



Dissertation

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**An eclectic philosophical hermeneutics of African
personality**

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AN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS
OF AFRICAN PERSONALITY

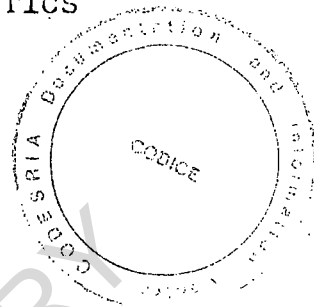
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DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA,
NSUKKA

JANUARY, 1998



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AN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS
OF AFRICAN PERSONALITY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA.

BY

EMEAGWARA, HORACE E.

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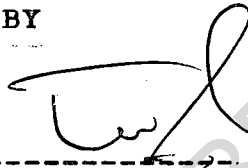
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APPROVAL PAGE

This Dissertation has been approved for the
award of the Master of Arts (M.A.) Degree in
Philosophy of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

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EXTERNAL EXAMINER

CERTIFICATION

Emeagwara, Horace E. a post graduate student of the Department of Philosophy, and with the Registration Number, PG/MA/93/21051, has satisfactorily completed the requirements for the course and research work for degree of Master of Arts (M.A.) in Philosophy.

The work embodied in this Dissertation is original, and has not been submitted in part or in full for any other Diploma or Degree in this or any other University.

DR. T. UZODINMA NWALA
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DR. J. O. ENEH
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DEDICATION

1. To Africans and lovers of that which
is authentically African.

2. To those who sincerely and tirelessly work
for African renaissance, African regeneration,
and African resurgence.

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I will not forget in a hurry the expertise advice of: Okey Attama, Easy Omeje O. and Onwubiko Chidi especially, in the areas of reference and bibliography of this research, I am appreciative of your ingenuity.

I thank in a special manner, the staff of Africana Section of Nnamdi Azikiwe Library, University of Nigeria, Nsukka and United States Information Service (USIS), Lagos for their ineffable kindness in the course of this research.

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ABSTRACT

In this work, we hold the view that African personality is Eclectic - that there is no single concept that represents entirely African personality. In the same manner, it is our view, that African personality is not a static concept. It is the articulation of the African being in the historicity. It is a progressive revelation which as a matter of fact, is related to a philosophical, sociological, political, educational, religious and economic being of the African.

However, that may be, our ambition has been to critically review and analyse African personality or dignity as a historical and socio-political expression. We have argued strongly that various external factors have constituted the major hinderance to the authentic existence of the African or rather, the affirmation of African being, dignity and personality.

These historical factors (both external and internal) we identified in the study were expressed in the statement of the problem. The pertinent ones

raised were: Is there an African personality? Is African personality rationally determinable in the face of colonial annihilation, manipulative aids/grants from developed world? Can the African personality stand the test of new wave of Europeanization and westernisation?

The other question is: Can the Black African talk of his personality when hunger, suffering, unemployment, political disorder, over population, refugee problems, mass illiteracy, endemic tribalism, diseases and bastardized economy are weighing and dragging him to the mud?

In this study, we attempted answers to some of those problems while the unattended problems bear testimony to the fact that the task of philosophy/philosopher is to agitate the mind. Hence, to identify the problem is to half the problem.

In our findings, we noticed that African Personality as a concept is not yet made. It is a process and as such, if sustained, could be an ingredient to African resurgence in all departments of African existence. We also found out that series of wars ravaging Africa taint and put to question the African identity, dignity, or personality.

Again, we found out that diseases, refugee problems, over population, mass illiteracy, endemic tribalism, injustice, corruption, subjugation, debasement, unemployment, backwardness, slavery, inferiority, political disequilibrium, cultural and economic powerlessness are impediments to African dignity or personality.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The concept, African Personality, was first echoed in 1893 by an African-American, Edward Wilmot Blyden in a paper he delivered to the Liberia College titled: "The Idea of An African Personality." In our view, this concept was raised to the Order of An Eclectic Philosophical Hermeneutics of African Personality.

This is so because, in the main, there seems not to be a single thing that wholly constitutes African Personality and as such, the concept has become a subject of varied opinion. It is a progressive revelation which as a matter of fact, is related to a philosophical, sociological, political, educational, religious, and economic evolutionary concept.

Okolo in his expressed views asserts that this varied concept seeks to uncover the African past, articulate the present and project both of these to the future. Hence, it is an articulation of the African being in the historicity.¹

African personality is the authentic existence of the African as a being in the world, to use Heideggerian terminology. It is the African affirmation of self and dignity. It is the affirmation of the existential

integrity (Sartre) of the African. African Personality, as it were, is a No to subjugation and dehumanization of the African Person and all that is African.

If African Personality is African dignity and the premise is true, then the ideology or concepts of Pan-Africanism, Negritude, Black Power, OAU and African Security, Non-alignment and Global Black unification represents ways in which this dignity could be restored, maintained, or regenerated. What is true of the above concepts is also true of: African democracy, African traditional socialism, communalism or humanism and African Welfarism. Any meaningful discussion, worth its salt, on African Personality will be hardly complete without articulating the above concepts. Even if one rejects such adoption, he implicitly implies them. The evidence of African Personality as an Eclectic Hermeneutics is not lacking in this study.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY:

This is the rationale for the study. The background of the study asks the question, what informed the study? To this we estimate:

1. that African Personality as a concept is a philosophical carpentry, as it were, brought together,

2. that there is no single concept that encompasses African Personality - African Personality is manifesting in many ways, and
3. that African Personality is historic. It cuts across every epoch of the being of the African, hence it unfolds the more as time goes on.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although, there has been minimal works dealing with the concept of African Personality, none however, has articulated this concept as an Eclectic Philosophical Hermeneutics. Relatively, little is known about histo-socio-political dimensions of African Personality.

But, first, is there an African Personality? Can the population of an entire continent like Africa be said to have a Personality or identity? What is the significance of this rather fluid concept? Can the Black African talk of his personality when hunger, suffering, unemployment, political disorder, over population, refugee problem, mass illiteracy, endemic tribalism, diseases and bastardized economy are weighing and dragging him to the mud?

Is African Personality rationally determinable in the face of colonial annihilation, manipulative aids/grants from developed world? What meaning can we assign to our post-colonial socio-historical existence? In short, what is the being of the African in history?

The other problem is: can we comfortably today talk of African Personality in the weird and wild face of nuclear weapons of the New World? Can the African say: "I am," at the horror, annihilating but debasing sound of torture of atomic missiles and nuclear bombs of the powers that be, the West? What will be the posture of African Personality at the vagaries and sophistications of the New World? Can the African Person stand the test of a new wave of Europeanization and westernization? Can the African Personality remain intact?

The above questions are our problems as they affect African Personality and dignity. Our quest is to attempt answers to these problems.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general aim of this study is:

1. To contribute to this discourse by way of sharpening the researcher's theoretical ability.
2. This dissertation has the purpose of critically reviewing and analysing African Personality as a historical, and socio-political concept.
3. Our effort would be directed to finding out the truth about Africa and proclaiming same and to give Africa a new meaning transcending the existing distorted image of Africa and the Africans.

Our aim finally, is to make Africans rediscover themselves, own themselves, choose themselves, regenerate themselves and maintain an ideal African Personality.

1:4 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study present-at-hand (Heidegger) does not pretend to treat all aspects of African Personality, else we shall be accused of being unwieldy. The research focuses on the continental African and those in diaspora and x-raying their experiences.

It is the enterprise of this study to examine the different forms or categories of African Personality. Here, we concentrated mainly, on the historical, socio-political expression of African Personality.

1:5 METHODOLOGY

The method a researcher adopts in an inquiry is usually influenced by the statement of the problem, intention of the study, scope and significance of the study.

The work will be based on full blown library research. We shall be adopting a hermeneutical and genetical analysis in order to show the origins and development of the concept as well as its various meanings. As we shall be adopting a philosophical method of eclecticism, a systematic articulation of the concept will be attempted. We shall be Afrocentric.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Of what use, value or utility would our research be? Who will benefit from the research? Why is the study important? Such are the questions of significance. We shall answer from various perspectives.

The research will demonstrate a consciousness of kind among us Africans as brothers irrespective of our geographical locations. The study will sharpen the researcher's theoretical consciousness and ability. The work will show varied meanings of African Personality by African socio-political leaders. The study will offer a deeper perception of the concept of African Personality. As it were, the thesis will show a historical manifestation of this personality, thereby enhancing a sharper understanding of African socio-political reality.

