steal the collective wealth of the people (national cake!). Ogundowole, E.K. (1991:49) captures this better when he says that "What is popularly known as the national cake sharing (the plundering of the federal treasury) yet, there is no national cake-baking attitude". Here, what this means is that political leadership involves the cultivation of right political values. This political value provides the template for the measurement of wrong and right attitudes in societal matters that border on human advancement. Political leaders are supposed to possess strong values that will have substantial influence on social framework. If somebody should come out and claim that we do not have leaders in Africa, that person may be correct to a

large extent because one of the most enduring features of the troubled African political terrain is the phenomenon of the military government and its rape of sanity from the polity, usually as a consequence of the perceived shortcomings of politicians. Whether this is a justification for the military to incessantly take over political leadership from civilians is another question, but we shall not pursue it further, at least, for now.

Further still, the concept of leadership can be looked at from two broad perspectives, individual and organizational or social. Leadership bears a vital relationship to individuality and its complementary elements, sociality. If individuality refers to these distinguishing traits which set one person from one another, then, sociality refers to the leadership trait which is composed of those behaviour traits which identify one person from another within a given cultural milieu. Both organizational and individual leadership are lacking in Africa. Individual leadership is that which is at a personal level while the organizational is at the public, impersonal or general platform (Bogadus, 1934:1)

Within African states, there is a dearth of good leadership in all facets of social life. For instance, in South Africa today, there is a great deal of hullabaloo in the political terrain owing to the internal crisis that exists within ANC, the ruling party which led to the impeachment of Thabo Mbeki and the nomination

of Jacob Zuma as the nation's president. A curious observer may want to ask why people aspire to lead by all means without paying due recourse to the implications such actions may portend for the society; this simply goes to show that there are no selfless leaders in Africa. These kinds of selfish leaders have made the problem of leadership problematic. On this note, it is observed that:

As we all know, most African country presidents (or heads of state governors) ...rule as if the resources in the land belong to their immediate family, surrogates, fronts and friends. In central African region, this is more prevalent - Gabon, Zaire, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and others. In Equatorial Guinea, for instance, government activities revolve round the immediate family of the president Mbiang Ngueso, who has ruled that oil rich country for about 30 years.(Davidson, 1994:184)

Furthermore, as we have stated earlier, leadership presupposes responsibility; in the sense that whatever comes out from a process of leadership must be attributed to the leader. A good leader is one who does not only take all the plumps and applause for great achievements, but also take full responsibility for failures as well as shortcomings and criticisms from opposing angles. From all social indications, some African leaders are nothing but opportunists who see the position of leadership as an avenue to gain cheap popularity, fame, undue influence and pride.

7.3 THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

7.3.1 The Great Man Theory

It is based on the postulation that leaders are exceptional people, born with innate qualities, and destined to lead. This theory insists that man and not woman should lead because over a long period of time, leadership is assumed to be only the prerogative of men.

7.3.2 The Trait Theory

This theory is an offshoot of the great Man Theory. It assumes that leaders have a set of physical and emotional characteristics that are fundamental for inspiring others towards a common goal. Some of these theories argue that traits are innate and so cannot be acquired while others believe that it can be acquired through learning. These traits (personality, social, physical or intellectual) differentiate leaders from followers.

7.3.3 Behaviourist or Style Theory

The late 40s and early 50s saw the introduction of behaviour or style of leaders into the study of leadership. The approach which is often referred to as 'group and exchange theories' of leadership emerged as panacea to the shortcoming of the trait theories. It centres on the way and manner in which the leader exercises leadership in relational and contextual terms.

7.3.4 Situational-Contingency Theory

The central theme of the Situational-Contingency Theory is that the effectiveness of a particular style of leadership depends on the situation at hand. It means that as situation changes, style of leadership changes too.

7.3.5 Path-Goal Theory

This theory assumes that leaders can possess more than one leadership style, the main job of leaders is to help followers stay on the right paths to challenging goals and valued rewards, the effectiveness of leadership style depends on employee characteristics and environmental factors, and the leader's role is to clarify the relationship between the follower's path and their goal by anticipating expectations, assisting them to remove obstacles, and reinforcing the connection between work performance and receiving rewards.

7.3.6 Transactional Leadership Theory

The transactional leadership theory focuses on the inter-personal transactions between leaders and followers. It is premised on the fact that the leader identifies what followers need or prefer (contingent reward) to make them achieve a better level of performance. The leader in this model tries to

gain follower's compliance by offering rewards. The characteristics of this approach are that it is not only short-term and goal oriented, it is also focused on performance outcomes.

7.3.7 Charismatic Leadership Theory

This is based on the ability of leadership to inspire and motivate followers to achieve result greater than originally planned and for internal rewards. The leader is perceived as a role model to the followers. Leadership in this model adjusts behaviour, goals, structures, direction and processes by emphasizing optimism, providing intellectual stimulation, appealing to ideological/religious values, and encouraging follower initiative for the best interest of the organization. The major characteristics of this leadership are charisma, personal attention to followers' needs and intellectual stimulation of its followers (Fageyinbo, 2005:143-146).

7.4 TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

Having discussed leadership and its theories, we shall now discuss types of leadership.

7.4.1 Dictatorial leadership: A dictatorial leadership style does not consult with anybody. He holds sway on all issues and he is the master of all. His

opinions are superior to any other. A counter opinion is viewed as an affront on his leadership.

7.4.2 *Authoritarian leadership:* Authoritarian leadership style promotes achievement (high task) over relationship with his followers. Cooperation and collaboration are rare in this form of leadership style. Though tough on schedule because he expects every follower to do what he is asked to do, an authoritarian leader hardly has time for details thereby making changes difficult.

7.4.3 *Democratic leadership:* This is a style that gives followers a chance to participate in the decision making process. A democratic leader not only listens to his followers, he believes there can be better opinions other than his own.

7.4.4 *Non-Directive leadership:* A non-directive leadership style keeps a distance from others and will not make any decision for the followers. He is always silent on important matters thereby leaving others in the group to contribute first. His encouragement to members of the group is never verbal.

7.4.5 *Laissez-a-faire leadership:* Under a *laissez-a-faire* leadership, followers are given unhindered freedom to act without interference and as they please. The only problem is that followers pass the buck, as nobody would take responsibility when there are leakages in the system (Fageyinbo, 2005:148). Africa needs transformational leaders who can set up lofty goals of reforming African society; leaders who are disciplined, visionary, selfless, sacrificial, pro-active and effective.

7.5 LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

There are certain qualities that those who occupy positions of leadership must possess in order for them to be regarded as good leaders. In fact, leadership is all about the trite application of human skills in solving problems and putting people through in numerous facets of life. A leader needs to possess the skill to be able to create, catch and develop visions. By vision here, we mean the ability to transform mental pictures into a desired future. Also, a leader must be willing to take responsibility for his actions and for others that are working with him; he must also realize that a lot of people are looking up to him for direction, motivation and inspiration. So he cannot afford to fail them. Another good leadership skill that a leader ought to possess is mental

toughness. Before someone can aspire for the position of leadership, such a person must be knowledgeable on important issues on a broad range of topics because knowledge is the way to understanding and understanding is the way to power. This means that a leader should possess or show a great deal of knowledge, awareness or intelligence in tackling the problems that confront man by the day.

Historically speaking, great leaders in the World emerge not just because of the amount of skills they possess or the amount of wealth they are able to acquire, but by moral uprightness and maintenance of good ethical standards. Without moral uprightness, the concept of leadership would be a chasm; imagine a leader who has no regard for the right of his followers, or that cannot conduct himself in a way that is morally acceptable in the society, such a leader would be nothing other than a tyrant and a despotic leader which is prevalent in contemporary Africa today. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that:

Many of the troubles of Africa, after independence, followed on breakdown of parliamentary and administrative institutions set in place, at the time of independence...[such problems are] often enlarged by failed leaders and foreign interventions such problems consisted of internal divisions, elitism, clanism and other forms of disunity. Patriotic leaders set themselves to solve those problems; selfish or corrupt leaders simply made them worse.(Okoh, 2009:9)

This brings us to another point which is the fact that leadership is a sort of selfless service that considers others before self; it is supposed to be altruistic in its entirety. To be altruistic means that a leader must strive to cater for the needs of the people first, before he even thinks of himself. He must be ready to put his neck on the line for his people to have life; a typical example of a selfless leader is Nelson Mandela who faced enormous pressure to use violence against his oppressors chose the higher path and ultimately conquered evil with good; Martin Luther King can also be mentioned here for giving up his life in order that his followers (the negroes) could have life, and enjoy it to the fullest without any form of intimidation, oppression and subjugation.

In addition to this, a leader must be accountable to the people that he is responsible to; he must also be a custodian of collective resources or funds and not an embezzler as is rampant in Africa. A veritable skill that a leader should also strive to acquire is the skill of performance. Good leaders are often measured, in Africa and elsewhere in the World, by the nature and promptness of their performance, actions they take or do not take at critical periods. Moreso, a leader who engages in the provision of social amenities like construction of bridges, provision of water, building of schools, etc., is often regarded as a good leader based on the verge of performance. But this perspective of leadership is a narrow one because leadership goes beyond the

mere provision of material things like food, housing and shelter even though, it is an important part of it. Unarguably, leadership can either affect human life positively or negatively, since it is a kind of behaviour by means of which human beings, at all ages, have come to regulate their behaviour towards the World around them. Hence, when we use the term “quality leaders,” what we are referring to are leaders who possess some of the qualities that we have discussed above.

Invariably, Robert K. Cooper (2002:1) has this to say of the intricacies of leadership:

Leadership is the act of making a difference. It is the ability to achieve results through people. Leadership values even the smallest of inspiration. It's facing the truth about weaknesses, first in yourself, and second in others, and managing these weaknesses out of the way...Leadership is living so that when other people think of integrity, enthusiasm, commitment, caring, they think of the leader. (Cooper,2002:1)

From the above, one can see that Cooper makes it clear that integrity and other related values are integral parts of leadership and has to do with the very essence of leadership. But how many African leaders can we point to as truly having an unquestionable integrity? He also highlighted the fact of being truthful with one's weaknesses as a leader, this is a far cry from African leaders. Many African leaders like Samuel Doe, Charles Taylor, Gen Sanni Abacha,

Gaddafi, etc. were afraid of their weaknesses and in order not to appear weak; they became ferocious and extremely inhumane. Indeed, Africa and Africans have suffered exceedingly in the hands of such leaders and their progenies. This explains why the citizens of many African states...have not enjoyed the fruits of independence since the early sixties, [till date] owing to rampant political upheavals and political instability brought about by violent militarism and the consequent overthrow of popularly elected governments, justified by accusations of socio-economic and political mismanagement, oppression and denial of fundamental human rights, dictatorship, corruption, and ethnic chauvinism indicating a lack good leadership in Africa.

Unarguably, many people today are seeking to understand, and many people are writing about the concept and practices of leadership. There are a great many reasons for the popularity of the topic, including that organizations are faced with changes as never before. The concept of leadership is relevant to any aspect of ensuring effectiveness in organizations and in managing people. This explains why leadership is conceived together with the one doing it as a human characteristic that is about positive changes within a shortest possible time to achieve long term objectives. It also involves setting constructive goals and making the best of resources, including people's potential, a key skill when it comes to leadership. Whatever kind of leadership that is obtainable in any

society can either bring positive effect or negative ones. We can either count great loses; as in the case of contemporary Africa, or count our blessings, provided the right kind of leadership prevails. The benefits of good leadership in a social whole are innumerable. The concept of good leadership is simply talking about leaders who possess unique leadership attributes that could motivate individuals and groups to achieving success. This includes helping people find meaning and purpose in what they are doing, so that it is seen as worthwhile.

In essence, good leaders must endeavour to lead by example and show enough moral stamina to live above corruption and other social vices, show considerable measure of honesty and consistency of purpose that people really want from a leader. Leaders are people who have that extraordinary capacity to see clearly, challenges and difficulties his subjects may be going through or encountering at every particular state of affairs. In such situations, he should be able to make decisions dynamically in order to make positive impact. Another good quality a leader ought to have is the ability to point the way even in time of crisis since everyday leadership simply focuses mainly on deciding priorities and setting objectives so as to achieve clarity about the changes that are inevitable in a social framework. To add to this, a good leader must 'know himself' (in the light of the Socratic dictum) because leadership is a serious

business and one does not dabble into it without a full knowledge of oneself. Leadership skills or qualities are not mere abstract state of realities but “are a mixture of natural talents and learned technique. ”Hence, a leader must learn to play to his strengths and avoid or - work to improve - his skills (Bayat, 1993:1)

Again, those who aspire to lead must possess these attributes: ideas, initiatives, mental vigour, contentment and self discipline etc; if they are to make any worthwhile contributions to the society, let him that would move the World first, move himself only those who are masters of themselves become master of others (Omoboriowo, Akin 1982:40). He goes further to say that “the absolute standard of qualities of a viable leadership is cultivated when man is sexually contented, abstain from too much food, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and completely ignore the emotions of a greed and fear (Omoboriowo, 1982: 41).

According to Ojukwu Emeka (1996:180-181) one essential demand of leadership is to be like a waste paper basket, a dustbin where all dirt and rubbish are heaped. Whoever is not ready to accept such treatment does not qualify to be a leader. He goes on to say that every leader must have a dream and be steadfast in his efforts to fulfill that dream. In the same vein, a leader does not complain when things are not going too well since that is one of the occupational hazards. A leader must not try to cushion himself (by amassing

wealth) against the future. Though, the temptation is great, there is nothing more counter-productive in leadership than corruption. A leader has to be above board in all his dealings.

C.S. Momoh, (1998:99) states that:

any leader who doesn't keep the brightest and the best is not fit to be a leader. You have to keep your best and highest or you will not progress. The key to any leadership is nurturing talent and increasing that pool, which then increases the quality of government of life and business. (Momoh,1998:99).

The point of emphasis in the above remark is on political leadership. A leader may be born or made or both born and made. Moreover, we should note that Nigeria needs transformational leaders who can set up lofty goals of reforming the Nigerian society and fight to achieve them no matter the frustrations or setbacks. She also needs God-centered leaders who are disciplined, visionary, selfless, sacrificial, reformatory, pro-active and effective.

The words of Julius Nyerere are refreshing here when he says that:

We say man is created in the image of God, I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant, superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched – which is the lot of the majority of those he created in his image. Men are creators of themselves and their conditions; under present conditions, we are creatures, not of God, but of our fellow men (Hagher, Lyorwuese 2002:225).

7.6 THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

The notion that Africa is presently suffering from the grave consequences of poor and defective leadership in this modern epoch cannot be over-flogged. The problem is as a result of the fact that those who occupy position of leadership in this part of the World do not actually have the interest of the people at heart; they are a pretentious set of people. Then, why do we call them leaders? They are only called leaders by ostentatious ascription and not by their possessed qualities. A true leader must exhibit some of the qualities we have discussed heretofore. It is never a quality of leadership to be insensitive to the yearnings, struggles and aspirations of a people. Like we know, most of the social standards for the institution of leadership have been subverted by these so-called, self-styled leaders or power brokers that do not give a second thought to the effect their actions may have on social well being. Sometimes, in Zimbabwe there was an epidemic of cholera that claimed a lot of lives; it was due to the long impoverishment, deficiency of health care facilities, lack of provision of clean water by the government and inhumane conditions of the citizens, but no rapid response was given to address the situation. Instead of combating the health hazard and impending disaster of massive death, the President, Robert Mugabe, denied the existence of cholera in his country; he also refused help from other countries of the World aimed at curtailing the

epidemic. This is a blatant display of ignorance, stark ego-exhibition, lack of foresight and a show of an uncaring attitude on the part of a leader who is supposed to consider how the people he leads would be affected by the decisions he make or refuse to make. It is because of this problem of leadership that Africa is variously seen as doomed, crippled, disenchanting, adrift, coveted, betrayed or strangled, always with someone or a group of people to blame – leaders.

