

ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF THE INTERNAL FORCES ON AFRICA’S DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Edward Brenya
Samuel Adu-Gyamfi

Department of History and Political Studies, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi-Ghana

Abstract

The article focuses on the internal forces that have influenced Africa’s Democracy over the past decades. It pays attention to the analyses of secondary literature that covers democracy and development with much emphasis on Africa. By this article Africa’s attention is drawn to best practices and appropriate ways of leading the Democratic future of the continent. Also, of primary interest is how Africa has underdeveloped itself. There is the need to persistently look at the future of Africa in terms of development.

Keywords: Africa, Democracy

Introduction

Background

The relationship between **democracy** and **development** is one of the most important issues facing Africa. Often this has assumed the form of a dilemma: the experience of the “Asian Tiger” and other Newly Industrialized Countries in Latin America has fuelled the perceptions that a country may not be able develop while democratizing (West Africa, 2001).

It must be conceded that most of Africa’s post-independence leaders could not live up to the great expectations of their populations for democracy and prosperity. The leaders typically were notable to grasp the moment and the opportunities presented by the waves of democratization. Instead, through aggressive power struggles and politics of exclusion, many leaders retarded democracy and contributed to conflicts in the continent. Thus instead of democracy to be for the development of nations, leading to the general well-being of the people, it “became for the well-being of a few, at the expense of the suffering masses (Akhideno, 1998).

The centralisation of state power preserved the power of some leaders but eventually led to injustices that perpetrated the very conflicts they claimed to be avoiding. Africa fell short of creating a productive middle class but instead produced elitist class that lived off the fat of the land through unproductive activities dependent on access to political patronage. Ethno-regional differences were exacerbated by nepotism in appointments to military, political and bureaucratic positions. Urban-focused development policies also created an aggrieved countryside full of a ready army of unemployed youths. And according to *West Africa* magazine, these disaffected youths have become the common fodder of Africa's entrepreneurial warlords (West Africa, 2001).

In his *Odyssey*, Homer, a Greek philosopher and historian, presented Africa as a very wealthy and prosperous land, where people went to amass wealth. He recounts the experiences of Menelaus in Egypt, North Africa. While in Egypt, Menelaus was "...cruising in those distant parts, where people talk a foreign tongue, amassing a fortune in goods and gold" (Homer, 1946). When Menelaus returned from his trip to Africa, he became so rich that none could rival him in wealth. He continues with his experience:

"My travels took me to Egypt, Ethiopia ('Ethiopia' is here understood as referring to the whole of Africa south of the Sahara) ... I visited them all, and I saw Libya too, where the lambs are born with sprouting horns, and their dams yearn three times in the course of the year; where nobody from king to shepherd, need to without cheese or meat or fresh milk either, since all the year, ewes have their udders full. [Their houses were] furnished in the most sumptuous fashion. ... In medical knowledge, the Egyptian leaves the rest of the world behind" (Homer, op. cit.).

Apart from the works of Homer, Innocent C. Onyewueyi relates how Socrates, an early Greek philosopher and historian envied the Egyptian system of government so much that he had wished "... his native Sparta in its own government, had adhered more to the Egyptian model" (Onyewuanyi, 1993). Furthermore, according to Onyewueyi, Socrates attributed the military achievements of Sparta to the Spartan law giver Lykourgos, who was educated in Egypt.

But today governance in Africa seems to have turned round. Political unrests and mass murder are all over the African continent. It is doubtful if post-colonial Africa has produced any talent in whatever field that can leave the rest of the world behind as Homer reported. It also doubtful if the world can boast of the African developmental achievement as Socrates once saw it. At this stage the African must ask the land of proud warriors in ancestral savannahs like the African poet, David Diop, asks:

Africa, tell me Africa

Is this your back that is bent? (David Diop, 1976).

Truly, the back of the African continent appears to be bent under the heavy load of governmental problems (Onyewuenyi, op. cit., p. 60).

Methodology

This research work makes use of qualitative data based on analysis of secondary sources. Books, articles, magazines, relevant literature from internet sources were used to make analytic review on some thematic areas of Africa's governance and development. It is based on the analysis of historical positions and re-contextualization of secondary data sets. The different secondary literature or information served as sources and corroborative instruments.