As a follow up, the research will add to the growth of the literature on African Philosophy and studies. The dissertation, nevertheless, will be an ingredient towards African development and African empowerment. To this end the concluding chapter is directed.

1:7 PLAN OF THE WORK

For the purpose of achieving optimum clarity, the work is divided into six chapters.

In the first chapter we shall make a general introduction of the study; giving the background of the study, statement of the problem, its purpose, scope, methodology, significance, and review of relevant literature.

In the second chapter we shall attempt a working explication of key operating terms like: Eclectic, Hermeneutics, African and Personality.

The third chapter will see us having a retrospective investigation of the African person as a free pre-colonial as well as a bounded colonial person.

In the fourth chapter the researcher will expound the concept, African Personality, and at the same time visualize what constitutes African personality in African sociopolitical thought of Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa Socialism. An erudition of the concept of Pan-Africanism will be articulated.

The fifth chapter will be set apart to unravel the following concepts: Black Power, OAU and African Security, Non-Alignment, Negritude, Global Black Unification and Black is Beautiful.

The sixth chapter, is the conclusion and reflections.

1.8 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Several scholars have written on African Personality. Each advocate sees the issue of African Personality from his existential background. Some did not use the concept precisely as such but made premises and adopted postures that suggest African Personality Per se. This accounts for the seemingly insufficient direct literatures on the subject-matter.

We classified our literatures under study in four logical sections:

- A. Direct works on African Personality,
- B. Historical experiences of Africans,
- C. Elements of African Personality, and
- D. African self-determination, development and empowerment.

A Direct Works On African Personality

The African-American, Edward Wilmot Blyden in his inaugural paper he delivered at the Liberia College in 1893 titled: "The Idea of An African Personality," was of the opinion that African Personality is an age-long struggle of the Black man for his full stature as man. Blyden rebuked Africans especially those educated in foreign lands, who ridiculed things African and who were so naïve as to advise us to do away with our African Personality and be lost, if possible, in another race.

Osagyefo, Dr. Nkwame Nkrumah gave African Personality its modern connotations during the first conference of independent African states, held in Accra on April 15, 1958. He maintained that African Personality is an ideal and like any ideal, it is difficult both to define and to realize, for it is subject to various interpretations. He did not waste time to point out that, African Personality is to be defined not only by what it is in the process of becoming, but also, by what it was not permitted to become during the century of colonial domination, oppression and exploitation.

Nkrumah in another reflection, "The African Personality," asserts:

It is only by avoiding entanglement in the quarrels of the great powers that we shall be able to assert our African Personality on the side of peace in conformity with the Character of the United Nations.²

In the above reflection, Nkrumah's assertion on African Personality is also a commentary on non-alignment as a principle for the realisation of African Personality.

Another erudite Ghanaian scholar, Alex Quaison Sackey in his book, Africa Unbound (pp.35-36) commenting on African Personality States in brief, that this concept in question is a force; as a concept it is defined by those very cultural movements in which, as a force it is embodied.

In the book he maintained that African Personality is a revolutionary political concept, an ideal, and it is best realized in action.³

Joseph Ki-Zerbo in his article, "African Personality And The New African Society," was of the view that African Personality is not racism but anti-racism and that by African Personality the African race wants to unite into a brotherhood founded on common interest directed towards common goal.⁴

Alicune Diopé, "Remarks on African Personality And Negritude," conceives the African Personality as,

an effort to permit us (Black Africans) to join others on the Universal level and to truly build, taking into account all conditions, necessary for the definition of a new justice, which this time will be a justice for all cultures and all peoples.⁵

When for example, Casely Hayford wrote Ethiopia Unbound he did so to draw attention to a personality that had been bound and could not realize itself because of harsh restraints imposed upon her by the European colonial system. He therefore called on Africans to be themselves, not to imitate the Europeans blindly; he urged them to preserve their African culture, the traditions and customs handed down to them by their ancestors. And that personality struggling to be born then, beginning

to realize itself now was the African Personality.⁶
 There is the temptation for one to associate or mistake Casely Hayford's Ethiopia Unbound for Alex Sackey's Africa Unbound. Ethiopia is Synonymous to Africa. Biblically (Ps. 68:30-33), Ethiopia means Africa.

Okolo, in his book: Africa, Social And Political Philosophy (P.51), has this to say:

In African Personality, the African wants to be in consonance with his person/being, construct the truth of his world, possess and control his destiny. The African wants to be himself and for himself and actualize his existential integrity (Sartre). He wants to be free in all forms, kinds and degree.

He continued:

African Personality is not a theoretical, passive concept nor is it a priori analysis of the metaphysical constitution of the African Person. Rather its notion is essentially cultural and hence dynamic and practical. It is indeed an African cultural mode of being-in-the-world.⁷

Former president Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in his book: A Humanist In Africa (p.59),⁸ gave the characteristic features of African Personality in the light of culture and tradition. He said that it is primarily through the evolution of a genuine culture that a people discover their national identity. Okolo and Kaunda essentially and primarily summarized African Personality as a cultural attitude. It is on this note that this research differ with their views. For us in this study,

culture, is only an aspect of African Personality.

Ugwuanyi Lawrence⁹ would rather see African Personality in terms of authentic existence of the African. Chukwudozie Charles¹⁰ and Emelogu Okezie¹¹ Shared this opinion.

Ify Amadiume's book; Passion Waves (pp.48-49)¹² was an effort in identifying with African Personality or identity and dignity. The brilliant writer called us Africans to consciousness in apprehending our being in the world.

Dr Kwegyir Aggrey in extolling African Personality once said;

If I went to heaven, and God said,
'Aggrey, I am going to send you back,
would you like to go back as a white man?'
'I should reply, 'No, send me back as a
black man, yes completely black.' And if
God should ask, "why?" I would reply,
'because I have work to do as a black man that
no white man can do. Please send me back as
black as you can make me.'¹³

Let us now turn to section B of our relevant literature review.

B. Historical Experiences of Africans

In our study, certain books portrayed African Personality and experiences as a historical phenomenon. Again, books on this segment form greater ideas in development of the third chapter of this research. Worthy of reviewing are: K.B.C. Onwubiko, The School Certificate

History of West Africa, (Bk. I),¹⁴ Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey Brown (eds.), Africa In The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,¹⁵ J. Ayo Langley (ed.) Ideologies of Liberation In Black Africa 1856-1970,¹⁶ John N. Paden and Edward W. Soja (eds.), The African Experience, (Vol. 1 Essays),¹⁷ E.D. Morel, The Black Man's Burden,¹⁸ and Fred Burke's (ed.) Africa, Selected Readings.¹⁹

Again, Walter Rodney's, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa²⁰ and Chinweizu's, The West And the Rest of Us²¹ are master pieces on African identity or Afrocentrism. The two works chronicled the African broken past and experiences and consoled Africans towards greatness.

The same motives were also expressed in Kwame Nkrumah's book, Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (p.12),²² Okolo's, The African and Neo-Colonial Predicament (pp.5-6),²³ and Credo Mutwa's, My People, My Africa.²⁴

C. Elements of African Personality

Books reviewed in this section feature predominantly in chapters four and five of our study. The following books are hereby reviewed thus; Colin Legum's book, Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide,²⁵ P.O. Esedebe's, Pan-Africanism,²⁶ George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism,²⁷ The rest are:

G. Aforka Nweke, African Security In the Nuclear Age,²⁸ Nkrumah's Hand Book of Revolutionary Warfare,²⁹ again Nkrumah's book, Africa must Unite³⁰ and Okon Edet Uya, Black Brotherhood.³¹ The general characteristics of the aforementioned works were that they highlight African Personality as being synonymous with Pan-Africanism, African Security, and African Unity. The difference is that this research points to the above positions as arms of African personality.

We also investigated some works on Black Power concept. For instance: Edward Peeks, The Long Struggle For Black Power,³² Robert L. Allens, A Guide To Black Power In America,³³ E.I.N. Osuh, The Political Face of Black Power Movement,³⁴ Charles W. Thomas, Boys No More,³⁵ Nathan Wright's Black Power And Urban Unrest,³⁶ and finally Chuck Stone, Black Political Power In America.³⁷

The above literatures, unlike Pan-African Books, explored the existential origins of Black Power movement and African-American struggles (down the ages) to liberate themselves from the onslaught of debasement and fashion a personality that is authentically and intrinsically African.