Generally speaking, African leaders are unequivocally corrupt; corruption is a serious problem in Africa that has eaten deep into the hearts of its people and there are no effective structures put in place to check this moral evil. Corruption is a lure of greed and this is why it is referred to as a thing of the mind. Most African leaders want to amass wealth regardless of the means, whether legal or illegal. They steal so much from national treasury, more than they would ever need in a life time. Leaders in this African continent have lost every sense of fiscal responsibility and accountability that is why corruption continues to thrive in all facets of social life. This scheme of affairs is contrary to the true nature of leadership. Instead of plunging the state into an abyss of underdevelopment and regression, a good leader ought to make people have faith in his integrity.

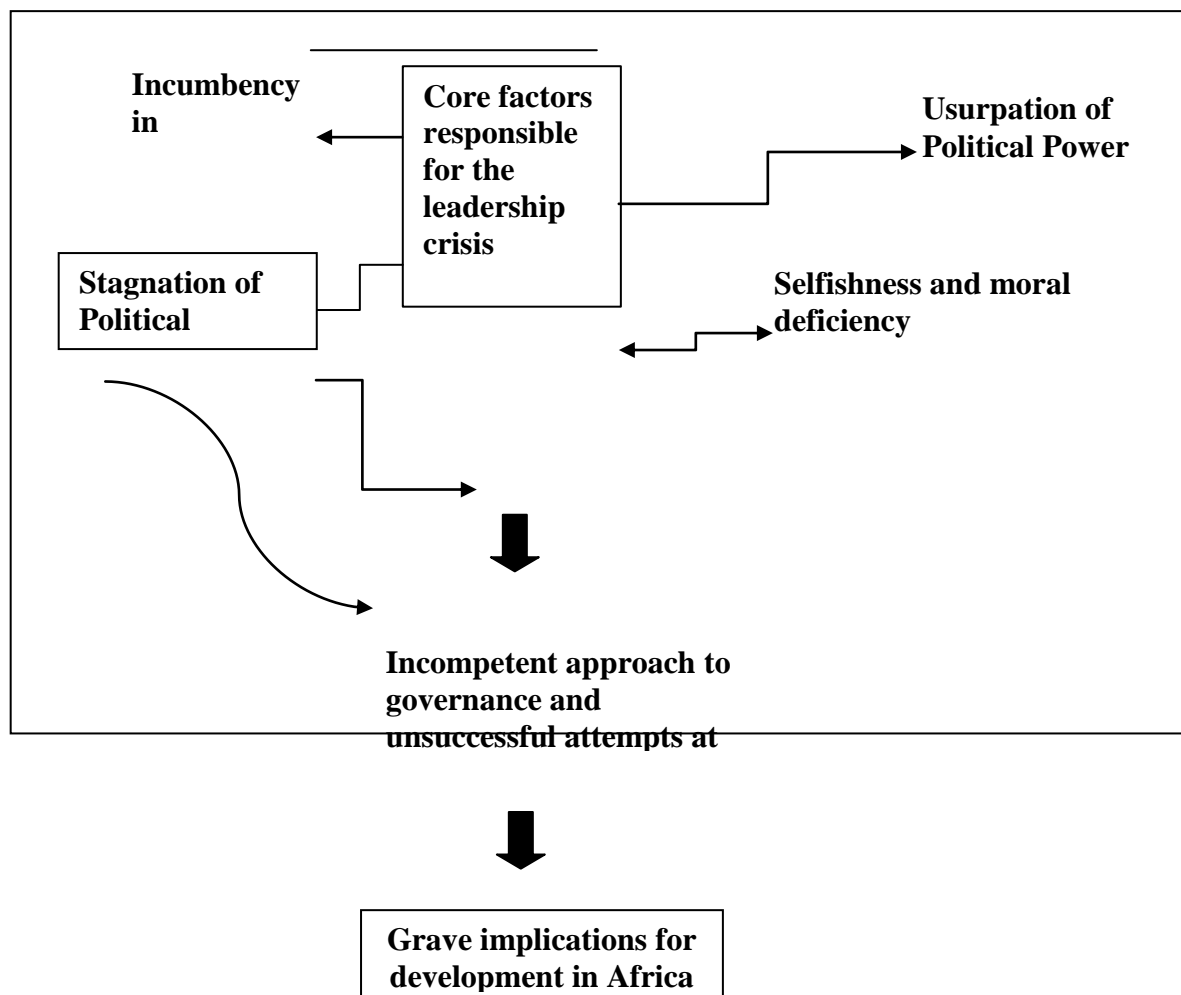
Another factor that contributes to the problem of leadership in Africa is the constitutional immunity clause. The constitutional immunity is the clause which protects African leaders from any form of litigation during their tenure of office; they are totally exempted from court cases all through their period in governance. This has greatly contributed to the leadership quagmire being experienced in different parts of the continent. Countries like Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, and Equatorial Guinea have this clause enshrined in their constitutions. The reason often given for the justification of this clause is that if the leaders are not constitutionally immuned from court cases, they would be distracted from the serious business of governance. There has been a lot of debate about this issue both within Africa and from the global community. The constitutional immunity clause has a lot of moral implications and various questions have been raised as regards whether it should be retained or eschewed from the constitution. While some people believe that the clause is a blank cheque given to African leaders to be corrupt and perpetrate evil since they know they cannot be sued, others are of the view that if leaders are exposed to court cases, they may not have time to concentrate on issues that affect the state. Now, to be very realistic, African leaders hide under the shadow of immunity clause to commit heinous crimes against humanity and even against God. Or how can one explain a situation where a serving

Governor or President in a State cannot be tried even when he is culpable of crime? This does not only lead to corruption and inhumane attitudes that are unbecoming of a leader, it could also make men play the role of God in existence. The immunity clause makes leaders seem as if they are gods who are above every other being; this clause is a negation of the principle of equality before the law. No wonder hot disputes always arise as a result of the morality of this clause and how it affects national life.

Military incursion into politics and taking up leadership roles in Africa also contributes to this bewildering problem of leadership in Africa. In some cases, military men return to rule their countries after retirement; this trend is very common in Nigeria. Most African countries have suffered greatly under the regime of various military governments in Africa; even up till now, military unprecedented take over of government is still being witnessed in Africa. A good example is Equatorial Guinea where the military overthrew the incumbent civilian government. Majority of the wars that broke out in Africa in times past were as a result of the display of sheer military power and insensitivity to the plight of the people. Its effect on the life of many are endemic, people are in such situations subjected to a lot of inhumane conditions, ignoble experiences like rape, molestation, deprivation of freedom, extreme hunger, loss of self dignity and identity and so on. This trend

continues even up till today because our experiences whether past or present, translate to what is our reality in the long run. Hence, if we look at various recent developments in our continent like the Zimbabwean crisis, the Guinean political debacle, and the World generally we may well be tempted to conclude that there is a general and perhaps irreversible return to isolationism and narrowness of vision accompanied by increased intra – and inter communal and group conflicts caused by a shift in governance from civilian democracy to a militarized democracy (Abdullahi, Mugadi 1999:1)

THE LEADERSHIP DEBACLE DIAGRAMITIZED



From the foregoing, it is pertinent to state that over the years in Africa, there has been a harvest of poor and bad leadership which has cost the continent so much in both material and non-material terms. In more explicit terms; Africa has long been saddled with poor even malevolent leadership: predators, kleptocrats, military-installed autocrats, economic illiterates, and puffed-up posturers.

Given the above, we shall now proceed to underscore some of the leadership trends observable within the African continent. The first is redundancy of leadership. In most African countries today, what is termed as leadership is only transmutation of movement in a circular movement between a certain set of people often referred to as the ruling class. In this case, it doesn't matter whether that kind of leadership is good or not; this phenomenon of monopolizing political power permeates the African society deeply today. Take for example in South Africa where the African National Congress (ANC) has been ruling since the country gained independence, regardless of the fact that there are a lot of internal crises between the leaders of the party as regards core political issues that could adversely affect the nation as a whole. Is it the case that other mainstream opposition parties cannot provide persons capable enough to effectively lead and direct the affairs of the state? While we may

want to answer in the negative, we must make bold to say that most ruling political parties do not seem to understand the fact that continuity in governance is not the same as responsibility and relevance. Nigeria is also a good example of this syndrome of stagnation in leadership where the leaders of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) erroneously believe that it will lead the country for a period of hundred years. This is a chasm and an expression of political confusion. In relation to this, the power of incumbency in African politics and governance is also one of the problems of Africa. It is a truism that most African countries do not want to relinquish political power when it is constitutionally right to do so. Rather, they tend to amend the constitution in order to suit such subverting desires and evil tendencies. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, a former president of Nigeria is a good example of this charge. After ruling the nation for a period of straight two terms (1999-2007), he attempted to go for a third term by conniving with some members of the legislative arm of government to amend the constitution in order to accommodate his third term bid. He pursued this dream of his with great vigour, desperation, but in the end, he failed to realize his aspiration. Such is the kind of situation Africa is helplessly facing today. Raila Odinga of Kenya, Gadaffi of Libya and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe are also guilty of this misdemeanor.

Secondly, we can talk about the trend of leadership based on unpopular choice. Most of the present crops of African leaders directing the affairs were not elected by popular choice. The electoral process is manipulated such that the votes of the people do not count in general elections the electorates are generally sidelined so that the choice of the people's leaders does not come to bear. From this standpoint, leadership is considered as a family affair where people of friendly ties and blood relations acquire political power and then, the state is ruled as if it is a family inheritance. If this situation continues to thrive, there is no way development can be a reality in Africa. This factor is largely responsible for the sidelining of the electorates during various national elections; there are not yet free and fair elections in Africa in most cases. For instance, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's election was a great fraud because the electorates' votes didn't count during the election process; even local and international observers condemned the election, the Independent National Electoral commission still went ahead to declare him President. These are all parts of the problem of leadership in Africa. Although some African countries like Ghana and South Africa are already on the verge of changing this system of electoral cacophony in Africa. The election that brought Professor Attah Mills, of the opposition party, to power was regarded as a paradigm of free and fair election that the whole of Africa can emulate.

Moreover, this trend of bad leadership is now creeping into the financial sector, particularly in business organizations, where corporate executives engage in sharp practices at the detriment of their subordinate staff. Also, those that have long passed the retirement age and are supposed to be retiring, hold tenaciously to leadership positions at the helm of affairs where corporate decisions are made. Does this mean that young and fresh minds cannot continue in sustaining the objectives of such organizations? We answer in the negative because it is not that they are incapable, but they are not given the opportunity to do so due to the fact that their superiors are bent on staying at the top leadership positions until death comes. Although, modern bureaucratic arrangements present in African organizational set-up make business sense and conserve valuable time and energy, they may be overly constrained by this our evolved leadership psychology of retaining old and tired hands. Importantly therefore, we must bear it in mind that leadership involves the best use of people's resources and potential, but not just a person or a group of persons. In fact, the role of persons in leadership is very important to the either the success or failure of a system. Bad leadership has a great implication for social existence and for the development of a nation. This would be our preoccupation in the following analyses.

7.7 THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA

The implications of the problem of leadership in Africa are manifold. If we look critically at the current developments in Africa, we may be tempted to conclude that the continent is still very far from achieving any worthwhile effort in human advancement. Leadership, especially political leadership, has, blatant disregard for rule of law. In fact, African leaders are so power intoxicated and ego- pregnant that they do not care whatever the consequences of their action would be. A good example of this state of affairs is the condition of the army backed government in Madagascar, a nation largely ravaged by *coup de tat*, where Andy Rajoelina's interim government which took over power after overthrowing former president Marc Ravalomanana, is plunging the nation into a harvest of bitter tales. Similarly, President Bingu Wa Mutharika of Malawi is seeking a fresh term as the nation gets set for another general election. He belongs to the Democratic Progressive Party that has been in power in the country for the last four years, but the party is still fielding him as its candidate once again. Is he then the only one that can lead the country in the right direction? It is often argued though shabbily that continuity in governance should be encouraged for the sustenance of leadership structures,

government policies and the fulfillment of election promises; but the question that suffices here is at what expense? Given the above analyses, we should note that those who rule over us [in Africa] have decided that they will be the people to give us our leaders for ever, and not God or by the will of the people.

What this presupposes is the fact that the idea of development in an African context is chimera. Development as a concept literally suggests human advancement, growth or some kind of change from one state to another. In the words of Olusegun Oladipo (1991:96-104)

The idea of human advancement brings into focus one dimension of our collective experience that is suffering as a result of our inability to come to terms with the ideas and ideals that have shaped our lives in the past. The reference here is to moral dimension of our collective existence. What we are witnessing in Africa today is a collapse of values, occasioned by our inability to create an appropriate socio-cultural matrix for the assessment of the significance of the areas of human experience, things, attitudes and ideas...(Oladipo, 1991:96-104)

It is important to note that Oladipo considers this problem of leadership from a moral angle. This implies that the failure of African leadership is as a result of the bankruptcy of human moral standards and the dearth of ethical principles as regards doing the right things at all times and giving consideration to others before oneself. If African leaders are to be altruistic, then, they would not indulge themselves in squandering public wealth and

living extravagant lives while majority of the people they are leading groan under the painful pang of poverty, including buying of fleet of expensive cars of course with bullet proof, riding in private jets when national airlines are moribund and in the state of comatose, building mansions in every nook and cranny of the World even on water! Leadership in any guise should be for selfless service and result oriented but not for the mutilation of hope as is the case in Africa. In fact, in some African countries like Nigeria, people have stopped believing in the institution of leadership because the so-called leaders are nothing to write home about; they lack the moral will and the necessary motivation to win the support of the people. A leader who considers his integrity a priceless human attribute pertinent for effective leadership would not make empty promises or such misguided and unreflective statements. On the verge of discredit, even religious leaders are rendered suspect; some religious leaders have been at one time or another accused of using their congregation as a means to meeting serious economic ends. Undoubtedly, religious leaders are supposed to command genuine veneration from their followers but this is far cry from the truth in some African countries today. Some religious leaders in Nigeria have been involved in various unethical practices that are unbecoming of people of such calibre. For instance, there have been reported cases where pastors were alleged to have raped their church

members, exploit their ignorance and mislead their ever miracle-seeking followers. One may also draw a sharp contrast between the socio-economic conditions of such religious leaders and their followers, while the leaders are obviously living in affluence and opulence, their members or dedicated but gullible followership are having a difficult time floundering in abject poverty. We may be quick to add that such is the existential paradox in which Africa finds itself today.

Unassumingly, the point we are trying to raise here is that leadership without followership is a pseudo-concept. As we have earlier opined, leadership includes the idea of followership and when followership is lacking in any leadership process, it would truncate such leadership drives into nothingness; this unwittingly has grave implications for the idea of development. The two broad schools of thought about leadership hold that a leader should lead on the one hand, while he should follow on the other. If a leader develops plans and models that would bring the necessary and desired change to a society, he cannot execute the project alone, he needs other people (followers) who would help him in achieving this herculean task of achieving his objective. Since African leaders have lost the confidence reposed on them by their followers, they usually stand aloof like a child left in the dark all alone at night, and when this happens; it cannot, but result to bad leadership. There

cannot be any form of leadership without followership as a man cannot logically lead himself and serve himself at the same time; therefore, an adequate account of leadership process must take into account not only the psychology of followers, but also their trust, confidence and their acceptance. Most of the economic, social and political crises that occur in Africa is caused by the divide between leadership and followership. To put it clearly, most of the leaders that govern African states today lack the general acceptability of their followers or country men, which bring about the questions of eligibility and legality of such systems of government. The problem of leadership in Africa is a real problem that urgently needs to be resolved if development in the real sense of the word can be achieved. This leadership hitch in Africa has muffled development in this 21st century.