1 The Literature

In his work, the trouble with Nigeria, Chinua Achebe (1983) analyzes the cause of Nigeria's failure to rise above her challenges, Chinua Achebe eminent African novelist and critic, tries to challenge the indifference of Nigerians and stimulate them to reject old habits which prevent Nigeria from becoming a modern and attractive country. He blames the failure of leadership for Nigerian's tribalism; lack of patriotism; social injustice; indiscipline; and corruption. Frankie Amett-Realtor, in his review suggests that Achebe's masterpiece should be retitled: "The Trouble with Africa" since he believes the work is applicable to the entire African situation.

Also, Ebenezer Obiri Addo's (1997) work on Kwame Nkrumah with emphasis on the Study of religion and politics in Ghana, examines why Nkrumah spearheaded political freedom in Ghana. Addo, who cites the Bible and Christian theologies of marginalized societies across the globe, believes that a reason for Nkrumah's efforts among other things is that he might have perceived that the Bible could help his freedom fighting agenda. Of great consequence to this discourse is the fact that religion itself has played a role in ensuring the progress as well as the woes of the continent of Africa.

Akhideno O. Paul (1998), Agbo Joshua (2011) and Akodu Tunde 2005 whose works focus on the Problem of Government in Africa, How Africans Underdeveloped Africa and How African Leaders Underdeveloped Africa respectively. Like Achebe, Akhideno, Agbo and Akodu, in their separate literary works, make an introspective inquisition into the problems bedeviling Africa. They argue that the African problem is created and only soluble by the African people. Akodu agrees more with Achebe and Agbo that leadership is the prime factor of Africa's problems.

Again, Fanon Frantz (1963) touched on the Wretched of the Earth, Fanon's work was written at the height of Algeria's fight for independence from France. He remains one of the few writers who allude to colonialism for Africa's governance problems. As much as the works of these authors could not be free from flaws ranging from their sources to their intellectual analysis, most of them presented themselves as modernist who would not look outside the boundaries of Africa for the causes and solutions to Africa's governance and development challenges. However, Fanon, who is a non-African, believes the wretchedness of Africa is externally caused. Notwithstanding, a reviewer comments that: "he showed us the internal theatre of racism".

2 Discussion

Political Instability and Military Coups in Africa

With the advent of independence in the late 50s and early 60s euphoria and new hopes swept through Africa as nations after nations attained self-government. There were new dreams and expectations as the colonial masters handed over the instruments of power to the indigenous peoples. To most Africans, this was the end of a long struggle for freedom in which so many had suffered.

However, these dreams were soon blurring out as government after government fell victim to *coup d'état* across the continent. The new military rulers accused the civilian governments of everything; from corruption and incompetence to mismanagement of the national economy. This has been the case in Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Congo, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and several other African states.

The wind of change, as Harold McMillan, a British Prime Minister called it, started sweeping through the colonial Anglophone and Francophone Africa in the early 1950s. Suddenly, there was this realization that the continent had to be free—free from colonial domination and exploitation. Blowing through Africa was a new fervor for revolt and nationalism. The revolt, which was mainly spiritual, was meant to drive the colonial masters from the African soil; the nationalism to mobilize the masses to the forefront in a fight for self-determination, liberty and human dignity. The astonishing success of the anti-colonialist crusade in India, led by Mahatma Gandhi was to become a major driving force and a great source of inspiration for African nationalists.

The political organizers during these periods were later to emerge as either heads of state or major political figures in their own countries. These were the fiery Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the charismatic Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, the scholarly Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, the nationalistic Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, the emotional Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

(Northern Rhodesia), Nnamdi Azikiwe and Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria and the list goes on. All these and others were men who were instrumental in shaping the destinies of their respective countries.

The colonialist set up military. On a nationalistic level and from a patriotic standpoint the military was viewed by the indigenous peoples as a bird of a totally different feather. The colonial legacy left military organisations that were not fully accepted in the African society. During the sensitive days of struggle for freedom and independence the general populace and the local politicians had developed an almost allergic fear and mistrust for soldiers. This was well-observed by W.F. Gutteridge as he wrote:

Nationalist politicians saw them [the military] as agents of imperial rule suppressing political demonstrations and protecting European property. Though they had won glory by serving overseas in the two world wars, their imperial activities caused them to be regarded in some quarters as armies of occupation or at best as mercenaries in the service of a foreign power. This impression was assisted by a recruitment policy that preferred subjectively defined 'martial races' or those who were 'worthwhile soldiers.' The ensuing tribal imbalance necessarily made it more difficult than it would otherwise have been the army's achievement of national status as an institution (Gutteridge, 1975).