D. African self-determination, development and empowerment

What we set out to review in this last section of our relevant literature review, in which the books under study appear in the concluding chapter of this research, is to see how the aids and grants from foreign donors taint and mock African dignity and then set the enabling environment for African development/empowerment that will give birth to authentic African self. However, this study is not primarily an economic treatise (testament). We submit that there is a metaphysical effect between aids or grants in assertion of African Personality/dignity.

Amidst such books like; The West And The Rest of Us³⁸ and How Europe Underdeveloped Africa³⁹ earlier cited, Lloyd Timberlake's, Africa In Crisis,⁴⁰ Davidson Basil's Can Africa Survive?⁴¹ and Ota Ejitu Nnechi's Nigeria: Foreign Aid and Economic Development⁴² showed frantic concern over wresting Africa from the shackles of economic stagnation and underdevelopment.

The French European, Rene Dumont in his Scholarly contribution, False Start In Africa (pp.97,266)⁴³ advised that Plans for African development can not be made in the abstract ideologies borrowed from Europe. He called his European brothers to offer Africa truly 'disinterested' aid concerned above all, with Africa's development and not with prolonging abuses and privileges.

Timothy Bankole in his book: Kwame Nkrumah From Cradle To Grave (p.206),⁴⁴ set out to find the kind of man that will up-lift Africa and African Personality. For Bankole, the man must be dedicatedly modest and honest, submerge self in the service to his nation and mankind.

We shall conclude this relevant literature review with Ray Ofoegbu's article, "African Personality, African Socialism and African Democracy as Pan-African Concept."⁴⁵ What Ofoegbu did in the above article has a close standing with our research topic An Eclectic Philosophical Hermeneutics of African Personality. While Ofoegbu's African Personality, African socialism, and African Democracy culminated in Pan-Africanism, for us, they are vestiges or pointers to African Personality.

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CHAPTER TWO

EXAMINATION OF TERMS

For the purpose of clarity, it is necessary for us to make a working definition of some of the key operating terms so as not to sound unnecessarily verbose or ambiguous.

2:1 THE MEANING OF ECLECTIC

Eclectic from the Greek word, eklektikos meaning selective. For Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, eclectic means choosing, accepting, freely from various sources.

In the New Encyclopaedia Britannica it is a practice of selecting doctrines without adopting the whole parent system. It is the attempt of combining concepts to form a pattern of Philosophical thought.¹

Eclecticism is further, a term used in philosophy to identify a composite system of thought which incorporates ideas selected from other systems. It does not modify but blends opposite views. Its essence is the refusal to follow blindly one set of formula and conventions with a determination to recognise and select from all other sources those elements which are good or true either in the abstract or in the concrete, so far as they are practicable and useful.

In the renowned views of Azikiwe, eclecticism is not syncretic because it does not attempt to reconcile or combine irreconcilables. Rather it leaves the contradictions unresolved but blends incompatibles to make them practicable for utilitarian purposes. By this method of eclectism, one can add, subtract, multiply or divide any ideas and adapt it to situation or historical circumstances.²

Irrespective of the constructive criticisms levelled on eclectism it should be conceded that it is a study of the opinions and theories of others so as to discover a new dimension in the frontiers of philosophy that would be agreeable and enlightening. In this respect, it forms a part of philosophic method. But it cannot pretend to be a doctrine of its own right.³

The German thinker, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716) was an eclectic Philosopher. In his philosophy, he welded the scholarstics with the moderns; theology and morals with the dictates of reason.

The German Heidegger (1889-1976) incorporated Greek mythology and theology to form his philosophy. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) tried to reconcile faith (theology) with reason, (philosophy).

Zik of Africa used eclectic method to mediate between socialism, capitalism and welfarism to form neo-welfarism.

This tendency (of eclectic) is naturally more apt to manifest itself when established systems are losing their novelty or having their defects revealed by changes of historical circumstance...⁴

The above was our feeling in adopting eclectic method in the approach of African Personality, and by being eclectic in this examination, we have felt free without bias. Our aim is to blend and adopt ideologies we consider best and thereby produce a harmony or rather a new system in the light of periscoping African Personality, African identity and African experiences.

2:2 THE MEANING OF HERMENEUTICS

Hermeneutics, from the Greek word, hermeneutike belonging to, or concerned with interpretation, especially as distinguished from exegesis or practical exposition. While exegesis is a critical explanation of the meaning of words and passages in a literary work; hermeneutics is the art or science of interpretation, especially of Scripture.⁵

Both hermeneutics and exegesis are closely related. The two words are concerned with biblical exposition or interpretation. Our enterprise in the usage of hermeneutics, as it concerns African Personality, as a concept, is a philosophical one: an interpretation of the meanings of the African belief. Again in our context, it connotes a philosophical anatomy or dissection of this concept. The end, then, is to have a histo-socio-political view of African Personality.

2.3 THE MEANING OF AFRICAN

This term, African is a controversial one. This accounts for the diversification in usage. In a seminar presented at the William Amo centre for the study of African philosophy, University of Nigeria Nsukka on February 6, 1992, titled: What Is African? Opatá categorised the word, African, in four senses: namely Geographical, racial or ethnic, ideological and epistemological.

2.3.1 AFRICAN AS A GEOGRAPHICAL TERM

In this context, Opatá means all the people or things that are localized to any of the countries in the geographical area known as Africa.

Africa as a geographical entity is the second largest of the seven continents. It is second to Asia. It has not less than fifty countries. It has an area of about 11.7 million square miles, and is located squarely across the equator, with its northern and southern extremes nearly equidistant from the equator at $37^{\circ}21$ and $34^{\circ}51$ north and south respectively. Four fifths ($4/5$) of the area of Africa (about nine million square miles) lie between the two tropics of cancer and capricorn.

Due to the geographical position of Africa, the greater percentage of her vast lands enjoy the tropical climate that is generally warm and free from the violent fluctuation in temperature found, for example in north America.⁶

2.3:2 AFRICAN AS A RACIAL OR ETHNIC TERM

If there is anything called common sense, and it is common, it will reveal to us that race depicts any of the subdivision of humanity having a communal physical characteristics like, skin pigmentation, colour and type of hair, eyes and nose pattern. African(s) as a racial, ethnic term are:

People of Negro stock: brown to dark brown in colour with characteristically woolly hair, broad nose and everted lips.⁷

The African is a Blackman. If he is in diaspora, a ~~segment of slavery~~; he is a negro (Knee-Grow). The African could be a Bushman, Caucasian, Mongolian or Pygmy. The African could be a German, Britain, or an American nay African-American and so on.

Opata in his scholarly paper opines that the African is;

One whose aboriginal place is Africa
 One who acquired the citizenship of any country in the African continent becomes an African too....The word Africans denotes persons who are citizens of the countries of Africa.⁸

2.3:3 AFRICAN AS AN IDEOLOGICAL TERM

The African as an ideological term is in no wise sense an unproductive thought, rather, a manner of thinking and characteristics of a person African embracing his political system. Some thinkers even argue that it is within the juxtaposition of the African and the white that we can dramatically speak of the African in the ideological sense. When this happens the African is underdeveloped (at best developing), Primitive, weak, unfortunate, less priveledged if not hopeless and so on.

Opata commenting on the ideological term asserts

thus:

In the wake of hegemonizing European culture propagated in the instrumentality of Western science and technology which parades value-free and objective, it is important to call attention to things and ideas African, even if at the epiphenomenal level so that we Africans are not suddenly ideologically swept off our feet.⁹

2.3:4 AFRICAN AS AN EPISTEMIC TERM

By way of knowledge, the African gives reality an African footing. He sees and interpretes reality in the African sense. The African as an epistemic term precludes the pattern the African can know of any phenomenon, concept or event.

In the words of Rev. Dr. Pantaleon Iroegbu it is:

The body of concepts, ideas and views that Africans as a people and as individuals, have concerning different aspects of reality.¹⁰

Our submission in essence, is that an African can be known through the way he reasons and how he visualizes reality. We shall now devote time to the last explication of term -

2:4 THE MEANING OF PERSONALITY

Personality is from the word, person which in turn is from the Latin word, Person-are meaning to sound through. A person is a self-conscious being.

The Roman philosopher, statesman and Christian theologian, Boethius (480-524 AD), in his most classical and famous definition would view a person as,

An individual substance of a
rational nature.¹¹

From the above definition, a person is primarily a rational entity - a thinking being. Person qua person is by rationality. To think then, is the office of a person. And again a person is a principle of individuation who has body and consciousness as essential constitution. To be a person means to be human.