Observe that Africa is a continent in crisis is an understatement. Africa emerged from the 1980s, a decade of persistent decline, with shattered hopes and a battered image. Economic growth proved to be elusive, managing an average rate of only 2.1 percent per annum during this period. This translated into a fall in per capita incomes at the average rate of about 1 percent per annum during this period.(Adedeji, 1993:135)

But this is now widespread and has translated into deeper crisis than the former prognosis. So he observes further;

This translated into a fall in per capita incomes at the average rate of about 1 percent per annum. The human and social conditions of poverty increased in both the rural and urban areas; real earnings fell drastically; unemployment and underemployment rose sharply; hunger and famine become endemic; dependence on food aid and food import intensified; diseases, including the added scourge of AIDS, decimated populations and the attendant social evils – crime, delinquency, family disintegration – intensified with a vengeance.(Adedeji, 1993:135)

Now, the fact that all these still exist within Africa even after several decades after the attainment of self governance speaks volume about how Africans have underdeveloped Africa. The perspective of the author we just cited is tailored towards exposing some of the major crises that emanate and subsume within the African continent as economic, health, social crises. Hence, it is said that:

It is easy to observe that many African countries are in crises economically, they started to decline sharply in the early 1970s and the rate of economic deterioration has been on the increase since then in spite of several attempts, locally and internationally, to arrest the trend. Locally, many African countries have evolved development plans, which have all ended up in dismal failures.(Asiegbu & Agbakoba, 2006:135)

The reason why these development plans have failed is not far-fetched; it is as a result of poverty of ideas and an association of deceitful individuals who call themselves African leaders, but are immensely suffering from intellectual

dysentery, political dislocation, and socio-economic misjudgment. Various development plans have been initiated in this continent by multi-national organizations like International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc. with laudable objectives, but all have failed; this situation can be attributed to the ignorance and insensitivity of African leaders. The failure to execute these policies and plans have made poverty predominant in different African countries; it has also caused a large number of African intellectuals to look for greener pastures abroad, this has a negative effect of reducing the quality of man power available in the country coupled with the tough economic conditions. Poor leadership has been the disheartening custom in Africa these days. Thus, just as the captain who navigates a ship takes full responsibility for all the crew and passengers on board, so also should African leaders begin to learn how to take responsibility for the direction in which their countries navigates, whether towards development or underdevelopment. One great implication is the fact that if Africa continuously fails to evolve a solid system of leadership with workable and effective structures designed to grapple with the unique challenges of various sub-regions, then development would remain as elusive as ever. For without effective leadership, no group, society or nation can make any headway in this competitive World.

So when we make general assertions that something or someone is developed, we instinctively direct our thoughts towards a movement from one deplorable or stagnant condition to a better one. Put differently, the idea of human advancement points towards a constructive change in the lives of individuals or humans, this auspicious metamorphosis in social conditions can only be attested to when it is conspicuous for all to assess. Hence, our main argument is that bad leadership affects integrated development in Africa. George Ayittey (1992:14) underscores this when he says that “a nation with revolutionary youth is like a woman married to a man with underdeveloped testes. No offspring means no progress, no sense of innovation. This is the reality in Africa today – regarding leadership. We should note that a leader by this definition should not merely be a leader of a people who holds office for its own sake, but one who is conscious of what leadership entails. He should, therefore, have in mind what objectives he intends to achieve, what tactics he should employ in achieving his objectives and carry along people he leads by making them essential partners in the project[of leadership].

From the foregoing, it is pertinent to note that every conscious human action and decision including unintended ones always has a somewhat effect on human life whether good or bad. This may be probably why Bertrand Russell, says that philosophers (who are themselves persons) are cause and

effect who have a great deal of impact on their various societies. In this connection, African leaders are largely responsible for the crisis of leadership in Africa. The problem of leadership is one of such human ineptitude that has brought a lot of distress to the human condition in Africa. Leaders in Africa are insensitive to the plight of the people they lead probably because they do not feel responsible to them as their votes do not count when they are elected into office through crooked means. Often, issues that surround political leadership in Africa are centered on the dilemma of stolen mandate regardless of the true wishes of the people. Without mincing words, the problem of leadership in Africa has seriously affected its development in all ramifications whether religiously, politically, economically, socially, educationally and so on. This sort of has grave implications for the African socio-cultural milieu and such considerations are what we shall examine in this aspect of the discourse. As a matter of fact, some scholars believe that it is wrong to even talk about the concept of development in Africa insofar as the continent is lacking good leadership; development involves the ability of a state to independently evolve an excellent structure of leadership and good governance that can be sustained, that is, a nation cannot fully understand the benefits of development unless it enjoys a systematic flow of good governance by visionary leadership because a leader cannot lead until he knows where he is going. This factor is very

important for development because a good leader should be open and flexible in approaching problems, but unwavering about values and the upholding of the wishes of his people. Both Aristotle and Cicero believe that no one could be a good leader who had not first learned to obey; these are part of the expectations that goes with the responsibility of leadership (Grayling, 2003:189).

Therefore, we need to briefly consider the idea of development. Development can be said to be a gradual process of unfolding growth such that each new situation emerges would be essentially managed and controlled to cater for people's vacillating experiences; but this is where Africa has failed. The idea of development connotes growth and improvement. It implies a change, transformation or transition from a position or state to another one, which is usually an improvement on the previous one. When we say that an individual or thing has developed, we mean that individual or thing has improved or advanced from a previous condition to a better one. A developed state is that which shows visible changes in simple forms of organization and is able to convert such changes to complex modern ones. However, the concept of development can be looked at from diverse perspectives, economic transformation, social growth, and alterations in modes and conditions of living, human development, political adjustments and so on. So much has been

said and written on the concept of development but our interest is not merely in demystifying the concept; we are chiefly considering why Africa has not yet developed in spite of global trends. Although, some social thinkers and philosophers alike have put forward the view that the most important aspect of any discourse on the idea of development is human development, that is, development should be measured in terms of the enhancement of the quality of human resources and human life in general. However, our interest is in the fact that without good leadership, there can be no development in any society because the leaders are supposed to be the visionaries who not only see opportunities, but, also provide the necessary motivation and guidance needed for the realization of an authentic African objective. Having said this, we shall now proceed to look at the issue of how bad leadership affects development in Africa.

Majorly, the incidence of bad and irresponsive leadership in Africa is responsible for the gross underdevelopment being witnessed today all around the continent. It is pathetic to note that a continent like Africa so richly endowed with both natural resources (crude oil, precious stones, bitumen, arable land for agriculture, palm oil, etc.) and human resources (World class scholars, Nobel laureates, inventors, vibrant youths etc.) is still grappling and in some places, struggling with the provision of the basic necessities of life like

constant electricity, favourable means of trade, establishment of good health care facilities, vibrant educational system and so on. Under the existing circumstances, not much could be achieved if solutions are not urgently proffered to curtail this trend of poor leadership. In Africa, human capital in terms of creative skills, ingenuity, literary dexterity, expertise, talent, proficiency and imaginative abilities have been under-utilized and were haphazardly utilized, mismanaged; this is one of the strongest reasons why the continent remains impoverished and backward in terms of human well-being and advancement.

More so, the flop of leadership in this part of the World has also led to a lot of internal political crises in times like this, which has led to the death of many and the wanton destruction of precious lives and valuable property. When such political crises expand and result into a regional war and later put on hold the losses are always irreparable; this would naturally lead to underdevelopment because such a nation would have to start from the scratch in rebuilding the nation which was not even developed in the first place - this sort of cathartic situation is rampant in contemporary Africa. Examples abound, we can mention countries like Liberia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Rwanda. Most political crises that evolve in Africa are always as a result of two or more political parties fighting for power and the right to field candidates for national

leadership, but the question to ask here is: if truly these leaders have the interest of the people at heart, why do they go to the extent of throwing the society into an abyss of unending crises and sometimes wars?

Also, the leadership predicament in Africa has severe implications for the authentic African identity being clamoured for by contemporary professional African philosophers and Africans in general. African leaders are representatives of all African peoples; they are the mirrors through which the World looks at Africans; since most African leaders are bad even sometimes evil and despotic, Africans by implication are wrongly thought to be corrupt. Nigerians, for instance, are regarded as the most corrupt human beings on earth and wherever they go, they are instinctively suspected, stigmatized and subjected to rigorous security checks when the need arises. Most Africans are not even proud of their country; some deny their origin just to be able to avoid being stigmatized, such state of living is preposterous. It is against this background that the present rebranding campaign in Nigeria “Good People, Great Nation” is launched. But changing the impression people have about someone is not a matter of formulation of slogans; our leaders must learn to be morally upright and begin to lead by example and try to eschew corruption and extravagant spending of government funds. If there have been good

leadership in place *abinitio*, there wouldn't have been any need for the rebranding campaign.

Presently, the established African personality identification is nothing but a collage of a cross-checked past, an amorphous present and a less promising future that has resulted into the loss of human sense of dignity. Leaders are supposed to solve problems and not create problems as is the case in Africa nowadays. When the right decisions are not being made, how can citizens develop the passion and self-motivation to aspire to be great in them and move towards the right direction? These set of leaders who ought to be role models are nothing to write home about. A good example is the debacle of endless political tension in Zimbabwe; when it became so uncontrollable and people were just being killed, maimed, raped, incapacitated or kept incommunicado, there was a massive migration from that war-torn country to other neighboring countries in Africa, particularly South Africa and Mozambique. This human suffering has been further exacerbated by the aggravation of ethnic conflicts and war – induced deaths, famine and massive population displacement in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Somalia and Sudan. Most of these victims became refugees in the places where they sought refuge. The effect of this kind of situation is that when humans are made to experience such inhumane conditions, they tend to lose their sense of value,

dignity and self-worth, when this happens, they may not be able to contribute their quota to the overall progress of the state.

Invariably, a country that lacks good leadership would have a privation of foreign exchange due to bad international image which does not attract investors that could help in growing the economy. Nobody would want to invest his/her money in doing business in a state where there is bad leadership and political unrest. This is one of the major reasons why Africa loses so much in terms of foreign investment. Also, indigenous institutions and monuments that could serve as a great potential for tourist attraction and the development of continental tourism are ill maintained, mismanaged and down played has an infinitesimal consequence for national income. But, in the first place, tourists would not want to travel to countries where there is no peace, security of lives and property, harmony among the people, good governance and enviable political leadership. The problem with African leaders in this light is that they fail to see opportunities for wealth creation apart from ill-gotten wealth and exploitation of the people. The nefarious activities of many African leaders are actually portraying Africa and Africans in a very defective way. For instance, in Nigeria, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) accused some state former Governors like James Ibori, Rashidi Ladoja, Lucky Igbinedion,

Joshua Dariye, of stealing government funds and stashing such funds in foreign banks. Although, up till this moment the last has been heard of such cases, it is still being perpetrated by many Nigerian cum African leaders and citizens alike. No wonder Chinua Achebe, while condemning this system of doing things, cried out in a loud voice that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership...the Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmark of true leadership. (Achebe, 1985:2)

In the same vein, it is worthy of note that “after independence, many African leaders, proclaiming themselves “free and independent under black rule, hauled down the statues of European monarchs and erected, not those of Martin Luther King, Jr., but of another set of white aliens – Marx and Lenin” (Ayyitey, 1992:10). He goes further to say that despite the rhetoric and vituperations against colonialism, very little changed in the years immediately following independence. For many countries, independence meant only a change in the colour of the administrators from white to black. The new leaders began to act in the same manner as the colonialists. In fact, in many places, they were worse than colonialists (Ayyitey, 1992: 100). It is therefore an irony of fate that many African leaders came to assume some of the very same characteristics they so loudly denounced in the colonialists, imperialists and

racists. It is also interesting to note that “billions of dollars were deposited abroad by the Babangidas, The Bandas, the Barres, the Does, the Kerekous, the Houphouet – Boignies, the Mois, the Mobutus, the Mengistus and many others” (Ayyitey, 1992:105).

The point here is that such bad publicity paints African peoples as unrepentant thieves as every African is erroneously believed to be corrupt; so the question often asked is that: can anything good come from Africa? Much as it would be to commit the fallacy of *argumentum ad populum* to argue in such a manner, it actually tells a lot about the psyche of an average African. To be very realistic, the crisis has gone beyond an armed chair theorizing as youths of today consider occupying political leadership at all costs as the surest means of success in life (through embezzling public funds); such young minds are not thinking about how to become professionals in various areas of human endeavours like architecture, engineering, business, mathematics, statistics, geography etc., so how then, can Africa develop when everyone wants to be a leader as a means to achieving other ends and not primarily to serve? In this work, we do not consider this problem of leadership as a cause of trans-generational setback, but that which could be confronted with a higher form of thinking because leadership begins from the cultivation of the right attitude,

the correct mental disposition and creative boisterousness, this is what Obafemi Awolowo refers to as the application of one's mental magnitude in solving serious human problems.

Another area of social life where this leadership hitch has affected development is the incessant political crises that cause serious tension and social strife in the polity. There is nothing that truncates development efforts in any organized economy as political instability. Leadership tussle in Africa is often a deadly affair where political opponents are seen as unpardonable threats that are sometimes taken out of the way by murder or heinous intimidation. Africa is yet to get it straight when it comes to politics and leading people by gaining the interest of the people. Election processes have been turned into something else where the party who has the higher influence and money goes out to rig elections in their favour. Now when this happens, the opposition parties, go all out to contest such fraudulent practices which sometimes result into grim social or communal conflicts, inter and intra cultural skirmishes, inter-religious fights, clash of interest by various interest groups, social dissension and even civil war. Mainly, this sort of conflict constantly being experienced in Africa today often goes out of hand due to the laxity of those who are supposed to provide security of lives and property during such

periods. For instance, the electoral crises that caused a lot of damage in Bauchi and Plateau states in Nigeria later turned into a religious misunderstanding between the Muslims and the Christians in that environment that claimed a lot of lives while many were injured. What this implies is that there cannot be any form of human advancement in a society where there is constant social unrest, spurious armed conflicts, and full blown war; this form of social calamity includes both civil disagreements and military coups that have seriously contributed to the sowing of development struggle in the continent. This is aptly captured by Kwasi Wiredu when he writes thus:

...the problem of violence remains in Africa and everywhere else. Armed conflicts are raging in various parts of the World. In Africa one has to deal both emotionally and intellectually with the spate of military coups that have afflicted political life since the mid- 1960s or so, not to talk of the variety of ethnic conflicts inn which lives have been lost on an unspeakable scale. (Wiredu, 2006:19)

Such is the situation that arises when autocrats and tyrants begin to parade themselves as leaders. This principle of destructive and egocentrically inspired politics cannot be universalized because it is inherently evil. In the words of Bertrand Russell (1998:28-29) in his book titled, *Principles of Social Reconstruction*; "The supreme principle, both in politics and private life, should be to promote all that is creative, and so to diminish the impulses and desires centered around possession...possession means taking or keeping some good

thing which another is prevented from enjoying; creation means putting into the World a good thing which otherwise no one would be able to enjoy”

Russell’s point is very clear here, that is, all those who are leaders whether in the public sector of the economy or in other areas must avoid being selfish and unduly possessive so that social reconstruction can become a reality in the society, he recognizes the fact, that there is that tendency for man to want to take what belongs to all for himself. His emphasis on human creativity cannot be overlooked; if African leaders are creative enough, they would have been able to solve or resolve some of the problems that constitute a clog in the wheel of development in their respective states.

This leadership quagmire also affects the economy of a nation in massive proportions. In Africa, there is this general trend of low conditions of living – where an average African child is reportedly feeding below the universally acceptable standards of living per day, the average feeding cost of most African children, in a day, is below one U.S. dollar. There is also huge number of unemployment and underemployment which subject people to harsh economic conditions and gargantuan sufferings. The negative impact of this inclination is that, there would be low levels of economic indices, where per capita income is low, then there could not be any tenable record of economic growth. Economic

growth indicators like Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gross National Product (GNP), National Income (NI), etc. may not be able to reflect the effective accumulation and distribution of wealth. The economy is actually the life-wire of a nation and if it is left in such state as it is done in Africa without solid economic analyses and projection, then, inflation would be uncontrollable which portends a great danger for human flourishing within the society. Notably, civil society should embrace the whole intercourse of individuals within a definite stage of the development of productive forces. It embraces the whole commercial and industrial life of a given stage, and, insofar, transcends the state and nation; but the government must first provide direction for such convergence of human capacity building and production (Anthony, Barbet 2001:264).