The period between 1960 and 1970 and slightly beyond has generally been called the decade of coups in Africa. Once coups started in Africa, they swept through the entire continent at an alarming speed (Luttwark, 1997). By 1975, approximately half of the continent's states were led by military or civil-military governments. In the majority of the coups that occurred, the military deemed it a national and patriotic obligation to 'rescue' the country from total collapse and thereby restore lost national prestige.

Military intervention has not always been conducted to 'rescue' the nation from political ills as usually claimed by military leaders. Coups have been linked directly or indirectly with personal ambitions and the craving for power by some specific key players (Decalo, op. cit.). This was in fact the case in Dahomey in 1965. In other instances, officers have led coups to regain lost prestige or to pre-empt an impending purge. Coupled with this, interpersonal clashes have occurred between the civilian and military elites and thereby provoking take-overs. Cases in point have been Uganda in 1971, Togo in 1963, Congo in 1968, Dahomey in 1967, and several others (Woddis, 190).

Today, the coup has not improved the Africa's economic conditions. The coup has not been a source for political stability. Rather than solving

contemporary Africa's political and socio-economic problems, military coups d'état in Africa have somewhat driven the continent into even further suffering and turmoil. To some extent, this has created some aura of insecurity and uncertainty, which have left some people wondering when and where the next one is going to be.

Leadership, Democracy and Development in Africa

As the waves of political openings continue to be experienced across Africa, people begin to evaluate the performance and the challenges of the development in Africa. Are the leaders really sincere in leading their countries out of misery, despite the fact that Africa possesses immense natural and human resources that should obviously make development easy? But are all the constraints to African development externally influenced or are they really the making of African leaders themselves? For several times we have heard African leaders complaining about the bad hands of powerful countries that are dealing and interfering with African governance. But will Africa continue to perpetually blame the external forces for its problems?

In the days of coups and counter-coups (see section 1.2), when most African countries were struggling to attain a national character in order to gain national acceptance; the politicians were becoming more self-seeking, power-hungry and ambitious. Some were out seeking instant wealth for themselves, their friends and relatives. Nepotism was gradually becoming institutionalised.

Corruption had largely pervaded national affairs. As Kwame Gyekye puts it, it is undeniable that “the most outstanding and resilient problem that has beset and blighted the politics of the new nations of post-colonial Africa is political corruption” (Gyekye, 1997). It is also the most common excuse given by the military intervention in the history of African government (See chapter 1.2). Gyekye describes this as the “greatest and most serious disease of governments in Africa” (Gyekye, op. cit.). Mismanagement of the economy coupled with high levels of incompetence led to runaway inflation.

Another grave problem is that, many African leaders are not good role models. The young African grows up today thinking that the essence of politics is to line one's pocket as soon as political power is achieved—either through the ballot box or the gun. African institutions of higher learning, which are normally the breeding ground for those aspiring to political leadership, have been less-equipped to the extent that there will surely be a shortage of skilled leaders in the immediate future. The ordinary Africans have good wishes for the continent. They would like to see the continent prosper. But the near-absence of selfless leaders will barely make this possible. And this is one contributory factor to the crisis of leadership that Africa is facing. It is a crisis that should not be overlooked.

According to Ali Mazrui, the history of leadership in Africa could be evaluated as having been greatly influenced by the types of leaders Africa had produced over the years after the independence (as cited in ‘West Africa, 2001’). Of all the categories of leaders that have emerged from Africa, it is highly disputable to point out any of them who have adequately been able to deliver his or her people from its bondage of poverty and underdevelopment (Homer-Dixon, 2000).