Personality study has received wide range of controversial attention among philosophers and psychologists alike. Everyday usage also depicts this indefinability. The man on the street thinks of personality as something which makes one person popular and another disliked. To say for example, that Mary has a wonderful personality implies that Mary has qualities which make her successful in certain social enterprises.

In contrast, to remark that John is a difficult person(ality) indicates that John is not easy to get along with; that those who know John have to be careful in their dealings with him lest they offend him.

In another sense, to say still, that Sarah has no personality means that she makes little or no impression on her contemporaries or that Sarah has no charismatic qualities.¹²

Let us at this point attempt some professional explications of the term in question. Kimball Young, a psychologist defined personality as,

organised body of ideas, attitudes, traits values, and responses (habits) which an individual has built into roles and statuses for dealing with others and with himself.¹³

Personality could also be defined along the line with integrative or organisational setting. Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey in their book, Theories of Personality, captured this view thus:

Personality is the organisation or pattern that is given to the various discrete behaviours of the individual.... Personality is that which gives order and congruence to all the different kinds of behaviours in which the individual engages.¹⁴

Personality is the summary of various behavioural patterns of an individual. It is equated to the unique or individual aspects of behaviour. Personality designates those features of the individual which make him distinct and sets him apart from all other persons. Some theorists have considered personality to represent the essence of men (Allport). The implication is that personality consists of what, in the final analysis, is most typical and deeply

characteristic of the person.

One thing is clear, that personality cannot be properly represented as a fixed structure. Personality is an on-going manifold of structured processes. What we are saying in essence, is that personality trait is not static in any individual. It evolves. Time and circumstances could affect a personality. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray in the book, Personality In Nature, Society And Culture, expressed this view.¹⁵

In resumè, personologists (ie those who are experts in the study of personality) are interested in the commonalities among persons, groups of individuals or people. Salvatore R. Maddi represented this view in the following words:

Personality is a stable set of characteristics and tendencies that determine those commonalities and differences in the psychological behaviour (thoughts, feelings, and actions) of people that have continuity in time...¹⁶

Now that we have seen what the terms African and Personality represent, the question raised in the statement of the problem earlier, if there is an African personality and can the population of an entire continent like Africa be said to have a personality or identity may be of little significance - the personologists interest and defence of the behavioural commonalities among persons

and group of people provide the answer to those who doubt the existence of the concept of African Personality.

Another argument given by the anti-African Personality school of thought is that African Personality cannot exist because Africa encompasses too many ethnic and tribal groups. Such an argument is not made with regard to Europeans. It is obvious that Europeans have different culture and they are tribalized too. The present European technology, civilization, and culture are subtle ways of affirming white personality.

Again, to answer the sceptists, there is an integral unity of origin, experiences, struggles and cultures among Africans as an identity.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE AFRICAN: A RETROSPECTION

In this chapter, we shall expound the being of the African in history since he is the entity whose personality is understudy. Our interest is not to retrospect on the African historically as such but to give a philosophical essence of the experiences of the African. The degree of the personality quest of the pre-colonial African, as unbound differ from the personality struggle of the colonial African, as bounded. Hence,

3:1 THE PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA

The pre-colonial African person is the original uncorrupt African. He is a being in the dark ages. In viewing the African in this regard we are simply considering the African before the Arab and European visitations.

Mazrui in viewing the pre-colonial African asserts that the Africans married socio-political life with the religious life. In short, there were socio-religious solutions to socio-political problems. The political and social life were tied up in religion. The original African, Mbiti would insist, is of necessity, a religious person. In traditional African communities, it was difficult to distinguish between religious and non-religious areas of life.¹

It must be pointed out succinctly that this view of Mazrui and his associates (eg Fr. Placid Tempels and Mbiti) are no longer holding water. It is not true that every aspect of African life culminates in religion. Religion is not the hallmark of the being of the African. The social, political, cultural, economic, religious, et cetera, were all encompassing in the African. None transcends the other. If there could be a central force, it is likely to be economic and not religious life.

Again, the pre-colonial African was steeped in ignorance, superstitious, fear of the unknown and Africans wrongly imagined unknowable forces around them. Obafemi Awolowo was of the opinion that the pre-colonial African had no means, for instance of realising that they were ignorant, superstitious, technically backward, nor were they conscious of the situation which gave rise to ignorance, technical backwardness and superstitiousness.²

This is not true. By this postulation, Awo did not give allowance for growth and development. He classed every pre-colonial African in the same category. Granted, majority of them were ignorant or superstitious but not all. In every age, there are always men of vision; men who

are ahead of their time/age. Before the Europeans came, there had been culture contact among Africans. Through this culture contact, the people were aware of their shortcomings.

It is proper to say that Africans were conscious of some of their problems, they only applied the wrong solutions. For instance, at a certain stage in their progression, they had knowledge of some of the diseases which afflicted them but they resorted more to incantations and Black magic than to herbal preparations to effect cures. When some right solutions did come to them, they abused and misused the benefits which accrued from them.

The predominant word that summerises the traditional African Perspective as far as human nature is concerned is communalism. Many writers have held that authentic existence in the African primitive understanding can simply be defined with this concept, communalism.

Okolo, emphasizing this, is of the opinion that in the past, particularly, the traditional African (as opposed to the modern urbanised African) was very much community conscious since he always related to and interacted with others as a community. He, Okolo, further

observes that it is the community that makes or produces the individual such that without the community, the individual has no existence.³

Mbiti also sees communalism as the basis of authenticity in the traditional African setting.

... those without firm roots any more
... simply uprooted, who float in life
like cloud who live as individuals but
are dead to the corporate humanity of
their forefathers.⁴

The community in the traditional African society is the custodian of the individual, hence, the individual must go where the community goes.⁵ The African existentialist approach to "I am" becomes "we are" and since we are, therefore I am.⁶ The individual is not emphasized. A person is an individual only to the extent that he is a member of a clan, a community or a family.⁷

The original African emphasizes community life and communalism as a living principle of which the basic ideology is the community identity. Its aim is to produce and present an individual as a community-culture-protected. The individual identity, most often, is not emphasized at the expense of his community identity. This is why individualism as an ideology and principle of life is not encouraged in Africa eventhough it is not destroyed.⁸

The South African, Steve Biko, on reviewing the communalistic goal of the African, succinctly echoed:

We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate act of God to make us a community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the quest for a composite answer to the varied problems of life.

He continued:

Hence, in all we do we always place man first and hence all our actions are usually joint community oriented action rather than individualism.⁹

Nevertheless, the classlessness, individual propertylessness and economic life of the original African is based often, on communal ownership of the vital means of production; such economic assets like land, forests, trees, minerals, rivers and so on are often owned in common and are held in high esteem/sacred. For the former president of Senegal, Leopold Senghor,

In Africa there is almost never property in the European sense of the word. The general means of production, the land and its wealth, the wealth of the soil.¹⁰

Nwala shares this view. In his estimate:

Traditional communalism rested on common ownership of the means of production (ie land) as well as the fruits of labour. The wealth produced collectively by the family was owned collectively by all its members.

He continued;

There were no propertyless citizens in an real communal society. When there was a degeneration of that system into a slave or feudal order, then we had slaves castes, peons, and serfs who had no property.¹¹

From the foregoing, the formation of a pauper class is not so much pronounced. No class antagonism. The classlessness is not in the sense of not possessing functional differentiation or differentiation based on wealth, but class in the strict sense of capitalism. Most often there was no one class monopolistically dominating the means of production or labour.

Apart from collective ownership, traditional communal society was based on the freedom of labour or the worker. That is to say, the worker was not tied to his work because of the necessity to earn his wage, or to fulfill his master's demands for productivity; there was no conditions of work he had to abide by. He only had the natural atmosphere in which man expresses himself, creates and re-creates the material basis of his existence through work. He works in a collective setting, and work is for him the expression of his human essence. He is for him the expression of his human essence. He applied both his intellect and physical energy, and it was joy to do work.

This brings us to slavery as a pre-colonial African experience. There was slavery before the advent of the Europeans. European participation rather added to the magnitude. The pre-colonial slavery is far more different from European one. In traditional Africa, if any person commits certain crimes, he/she is sold. Captives of war were taken as slaves for agricultural and domestic utilities. In pre-colonial Africa, there was distinction between slaves who were captured from other groups in war and those who voluntarily gave themselves up in order to enter into a master-servant relationship with a protector. Closely associated with this category were pawns for debts. These were people who gave themselves into the bondage of creditors for unpaid debts incurred either by them or by a relative.