Furthermore, the deficiency of leadership can affect development in the sense of reduction in population caused by massive deaths from political, socio-ethnic, religious, inter-tribal conflicts, general unrest and war. The incidence of these shortfalls generates a lot of tension in the polity that could lead to Hobbesian state of nature where life is solitary, poor, nasty, and short. One can imagine a situation whereby some people lose family members in a brutal war; such experience for the survivors may be very demoralizing and disturbing. It

has been observed that the greatest number of crises that have emanated from Africa where substantial amount of lives were lost between 1990 till date was as a result of one political discord or the other; when it comes to the issue of political leadership in Africa, people are easily misled and deceived not just because they are credulous, but because of immediate and ephemeral material benefits they want to get. The ring leaders of these malicious schemes are rarely brought to justice because they wine and dine with the power brokers who are themselves, their principals. So it is the down trodden that suffer most from the political skirmishes. The current situation in the continent is a tragic one. It is marked by tragedy because of the classic, paradoxical conflicts of injustice and unjust justice that emerge from the various relations of power (Eze, 1997:242). This notion stresses something that is perhaps “equally important about p’Bitek who in his outspoken and condemning attack on the ways African political leaders, misused their newly gained powers, conducted themselves as supreme rulers (or even Supreme Beings).” (Eze, 1997:243) It is only in Africa that leaders pride themselves and act as if they are above the law; this issue of lack of respect for the rule of law is a very serious one because it is the fundamental principles upon which every society is formed and man submitting his inalienable rights so that society can be birthed and grown to the point that every man would be able to come to terms with his/her aspirations, dreams,

and objectives in life. It is unfortunate that these “so called” leaders act irrationally against stipulated laws that in the first place, they swore to uphold with all their might and at all times, but it is an incontrovertible fact that “man has his particular, relevant essence, has reason and is expected to be directed by his reason.” So African leaders should begin to apply their rational faculty in their actions to seek for the morality of their actions while they wield political authority. This is in consonance with the fact that morality is the basis of every human action (Ogueijofor, 1998:53).

Lastly, lack of faith in the institution of leadership can lead to an unprecedented outburst of social vices that can cause a severe crisis within the society. People could engage in injurious acts like stealing, using psycho-active substances, raping of unsuspecting victims, indulging in risky sexual behaviours, racketeering, fraud, etc., just to prove a point of their state of hopelessness and frustration; at this time, man is not thinking about virtue but vice in a way of making others get a taste of their mental and physical state of depression. But a society where morality has been thrown to the wind is considered to be sick and in dire need of restitution. The consequences of a state where immorality reigns supreme is colossal which is probably why Hume found virtue a very useful and agreeable, fitting a man for business and

society. Indeed, he actually identified a sense of virtue with a pleasing sentiment of approbation, which he thought, men find within themselves on the contemplation of certain actions and qualities of mind (Cohon, 2001:56). Such kinds of negative actions would have devastating effect on social growth. For any measure of development to be recorded in any society, it is important that people should have faith in a leader's integrity and his dexterity to transform massive human challenges into opportunities, because if man's natural growth is to be promoted and not hindered by their environment, if as many as possible of the desires are to be satisfied, political institutions must, as far as possible, embody common purposes and foster instinctive liking among a people and not towards the promotion of violence and destruction fueled by disbelief and disloyalty. This, therefore, brings us to the ultimate point of this work.

7.8 PHILOSOPHICAL RESCUE FOR THE FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

Philosophy does not just examine problems for the sake of it so that problems may abound. A philosopher does not look at issues shabbily and leave them, rather, he engages in a conscious, reflective process of critical analysis of issues in order that he may deconstruct the huge problems that

trouble man, attempt an understanding of phenomenon that seems difficult to understand, in a bid to either resolve, solve or in some cases where the problem is identified as a pseudo-concept, dissolve them. Philosophers are not mere lovers of abstraction and absurdities as is wrongly thought; they are people with creative minds who engage themselves in rigorous thinking in order to produce results. This explains why this problem of leadership is not being left like that, solutions must be proffered that can be used to combat this contradiction of leadership and development in Africa. So, our task here is to grapple with this problem in a bid to resolve it by proffering a new dimension to the leadership botch that has engulfed the African continent – it is a new initiative for African renaissance benchmarked on the application of a critique of ideology which is a major role of a philosopher in the society. It is a “task which the African philosopher can perform in contribution to self knowledge and human development in Africa – namely the critique of ideology” (Oladipo, 2000:102). This critique has diverse aspects, a principal one is the attempt to make clear demarcation between ideology in the good sense and ideology in the bad sense. Ideology in the good sense refers to the ability of leaders in acquiring the right attitude and focus for the good of the society while ideology in the bad sense is the converse of this. However, it is pertinent to note that the African problem of leadership is unequivocally hydra-headed; it is in many

dimensions, political, socio-cultural, mental, economic, religious, and ethnic; this problem is a trans-generational one in so far as Africa's past cannot be dissected from its present conditions and its shadowy or bleak future – that is if the philosophical rescue is not welcome.

Why has leadership failed in Africa and not elsewhere in the World? Is the concept of leadership racist in itself? If not, why are we failing in leadership drives in the African continent, while in other Caucasian continents, it is succeeding? Is leadership not an intrinsic human trait, a potential of every rational being? But the question that boggles the mind is: why leadership has continually failed in Africa. In Africa, human existence has been made difficult as a result of the crop of unproductive leaders that has taken mantle of the nation's destiny.

The human situation in the African continent can also be aptly described in these terms, except that the inherent tendency to the negative has already been realized...in the case of Africa, the reality of the tendency described comes out clearly when Africa is compared with some other regions of the World (Ogueijofor, 2001:7).

Then, why is Africa so blessed but cursed among nations of the World? Why have our leaders continually failed us? The answer is simple; greed, selfishness and wickedness. We must note here that the leadership problem is a human problem, that is, a problem of persons who are at the position of

leadership, but do not produce results. The institution of leadership is mainly focused towards producing results; this is why Africa's problem of leadership has been identified as the key reason for its underdevelopment. In other words, leadership in contemporary Africa has lost its relevance because it is not result-oriented but crisis loaded. In order to solve this problem, many thinkers, writers and scholars have argued that leadership expectations should be fashioned in a way that it would accommodate traditional values, indigenous to Africa. According to Moses Makinde (2007:170).

Many African writers, especially in the field of social and political philosophy, have tried to fashion a system of social and political organization based on African traditional values...however, it is not all clear...how a return to traditional institutions and social behaviours would change social and political situations on the continent of Africa, especially in the (21st) century technological age. Makinde (2007:170).

In fact, such extreme Africanism will not work because the challenges of this age are very different from those that were experienced in the time past. It is due to this reason of inadequacy that we are putting up a search for a philosophical rescue that would provide the needed social restitution. In some contexts, the African predicament is interpreted from the standpoint of international diplomacy and its influence on the African sub-region. World development report examines Africa's development challenges in the 21st

century within the context of international development goals of economic wellbeing, social development and environmental sustainability and regeneration. However, it is clear that many remain to be done in a bid to reduce the challenges and the structural constraints that severely limit the development of the human capabilities and overall sustainable human development which are formidable in the region. But this procedure and methodology is wrong in itself because it would, in the long run, draw a comparative analysis between African countries and those in other continents.

For any sustainable value of development to be attained in this continent, there must be a renewal of the human mind which is actually the basis of any process of change and not economic paradigms as opined by multiple theories available on the African condition. Leadership efforts aimed at development require more than the development of skills, methods, and organization of work. In the words of Jean-François Bayart (1993:1), a French scholar, development should be seen as:

...a big cultural change: from habits and attitudes of work that produced goods by hand, or by simple hand hand-worked tools, to habits and attitudes that produced goods by machines in factories (macro and micro production). So development could not be a simple process of ordering this or that change. It had to be a complex process in people's mind as well. (Bayart, 1993:1)

His view is mainly an attestation to the fact that despite the mass of knowledge that has been accumulated over the years in a whole century of African studies, there is still little understanding of the African situation. Why most intellectualist approaches to the remaking of Africa in the 21st has failed is not far-fetched. Such efforts make the problem of Africa to be exogenous rather than indigenous. Given the fact that Africa's historicity has been deeply influenced by trans-cultural permutations and unavoidable contact, should we then continue to lament helplessly and leave our predicament to happen since we can fashion out a unique way of solving this problem?

Now, the assertion that Africa is in a crisis of leadership is incontrovertible as there are a lot of problems that militate against national development in various countries. We take the view in this work that the problem of leadership in Africa is not institutional or organizational per se, it is rather individualistic – a problem of persons who assume leadership positions within the African milieu. Such problems include moral decadence which gives birth to injustice, materialism, the cult of mediocrity, official corruption, economic slavery, political immaturity, lust for power and intolerance. To this end, J.O. Oguejiofor agrees with B.O. Eboh that “at the root of all these problems stand prejudice and preconceived notions that must be dislodged if a country is to make any progress”(1998:124-125). It is in a bid to foster this call

for a new way of thinking about African leadership that we introduce a philosophical approach to resolving the problem and this entails a rethinking of Plato's idea of the philosopher's king.

7.9 A NEW INITIATIVE FOR AFRICA – RETHINKING PLATO'S DOCTRINE OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S KING

Our main focus here is to attempt to resolve this problem of leadership that Africa is currently experiencing; the emphasis here is on the character and personality of African leaders or African leaders to be. This approach is very important due to the realization of the fact that for Africa to move ahead and sustain the few achievements she has made recently, their philosophers and leaders of thought must realize that they have a great role to play in mapping out strategies that will help in the achievement of an African renaissance (Ogunmodede, 2004:403). Let us first look at the political institutions which Plato actually recommends and the possible justifications he gave for their espousal. Literarily, Plato believes that the society will know no measure of happiness until philosophers become rulers (kings) and rulers begin to philosophize. In his commentary on Plato's political philosophy in *Plato: the Man and his Dialogues*, W. K.C. Guthrie observes that Plato recommends a system of governance where leaders that are philosophers are given the

opportunity to transform the state; he writes thus: "...society must be governed by philosophers. Only then can a state such as our own arise, or humanity have rest from troubles" (Guthrie, 1975;48).

Plato divided the society in a unique way, such that citizens are to be divided into three classes, the artisans, the soldiers and the rulers (Philosopher Kings). Each group comprising each stratum is to perform different functions. The artisans are at the lowest of the stratification, it includes craftsmen and market whose primary function is to obey all rules guiding the state and to supply the community needs by engaging in useful trades. The second class is the soldiers or guardians of the state; it is from this class that leaders themselves emerge during the process of education and serious learning. At the apex of these classes are the rulers who are philosophers, but are a small class of rational people who cannot rule unless with the support of the soldiers. Although, this seems that Plato is advocating a militaristic government, it is not the case. Of course, we know the amount of damage successive military governments have caused Africa in terms of human advancement. His interest is to design a leadership paradigm where only those that could think clearly and rightly should be made leaders.

Plato is insistent here and elsewhere that ruling as such is a disagreeable activity, to be undertaken not for personal advantage but for the good of the society as a whole. This was perhaps Plato's greatest contribution to political theory (Hare, 1982:60).

The reason why we are reworking Plato's doctrine on the philosopher's king is because it does not adequately reflect aptly the African situational crisis of leadership and the challenges of development as regards human responsiveness. So we are going to initiate a new system for African leadership which is the fact that leaders in Africa need not to be philosophers per se, before they can lead well; what they need is moral uprightness, sincerity of purpose, the fear of God, and the ability to empathize with the people they lead. The solution to African leadership problem can only come if leaders are morally sound – being able to differentiate between right and wrong actions and choose to do the right thing in every situation and at all times. The reason for this position is simple; leaders do not have to become philosophers before they can lead rightly. To further substantiate this notion, we must note that the acquisition of technical knowledge or philosophical know-how, theoretical principles and doctrine does not guarantee good leadership; it would be an end in itself that wouldn't mean much if not directed towards ethical values and other pragmatic ends that would produce necessary results. So, our main argument here is that African leaders and politicians see themselves as

“philosopher’s Kings” in Platonic terms, a superior being who is greater and mightier than every other being and this explains why Africa has been despoiled by this current state of underdevelopment. Hence, African countries urgently need strategic thinking, moral rectitude, and ethical precepts, a sense of dynamism and purposefulness in order to facilitate human development and the holistic structural transformation of their economies and social life. But for these to happen, the right leadership – an ethically inspired and God fearing leadership must be instituted. If man were to have the full understanding that he is going to pay for all his actions on earth, then, he would eschew all forms of wickedness and immorality in his life. As Socrates has said in his often quoted aphorism, “an unexamined life is not worth living”; African leaders including prospective African leaders should examine their lives in order to ascertain whether they are morally upright.

Thus, African leaders do not ordinarily need to be philosophers before they can do the right thing; they only need a good ethical understanding and the fear of God. They also need to employ their creative abilities, idealistic initiative, and sound knowledge to grapple with the huge problems within the society and set development in motion.

7.10 CONCLUSION

In sum, we have been able to deconstruct the leadership problem in Africa and how it negatively affects development in the continent. We also looked at how the failure of leadership has made Africa undeveloped regardless of the stupendous amount of resources at its disposal, human and material. This work also tries to capture the true situation of Africa without amplifying it; it does not stop at this, it further introduces an innovative philosophical mode of thinking that could be used in resolving this problem. It argues that the full knowledge of ethics and having the right conduct are necessary conditions for good leadership. Even as we engage in this work, development is still an elusive concept within this social framework; it is a bitter truth that we cannot deny. But something has to be done urgently to stem this tide before it is too late. This work provides arguments for the rethinking of Plato's model of good leadership – the philosopher king as a new initiative Africa must take if good governance may finally come to the continent. This is a bold initiative. But the point that needs to be stressed here is that if Africa is to move ahead and sustain the few achievements she has made recently, their philosophers and leaders of thought must realize that they have a great role to play in mapping out strategies that will help in the achievement of an African renaissance.

No matter the situation, leadership in Africa should not be used as a means of amassing illegal wealth, fame and pride, it has a devastating effect. What Africa needs right now is a kind of leadership that is people oriented and human friendly which should emerge as a result of the people's free and fair choice via proper elections and not the sham that is being witnessed today all over the face of Africa. Leaders and future leaders, in this context, must be able to persuade and not coerce the people to follow them. This is the hallmark of the kind of leader that Africa immediately needs; a transforming leader who has the capacity to shape, alter, amend, and evaluate the motives, values, aspirations and ambitions of followers through the process of achieving significant change in the society. However, such persons must be able to exhibit, in the least, one shining act of bold selfless leadership at the top, such as ambiguous refusal to be corrupt or tolerate corruption at the fountain of authority which will radiate powerful sensations of well-being and pride through every nerve and artery of national life. In addition to this, they must have a heart for the people they lead and show a strong ability to guide small and large groups in order to benefit citizens rather than themselves or the ruling cliques.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RELEVANCE OF WALTER RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE TO NIGERIA

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In any society, the development process is always multi-dimensional and indubitably dynamic due to the fact that society changes just as the people, events and modes of thoughts that shape the direction of its outlook on life change. In the history of intellectual tradition, development as a concept has been given a wide variety of interpretations by scholars across disciplines, whether in the socio-humanistic disciplines, pure sciences or other broad range of rational speculation. Whatever the ascription we decide to give to the concept, it must be adequately recognized that any demystification of the notion that seeks to command a wide appeal must take cognizance of the connection of the concept with different aspects of the society. That is, the concept of development must be defined in context – in a sort of way that it will reflect existential realities. In achieving this objective, scholars must make themselves available for the task of interrogating social cultures, ideologues and modes of doing things with respect to political, social and economic management of both social and material cum non-material capital by state authorities in order to ascertain the directions of general living conditions. It is

through this medium that there can be the determination of historic facts on whether the direction of economic trends forced within the state is tilting towards underdevelopment or is a transmutation towards development.

In Africa as a whole, Walter Rodney is one of such scholars that have dedicated their intellectual gifting and sacrificed their academic achievements to the service of humanity. Throughout his life time, Rodney was essentially committed to the issue of African development; his intellectual vision was centred on investigating how Europe initiated the development of underdevelopment in Africa. In his seminal work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney traced the history of underdevelopment within the Sub-Saharan African context and its attendant consequences on Africa's contemporary realities. In fact, going by Rodney's analysis, the bedrock of the entire crisis that Africa is experiencing today – the crisis of identity, the problem of development, political leadership failures, poverty, corruption and other despicable human conditions – has its roots in the exploitative tendencies of the West – colonialists, their agents and avaricious missionaries in the early exploration of Africa. For Rodney, Africa, like other traditional societies in the pre-colonial period had developed its own mode of doing things and has attained some forms of development prior to the coming of the expatriates to Africa, at least, there were evidence of the fact that the challenges of food,

shelter and clothing were not as it is today and people live in communal settings with due care and consideration for other people in the society. But all of these changed when the white man stepped his feet upon the African soil; this intrusion was not only about racial domination but also for economic purposes – although, the main intention of the Europeans are disguised with various emotive colourations.