At the time of independence, there was a lot of discussion about charismatic leadership. This discourse was greatly influenced by many African freedom fighters, especially by the man who led the first BLACK African country to independence: Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. He himself was a staunch charismatic leader with considerable personal magnetism (Addo, 1997). Nnamdi Azikiwe believed in charismatic personality, but his magnetism waned out after the civil war in Nigeria. On his part, Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, who declared himself a field marshal, had a lot of charisma, which enabled him to survive in power for eight years until a foreign army (Tanzania, under President Julius Nyerere) forced him out of power (Matatu, 1979). Idi Amin is generally known to have led an oppressive regime who nevertheless captivated substantial followers, both at home and abroad.

Talking of mobilization, Nkrumah tried to use his charisma for mobilization. However, in reality, Nkrumah was not a particularly successful in mobilizing the citizens of Ghana. Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, on the other hand, tried to mobilize his fellow citizens. Like Abde Nasser, he succeeded in arousing the masses to many of his cause, which Nkrumah as well succeeded in doing. In this respect, both leaders were both charismatic and mobilization leaders (West Africa, 2001).

In the area of reconciliation leadership, which seeks compromise and consensus from among disparate points of views, many African leaders have tried to promulgate this spirit. However, this has not really worked in many parts to a considerable level. In Nigeria for example, both General Yakubu Gowon (who led the Federal side during the civil war) and General Abdulsalami Abubakar (who provided a transition between tyranny and re-democratization) were reconciliation leaders. They attempted to find areas of compromise in widely divergent points of view in Nigeria. Another military had of state, Murtala Muhammed, was the nearest approximation to a disciplinarian leader that Nigeria has ever had. He was assassinated within months of capturing power from Gowon. But, according to Simeon Ilesanmi, it is not certain that a disciplinarian leader is what Nigeria needs to move forward (Simeon Ilesanmi, 1997).

Some of the African leaders resorted to patriarchal administration. A classical example of this was Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. He was around his sixties at the time he came out of the colonial prison in Kenya to assume the

reins of power. Like many of his contemporaries (Nkrumah, Nyerere, for example), he carried the title “*Mzee*”, meaning both “the Elder” and “the Old Man.” He ruled Kenya from 1963 until his death in 1978 (for Jomo Kenyatta’s biography, see Dennis Wepman, *Jomo Kenyatta*, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1985). Félix Houphouët-Boigny of la Côte d’Ivoire ruled until his death in 1993. Nelson Mandela on his part could be said to be both a reconciliation leader and a patriarchal figure. His long martyrdom in a colonial prison (1962-1990) and his advancing years are evidences of a patriarch (for the autobiography of Nelson Mandela, see Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Way to Freedom*, London: Macmillan, 1994). In Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida played a patriarchal role in transition programme, but he was considered to be “too young for such a role” (West Africa, 2001).

A new dimension of the monarchical tendency which is emerging seriously in Africa is the “dynastic trend in succession” (West Africa, 2001). Laurent D. Kabila in the DR. Congo has been succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila. In Kenya, President Uhuru Kenyatta succeeded his father Jomo Kenyatta. Also, Raila Odinga is still trying to follow the footsteps of his father, Oginda Odinga. In Togo, Faure Gnassingbé became the president after succeeding his father Gnassingbé Eyadéma. In Gabon, Ali Bongo Ondimba succeeded his father, Omar Bongo.

There have also been a number of pre-colonial cultural traditions which affected the leadership role in Africa. The most obvious was the elder tradition in pre-colonial African culture which has probably conditioned the patriarchal style after the independence. The reverence to Jomo Kenyatta as *Mzee* (the Elder) in Kenya was substantially the outcome of the pre-colonial elder tradition.

Some leaders attempted to establish whole new ideologies. Kwame Nkrumah wrote books and, at the time, became the most prolific head of state anywhere in the world (Ibid). In his books, especially *Consciencism*, he made his philosophy clear. Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal was a political philosopher and poet (for a biography of Senghor, see Janet G. Vaillant, *BLACK, French and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). A successor of his seat, Abdoulaye Wade, also followed his (Senghor’s) footsteps by writing a book on his *Omega Plan for African Development*. Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania inaugurated *Ujamaa*, intended to be indigenously authentic African Socialism (See Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, 1970). Mobutu Sese Sekou called his philosophy *l’Authenticité* (Authenticity). He wanted everything to be African, for which reason he abandoned his name “Joseph” and replaced with “Kuju-Seko-Wazabanga.” He called on his fellow citizen to follow his example. This, he thought, would make him an

authentic African. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on his part initiated what he called *Humanism*. Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt had previously written *The Philosophy of the Evolution*, and subsequently attempted the implementation of “Arab Socialism.” Muammar al Gaddafi of Libya has the *Green Book* championing the “third way.”