The status of slaves in the African context was generally a more benign institution than that of the European. The African slave masters typically worked in the fields besides the slaves. Often the slaves lived as members of their owners' households and frequently they married into or were formally adopted by the slave owners' families.

On the other hand, the European slave voyage came into lime-light between late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Tribes were combed and raided in search of human flesh. Slave raiders would swoop down on unsuspecting villages and sieze the victims who would command a good price. Europeanized slavery played its shameful role in depopulating Africa. The number of Africans taken away as slaves is incalculable. Able bodied men and women in their early twenties and middle thirties were forcefully, ruthlessly and shamelessly taken as slaves. The caste of Black slaves not only farmed in the plantations, they also worked in the textile mills, tobacco factories, iron works, sugar refineries, rive and grist mills. They provided labour for gold mines, lead mines, canal digging, tunpike and rail-roads construction as well as fishries, lumber-gangs, street cleaning and provide artesans, carpenters and other

stevedores, draymen, barbars, common labourers, carriage drivers, house and hotel servants.

These captives were taken, linked by chains, and marched many miles to the slave markets on the coasts with every circumstances of ferocious cruelty. Before the slaves leave the African shore, they were put in good humour by a parting feast. The day before their embarkation, their heads were shaved and the initials of their new owner were branded on their hips, ears or thighs with a hot iron seal or silver wire. On the morning of sailing day they were stripped naked and ferried through to the scare master waiting offshore.¹²

African slaves were tortured with sophisticated instruments to accomplish a particular pain. A Brazilian, Arturo Ramos, represents the instruments and pains thus:

There was the trouco, of wood or iron, an instrument which held the slave fast at the ankles and in the grip of which he was often kept for days on end; the libambo which gripped the unfortunate victim fast at the neck; the algemas and the anjihos, which bind the hands tightly crushing the thumbs.... Some plantation owners of more perverted inclinations used the so called movenas and frezenas.

.... The Negroes tied face down on the ground, were beaten with the raw hide whip.¹³

The traumatic torture of the slaves were shocking. The eyes of some of them were pearced and gouged; ears and breast of some of the women were cut off; Slave Masters kicked off the teeth of the slaves with their boots; their nails were drawn, faces and ears notched.¹⁴

Chaliwali, the Caravan leader, was a wicked person who killed many children with his sword. He did not want the mothers with children to hold up the journey. The mothers like niobes, wept for their children that were no more. They felt it better to die than to live.

On arrival, unlike the parting feast, a dancing was prescribed as a therapeutic measure to sadness and possible suicide. The slaves were also told to sing and when they do so, they sing songs of sorrow. Sickness, fear of being beaten, hunger, memory of their country/culture and language were the usual and commonest subjects. The slaves too, in their melancholy and anguish often wake up in the midnight to roarl cries and tears. Some of their weepings were informed by their dreams of being in homeland - Africa. Some slaves still, often went mad as a result of intensive pains of torture. Some commit suicide for they believe that when they die they return home to their own fatherland. Some went on hunger strikes.¹⁵ Through disease,

suicide, suffocation, (in the camps and in the ship), and shipwreck, a considerable proportion of the slaves died.

The Negro poet, Camille Roussan pictured his odeal in union with that of his parents, brothers and sisters thus:

Machines!
 My father's dead!
 He died of the diabolical effort
 He died in Santo Domingo
 My mother must have died in Conakry
 My brother died
 In New Orleans;
 My sister died
 In Santiago
 All of them dead,
 because they knew no sleep.
 Whilst I did all your donkey work

He continued:

I am a docker in Brooklyn
 A storekeeper on all the seas
 A farmer in Cuba
 A shock trooper in Algeria
 My sufferings go by various names and liveries
 But I am still the big black slave
 Despite your presence there
 Messianic Machines!
 Ready to do the big take-over.¹⁶

The significant image created by the poet in his attestation of the slavish experience is that the human person, the Black, was reduced to Machines and donkeys in different cities by the whites. The African slaves, the Messianic Machines, the poet asserts, died as a result of restlessness.

From the philosophical point of view, European slavery of Africa cannot be justified meaningfully. It is in a word, a crime against humanity, Africa(ns). It epitomised man's inhumanity to man or rather, man's wolf to man. This nefarious act reduced the dignity of Africans. Africans were denigrated to articles to be sold and bought. In this onerous act, Africans became objects instead of subjects. We were depersonalised, manipulated and trampled upon. In enslaving Africa, the Europeans did not credit us with having intellect. We were simply robots, at best a parrot that only repeats the master's bidding with slim accuracy.

John C. Calhoun, a slave master, once declared that if he could find a Black man who could understand the Greek syntax, he could then consider our race human, and his attitude towards enslaving us would therefore change.¹⁷ John C. Colhaun was naïve. He did not seem to realize that Greek syntax which he categorized as a measure of intelligence is proper to Africans, for Greek Syntax, philosophy or civilisation had its roots in Africa (Egypt).

The English empiricist, David Hume, in his essay on "National Characters" re-echoed Calhoun's axiom.

I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilised nation of that complexion, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. Negro slaves, non ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity.¹⁸

Dr. T. U. Nwala in a forthcoming work; Discourse On African Philosophy And Identity In The Twentieth Century, comment on calhoun and Hume's denigration of Africa by way of slavery that such views, reflect the intellectual and political climate of the age, and also helped to sustain that climate. And one wonders how much damage such ethnocentric and racist views put forward in the name of philosophy has done to the cause of human knowledge and intercourse.¹⁹ George Berkely was opposed to the slavery trade but preferred creating colonies of slaves under the rule of the whites, meaning, in fact, that he did not consider Africans as human beings like the whites.

The philosophical implication of European slavery of Africa not only that it depopulated Africa, it is also accountable for Africa's today backwardness and and the feeling of inadequacy. It is an aberation of the Christian claims that all men were created equal by God. Ironically, the European perpetrators of this infamous trade were professed Christians.

In summerising the pre-colonial African era, we must re-call that the pre-colonial person was a self-determined person. His philosophy, behaviours, concepts, believes, et cetera were his own creations. External influence was merely possible by voluntary adoption or absorption.

Finally, on the issue of pre-colonial African slave experience, the European perpetrators have committed gross genocide on Africa. The psychological wound of slave torture, humiliation and death should be compensated for. For the whites to be granted pardon for this act, there is deep need for reparation to Africa.

3:2 THE COLONIZED AFRICAN AND COLONIAL EXPERIENCES

The history of colonial rule in Africa is unevenly documented, and much of the available literatures are in the nature of apologetic. Few writers could take a neutral stance on the question of colonialism. An European may likely justify it while a biased Black, the contrary. The crux of the matter is that the colonial African, as a bounded person, is a sufferer of white supremacy. He is humiliated. He is stripped and raped of his Africanity. He is neither truly black nor truly white. Not even the French assimilation policy could change the lots of the African French.

White supremacy was the bane of colonial epoch.

White supremacy in African soil was similar to the Hebrew theory of "chosen people." But first, what is white supremacy? Ndabaningi Sithole, an outstanding Rhodesian politician defined it as "the white man's keep down the nigger policy."²⁰ A Kenyan African sees it as, "the rule by might doctrine."²¹

To the African and all colonized peoples, colonialism is evil hence, it is a political, social, economic etc. oppression and exploitation of another; the domination of the weak by the strong, the poor by the rich; the developing by the developed nations.²² Jack Woddis defines the essence of colonialism as,

the direct and overall subordination of one country to another on the basis of state power being in the hands of the dominating foreign power.²³

The essential exploitative philosophy of colonialism is to keep the colonized people in political subjugation and to make possible the maximum exploitation of the people and the country's resources. Kwame Nkrumah in his capacity as a nationalist, articulated colonialism as,

... the policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary objective of promoting her own economic advantages.²⁴

But first, what is the content of colonial experience? Speaking as a philosophy student, colonial rule is the denial of African identity. Africans were treated as people having no worthwhile identity, at times regarded as sub-human. Their culture was described as barbaric and primitive. Their religions and shrines were rudely desecrated. The African gods and morals were taken for fakes. Dr. T. U. Nwala writing in the forthcoming work: Discourse on African Philosophy And Identity In The Twentieth Century, asserts that via colonialism, African's cultural legacy including their pioneering role as world history was denied. The debt which Europeans owed Africa through Greece and the Hebrews was denied. Europeans began to date the origins of their civilisation to the Greeks. Nwala insist that the Greeks themselves had stated that their civilisation, their science and philosophy including the names of their gods were derived from the Egyptians. The fact that many Greek philosophers and scientists like Thales, Pythagoras, Aristotle and others studied in Egypt were hardly mentioned.