Many articles and books have been written on the problems of economic underdevelopment in the third World countries as a whole, attributed this to the third World inferiority towards industrialization and that they are incapable of thinking constructively. They also said that the third World countries have to go through the long stages which the Western nations have gone before reaching their present level of development. Some African writers on the other hand blamed this on the integration of third World economy into the capitalist system. In Rodney's book *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (1972), he succinctly said , "when two societies of different sorts come into prolonged and effective contact, the rate and character of changes taking place in both is seriously affected to the extent that entirely new patterns are created, two general rules can be observed to apply in such cases. Firstly, the creator of the two societies (i.e. the one with less economic capacity) is found to be directly affected- and the bigger the gap between the two societies concerned the more

detrimental are the consequences". Secondly, assuming that the greater societies do not survive, they ultimately resume their own independent development only if it proceeds to a level higher than that of the economy which has previously dominated it.

What Rodney (1972) is basically saying is that underdevelopment results from unequal interaction between two societies. The more this unequal relationship lasts, the more the backwardness of the less privileged ones, that this underdevelopment is a sign that societies have come into contact when they were in different levels. He further said that if the underprivileged society hopes that it can make any head way in that type of relationship, that it is deceiving itself. The poverty of the less privileged one is the development of the other. This situation will be worsen as far as the relationship continues. He gave example of the European capitalism and the indigenous hunting societies of America and the Caribbean. He said that the contact between the two nearly exterminated the latter. This can be applicable in what is happening in the capitalist society today, this is a warning that as far as the relationship lasts, the third World countries will not make any breakthrough to industrialization. From experience, it could be seen that the situation is worsening instead of improving. He uses Soviet Union, China and Korea as the concrete instances of the operation of this rule. He said that these countries were nearly exterminated

when they came into contact with the more matured capitalism of the Western Europe that these three societies advanced to their present state of development because they succeeded these relationships with the capitalist World and followed a new path altogether. He went further to conclude by saying that, "indeed", as far as the two biggest socialist states are concerned, (the soviet union and china), societies development has already catapulted them beyond states such as Britain and France, which have been following the capitalist path for centuries. Walter Rodney (1972) catalogued the disadvantages that go with the unequal relationship with the advanced countries. He mentioned poverty, stagnation, greed etc. he traced the present predicament of Africa to the time it came into contact with the advanced countries. The contact was made in the 15th century. This contact is the result of the underdevelopment of Africa today. That while Africa continues to stagnate, Europe continues to develop and that before this contact, Africa was developing on its own pace- but has been degenerating since its contact with the capitalist World.

Although, Rodney's discourse on development has spanned over three decades, it is interesting and in some sense, awkward that most of the ideas conceived by this ebullient scholar and social critic still find a great deal of relevance within Nigeria and other countries in the continent of Africa. But in this work, we will concern ourselves with the impact and relevance of the

ideological framework of Rodney's discourse of development on the Nigerian socio-political history. The crisis of development in Nigeria, in the last three decades, has taken various dimensions; the post-independence experience in most African states really was not different from the systems of the colonial state in terms of corruption and social degeneracy. The post-colonial period also has been influenced by the ideological formations and thought patterns largely imported from the West, in order to tackle many problems emanating from the conditions of life within African states. The response to these tendencies has been plural; post-modernism and structuralism, Pan-Africanism and Post-structuralism as intellectual Worldviews have been advocated by scholars as an alternative route to Africa's development where all other ideologies have failed but this seems not to have sufficed in grappling with the plethora of problems within the African states. Today, in most contemporary African States, the dominant ideologies range from democracy, socialist-democracy, capitalist-democracy, and so on. All of these ideologies are derived from the European World – they are alien to Africa. The basic arguments of those who do not see any problem with aping ideas indiscriminately from other cultures is that since it has worked or seen to be working in such societies, therefore, African states can also duplicate these ideas and put it to work within Africa.

The problem with this approach is that, apart from the fact that it is not home grown, it puts Africa at the inescapable risks of inheriting the problems that come along with the transfer of ideology. Some of the postulates of Rodney about the superimposition of alien categories upon developing countries by the European nations find relevance within the Nigerian society. Strictly speaking, the political landscape in Nigeria is a product of various political ideologies and theories which have been advanced from one period to another. If we take into cognizance, Rodney's discussion of historic metamorphosis, we will come to accept the import of the various political theories have been tried out within the Nigerian social framework. In contemporary Nigeria, most of the aspects of life are fashioned after the West – foreign policy, internal politics, development index, the need for sophisticated man-power, technology and even political ideology. The democratic system of government being practiced in Nigeria is parliamentary which is hoped to assimilate the various regional peoples that form the state, in a sort of federalist arrangement.

This arrangement is modelled after the American type of democracy which is federalist in character. So, the questions that recurrently come to mind are these: how far has this political arrangement helped to bring about development within Nigeria? Is it the case that without patterning the principles of governance after the Western nations, Nigeria cannot survive as a

nation? How is it that after many years of the practice of mainstream democracy within the Nigerian state, development still remains a utopian? It is obvious that democracy as a system of government has not been able to meet the aspirations and cater for the yearning of the African people. In the light of this, there is a need to reflect extensively on the African condition and begin to seek alternative pathways through which Africa can truly be developed in the true sense of that word. Thus, as we have set the pace for the discussion in this essay, it is important to note that though we have highlighted some of the problems that are associated with most African states to the accident of history, it is with the intention to bring to the fore that one cannot understand a people's present without taking recourse to their past which precedes and to a large extent precipitates it. In this work, we shall focus on the consequence of Rodney's discussions on Africa in the dimensions of political thought as it exists and in the social exigencies witnessed in contemporary Nigeria. First, let us look at the core aspects of Rodney's development discourse. The methodical approach to be employed in this study shall be both comparative and analytical.

8.1 THE SUBSTANCE OF WALTER RODNEY'S DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Rodney's notion of development takes a footing from the fact that a large proportion of underdeveloped countries are in total stagnation, and that in some of them, the rate of economic growth is lower than that of population increase. It is the view of Rodney that one cannot grasp the full impact of Africa's underdevelopment except by accepting the fact that capitalist exploitation is the basis of underdevelopment in Africa. Therefore, the only path that Rodney conceives that can take Africa out of the woods and place it on the road to development is by eliminating and resisting these forms of capitalist exploitation suffered by underdeveloped countries in the hands of developed capitalist countries. There is no doubt that the problem of development is one of the most important issues facing mankind today. It is particularly acute in developing countries (Audu Jacob, 2009). However, this challenge cannot be grappled with unless its root cause is identified and analyzed in such a way that methods through which it can be tackled may be envisioned. This is majorly why the thrust of Rodney's development discourse focuses strictly on the nature of the capitalist system in full expansion in Europe, which transfers to the dependent or developing countries and

constituted the most abusive and bare faced form of exploitation in multi-faceted dimensions.

Development as a concept has been widely defined and analyzed within social discourse depending on the persuasions of the intellectuals that have grappled with the concept. However, in looking at this concept, we should take into consideration that in recent years, the idea of development in national policies has undergone a dramatic change. On the outset, development was conceived in terms of economic, material growth; this explains the nomenclature used in distinguishing the developed and under-developed nations. Later, development engendered a lot of social upheavals and emphasis was shifted to social development. Quite recently, it is observed that socio-economic developments aided by technological innovations are spearheading some unbalances which could endanger the World. The whole idea and aim of development is now undergoing revision. Attention is immediately reverted to the subject and object of development. Man is once more proclaimed the means and the end of any development; he cannot be reduced to *homo economicus* or to a technological robot and the humanity aspect of him is now being emphasized in order to help him absorb the shocks provoked by his recent staggering technological advancement (Amadi, 1981: 63). This shift in definition of

development from economic parameters to existential human standards of measurement is aptly captured by Rodney.

Taking a holistic look at the fundamental aspects of Rodney's work will reveal that his notion of development is dualistic. He explained 'development' from a twin perspective just as other Marxists, in order to effectively capture the nature and degree of exploitation that countries in Europe embarked upon in Africa. The point that is being made here is that Rodney, like all Marxists, conceives the nature of social change in a dialectic manner which is immersed in a form of contradiction that leads to the evolution of novel structures through class conflicts and the domination of the "other" by the "self". It however, needs to be stated that by contradiction here, we do not mean incompatibility or discordance as it is erroneously conceived by anti-leftist social theorists. In this context, contradiction is used in Marxist terms suggesting unity of opposites that exists within a material substructure. F. G. Casals (1980: 7) further distinguishes between these two notions thus:

The postulate underlying contradiction is unity; that underlying incompatibility is disunity. Contradiction is necessary; incompatibility is merely possible. Contradiction implies polarity – reciprocal conditioning; incompatibility implies relative independence – indifference. Contradiction is necessarily dynamic and tends to grow into conflict; incompatibility is normally static and, once established, tends to reproduce itself indefinitely as such. That is why contradiction fosters change, while incompatibility fosters opposition to change. (Casals, 1980:7)

Following in this line of thought, it is important to stress the fact that development, as far as Rodney is concerned, within any human society, is a many-sided process which can be looked at from two perspectives – the individual level and the level of the society. At the human level, development is seen as the summation of the opportunities made available to the individual in the actualization of basic human needs and the fulfilment of their yearnings and aspirations. Development, from this perspective, is from a microscopic viewpoint because it does not take into consideration, the holistic appraisal of the society, but it merely focuses on how the individual can use his natural endowments and skills in overcoming the challenges of nature. At the level of the society, development entails the dynamics of employing social tools and cluster of values in reducing the burden faced by man as he goes about his business of survival. At this level, development is macroscopic because it considers the society as a whole and how the categories of thought or super-

structural formulations have been cultivated by scholars in bringing about social and political change within a given social setting. These two levels of development are interwoven as an individual cannot achieve aspects of personal development when the favourable conditions and enabling environment are not provided by the society.

It is only natural to conceive of development in this way given the reality of the nature of human existence. First, human beings have to exist as autonomous beings tending for their personal desires and ensuring that the benefits derivable from nature are fully exploited to satisfy basic needs. Man, from this point of view, puts all his efforts and other innate capacities to work in order to transcend his levels of limitations, something referred to by the existentialist as facticity. The method employed at times could be crude, especially when the focus of the discourse is on the primitive society or early civilization. From this awareness of the self and needs, the individual also recognizes that there are others that exist with him within the same setting and are constrained by the same situation, he begins to learn also that the other person has needs which ought to be satisfied. From all of these, the idea of society begins to emerge because the need for interdependency would become obvious as people begin to interact within a social setting and as they learn that it is much easier to actualize the goals of self preservation and development as

a group rather than as an individual. Naturally, human beings are fond of communal existence for the purpose of survival and subsistence. This is probably why Rodney attempted his analysis of the concept of development from both perspectives.

8.2 DIMENSIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT IN RODNEY'S DISCOURSE

From the foregoing, it is important to note that Africa was experiencing its own form of development prior to the interference of the Europeans; it was this historic accident that Rodney attempted to chronicle in his work. He gave an extensive explanation on how the political structures that exist within a society can be manipulated to achieve unfavourable ends. Political structures here may not only mean the empirical arrangement of social hierarchies within a social order, but also the political ideologies that drive and is in operation within such social setting. In the case of Africa, whether we are talking about the development of social theories like feudalism, slavery, socialism, oligarchy, and so on Rodney believed that all of these forms of development ended with the influx of foreign superpowers on the African soil. Meanwhile, In order to fully grasp the essence or impact of Rodney's development discourse, we must understand that there are certain basic dimensions through which he viewed

the concept of development and underdevelopment in Africa. Rodney set out his proposition, using comparative standards, arguing that the underdevelopment of Africa today can be only be understood in relation to Western Europe and a few other parts of the World; and that the present conditions of things has been arrived at, not by the separate evolution of Africa on the one hand and Europe on the other, but by exploitation. In this regard, Martin Henry (2011) maintains that, to set the record straight, Rodney declared that "four operations are required."

The first is a reconstruction of the nature of development in Africa before the coming of the Europeans. The second is the reconstruction of the nature of development which took place in Europe before expansion abroad. The third operation is an analysis of Africa's contribution to Europe's present state (reminiscent of Eric Williams' equally famous study, *Capitalism and Slavery*). The fourth, which is the essence of the book, is analysis of Europe's contribution to Africa's present 'underdeveloped' state. Emphasising that "a survey of the scene in Africa before the coming of Europeans would reveal considerable unevenness of development, the historian went on to set out the often neglected, little known stories of great African civilisations of the pre-European period. Rodney's example ran from Egypt through Ethiopia, Nubia, Morocco, the Western Sudan, and East Africa to Zimbabwe. The political and

military skills and exploits of the great Zulu leader Shaka were dwelt upon at some length. The suppression and loss of this history is, of course, one of the large negative consequences of the entry of the imperialistic and racist Europeans.

The manifestation of imperialism in African affairs today is plural. Apart from the political ascription of this notion as the expressive or non-expressive domination of one country by another, it has also been seen by some African scholars as having an ideological dimension because it is believed that a people's pattern of thought had to be colonized before they can be subjugated and made to accept the superimposed categories. One of such scholars is Claude Ake, the famous Nigerian social theorist, who in his seminal treatise on the theory of political development titled; *Social Science as Imperialism* once conceived of the social paradigms upon which Africa's development is gauged as a form of imperialism. Among the reasons he provided for holding such a stance was that Western intellectual posture on developing countries foist on the developing countries, capitalist values, capitalist institutions, and capitalist development (Ake, 1982). The historic consequences of the spread of capitalism across global social boundaries have been well documented by trans-generational intellectual traditions. However, it is instructive to note that Ake's intellectual vision on the imperialist tendencies of the west is similar to that of

Rodney. The basis of the similitude is on the one hand, such that they both agree that the capitalist exploitation of the Africa by Western countries is the bane of Africa's development. On the other hand, they also defend the view that all the dynamics and symbolic representations of these oppressive traditions must be rejected and fought to a standstill.

It is noteworthy that Rodney's writings examine issues such as race, class, slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, economic development, independence, and empowerment (Karen, Jefferson, 2008:2). He is especially noted for his writings on an analysis of the pre-colonial and colonial African experience and its influence on the contemporary outlook of life. His analysis revolves around the idea that Western imperialism has eaten into the fabric of Africa; noting also that this would generate some form of response within the states at the experimenting end. In this regard, Vincent Thompson (1960:18) suggests that:

The African attitude to European imperialism was resentment against its ugliest features – forced labour, double standards of justice, denial of opportunities, taxation without representation, racism, social segregation, the pass laws (a hatred symbol of servitude), the forcible disbanding of protest organizations and recurrent cases involving the proscription of organizations seeking to make representation to the ruling authorities, and above all, land alienation – land being a factor in African culture which cannot be overstressed. (Thompson, 1960:18)

Thus, the question that comes to mind is: what exactly is the way out of this existential morass? The way out of this development quagmire that most African nations have found themselves seems deem because the European nations obstinately want them tied to their apron strings. One of the reasons for not wanting to let African nations experience true development and freedom is what scholars have attributed to trade advantage; goods are seen as cheaper to produce in the poorer countries, thus, more easily exportable at a huge profit margin since the high cost of skilled labour that would have been used to manufacture the product would have been subverted. In lieu of this, Lansana Keita in his review of Erik Reinhert's recent book titled; *How Rich Countries Got Rich and Why Poor Countries Stay poor*, further elucidates the agenda of Western imperialism in Africa and the pseudo remedy offered as a solution to the crisis of development in Africa. In his words:

...there is a serious disjunction between the recommendations that are offered to developing nations by development officials from the industrialized World and the policies adopted by such nations when they themselves were on the path towards development (Lasana, 2009:270).