The modernized version, so to say, of the Western tradition also popularised the use of honorary doctorates as regular titles of heads of state. Thus, the president of Uganda became “Dr. Milton Obote”, Kenneth Daunda of Zambia became “Dr. Kenneth Kaunda”, just as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had become “Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.” These had been conferred as honorary doctorates, but they became regular titles used in referring to these heads of states. So combining the pre-colonial cultural tradition with the Western tradition, Kwame Nkrumah, for example, was known as “Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.” African leaders were trying to become philosopher-kings.

We know that the twentieth century produced very effective leaders of liberation. Nationalist like Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Sékou Touré of Guinea fought against great odds to gain independence for their countries. There were many other brilliant liberation fighters all over the continent who helped Africa end its colonial bondage.

But experience shows that leaders of liberation are not necessarily leaders of development. African leaders have fallen short of improving the material well-being of the African people. Nevertheless, some few African leaders since independence have demonstrated skills of development on the ground. Considering what a terribly damaged country he had inherited, Yoweri Museveni could be given some credit for bringing up Uganda from the depths of despair to one of the main regional actors in the Great Lakes region. (See *The Economist*, 2000). It is to be hoped that the coming “African renaissance” will produce more and more democratic leaders who are skilled in the art of development.

From all these instances, we know that Africa has been served well by leaders of liberation. But we are concerned that we have not produced enough leaders of development. More so, democracy in Africa is yet to reach an appreciable level, especially counting on the handful of improvement as seen in Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa and elsewhere. So we are still looking for leaders of democracy, thus leaders of development in Africa.

Africa Under-developing Africa

The challenge of the development and underdevelopment of Africa has attracted the attention of scholars, leaders, politicians, commentators and the international community over the years. Various theories have been propounded to explain the challenges of development and underdevelopment

of Africa. These theories include classical theories, developmental theories and Marxist theories.

The classical theories argue that underdevelopment arise from rapid population growth, lack of comparative advantage, low savings and investment and low economic growth. The developmental theories point out that underdevelopment arises from market failure, unbalanced growth, poor linkages and inability to reach the “take off” stage for development. The Marxist theories argue that underdevelopment comes from exploitation by external and internal collaborators with negative impact from colonialism, imperialism, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the general dependence of Africa on the developed world coupled with the stagnation and incorporation of Africa into the world capitalist system (Cited in Joshua Agbo, 2011). Despite several theories and postulations, the underdevelopment of Africa has remained as a huge challenge.

The late historian, Professor Walter Rodney, a professor of African history, wrote a book “How Europe Underdeveloped Africa” in 1972 trying to convince readers on how Europe underdeveloped Africa. The book was a masterpiece, as it was one of the best literatures on European imperialism, especially as it relates to Africa. Today, some scholars have started beaming their searchlight on Africans as being enemies of themselves (S. S. Wakdok, *How Africans underdeveloped Africa* – available online (accessed on April 15th, 2015)).

Africa having attained political emancipation in the last fifty years, Africans were expecting automatic economic emancipation; a hope arched in Kwame Nkrumah’s philosophy “seek ye first the political freedom and the other freedoms would be added unto you” (cited in Johnson Odesola,– Op. cit.).

It has been long claimed that Africa’s underdevelopment is caused by the West. Of course there has been and still existing some elements of Western exploitation in terms of Africa’s land, resources and people; but have they always done this alone? Has the West, whether as explorers or colonialists, as investors or neo-colonialists, as aid providers or creditors succeeded in exploiting Africa without the active collaboration of some Africans? Most of the aid given to Africa do not reach the intended beneficiaries but vanishes through the ill-functional and inefficient bureaucratic structures (Johnson Odesola, – Ibid).

On his critique of Walter Rodney, Joshua Agbo argues that we cannot blame slavery, colonialism and imperialism as responsible for the underdevelopment of Africa. He argues that “our future has been placed in our hands long ago....blaming Europe as the cause of African underdevelopment is like treating ringworm and leaving leprosy unattended” (Agbo, 2011).