When Europeans acknowledged the pioneering role of Egypt, they argued however, that Egypt was not a part of Africa but of Southern Europe or the mediteranean. Also African achievements in science and philosophy were appropriated as European achievements. This we read

about such African philosophers like St Augustine, Origen, Philo Plotimes, et cetera, as part of Western intellectual tradition and achievement. This is a phenomenon which E.M. James called "Stolen Legacy."²⁵

In place of African cultural history and realities, European political, philosophical, economic, religious and cultural achievements were imposed. The only history, religion, morals, philosophy, logic, and science worth learning was those of the west. The introduction of organised formal European education and religion promoted the background and framework for the reproduction of Europeans systems, beliefs and values. Africans were made to see the world from the perspective of European world, social and intellectual order. Colonial mentality took sway as Africans began to reject and deny their own cultural achievement. Thus Eurocentricism triumphed in all departments of the Africans' existence. The most critical element of Eurocentricism is its teaching that Africans have no philosophy.

In fact, colonialism of all its possible benefits devalued the African in his being. It depersonalized Africans. It created elite societies in which man's invaluable worth was determined by an irrelevant biological accident - skin pigmentation.

The colonialists dinned into the African mind the rude idea that we, Africans were primitive, backward and but for their presence we would be living like animals. Professor Okolo in his characteristic ingenuity commented on the evils of colonialism in the following words:

... Colonialism and its consequential master servant relationship meant for the African a negation of self, a marginal role in his own destiny, object rather than subject of his own history. His values and cultural ideals were attuned to those of his white master. As far as being or personality was concerned, the African remained inauthentic, untrue, "an invisible man" or in Fanon's phrase, "Black Skin white mask."²⁶

Let it be said at the outset that European brains, capital and energy will be difficult in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europeans were in Africa for the mutual benefits of her own industrial classes. The method and manner in which these territories were acquired puts to question the sincerity of the white man. The powers involved in colonisation acquired their territories by treaties and conquests. Most of the treaties were sham and their contents were hardly understood by illiterate African rulers who did not realise that they were signing away their sovereignty. Bribery, persuasion and intimidation were used to obtain such treaties. During the scramble and finally colonisation, no consideration was given to African interests, feelings and dignity, nay, colonialism negated human dignity.

In the boundary negotiation between European powers Africans were never consulted. The result was that the new political boundaries cut across the old traditional tribal and political boundaries without regards to ethnic/tribal brotherhood or groupings. For instance, Nigeria-Dahomey boundary split the Yorubas into two; while the Ewes of Ghana were split between British Gold Coast and German Togoland. In effect, we have brothers or peoples with ancestral commonalities living in separate walls of different European governments.

In many areas, European occupation was accompanied by the elimination of African rulers by death or forced exile. They sometimes replaced them with stooges. A typical example was in Ivory Coast where African chiefs were most eliminated. In Benin, Oba Ovonremwen was deposed and sent to exile where he finally died. Hence the beginning of the decline of Benin empire. In Sokoto, Sultan Mohammed Attahiru I was forced to flee to exile, where he later died. The change in African traditional political system and deposing of some local chiefs led to breakdown of judicial system of law and order and total annihilation of promising ancient kingdom.

Few people today know of the great African empire and their rulers for example: Mali, Songhai, Ashanti, Ife, Benin empires et cetera. They all flourished centuries

before Nwabekee (whiteman) came. The white man relegated Kanka Musa the great emperor of Mali in 1307; Askia Mohammed, the king of Songhai who established a citadel of advanced learning in Timbuktu (now a city in Modern Mali). The institute trained numerous judges, doctors and clerics, at a time when the world of Europe was in deep slumber.

The Europeans imposed an administrative superstructure on a backward economy that could not support the weight. The African cities of commerce became colonial administrative cities. Not much meaningful economic enterprise. White collar and unskilled labour became the order of the day. What we had in form of industries was raw materials processing industries for foreign industries. Africa became a dumping ground for finished goods.

Africans were greatly forced out of food production by emphasizing cash products only. The effect, Walter Rodney observe thus:

This concentration on one or two cash crops for sale abroad had many harmful effects sometimes, cash crops were grown to the exclusion of staple foods thus causing famines. For instance, in the Gambia, rice farming was popular before the colonial era, but so much of the best land was transferred to groundnuts.²⁷

The African economy prior to colonisation was communalistic but with the introduction of capitalist west and socialist East economy, things fell apart - African traditional value systems changed radically.

Socially, Africans developed inferiority complex to the whites and began to copy blindly European cultures and ways of life. Any thing white became the measure. A great deal of what was good in African culture such as respect for elders, respect for traditional jurisprudence and customs were superseded by the bad aspects of European character.

Right there at the African corridors, racism was practised against him. Africans were not allowed to enter certain parts of the city. The government reserved areas (G.R.A) were specifically reserved for the white masters and a few priveleged. African elite. It was not the will, neither was it in the character of the colonisers to undertake a housing scheme of modern convenience for the natives. Vast majority of Africans today still live much the same way, prior to colonisation. White infra-structural development did not go too far into the hiter-lands. The concentration was around the coasts and urban centres.

Religious wise, it was the white man's wish to take us from our way to void us of our soul and put their spirit, the worship of their god. They had no respect for African ancestral worship. Africans were called heathens, often people without souls. The African shrines and centres for supreme worship were ruthlessly and violently desecrated.

They said it will be rewarding enough when we have lost our way completely, lost even our names - when one will call his brother not Olu but John, not Kofi but Paul, our sisters will no longer be, Ama, Ebere, Neita, Bola or Ningome but creatures called Cecilia, Anita, Esther, Lynda, Mary and Doris. They would want us to change the rich African traditional feast like, new yam festival to Christian harvest and bazaar. Nwabekee (the white man), raped Africa culturally. Lots of valuable African arts were destroyed and looted. For instance when the British army captured Benin in 1897, they looted about two thousand five hundred (2,500) ornaments from the Oba's palace. Many of these famous treasures are now scattered throughout the Western museums. In the words of K.B.C. Onwubiko,

When it is remembered that five of these Benin art works fetched £2,899 in a sale of African arts in London (1957-59) and that ivory mask was sold to Nelson A. Rockefeller in 1958 for £20,000, then the enormous wealth thus lost in Africa can be assessed.²⁸

During the 1977 all African arts and culture festival (FESTAC) in Lagos, the Nigerian government had to pay ten million pounds (£10 m) to British government just to have a snap shot of the Benin arts after every move to restore them failed.

Obviously, the European colonizers built roads, railways, seaports, airports, schools, hospitals et cetera; the sum total of these amenities and services were amazingly insignificant when compared to the African wealth and manpower that was sapped or rapped. It would be an act of the most brazen fraud to weigh the paltry social amenities provided during the colonial period against the exploitation and debasement of Africa and her people. Colonialism is a form of slavery. It is selfish oriented.

Finally, the colonised African first, was predominantly concerned in asserting his authentic existence by wresting himself from the dominion of foreign rule. Again, the colonial Africans struggled to regain their lost soul, collective consciousness/essence, dignity and personality. They have not ceased in this task because imperialism or neo-colonialism is a factor in affirming their essence.

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CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF AFRICAN PERSONALITY

We have stated elsewhere in this study that African personality, in fact, is an ideal and like any ideal it is difficult both to define and to realize for it is subject to various interpretations.

In our general introduction and in section "B" of our relevant literature review, we gave indepth but varied definitional explanations of African personality by several African socio-political scholars. We shall here offer further expantiation. We shall in addition, review Ujamaa Socialism of Julius Nyerere and Pan-African concept as they relate to the notion of African personality.

The phrase, African personality, was used first, not by Nkrumah of Ghana (who popularised it) but by Edward Wilmot Blyden in May 1893, in a paper he delivered to the Liberia College titled; "The Idea of An African Personality."

In the aforementioned paper, Blyden rebuked Africans, especially those educated in foreign lands who ridiculed things African and who were so naïve as to advise us to do away with our African personality and be lost, if possible, in another race. No amount of training could transform an African into an European. The two races are not moving and will not more in the same groove. There is an immeasurable distance.