Meanwhile he cites Reinert's as providing an answer to the problem of development which is that developing countries should just follow the same recipe that the industrialized nations adopted when they chose to develop their economies. The strategy was to protect infant industries until they were able to

compete effectively internationally (Lasana, 2009). The point that is being stressed here is that there is a noticeable disparity on the issue of capital in the relations of developed economies with that of underdeveloped economies. Rodney also emphasized the contrast between the surging growth of the countries and the development taking place in the majority of capital countries while a large number of the so-called underdeveloped countries are in total stagnation and that in some of them the rate of economic growth is lower than that of promotion increase (Rodney, 1972:1). Having looked at the essential aspects of Rodney's thoughts on development and the development of underdevelopment in Africa, we shall now proceed to discuss how the issues he raised find relevance within the Nigerian social praxis.

8.3 THE EXTERNAL DEPENDENCY OF FOREIGN POLICY THRUST IN NIGERIA AND THE QUEST FOR DEVELOPMENT

The bulk of Rodney's research findings that were documented in his seminal work have one central thesis and that is the fact that Africa is largely underdeveloped because of its contact with Europe or vice versa. The nature of the contact was for the purpose of milking Africa of all pre-established forms of life, modes of doing things, and place doubt on their very existence as human beings; no doubt, have been written to buttress the facts of the accident of

history in Africa which was basically a result of the frontal collision with the Western nations. As it was recorded in history, Africa and many other places that were victims of the colonial experience, had been developed to some point before the coming of Western domination and exploitation. In Nigeria for instance, it was recorded that there were already established systems of governance, modes of worship, farming and food production, the diverse cultural expressions of people; in fact, life in that period was worth living, this was a period when there was no urgency to upturn or kill one's brother just to gain political leadership positions, when hunger was not a problem of the larger part of the society; this was when the spirit of communalism was in full manifestation and everyone was his brother's keeper.

British colonialism effectively blocked Nigeria's development for a critical period of one century through its colossal export of national economic surplus, proscription of manufacturing, stagnation of agriculture, unequal exchange in exports and imports, systematic denial of credit, neglect of education, and general distortion of the colonial economy in a perverse bilateral integration with the British capitalist system. Forced transition from a pre-capitalist to capitalist mode of production was about the only real development under colonialism (Basi Onimode, 1981). The fact that African states were exploited during colonialism is no news, but what is news is the fact that even

after over four decades of the formal termination of colonialism in Africa, there has not been any real development within this sub-region. This may not be unconnected with the fact that even though African nations were said to be free, they still maintain a kind of economic relationship with the West that opens the door for economic exploitation and political regulation.

A critical survey of Nigeria's foreign policy will reveal that it is externally oriented in its trade relations with industrialized nations under the guise of a global free market popularly referred to as international trade. The rules of engagement in this scheme of things, of course, are always determined by the advanced nations whose interest in Africa has constantly been that of seeking the best way through which profit can be maximized and persistently devise means through which supposedly independent African states can be made to be subservient to its abiding philosophies. It is this type of attitude that Thandika Mkandawire (2011:1) referred to as "the blind compulsions of the market now rechristened as "globalization". Globalization is a modern operation of the Western imperialist system which has, in many ways adversely affected the conditions of life, local industries and government capacity to use the common wealth of the state in the service of the people. The major problem with Africa's trade relation or political interaction with other developed countries is that Africa is basically seen as a consuming market with

large potentials of making profit rather than as a producing economy that acquires the capital that determines who has the power for directing the trade activities.

Since the focal point of the discourse here is on the nature of foreign policy and how it mirrors the quest by African nations to measure up with Western systems of development, we shall take a brief look at aspects of the Economic Policy of the Obasanjo Administration citing its basic assumptions, goals and objectives it seeks to achieve. Onukwuga Osuji (2000: 38) cites part of the policy thus:

1. That the economy exists for and belongs to the people, and at all times the general well being of all the people shall be the overriding objective of government and proper measure of performance.
2. Government's primary role shall be to ensure, in cooperation with the private sector, the urgent creation of adequate and efficient infrastructure, particularly of energy, telecommunications, water and financial services to bring about a positive and internationally – competitive environment for economic activities.

The objectives of these policies should be targeted at achieving the following:

- i. Revive and grow Nigeria's comatose economy.
- ii. Significantly raise the standard of living of the people.
- iii. Put Nigerians back to gainful work and create new employment opportunities.
- iv. Reposition the economy to participate beneficially in the global economy.
- v. Make Nigeria the hub of the West African economy.

It is clearly stated that it has to be "beneficial" but from all existential realities; the dependency of African policy on European nations has been anything but beneficial. As Samuel Odaudu (2011) observes;

Africa [of which Nigeria is a part] is a leading beggarly, crawling and debtor continent at the global stage. Even though it is hugely endowed with human and natural resources, it is unfortunately depending on foreign aids to address the basic needs of her people, and the challenges are not far-fetched. Quite substantially, the economy of the continent has been left bedridden, callously raped by corrupt leadership that have mindlessly laundered and stolen money belonging to the people for several decades; monies which were budgeted for infrastructural and economic development so as to improve the living standard of the people. (Odaudu, 2011).

It should be stated that in spite of the material abundance of nations in this continent, they still depend on foreign aid in order to achieve any

meaningful development. This is one reason for the immense underdevelopment within the continent. However, there is a need for a novel philosophy of development in Africa which should not be externally oriented. The new philosophy of development in Africa and by implication, the new philosophy of international relations must recognize that ordinary people shall be at the centre of these efforts. This new philosophy shall avoid the elite-driven, top-down processes of development. Rather, the entire developmental processes and international economic activities should put the ordinary people and their interests at the centre. It is also necessary that this new strategy for development should not regard external interests as superior to the interests of the citizenry of African nation-states. The truth of the matter is that the construction of foreign policies that are externally dependent cannot bring development to Africa. This is against the back drop that Rodney does not see any economic prospect in dealing with the West or the Europeans whose guiding capitalist philosophy of life is the amassing of profit at the expense of those who laboured for the profit.

8.4 RODNEY'S PERSPECTIVE ON CAPITALISM AND THE ISSUE OF DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

One of the issues raised by Rodney in his discourse on development is capitalism, which is still of relevance within Nigeria. The focal point of his analysis of the concept of development is that of economic exploitation which in turn affected human development. His view is such that the numerous problems that Africa is experiencing today can be traced to the activities of capitalism which informs his conclusion that "African development can only be possible on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries" (Rodney, 1972). The capitalist path is presumed to lead to the pattern of 'the good life' which has been attained by the advanced capitalist societies. Of course, these societies vary politically, economically, culturally, and militarily. Some are political democracies; others are or have been fascist dictatorships. They also differ in terms of the degree of public participation in economic life, and in their type and manner of expression of cultural values, symbols, and rituals. These differences arise from their diverse historical and environmental conditions, particularly their inherited level of production, the nature of their social system, political organization, structure of social consciousness, ideological and socio-psychological orientation, the views of

their ruling classes and various social groups, and the rivalry between the various groupings within their ruling circles (Nnoli, 1981: 2). In contemporary Nigerian life, the reality of economic impoverishment is an ubiquitous phenomenon; people are suffering in the midst of plenty and the gap between the haves and the have nots continues to widen by the day.

It should be noted that with the development of large capitalist monopolies in the leading capitalist countries, the capitalists of those countries lost interest in developmental investment in the less-developed countries because such investment threatened their established monopolistic positions. Consequently, investment in underdeveloped countries from the highly-developed countries acquired a specific character. It went chiefly into the exploitation of natural resources to be utilized as raw materials by the industries of the developed countries; and into developing food production in the underdeveloped countries to feed the population of the developed capitalist countries. It also went into developing the economic infrastructure needed to maintain economic relations with the underdeveloped countries (Lange, 1963: 10). The profits which are made by foreign capital are exported back to the countries where capital comes from. Or if used for investment, they are not used for industrial investment on any major scale, which, as we know from experience, is the real dynamic factor of modern economic development.

The rise of capitalism within the African socio-cultural framework is tied to the fact that the economy and other indices that determine the quality of human life are patterned after Western paradigms coupled with the fact that the political ideology in operation is primarily focused on the amassing of wealth rather than on welfarism. This explains why Walter Rodney, in his work titled; "The Imperialist Partition of Africa" maintains that: "The capitalists divide the World, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to get profits. And they divide it in proportion to "capital," in proportion to "strength," because there cannot be any other system of division under commodity production and capitalism. But strength varies with the degree of economic and political development In order to understand what takes place, it is necessary to know what questions are settled by this change of forces. The question as to whether these changes are "purely" economic or non-economic (e.g., military) is a secondary one, which does not in the least affect the fundamental view of the latest epoch of capitalism. The non-economic superstructure which grows up on the basis of finance capital, its politics and its ideology, stimulates the striving for colonial conquest" (Rodney, 1970).

From the foregoing, and given the antecedents of the African cum the Nigerian experience in the global market place, it won't be out of place to affirm that the undisguised determining factor of the relationship always boils down to one idea – that is, capitalism. So much has been said about how the capitalist posture of Western economies have contributed to the deepening underdevelopment of African nation-states, but we must realize, Rodney warns, “that capitalism is still around” (1972: 6). Capitalism is one dominant feature of the driving the modernist advancement of a liberalist ideology that should harness the global resources among states that are considered to be in the centre and those that are tagged as being in the periphery, for the purpose of mutual understanding and trade relations.

Rodney envisioned and worked on the assumption that the new development of Africans and other dependent peoples of the “periphery” would require what he called “a radical break with the international capitalist system,” a courageous challenge to the failing ‘center’ of the current World order (Vincent Harding, 1972). The Nigerian economy today is structured in a way that the people are being exploited daily by the government and their agents in an arrangement popularly referred to as Public-Private Partnership by the government institutions that previously held the means of production of goods and services transfer such to private institutions with the supposed goal

of meeting the needs and hopes of the people. But in truth, this arrangement has led to nothing but different forms of exploitation, psychological, physical, emotional and material. Workers employed by these governments plus private sector hybrid-institutions are subjected to numerous forms of mistreatment, like working at odd hours, longer than necessary, unfavourable working conditions, stipends as pay packages and the loss of self- exertion and expression. All in the name of making ends meet, the masses, who have little or no alternative take up these jobs and by so doing, reduce their life-span and quality of life and in some cases even subject themselves to numerous distressing and depressing treatments by their employers. This negative relation between the employer and the employee prevalent in the Nigerian social life has been described by many scholars as the debris of colonial activities in Africa. One of Such scholars is Nwabuiro Ndeyi; he is of the view that:

The economic predation of the British in Nigeria had seriously hindered the abilities of Nigerians to live and develop economically. There is no doubt that as economy is the soul of development, its lost to Britain has affected every aspect of life in Nigeria (Ndeyi,2008: 180).

It is pertinent to note here that Britain's dominance in Nigeria is an expression of their superiority not only in African affairs, but in the global community at large. This is probably why Dan Horowitz (1983) affirms that,

Britain's position in the World and her role as a colonial power are always looked on as interdependent questions, but the nature of their interdependence is open to controversy. In terms of conservative principles, the starting point of the discussion is the normative and rather general questions of what ought to be done to preserve Britain's power and influence in World affairs. The massive consequence of the British domination of Nigeria is one of the reasons for the underdevelopment within the country. This is consistent with Rodney's view that unless people are able to rise to the challenge of foreign domination and being susceptible to alien modes of doing things, there may never be any form of development within the society. But identifying the problem alone does not suffice to solve the problem even though it is a step towards that direction; there is a need for Nigeria to break its ties with the Western capitalist hegemony in order to set the foundation for genuine nation building. The project of building a modern state where people's well being is taken care of in terms of having access to basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, education, power, and fundamental human rights and freedom such as rights to life, property and pursuit of happiness; and freedom of speech, thoughts, assembly, association, worship, etc, is a great one. But while some nations are moving in a right direction giving cause for hope, optimism and anticipation of success,

some others are moving in the wrong direction. Nigeria is among the many that are moving in the wrong one in matters of development (Ideyi, 2008: 180).

8.5 THE CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST PATH TO DEVELOPMENT IN RODNEY'S DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT

Through the history of ideas and social metamorphosis, a change of economic and political ideology different from capitalism has been suggested as an alternative to remedy the problems created by the capitalist experimentation. In this respect, one brand of ideology that has been most favoured by radical ideologists and Marxist scholars who take their inspiration from the revolutionary philosophy of the leftists like Marx and Engels, is socialism. It has been widely thought that socialism which is a philosophy that puts the masses at the centre of governance and is expected to eschew all forms of exploitation and oppression within the society will solve the inequalities created by the capitalist system. The socialist mode of production also entails the abolition of the hierarchical structure of the enterprise and the social division of labour between those who accumulate and those who produce (Nnoli, 1981:3). As a matter of fact, one cannot isolate the evolution of premature socialism from the conditions of its birth. Those conditions took shape around the international collision between underdevelopment and

imperialism; or to put it another way, around obstruction of industrialization in the imperialist era (Casals, 1980: 45). Like it is with every collision between two substantial objects, in a metaphoric sense, one can liken the collision between Africa and Europe as that between a car and a heavy-duty truck, the car of course may be bruised beyond repair or be badly damaged. Africa's relationship experience with the WesternWorld can be described in this manner because the interface between both societies left Africa in wreckage, both at ideological and material levels. Put in a different way;

The socialist path is presumed to lead to the pattern of good life enjoyed by the advanced socialist theory. In spite of differences arising from their varied historical, economic, political and cultural experiences; socialist societies all operate the socialist mode of production. This is a system of production in which there is a separation of the actual producers from their means of production: the concentration of the latter in the hands of the social collectivity as a whole, the state; values are produced not as commodities for exchange in the market but to satisfy basic needs and prevailing consumption habits; certainly labour power is not a commodity to be sold and bought for profit; and the interests of labour are superior to and dominant over, those of capital in deciding what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are distributed. It entails a radical change in the relations of production and the collective appropriation of the surplus social product (Nnoli, 1981).

At the time socialism was in vogue, it was widely accepted as a better alternative to capitalism, but it did not suffice to solve the problems of underdevelopment and failures of leadership within the African countries. One

of the reasons why the socialist prognosis of society and its palliative measures did not live to see the light of the day is that it does not take into consideration the egoistic nature of man. It assumes that man is capable of transcending his desire to satisfy his own needs ahead of those of others. It also envisions that class distinctions in the society can be abolished through the revolutionary confrontation of the bourgeois class by the masses or the proletariat – the struggle for the control of economic resources between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’. In fact, socialism was supposed to be a system that would prepare the way for communism which is the advanced stage socialism where all forms of class distinctions would be annihilated and there would be evolution of the classless society, which in turn would usher in a transformation in the conditions of life and the equitable distribution of the resources of the state. In the case of Nigeria, socialism as an economic and political system is attractive and practised during the post-independence era where the notable African nationalist like Obafemi Awolowo, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor etc, were at the fore front of the rise against capitalist exploitation within Africa. Although, the intention with which these leaders and scholars pursued their project of national rebirth through the application of the philosophy of socialism was well-meaning, other political interests interfered with their aspirations and rendered them impotent. The point being stressed here is that

capitalism which Rodney cited as the eye sore of development in Africa, so many years ago is the bane of development in contemporary African states given the fact that the form of democracy practiced in contemporary Africa is capitalist oriented.

8.6 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF IMPERIALISM IN NIGERIA AND RODNEY'S DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT

The political economy of imperialism today in Nigeria is an extension of the Rodney's discourse on development which focuses on the operations of the Western powers in Africa and its numerous disadvantages. It is instructive to note as Rodney points out that the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent (Harding, 1972). The imperialist agenda is simply an off shoot of the colonial interest in Africa which was all about amassing economic wealth, human capital in terms of enslavement and superimposition of alien categories of thought on indigenous peoples. As such, the phenomenon of imperialism within the African states was not seen as a novel experience. In this regard, it is noteworthy that many Nigerian rulers perceived the threat of imperialism long before it became a reality (Elizabeth Isichei, 1983: 362). The awareness is based

on the continued interest of the advanced nations of the World in African nations even after the formal declaration of independence. The colonial interest in Nigeria is focused on the crude oil and other natural resources which are exported as raw materials for further processing in the advanced nations and is in turn sold back to Nigeria as finished processed petroleum products. The economic advantage is always on the side of the Western nations. Although, this phenomenon of imperialism is a blend of various historic antecedents, it is possible to delineate some of its notable characteristics:

Moreover, the specific character of imperialism in Nigeria which has involved slavery, colonialism and contemporary neo-colonialism, means that the historical and current underdevelopment of the country could not be explained or understood without an explicit analysis of imperialism in the whole process. This is particularly true since both the imperialist domination of Nigeria and the underdevelopment of the country are total processes involving all facets of national life (Onimode, 1981: 77).