Agbo posits that, between the periods 1950-2010, the world witnessed some of the greatest transformations ever to have happened to this place called earth. However, Africa is not going along with the world and therefore, we should have no one to blame but ourselves. Since the world today has become every man for himself; no one aid or country can develop Africa without the goodwill of Africans themselves (Abdulazeez, *How Africans Underdeveloped Africa* – available online).

We Africans must tell ourselves the bitter truth that what happened in the past belonged to the past and those who are still thinking of the past are wasting the present and would therefore have no future. Currently, Africans are the cause of Africa's underdevelopment. Slave trade and colonialism are things of the past and they did not occur only in Africa, they happened in Latin America, North America, Asia and other parts of the world (ibid). Can we compare those regions to Africa today? Are countries like India, Malaysia, Mexico, Brazil, Singapore and the likes still blaming the Europeans for their past misfortune or have they transformed themselves into powerful economic and political blocs? Brazil is now the 7th largest economy in the world, 37 places above their former colonial masters Portugal who are 44th (ibid). It is, therefore, inundating and heart breaking to contemplate on why Africa is underdeveloped and how Africans are still under developing Africa.

In pre-colonial Africa, it was Africans who raided villages and towns especially on the west coast, captured fellow Africans and sold them to be enslaved by the foreign slave traders. Lagos thrived on this and king Kosoko was very comfortable with slave trade in his domain (Samuel Stephen, ibid).

From North to South, East to West except for a few countries and leaders, the story of Africa is the same. Economic woes, insecurity, civil wars, internal strives and conflicts, ethnic and religious cleansing, looting of public wealth, capital flight, lack of infrastructure and capacity development have become the hallmarks of Africa's underdevelopment. With the vast presence of arable lands, ironically Africa is heavily dependent on food imports and food aids. With cheap and abundant labour, Africa cannot generate employment to transform her economy and empower her people.

At present, it is obvious that Africa is the least developed inhabited continent of the world. The region suffers from all sorts of problems, a greater percentage of which are man-made. Naturally, the region seem to be the luckiest, because it is the one of the most geographically stable continents with least occurrence of natural disasters like earth quakes, volcanicity, hurricanes, tornadoes, acid rain and the likes. Most parts of the region don't have unbearable weather like the extremely cold Polar Regions or extremely hot Arabian regions (Amir Abdulazeez, op. cit.).

In addition to the abundance of mineral and other natural resources, Africa is the global chief source of raw materials. Thus, rather than processing and manufacturing from its raw materials, Africa exports them for other countries and buy finished products at exorbitant prices. Nearly 10% of the world's known oil reserves are in Africa but Africans are not enjoying the benefits (ibid).

The most prominent problem of Africa is leadership failure. Most past and present African leaders have failed the region woefully and their sit-tight phenomena have made it very difficult or impossible for them to be replaced. More than 85% of African elections are fraught with mass irregularities of various forms (ibid).

African leaders prefer investing in European economies with their wealth usually acquired through corruption. How many leaders in other continents would do this?

Chinua Achebe, one of Nigeria's legendary writers, in his little but powerful and widely cited book, "The Trouble with Nigeria" rightly pointed out that "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership." He pointed out that "there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character, there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else," but leadership (Achebe, 1983). Clearly it is not all societies who can expect to have a succession of great and extraordinary leaders like Roosevelt of the United States, Churchill of Britain, or De-Gaulle of France. At the same time, "no society can function well with fools, rascals, or non-leaders in leadership positions" (Gardner, 1978).

Another problem in Africa is the failure of its citizens to recognize themselves as each other's natural brothers by virtue of being human beings. Hardly, could you find an African country that is completely devoid of religious and ethnic crisis. Every year thousands of lives and properties are being lost in Africa in the name of religious and ethnic differences. In 1994 in Rwanda, more than 800,000 people were estimated to have been killed just because they belong to a particular ethnic group (Abdulazeez, op. cit). In Central African Republic, people have been massacred in great numbers because of their faiths.

According to Wikipedia, between 1.2 to 2.4 million Africans died during the Atlantic Slave Trade over a period of about 360 years (cited in Abdulazeez, – Op. cit.). In Adbulazeez's estimates, the number of people who died as a result of ethnic and religious crises in Africa between 1980-2010 have since exceeded that figure. The people who died in the 34 months old Nigerian civil war alone are close to the entire number of Africans who died in the 360 years of Atlantic Slave Trade (Abdulazeez, op. cit).