"Every race," Blyden insists, "possesses some thing that is absolutely essential for the completion of the whole, and which other people do not have. In music of the universe each shall give a different sound but necessary for the grand symphony."¹

To prevent European agencies from destroying Africa's cultural heritage, Blyden pressed for the establishment of a West African University and a West African Church to be run by Africans. Such a church, must be African, not a copy of the Anglican church. He lamented that the great hindrance upon our development has been our unreasoning inclination.²

Let us state here, that it is not true that proponents of African personality urge a rejection of everything that is non-African. The Master, Blyden warned against the dangerous extreme of avoiding anything foreign merely because it is foreign. Africans should simply "boycott only what is boycottable," to use Magi Mbonu Ojike's phrase.

Secondly, some critics reject the concept of African personality arguing that it is simplistic to lump the peoples of a continent as vast as Africa together and label them with an abstract attribute. Such views stem from culpable ignorance of what the concept of African personality really stands for. All humanity possesses what is collectively referred to as, "Human Personality,"

yet mankind comprises different peoples. The much vounted ideology of western civilisation is only another name for European personality - Europeans or whites are in themselves tribalised.³ We have Europeans of German, French or English descent, et cetera. Amidst conglomeration of European personality, there is among the whites superiority struggles.

Oncemore, the importance of Blyden's speech lies in the stress he laid on the desirability of controlling the process of acculturation between West and Africa.

This Premier talk on African Personality by Blyden asserts that the African must advance by methods of his own. The African must possess a power distinct from that of the Europeans. We must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our own way. We must not be satisfied in this nation (Liberia) that European influence shapes our polity, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals and impregnated our social atmosphere.⁴

Blyden emphasized in his speech that all our traditions are connected with a foreign race. We have neither poetry nor philosophy (not true) but that of our taskmasters. The songs that live in our ears and often in our lips, he asserts, are the songs which we heard sang by those who shouted while we groaned and lamented. The song of their history, which was the history of our humiliations. To our

great misfortune, we learned their prejudices and their passions and thought we had their aspirations and their power.

"Now," Blyden reaffirms, "if we are to make an independent nation - a strong, virile nation - we must listen to the songs of our unsophisticated brethren as they sing of their history, as they tell of their traditions, of the wonderful and mysterious, of what we call their superstitions; we must lend a ready ear to the ditties of the Kroomen and pull our boats, of the Pesseh and Golahmen, who till our farms, we must read the compositions, rude as we may think them, of the Mandingoes and Veys."⁵ The important elements in Blyden's speech are his openness, poetic diction and sense of humour. His was indeed a historical speech.

Nkrumah, an avid disseminator of this terminology has this to say:

For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now what I called an African personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impacts and will let the world know it through the Voices of Africa's own son.⁶

Again, Nkrumah instructed that, in asserting our African personality, we shall be free to act in our individual and collective interests at any particular time. We shall also be able to exert our influence on

the side of peace and uphold the rights of all peoples to decide for themselves their own forms of government as well as the rights of all peoples regardless of race, colour or creed, to lead their own lives in freedom and without fear.⁷ Nkrumah elsewhere opines:

Our earnest and passionate desire is to exert through our African personality, whatever influence we can bring to bear on the side of peace, in the hope of persuading the two main blocs to come together to find a peaceful and permanent solution to their outstanding differences within the framework of the charter of the United Nations.⁸

Kwame Nkrumah speaking at the occasion of the opening of the Institute of African Studies in Accra, on 25th October 1963, emphasized that it is only in conditions of total freedom and independence from foreign rule and interference that the aspiration of our people will see fulfilment. This view informs his persistent pleading, "seek ye political freedom all other things will be added unto."⁹ African personality is inseparable from the ability of all Africans to manage their own domestic and international affairs. It is only in freedom will there be a meaningful African personality. Okolo in his own contention supports this view thus,

African personality in action or world affairs presupposes the state of freedom, independence, responsibility, and control of African world by Africans.¹⁰

For Joseph Ki-Zerbo, the African personality is an effort to permit us to join others on the universal level and truly build, taking into account all conditions, necessary ideas, concepts, institutions necessary for the definition of a new justice, which this time will be a justice of all, for all cultures and all peoples.

Ki-Zerbo is also of the opinion that African personality is a goal of all the efforts and the sacrifices of African nationalists, many of whose blood was spilled and who died for the development of this personality.¹¹

For Tom Mboya, African Personality is the desire to show the world that Africa has her own culture, her own social structures and her mannerisms,

according to him, the outstanding characteristics of this African Personality are:

Patience, sense of humour, generosity particularly to strangers, love for music, dance, and rhythm, even manner of eating and speaking.¹²

This view was what Alex Quaison - Sackey had in mind when he observes that African Personality is symbolic of the pride that all Africans now take, for example, in wearing their national costumes, in eating with their fingers without shame, in substituting European names to African ones; and once an African enters a house as guest, he

remains for a meal eventhough he had not been invited specifically for that purpose. All such customs constitutes the African Personality in practice.¹³

Having seen the position of African socio-political authorities, what is the attributes, or rather, what, in concrete terms, is African personality? The abiding emphasis (attributes) are: to restore the dignity of Africa and Africans; to stir-up economic freedom which in a positive sense, is economic self-determinism cum political independence; to recreate African culture, African history, African politics, African philosophy, African religion, and intellectual attitude of Africans by way of overcoming the impulse of Eurocentricism. The emphasis of African personality as a movement, is to integrate the particular and the universal for it is not an isolationist social force.

African personality, as it were, and as a movement seeks to re-establish the African primarily as a person full of potentials. It reminds the African that he is a "no-nobody," that he is somebody in the college of humanity; that the colour black is not inferior to all others, and that it is a rare opportunity to be Black. Again, African personality tells the African that he is not the bastard the whites call him. He has a fatherland - an origin. African personality asserts that Africans

have rich cultural heritage; that African religion address African existential experience, and as such, it is not heathenistic; that African languages are not babbles. They are logical and has foundation in reality.

Nevertheless, African identity as a movement promotes world peace, unity and dynamic sociopolitical creed. African personality as it were, expresses the equality of man both as a citizen of Africa and as a member of the human race. In another note, it is a reaction to the series of injustices meted out to Africans, starting from slavery, colonisation and neo-colonialization. In fact, it is a re-construction, re-habilitation and re-consolidation of African world ruined by slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In attempting to rid his continent of foreign domination, the African is attempting nothing less than the ultimate recapture and reassertion of the dignity of the individual - a dignity which the colonial system attempted to reduce and in some cases to exterminate altogether.

4.1 NYERERE'S UJAMAA SOCIALISM AND AFRICAN PERSONALITY

The essence of African personality according to Nyerere is expressed in his socio-political philosophy, Ujamaa (ie. African Socialism), whose essential elements are African communalism, African humanism and African welfarism.

Ujamaa Socialism is a term used by Nyerere to differentiate the socialism he is stressing from all others especially, from Marx and Engels' socialism which is dialectical materialism culminating into scientific socialism (as against utopian socialism of the early founder: Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Henri Count de Saint Simon).

It is obvious that modern socialism as a tenet was informed by the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution to checkmate capitalism, unjust labour, man's inhumanity to man, exploitation and oppression of the weak by the strong, the rich by the poor. Hence, egalitarianism is the measure of modern socialism.

Ujamaa, in the African language of Swahili, means familyhood or togetherness.

The word Ujamaa was chosen for special reasons. First, it is an Africanness of the policies we tend to follow, so that it brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as we know it.¹⁴

Nyerere illustrates:

I was the first to use the word, Ujamaa in order to explain the kind of life we wish to live in our country. The word, Ujamaa denotes the kind of life lived by a man and his family - father, mother, children and near relatives.¹⁵

Leopold Seda Senghor pointed out that African socialism is not that of Europe. It is neither atheistic communism nor quite the democratic socialism of the second International. Modestly it is called African mode of socialism.¹⁶ Tom Mboya of Kenya agrees with this view by saying,

European socialism was born of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolution, which divided society into the landed and the capitalism on one side, and the landless and the industrial proleteriat on the other.

He continues,

There is no division into such classes in Africa where states came to nationhood through the pressure of mass movements and where governments consists of leaders of the workers and peasants, rather than the nobility who have ruled in Europe.¹⁷

The ex-Catholic Priest, Bede Onuoha, also points to the fact that traditional African society was essentially socialist. The traditional African was a community man. He build his life along indigenou socialist rules and customs.¹⁸

Having gone this far, what then is Ujamaa socialism or the basic tenets? First, the "Arusha Declaration" of 5th February, 1967 marked the official inauguration of Ujamaa socialist ideals by Tanzanian African National Union(TANU) - the only single party led by Nyerere. Briefly, it was the merging of Tanganyika and the Republic of Zanziba in 1964 that formed Tanzania.