Imperialism is about economic and political interests extended over others who are often thought as inferior or less sophisticated and as such are seen to be in need of the self. In this case, the European nations after granting Africa's independence on paper still continued to exert their influence by extending the rule or policy and modes of doing things over the supposed autonomous nations. There is no doubt that African independence was greeted with pomp, ceremony and a resurgence of traditional African music and dance.

'A new day has dawned', 'we are on the threshold of a new era', 'we have now entered into the political kingdom' – those were the phrases of the day, and they were repeated until they became clichés. But, all the to-ing and fro-ing from Cotonou to Paris and from London to Lusaka and all the lowering and raising of flags cannot be said to have been devoid of meaning. Withdrawal of the directly-controlled military and juridical apparatus of the colonizers was essential before any new alternatives could be posed with regard to political organisation, social structure, and economic development (Ja'afar, 2008). But in actual fact, the colonisers cannot be said to have totally withdrawn from the control of the political structures in Africa. Imperialism is seen as the political, military, or economic domination of one country over another. As a matter of fact, the political economy of imperialism in Nigeria can be likened to the structure of colonialism which is its very root. This statement can be understood against the background that:

British colonialism effectively blocked Nigeria's development for a critical period of one century through its colossal export of national economic surplus, proscription of manufacturing, stagnation of agriculture, unequal exchanges in exports and imports, systematic denial of credit, neglect of education, and general distortion of the colonial economy in a perverse bilateral integration with the British capitalist system. Forced transition from a pre-capitalist to capitalist mode of production was about the only real development under colonialism (Onimode, 1981).

Although, the fact of colonialism as the motivating force of imperialist political economy in Africa and Nigeria in particular, is glaring, there has been attempt to deny this irrefutable fact that Western scholars and their apostles who lay the blame of Africa's underdevelopment on bad leadership in Africa, with particular reference to the African elites. This group of writers, i.e. Western writers have a contrary view with Rodney's (1972) writing. To this group of writers, colonialism was not responsible to African underdevelopment, that the relationship benefited the colonized more than the advanced countries, thus they said that it is possible too that the development of colonies –particularly in the more backward areas of the World may be a source of profit neither to the metropolitan or any other advanced country, but that in itself would not prove that the enterprise was not worthwhile, for the increase in the material well-being of the colonial population might , in terms of real wealth, more than offset the slight decline caused elsewhere by subsidizing the colony. This writer agreed that the enterprise was worthwhile, but that what the colonists gathered as material wealth was used to develop the colonies. But somewhere in this country, they seem to contradict themselves by saying that there was a sort of unequal relationship between the colonial powers and the colonized were not allowed to develop its own indigenous technology because such would compete with the technologies of the advanced

societies which would in turn hamper the expansion of their market, this in effect shows that the enterprise benefited anything from European powers more than the colonized if the colonized really benefited anything from it, this group of writers only talked about the expense of administering the colony by the colonized, that it was only a negligible part of this collection that went to the colonized while the rest went to the mother land of the colonists. But there is one fact the opponent of the view that European imperialist tendencies are the casual factors of underdevelopment in Africa, which is the fact that:

The collective consequences of colonialism constituted an effective foundation for the persistent underdevelopment of the country from the colonial period to the present. In particular, the cultivation of a Nigerian petty bourgeoisie under colonialism and the collaboration of this and the comparator elite with the imperialist bourgeoisie for the mutual beneficial exploitation of the country has intensified the contradictions of neocolonial capitalist underdevelopment since flag independence (Onimode, 1981).

Other social theorist and political analysts in Nigeria have commented on the imperialist experience of the nation in the evolution of her recent history. For instance, Ake (1981) explicated on the political economy of Africa and his objective was to dwell extensively on the contemporary features of Africa, the chain of events that generated the present condition of Africa and how they might be changed in the future, he traced the history of Africa from the colonial

period to the history of Africa to the neo-colonial period. He also reflected extensively on the strategies which the national leaders have adopted to effect development, these strategies failed to work because of the international atmosphere which make the plan unrealistic, but said that "more often than not, the plan is really not a strategy for development but an aggregation of projects and policies, which may sometimes be incompatible", this suggests that the leaders tend to tackle the problem from the wrong angle like the other writers mentioned already, he agreed that the underdevelopment of Africa is as a result of its long contact with capitalism, also he said that the national bourgeoisie contributes a lot to underdevelopment of Africa , but he went further than Rodney (1972) and Fanon(1961) to show the conditions that led to the emergence of the petty bourgeoisie, the instrument of this accumulation and the national post-colonial state. This scheme of things is characterized by capitalism and the capitalist mode of production. This is a system determined not by the people's attitude to wealth, their spirit of enterprise, desire for gain, or the use of money to finance a series of exchange transactions in order to make profit, but by the way in which the means of production are owned and the articulation of social relations between individuals and groups arising from the production process, particularly the manner in which work is organized and the surplus from production is distributed.

According to him, the post-colonial state involves itself in the class struggle. That is to say that the state was highly politicized; the state is seen as an instrument of wealth accumulation, and partly because the state power in question is highly developed, there is a better struggle to gain control of it, a critical focus of this struggle is the control of government, which is the formal access to state power, thus in Africa, those in office do all they can to perpetuate their hold on it, and those out of office do all they can to get it, there is hardly any restraint beyond prudence as to permeable means for this struggle. Because of the state and the ruling class, the boundary between them is blurred. the implication of this is a crudely oppressive class rule; because the state and government are too involved in the class struggle, and because of the high premium placed on political power on the tone in politics is highly authoritarian and hegemonic faction of the bourgeoisie adopts a siege mentality.

Imperial occupation made Africans aware of the external World. Increased contact, and especially experience of aggression, awakened rebellion and a determination to recapture the control of their own land (Thompson, 1960).

Fortunately, the tendency to accumulate through the use of state power rather than through productive activities makes post-colonial capitalism less conducive to the development of productive forces and the increase of surplus.

In conclusion, he recommended socialism but went on to say that the state of the development forces in Africa will be detrimental to the attainment of socialism. He also mentioned the interaction of the external forces as an obstacle to socialism, but said that “in the long run, objective conditions are more likely to move Africa to socialism.

In the view of Offiong (1980), Nigeria imperialism and dependency should have a change in the international economic order. Like the three writers already mentioned, he believed that the underdevelopment of the third World countries is brought about by capitalists’ intervention in the economy of the third World countries. Thus, he asserted that, the perseverance and extensive interactions (imperialism and exploitation) of the developed countries are the underlying reason for third World underdevelopment, and the distorted and balanced growth in those countries. The distortions in the organization and utilization of a nation’s human and natural resources make it extremely difficult for such a country to make a transition for a balanced and self-sustaining growth. But this transition has to be made in order to cope successfully with the survival challenges; he traced the history of underdevelopment from the period of slavery to the present stage of neo-colonialism. He discusses obstacles that impede Africa much towards economic freedom. He goes on to say that foreign aid is an instrument of dependency. He

refuted the allegation that multinationals in developing the economies of the host nations. Instead, they prompt the policies of their mother country and commit all sorts of atrocities that are detrimental to their hosts growth. But unlike Fanon, (1961) he did not recommend how these local bourgeoisies should be brought under control. Thus, what we have been saying so far is that the activity of the capitalist nations of the World on Africa is hydra-headed.

8.7 CONCLUSION: THE RELEVANCE OF RODNEY'S DISCOURSE TO NIGERIA

As we conclude the discussions in this essay, it is pertinent to recall a statement made by Awolowo (1960) which accurately captures the drastic shift in ideology that operates within Nigeria today. According to him, there was a time when Africans who were friendly with white men, or who went to the length of dinning and wining with them, were denounced as imperialist agents, and branded as having sold Nigeria for personal gains and advancement. But the situation today is totally different since instead of cautioning those who dine and wine with the Western nations at the expense of the development of their nations, these people are praised as agents of change and believers in the gains of globalization. The underlying philosophy of globalization is liberalism which sees the World economy as a free market economy where people are free

to perform trans-geographical business dealings all in the hope of benefiting from the goods produced by other peoples of the World. But in this scheme of things, Nigeria has always been dependent and externally oriented; the goods that are exported to the global market are often with the help of the advanced capitalist nations who determine and set the pace for intra-regional trade relations.

Put succinctly, an economy limited to the specializing in the production of a few primary products for export is by definition highly dependent. This structural imbalance and dependence on export has been responsible for the declining prices of Nigerian exports. The rising prices of import from Western Europe and North America, as a result of balance of trade deficit Nigeria has been forced to finance import as well as the development programs through borrowing from foreign source like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, Paris club and this in turn has led to the increased dependence on foreign capital and foreign aids from the Western government and the various multilateral creditors, agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Economic exploitation remains the crucial element. The most useful concept of dependency focuses precisely on the creation and maintenance of that sort of exploitation, that is, on the existence of a state of structural mechanism which obstructs the growth of the economy and presents

its filtering down to the masses in the dependent economies, considering the opposite conditions in dominant economies.

Global interdependence for example further international specialization along the lines of an international division of labour, will lead to increased dominance/dependence relationship, if the increased trade between the Western countries like United States of America and a third World country like Nigeria worsen the terms of trade for Nigeria. Most free trade and new international division of labour proponents strongly deny that this could happen, one can however demonstrate and within a basic neo-classical framework, that increased trade between United States and Nigeria will lead to worse terms of trade when the export supply curve of the south has a negative slope, the latter depends primarily on so-called income effect due to abundant labour supply and a production structure. The globalization agenda is premised on two assumptions of the notion of development; one is the liberalist and the other is socially specific; when looked at critically, it presents a subtle contradiction in terms of the orientation of development efforts. As Monoz (2007) observes:

Two of the most well-known clashes of development ideas are the realist-liberalist discourse and the environmental-social justice discourse, which are competing for the opportunity to influence decisions that determine what type of, how, where and when development should take place. The first type of discourse can be considered the old one, where realists want a strong state driven, but closed development model while the liberals envision a weak state driven, but opened development model. (Monoz, 2007)

No matter the perspective from which we look at the concept of development, in theory or practice, one of the glaring facts of today is that Africa's recent economic performance has been poor. There may be some differences among countries, but they are one of degree and not of kind. On a number of economic indicators, Africa has performed badly no matter how much or little credibility is given to these indicators and the measurement problems associated with them. Most of these problems are as a result of the fact that there are no clear-cut strategies mapped out to put African nations on the path of development. There is a need in Africa to transcend the dependency of Western nations in the quest for authentic development.

This desire for holistic social change within Nigeria and other African nations must be geared towards attaining the goal of self-reliance; such that governance and the activities of public administrators should be directed towards meeting the yearnings and aspirations of the people. The interest of the people at all times must be placed above all other conflicting interests,

especially the interest of the self. What we are advocating here is the disconnection of Nigeria's development focus from its external orientation, that is, African leaders must be able to make a clean break from the colonial heritage with which it operates. The colonial legacy of Nigeria, the present day economy of the nation are characterized by a lopsided dependence on the export of raw materials and the import of manufactured goods from the forms of the capitalist countries of the World. The structural imbalance in these economies resulting from this overdependence on the export of one or a few primary product makes these economies extremely vulnerable to external factors and secondly hinders their internal development.

Self reliance is the ability of the country to depend on itself without external dictation on how to go about the business of governance. The economy of a country that is self-dependent should be controlled by nationals and not multinationals. Even though multinationals operate in every society these days, these operations in less developed countries like Nigeria are usually exploitative. The ability of a nation to solve its economic problem without necessarily exposing itself to external influence is a hallmark of genuine development drive. However, recent economic trends in Nigeria have shown that the country is inferior to other advanced nations of the World by inviting other nations to help in solving her numerous social, political and economic

problems. This manner of international trading should be reversed; Nigeria's dependence on import should be minimized because for a country to be self-reliance, the society must be able to generate and meet its needs within; and if there is going to be the need for trans-geographical trade, Nigeria should be able to produce goods of high quality like other advanced nations so as to be able to generate economic resources with other societies on equal footing. This implies that the industries (agricultural, manufacturing and construction) must have a multiplier effect on one another. A linkage, a beneficial relationship must exist, and in that case the product of agriculture and saving there could be used beneficially in other industries and vice versa.

Nigerians' dependency on the Western capitalist for their product can be traced to the trans-alternate slave trade where people are exchanged for rum, gunpowder or guns. The intrusion of the British into the country paved the way for exploitations, making channels for the movement of the products taking them to the Western World and then manufacturing them to a better product. Some of their products are normally food products which include cocoa for bournvita, palm oil for soap and other food items, after the production of these products, they are brought to Nigeria where they are bought and consumed making room for the indigenous industries to collapse and the citizens of the country unemployed. This importation of these products

has been a problem to the people of Nigeria and Nigeria at large and can be seen as a one man bandit terrorizing the economic factor of the country. Nigeria is one of the most endowed nations in the World in terms of both natural resources, ability know-how which includes skills to create products or make products for the betterment of the nation.

There is a need for African leaders and Nigerians in particular to sever their dependency ties on the WesternWorld. At this present time when African scholars are daily trying to tackle the problem of development within the African sub-region, it is unthinkable that co-patriots would be indifferent to the persistent call for liberation from the shackle of alien cultures, for the restoration of the rich cultural heritage which is to be used positively for economic, social and cultural advancement (Iwara, 1979). The call for economic and human liberation must begin with the institutionalization of good governance within African nations of which Nigeria is a part.

Good governance has been identified as the most important factor to successful developmental states, thus, the ability of the state to be responsive to economic challenges. In Nigeria, predation and neopatrimonialism grossly affects the ability of the state to deliver sustainable economic growth and development. Good governance acknowledges effective state/bureaucratic capability, accountability, overall performance, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equitable, provision of market rights, and minimal corruption (Oshodi, 2008).

Now, what is important for us to stress is that Nigerians must trade the path of national development through unique modes of governance and by improving the human person and the society at large. In line with existential realities, they must emancipate the vast majority of their population from the pervasive and high incidence of poverty, ignorance, disease, squalor, poor diet, and poor shelter. Life for the majority is intolerable. A people faced with such a deplorable situation may perish, stagnate or devise new ways and means of improving it. Nigerians are not an exception, and as a virile and ambitious people, they will not accept the alternatives of extinction and stagnation. Under the circumstances, the potentialities of any path to national progress out of the present socio-economic morass are very crucial indeed. It is the belief that Nigeria is capable of tackling these problems that frustrate the efforts towards development that spurs the discourse on Rodney's notion of development and its relevance to the Nigerian situation. A lot of reasons have been advanced to account for the slow pace of economic and scientific progress in Nigeria; some are based on the succession of bad leadership, poor management of economic resources, while some scholars like Rodney have attributed it to the accident of history in respect of the scourge of slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. From all of our analysis so far, it should be noted that the

relevance of Rodney's development discourse to the Nigerian society includes the fact that it presents us with an elucidatory binoculars through which we can understand the problems of development in Nigeria and how they are connected with the historic experience of colonialism. With this in mind, one can then proceed to acquire a holistic conceptualization of the trajectories, dimensions of social metamorphosis within the Nigerian framework and the historic connection between the past and present in the interpreting the future in any social praxis, this could then open up possibilities for the fashioning of novel structures and methods of doing things that would bring about true development within the society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Today, more than at any time, the political insight and scholarship of Rodney on development, can be very useful for contemporary Africa. Following the crux of his development discourse, it is recommended that in the process of nation building, the issue of equality of citizens to access national resources has to be addressed as a foundational basis for people's democracy. Political democracy must be ensured by all stake holders to go hand in hand with economic recovery. Equal access to the individual vote and ballot must be followed by economic and social empowerment for all.

There are many social vices such as corruption, ethnic conflicts, egoism, etc. impeding Africa's developmental process. There is therefore the need for the integration of good leadership, moral and democratic values of social cooperation, intensive investment in human resources, and the effective management of social institutions so as to create new zones of freedom for optimal social participation of the citizenry towards the realization of human potentialities, well being and development. The welfare of the people should take precedence over production indices. Meaningful development is to be measured with the people's needs and their actual realization.