Recent happenings in some parts of Africa especially the post election violence in Kenya in 2008, post election violence in la Cote d'Ivoire in 2011 and in Nigeria in April, 2011 confirm that Africans are responsible for the underdevelopment of Africa. Applied to Nigeria, for example, it can be argued that Nigerians are responsible for the underdevelopment of Nigeria. Nigerians are responsible for the killing of innocent Nigerians who have done nothing wrong except that they served as ad hoc officials during election (Joshua Agbo, 2011).

The capitalists assisted Mobuto Sese Seko to kill Patrice Lumumba in Congo, renamed Zaire and now DR Congo. His remains was burnt to ashes, put in a plane and scattered over the country to prevent even his ghost from resurrecting. Mobuto went on to become one of the well-known despots and was richer than his country until the rebel forces of Laurent Kabila pushed him out in May 1997. Today after nearly two decades of wars and conflicts, DR Congo is among the most dangerous countries in the world. Despite having the largest contingent of UN Peace keepers in the world; it has been dubbed the rape capital of the world because of the mass velocity of rapes especially in its eastern region by both government and rebel forces (Wakdok, *How Africans underdeveloped Africa*).

Africa's Development: A Way Forward

Frantz Fanon once said, "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 further; if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent, and we must make discoveries" (Fanon, 1963).

The developing countries of Africa have an important role to play in creating an international order that is more compatible with rapid human development. Extensive changes in their own policies and actions will be required to complement changes introduced in the developed countries. Most importantly, Africa should continue the reforms of her foreign trade regimes by adopting and maintaining realistic exchange rates and by reducing arbitrary physical controls. This will help promote greater efficiency in the use of domestic resources, a faster rate of growth of exports, a reduction in incentives that encourage capital flight and a removal of some impediments to capital inflows to finance direct foreign investment. This will also result in an improved distribution of income.

Africa should intensify her pursuit of higher growth with greater equity. This can be done by improving the efficiency of investment and by mobilizing additional resources for capital formation, physical and human. Countries confronting a structural imbalance of their external sector should

give high priority to stabilization. While it is unrealistic to expect that stabilization can be painless for everyone, the evidence suggests that it is possible to combine stabilization with protection of the poor and preservation of human development achievements.

On the level of leadership, African leaders may need mental liberation. And this could be done through proper and adequate education. We understand very clearly that the mind is everything and whoever controls your mind controls you. That is, if “A” can control “B’s” minds, “A” automatically controls “B’s” money, family and every other thing that belongs to “B.” Many of the Africa’s leaders’ minds have been hijacked by the European mentality. Some African leaders consequently have no problem seeking the interest of foreigners against their citizens.

We firmly believe that *true* education is the only key to the liberation of Africa. It is the only key to changing the mentalities of self-destruction, self-abuse and self-hatred. It is the only key to eradicate, once and for all, collective ignorance, mental slavery, inferiority complex, colonial mentality, and unfinished businesses from colonialists. It is a major key to the growth of Africa.

Africa is in dire need of that missing link in education, and I mean the kind of education that is far beyond empty titles without attendant technical competence. Without proper education, we might continue to think that all our problems are externally infringed on us. As we need leaders of democracy, we equally need leaders of development. To recall again, Africa’s back is really bent and it is our duty as patriotic Africans to straighten its bent back through educated leaders who will be leaders of development.

Despite the problems and troubles in Africa, Africa still has a chance to develop. The needed resources, manpower and the potentials are available. The lacking things are the will and the determination. Let all Africans put their hands on deck to make sure the region is pulled out of this mess and placed in its rightful place in the global development map.

We would like to end with a statement from Mahatma Gandhi. He said: *I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any* (Human Development Report, 1999).

We hope that Africa, and Africans, will also withstand the winds of external (and internal) forces. And so let Africa’s house be open, be hospitable. But let it be our house, our future.

3 Conclusion

Africa, like other countries in other parts of the world, has gone through the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial system of governance. In any of them Africa's governance systems have had internal forces of various kinds. And these forces are very important to bringing about its successes and failures. Hence, the problem with Africa's underdevelopment could not have been possible without their contributions.

The posture of the immediate postcolonial leaders of Africa set the pace for a pattern of leadership hybrid between a blend the pre-colonial systems and the colonial regimes. Since the foundation of every new beginning is crucial to the future, the attitudes of the pioneer leaders of Africa immediately after independence were problematic and improper. The examples they left are hunting some parts of Africa, especially monarchy-like succession order seen in several African countries, among others.

Whiles Africa needed leaders of development right after independence, we, unfortunately, were trading with philosophical leaders of colonial liberation. Not overlooking their development effort, those leaders demonstrated that a leader of liberation is not necessarily a leader of development. The few leaders of development were also necessarily leaders of liberation. The military interventions as well could not prove their in solving the problems of this continent and were in several case "wolves in sheep skin".

The blame usually laid at the doorstep of the colonialist for impeding the development of Africa is being challenged in modern times. In fact, the fact that it is not only Africa who suffered colonialism one hand, and the level of development of other countries with same or similar fate in other parts of the world on the other hand, leaves the colonization theory redundant. The self-centredness of African leaders; Africans inability to make the most out of its natural wealth especially with manufacturing and technology; the recent antagonism and mass killings among Africans, etc., cannot be overemphasized in finding the causes of governance and developmental challenges.

It is clear that the back of Africa is bent; however, Africa's situation is not a hopeless one. There is still much hope for an Africa that is ready to produce leaders with educated minds; an Africa that is ready to transform basic economies to industrialized ones and an Africa of unity in diversity.

References:

- Achebe, Chinua. *The Trouble with Nigeria* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1983
- Addo, E.O. *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1997.

- Agbo, Joshua. *How Africans Underdeveloped Africa: A Forgotten Truth In History*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 2011.
- Akhideno, O. Paul. “The Problem of Government in Africa”, in *West African Journal of Philosophical Studies*. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1998.
- Decalo, Samuel. *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*. London: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Diop, David. “Africa” in *A Selection of African Poetry*. Introduced & Annotated by K. E. Senanu & T. Vincent. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1976.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of The Earth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Gardner, John W. *Morale*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978.
- Griffin, Keith and Knight, John. Eds. *Human Development and the International Development Strategy for the 1990s*. London: Macmillian, 1990.
- Gutteridge, W.F. *Military Regimes in Africa*. London: Methven & Co Ltd., 1975.
- Gyekye, Kwame *Political Corruption: A Philosophical Inquiry into a Moral Problem*. Legon, Ghana: Sankofa Publishing Co., 1997.
- Homer. *The Odyssey*, trans. By E.V. Rieu. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1946.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. *The Ingenuity Gap*. New York: Knopf, 2000.
- Ilesanmi, Simeon O. *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1997.
- Luttwark, Edward. *Coup d’Etat*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Mandela, Nelson. *No Easy Way to Freedom*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Matatu, Gordon. “The End of Uganda’ Nightmare,” in *Africa*. May 1979.
- Nyerere, Julius K. *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Onyewuenyi, Innocent C. *The African Origin of Greek Philosophy*. Nsukka: University of Nsukka Press, 1993.
- Titley, Brian. *Dark Age: The Political Odyssey of Emperor Bokassa*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997.
- Vaillant, Janet G. *BLACK, French and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Wepman, Dennis. *Jomo Kenyatta*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1985.
- Woddis, Jack. *Armies and Politics*. New York: International Publishers, 1990.

Internet Sources

(www.thisisafrica.me/10-africas-longest-serving-leasers/ [Accessed on 26th April, 2015]).

Abdulazeez, Amir. *How Africans Underdeveloped Africa*. Available on www.omojuwa.com [Accessed on 15th March, 2015].

Johnson Odesola, *Africa's Political & Economic Liberation*. Available online at <http://articles.onlinenigeria.com/articles/3857-africa%E2%80%99s-political-%26amp%3B-economic-liberation.html> [Accessed on 15th March, 2015].

Wakdok, Samuel Stephen *How Africans underdeveloped Africa*. Available online at www.omojuwa.com [Accessed on April 15th, 2015].

Magazines, Newspapers and Reports

The Economist, September 23, 2000.