Strategies for the emergence of charismatic, transparent and credible leadership should evolve within the current democratization process. Liberalizing the process of political participation and enhancing the power of the people to control those who govern them, and giving the classes, ethnic groups and labour unions the opportunity to develop according to their own values, cultures and aspirations among other things must be taken into cognizance.

The educational system and the health care system should be reformed in line with Rodney's principle of human development. It is recommended that Africa's social history be taught at different stages to all students in Africa at all educational levels. This will allow them to have a proper apprehension of

external and internal forces that have shaped their social milieu; and instill in them, the consciousness of struggling to overcome impediments. The leaders and the led should tolerate as well as recognize and respect the rights, interests, obligations and responsibilities of one another. They should also cultivate and promote the values of love, truth, goodness, justice, dedication, hard work, selflessness, personal integrity and honesty among others.

There is need to nurture a new political and intellectual culture in Africa. Within the framework of the dual role of scholarship and action, it is recommended that scholars, activists and the oppressed have a common duty and responsibilities to engage in the struggle to change the world and to establish a new world order. This is a challenge to all those who care about the future of Africa.

For Africa to truly launch herself on the path of meaningful development in the 21st century, the media have crucial roles to play in avoiding being stooges of imperial interests (US and Europe) and their multinational news agencies. Moral ideals and *apriori* intuition must be practically made to have bearings on practical human affairs. Professionalism and advocacy should be actually demonstrated in actual terms. Africa cannot embark on any true development unless the issue of ethnic and racial insecurity is resolved. As a scholar activist, Rodney argues that transformation and true human

development can only be achieved through the common struggle of all peoples to recognize the necessity for a single humanity.

Other recommendations are: the encouragement of an ethical rebirth that lays emphasis on integrity and transparency; the promotion of positive social values and leadership study; Africa needs another form of reparation that is, from our leaders, past and present, that have raped the resources of the continent in greater proportion, perhaps more than the slave trade could rape Africa; those in leadership positions in Africa should rise up against corruption, because corruption is checkmating growth and development; the doctrine of moralism and active oath taking should be adopted and brought to governance; there should be need for stiff punishment and the strengthening of law enforcement agents; leadership by example, we should expunge protective laws, like immunity, when they have to do with corruption; open asset declaration by all public officials; self-reliance; there is the need for total reconstruction of our society, in short, both re-examination, re-evaluation of values, choices, life options, and structural transformation; there is need for us all to sit up cogitate, reflect on our situation and experience, and thereby raise our consciousness, and get prepared and set to forge ahead in spite of odds and romance development; Africa should develop and promote a crop of visionary leadership who would work assiduously for her greatness and those of her

people; there is also need to institute good governance which entails the respect of the rule of law and promotion of good business practices devoid of corruption; there should be ethical or normative condition which ought to be met before one can qualify as a leader; the wheel of transparency, accountability and financial discipline should be properly overhauled; there should be consistent and effective fiscal, monetary trade and foreign exchange rate policies to create a favourable environment for investment and growth; moral rectitude as a sign-post for a just society will enhance its development; Africans need a total emancipation and complete change of attitude; Africans should tackle the problem of bad and light fingered leadership because moral values are at their lowest ebb, for many African leaders have sold their nations into another form of slavery. The slavery of debt; we need to realign our thoughts and see leadership as a way to serve the people and leave positive footprints on the sands of time.

African leaders and future African leaders must learn to be morally upright as a condition for going into leadership; they must realize that their actions ought to be regulated by moral principles that guide human conduct. A special institution must be created at both national and state levels to teach already confirmed leaders and prospective ones, on the principles of moral behaviour and the goodness of moral conduct. Leadership is all about

commitment and taking responsibility for one's actions and for people's lives at a macro level. It is amazing that most African leaders lack leadership qualities, commitment and foresight as regard how to bring about the desired social changes in the society. Also, law should be made more potent such that any leader who derails from the acceptable codes of human conducts in the society would be severely punished. In furtherance of this, constitutional immunity must be removed from African states' constitutions so that leaders will stop to see themselves as semi-gods who can commit any crime and go away with it. Some people have argued that the immunity African leaders enjoy is only for a short period of time, that they would be made to face the law after their tenure, but the question to ask is that, what happens if the leader in question dies even before he finishes his tenure in office? Would his corpse be taken to the court room for litigation or his children and his grandchildren would be made to bear the brunt like in Old Testament times? We must stop being pretentious and deceiving ourselves about this issue, this work strongly recommends that the immunity clause should be removed from the constitution so that the penchant for African leaders to engage in corruption and other sharp practices can be curtailed. In addition to this, African leaders that are corrupt and non-performing should be held accountable for their actions, inactions which are not in the interest of the people.

Also, given the fact that the ultimate African quest today is essentially a quest for development, a quest in which both Western and non-Western countries are involved, and then it is imperative that we are concerned about the kinds of leaders that direct the affairs of the state. The kinds of leaders that could foster development in Africa are those who can act altruistically regardless of pressure from their friends, foes and family. African leaders must live moral lives which is the only condition for the eradication of corruption in public office and embezzlement of public funds; they should cease being selfish and wicked. Most African leaders often travel abroad for one thing or the other but why can't they replicate the same degree of excellence they enjoy on such foreign trips in their respective countries? It is not due to lack of resources, but owing to lack of initiative and gross irresponsibility. Anyway, we must not give up; positive changes can still be recorded within the African societies, if we get it right with leadership. Africans must learn to be honest with the process of electing leaders.

Again, leaders in Africa must grow out of the shackles of selfishness. They must understand that their occupation of leadership position is a privilege opportunity that is opened to service. They must appreciate that as leaders, they are equal to their followers and make it a point of duty to positively touch their lives, integrally. The task of developing both human and

physical resources must be the priority of African leaders. African leaders must learn to tread the path taken by Nelson Mandela who spent 27 years of his life fighting for the liberation of South Africa. He had all the plausible reasons for hanging into power, but he did not. This is because Mandela and his political party (African National Congress) had a workable ideology that had propelled their struggle and kept them in focus. The same ideology has made Thabo Mbeki to categorically squelch the speculation about running for a third term so that South Africa could get on with more urgent issues of nation-building.

The attitude of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Abdou Diouf in stepping down before they were pushed out or before they die is worth emulating. Africa is known for leaders who are ready to cling on to power forever. In most of the countries that experience tenure elongation, the development is rather very slow or stagnant. The problem with African leaders is that they do not know why they are in office, except for power and the self and the aggrandizement that comes with it. The political parties have no ideology. The leaders have no vision. That is why today politics is pedestrian, remote from peoples' needs and is preoccupied with elite settlement and understanding (Odimegwu, Ike 2006:182-183).

It is clear enough to put the blame on the leaders in Africa when dealing with the issue of development. Perhaps, it is because African leaders have not

taken the call to produce philosopher-king very seriously. Leaders in Africa lack a well-defined philosophy. The importance of philosophy on the political system of a people cannot be taken for granted. We need carefully articulated philosophy to remove the wrong ideas from our people that leadership is a privileged position to partake in the national cake. We must make our leaders know that they have a duty to serve the masses and philosophically make the electorates feel as truly human beings. They must be guided to change from the preconceived idea of exploiting the resources of the nation for personal aggrandizement to improving the people. A leader who is able to put policies and programmes through critical analysis before implementation will not throw his/her country into corruption and underdevelopment. The presence of corruption in many Africa countries explained the reason for poverty in Africa. The application of philosophy in the daily activities of the people of Africa particularly the leaders at any level, will go a long way in reducing poor planning, corruption, and poverty, it will enhance rapid development in whatever sphere of human endeavour. The way out of underdevelopment is through social struggles for broad democracy which will free public criticism, scientific creativity, and social as well as political self-organizational capacities of the working people. This will bring about the total transformation of social relation in Africa .

Moreover, to combat poverty in Africa, the new development strategy must be agricultural and rural based. Agriculture will provide the engine for growth in Africa. It makes no sense – none whatsoever – for Africa to receive \$18.6 billion in foreign aid and spend about the same on food imports (Ayttey, George 2005:365-366). In the same vein, “let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth” (Fanon, Frantz 1967:252).

In the final analysis, this work makes a strong case for ethics, the principle that concerns itself with human conduct, about the rightness or wrongness of human actions and the study of social behaviour and how it affects human life in general. Moralism according to Momoh, is a doctrine that puts the other before or alongside the self. It holds that honesty, service and concern for the interest of the other ought to be the basic and measure of all actions and policies. The objective test of moralism is how much the action of an agent meets and satisfies the legitimate wants and demands of the other or how it minimizes the avoidable and unnecessary sufferings and pains of the other. Moralism he maintains, is a doctrine which applies in the system, in offices, in factories and in homes. It can apply equally in the political and economic realms and in local and international politics. He goes further to

opine that all Nigerians except the Marxists and the political Bureau, agree that our problem is moral in the sense that we are corrupt and we hate to be accountable. As a pious and sententious doctrine, moralism can take care of corruption in the sense that if a ruler puts the interest of the people and the nation first, he would need not line up his pocket with public funds. Again, if the ruled thinks of the burden of leadership, the interests of other people and the nation first, he too will not be corrupt and he will perform his duty.

Apart from paying high premium on moralism as a solution to Nigeria's nay Africa's problem of development, Momoh also states in clearer term that the present oath by our public officers during swearing-in ceremonies is a passive one. What we need is an active oath which is to be followed by an invocation, spelling out what should befall the oath taker if he willfully and deliberately enriches himself, friends or relations by exploiting or abusing his office. He believes that such oath should be invoked in the name of indigenous gods, spirits or juju. Everyone should be made to swear on juju specifically prepared for that purpose. It is irrelevant whether the swearer believes in juju or not. After all, sugar does not need anybody's testimonial for its sweet taste. The taste of sugar is different from the taste of bitter leaf irrespective of anybody's belief. The efficacy of juju is not a matter of belief. It is real. And the man who believes that juju is not really efficacious is not losing anything. Let

him swear by it all the same. The most important aspect of the active oath-taking is that it will engender faith in the system. This will prevent leaders from being corrupt and consequently promote progress cum development. However, it is recommended that while public holders take oath, the followers too should take in the same token, that they will not mount unnecessary pressure on political office holders such that will tempt them into corruption, because it has been proved that people often expect material gains rather than official commitments from government officials. It is equally instructive to note that in the oath that the Nigerian officials take before they are sworn in, for instance, and according to the 1999 Constitution, all issues raised are 'promises' upon promises, with no condition attached. This is a good example:

I... solemnly swear/affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Federal Republic of Nigeria... that I will not allow my personal interest to influence my official conduct or official decision... And this is ended with the cliché 'so help me God.'(Nigerian1999 Constitution, 232)

A critical analysis of this oath reveals that it is empty and non-contractual. It is quite spurious, superfluous, ambiguous and porous. There is no part, of the oath that says something like "If I derail from these promises, may so so so, do so and so to me". Rather, what ends it is 'so help me God.' Any criminal can bend the rule and destroy the people only to give the excuse that God did not help him.

To avert this type of confusion, the toughest god in each community should be involved in oath-taking by government officials. The Igbo people should use Amadioha; the Yoruba can use "Sango", "Sonpanna" or "Ayelala". No one who knows these gods will break a contract with them. It maintains that for as long as people live together, there would be conflict of interest, but this can only be regulated by the moral structures and precepts upon which the society is founded. Hence, the contradictions of leadership experience in Africa can only be subverted if and only if leaders can be moral because it pays to be moral. We do not also share the trenchant pessimism which holds that no matter the situation, change cannot come to the African society because the leaders are unrepentantly corrupt. To be precise therefore, development will only come to Africa when the leaders of its distinct countries learn to appreciate the value of human life and be ready to do what it takes to confront the herculean task of social transformation. In any case, there is hope for Africa because change does not just come about by itself, it is set in motion by persons or group of persons; this means that when persons in the society, both leaders and followers, learn to consider other people as important as themselves then human advancement will be an inevitable phenomenon. It is a collective effort and a clarion call for all and sundry. There is need for us all to sit up, cogitate, reflect on our situation and experience; and thereby raise our consciousness,

and get prepared and set to forge ahead inspite of odds and romance development. There is need for total reconstruction of our society; in short, re-examination, re-evaluation of values, choices, life options, and structural transformation.

Through the foregoing recommendations, it is important to conclude that Rodney's development model can never be a closed discourse. The persistence of the questions and issues emanating from his development discourse is guaranteed by the persistency of the question of and quest for development in human affairs. His theory of development is historically conditioned and evolved in the quest to liberate Africans from the shackles of underdevelopment. What, however, remains for us to do, which is more expedient and has been set forth by this study is further philosophical questioning and reflection on how his discourse can be suitably modified and applied to solving the crises of development in present day Africa.

While there is no quick fix to the complex developmental crises in Africa, it is our conviction that such solution can only gradually evolve. And it demands the pragmatic adoption of relevant insights from Rodney's development model, as well as effective leadership, human development through morally and scientific reinforcing education, self-reliancism and social co-operation, guided by social justice. The extent to which these philosophical

ideas are vigorously pursued and given attendant practical implementation will determine the place of African states in the league of advanced nations of the world in the 21st century.

CONCLUSION

The adoption of Walter Rodney's development discourse can serve as a viable paradigm for achieving the goals of integrated development in contemporary Africa. But we need to point out that it is no longer meaningful to explain exclusively, Africa's crises of development on externalism or imperialism as done by Rodney. Rather, it is more fundamental to explain Africa's crises of development on internalist ground of leadership. Hence, the question which engages the attention of the work, is not that of 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,' but 'How Africans underdeveloped Africa and how to achieve sustainable development in Africa.

True, there was colonial exploitation in the past, but today the real exploiters and oppressors of the African peasants are often the African elites. It must be pointed out that not until our leaders redress the imbalance between selfish pursuit of power and concern for the human lives they are elected to protect, between arrogance and self-respect and humility, between intolerance

and mutual tolerance, we will forever be marching backwards in very long strides.

Africa needs a new direction, a new approach to its problems, and new leadership. The current leadership is wedged to the old Colonialism/Imperialism paradigm that is emotionally driven and lacks imagination. The rule of law is not understood, priorities have been misplaced and governance riddled with vapid corruption. Worse, the leadership has shown an appalling inability to learn from its own mistakes. Decades after independence, uncertainty and fear still rule the African continent. The freedom and justice that many people sacrificed their lives for have been misplaced by tyranny and oppression. And the promise of a decent living has been betrayed by mis governance and corruption. Most Africans fought so hard to liberate themselves from colonial rule only to be used and abused and their nations ruined by their own leaders. Today Africa has very little to show for its independence because of inhumane and incompetent leadership. Since assuming political power in their countries, these leaders have held their citizens hostage, have run national economies like private chicken – runs and created a national mentality of siege and a state of helplessness.

Economically, politically and culturally, Africans today are worse off than they were at the time of independence in the 1960s. Decades of

independence from colonial rule have produced nothing but economic misery and disintegration, political chaos, and institutional and social decay. The decline in per capita income has been calamitous for many African countries. These leaders never saw the oppression they are meting out against their own people. In addition, they loot Africa's wealth for deposit in Swiss bank accounts while their own people starve. How are these leaders different from the colonialists? Ask these leaders about the causes of Africa's problems and they will wax eloquent on colonialism, imperialism, pernicious effects of slavery and exploitation; of course, they will never mention their own incompetence and pursuit of wrong-headed policies. We kicked the British out and replaced them with our brothers and sisters who turned out to be more brutal than the British. It is rather unfortunate that most African countries are being ruled by 'educated barbarians'. For instance in most cases in Nigeria, employment is no longer on merit; such jargons as federal character, educational disadvantaged areas, catchment areas have become a euphemism for sectionalism, ethnicity and nepotism.

From the foregoing analysis, I want to submit that with all intents and purposes, honesty and candour, the development of Africa is, and will continue to be, very much dependent on its human development and effective leadership. Not until Africa is able to evolve good leadership models and

develop its human resources through functional, cultural, moral, socio-economic scientific and creative educational systems, the visions of real integrated development on the continent, may be illusionary. This is established on the ground that a continent which is unable to develop the skills, knowledge and values of its people and effectively utilise them in the developmental process, will be unable to develop anything else.

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