Ujamaa socialism is primarily, a strategy for the socialist transformation of Tanzania and indeed Africa. In a word, it demonstrates all the principles and policies of Tanzania. It depicts Africanisation and indigenisation of socialism. As a political philosophy, African socialism, tries to restore traditional values, communal social practice and creates new values in the changing world of the money economy, to build an economy which reflects the thinking of the great majority of the people.

African socialism shuns the major evils engendered by both capitalism and communism, namely class stratifications, oppression, human exploitation et cetera.

In short, African socialism is a synthesis of the best in traditional African system and the best in scientific communism and capitalism. It thus aims at the best of the three systems.¹⁹

Ujamaa (African) socialism is a return to collective products. It is in the interest of a more human society where the individual is seen and treated as an end in itself not solely as means that made Nyerere opt for Ujamaa socialism. Nyerere views Ujamaa socialism as, essentially an attitude of the mind which involves a change in personal attitudes and reconciliation of individuals but goes beyond these to effect structural changes consistent with the socialist outlook, creating a pattern of justice in which equality and freedom of all will be assured.²⁰

Ujamaa socialism is love extended to individuals in the state as members of the same family. Nyerere emphasizes the fact that true African socialism does not look on one class of men as his enemies. He does not form an alliance with the brethren for the extermination of the non-brethren. He regards all men as his brethren as members of his extended family. Man is the measure, or to use Nyerere's phrase, "the purpose is man."²¹

Democracy, is a "sine qua non" in true Ujamaa Socialism. The people's equality must be reflected in the political organisation; everyone must be an equal participant in the government of his society. This

accounts for why Nyerere chooses the method of free-will in the application of his tenet as against coercion and force preached by Marx. He declares:

The people must be, and must know themselves to be sovereign. Socialism can not be imposed upon people; they can be guided; they can be led. But ultimately they must be involved.²²

Nyerere's democracy in Ujamaa socialism stems from traditional African democracy. In African traditional setting, people, ie the council of elders, come together to take decisions for the common goal.

As it were, Nyerere's socialist democracy abhors multy-party system instead he advocates for mass party which in the main, is one party (TANU), to which every citizen is a member. Cranford Pratt supporting Nyerere's imposition of one party democracy says that a coalition government in time of national emergency is not thought to be undemocratic; neither should rule by a dominant nationalist movement in a newly independent African state. In such circumstances, a de facto single party system is a proper and genuinely democratic response to a national crisis. Pratt Cranford emphasises that it is the embodiment of a unified national will to achieve goals which are endorsed throughout the society but which would be unachievable if that community were to be deeply divided by political controversy.²³

Ujamaa or African Socialism is a tool for the essential reconstruction of the social, political, economic and educational life of the African which was wounded by years of alienation-slavery and colonialism, Nyerere writes in no uncertain terms:

This is the objectives of socialism in Tanzania; to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities, in which all can live at peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice being exploited or exploiting, in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare.²⁴

Nevertheless, Ujamaa socialism preaches indogenous economic development, self-reliance, co-operative living in all activities of the social unit equal rights and re-education of the African mind so that he can recapture his lost value system.

Having expoused in brief, the history and tenets of Ujamaa socialism of Nyerere, we shall thrust into the crux, which in the main, is the identification of African Personality and dignity in the logic of Ujamaa socialism.

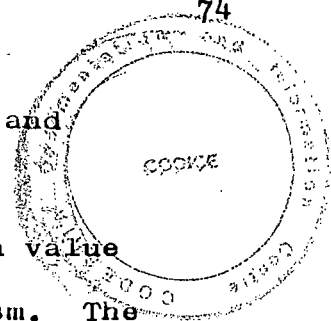
THE REFLECTION OF AFRICAN PERSONALITY IN UJAMAA SOCIALISM

Nyerere, by merely creating the word, Ujamaa in qualifying the socialism he is propagating, he is invariably extolling African Personality. And to distinguish, choose and assert one's position in an existing theory ^{is} say, scientific socialism, an attestation of African pride.

Ujamaa meaning familyhood, togetherness or brotherhood is African personality per se - This is how we want to live as a nation. We want the nation to live as one family.²⁵ This Nyerere's assertion is Tanzanian/African National Ethic.

Ujamaa Socialism, as an African economic nationalism and self-reliance manifest African personality in practice. Nyerere advises that Tanzania/Africa must not look abroad for its growth in form of grants or aids. Ujamaa in its goals of self-reliance makes a very realistic assessment of economic development and its relationship with the political status of a nation; its independence and self-determination, both internally and in the international comity of nations. Self-reliance becomes therefore, a veritable means for the assertion of National freedom for the African state and a decision for the

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authentic freedom of the African personality and African self-respect.²⁶



Ujamaa socialism recognises that African value systems were lost through years of imperialism. The first thing according to Nyerere is to re-educate ourselves; to regain our former attitude of mind. The desired system of education ought to foster the social goals of living together and working for the common good. Also education, should prepare particularly the young to play constructive and dynamic roles in the development of the society in which all members share in the good and bad fortune of the group. It should also, Nyerere observes, inculcate above all a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to Tanzania's/Africa's future not those appropriate to our colonial past.²⁷

We estimate this single purpose as African personality for it points to the authentic indigenous educational system that incorporates the African existential experience.

After the "Arusha declaration" of 1967, the curriculum for schools, colleges and the universities was changed. The existing educational institutions were reorganised and new ones were structured in line with

Ujamaa ideology. The emphasis is now on broad functional education for the many, rather than the narrow, academic one for the few schools are conceived as communities in which teachers, parents and pupils work co-operatively for common good.²⁸

One of the achievements of this indigenous educational curriculum was the raising of Swahili as an alternative lingua franca as against the foreign languages. We submit, this, is in praise of African pride, dignity and personality through language.

Nwene-Osuh, in the course of his visiting Tanzania witnessed the success of Ujamaa and its educational system. In wonder he declares:

Tanzanian students are materially among the best looked after in Africa. They have free tuition, free books, free board and lodging. They are entitled to weekly pocket money and annual allowance which stood at \$750 in 1971.²⁹

Marx maintains that socialism can only be attained by means of revolution; change in history is not effected in gradual stages by non-revolutionary means but by struggles. Force for him is the midwife of every society pregnant with new one; no subscription to revolutionary change finds its basis in dialectics.³⁰

In contrast, Nyerere illustrates that the application of Ujamaa socialism is not through violence and state coercion. Ujamaa socialism believes in peaceful and gradual, but determined and sustained development towards socialism. Nyerere's attitude epitomises the African dignity exercised. It is not in Africa neither is it the African character to exhibit beastly qualities.

Finally, amidst, poverty, hardship and antecedent shortcomings of this lofty ideal, the problem is man - If the people are not honestly served by those to whom they have entrusted responsibility, then corruption can negate all their efforts and make them abandon their socialist ideals. In the main, Ujamaa socialism was a sincere effort to give the newly independent African States (eg Tanzania) "a good life." Ujamaa socialism is a political philosophy and a gateway to African true selfhood or full stature as a nation, within the framework of comity of nations. Hence it is indigenous African socio-political system.

4.2 PAN-AFRICANISM AND AFRICAN PERSONALITY

Whoever first expressed Pan-African sentiments will never be known. It will be futile to try to attribute the concept to any person or trace its origin to a particular year.

The term Pan-African and Pan-Africanism were not coined when the movement they described first emerged. Esedebe argues that labels are often invented after a movement has established itself. Just as a baby does not need baptism or name to exist, Pan-African ideology does not require a label to be a fact.

In discussing the origins of Pan-Africanism, one should consider when the notions underlying it first came into prominence, the circumstances that gave rise to them and the purpose. Esedebe further argues that Pan-African feelings became articulated in the New World around the time of the declaration of American independence, 1776. It represented a reaction against the injustices suffered by African-Americans and the anti-racist doctrines that characterized the opposition to the long campaign for the abolition of the trans-atlantic slave trade. It also found expression in the seperatist church movement in America and Africa, as well as in the resistance to European activities in Africa.³¹ Horace Campbell asserts to this end;

The idea of Pan-Africanism emerged out of the ravages of imperialism, racism slavery and colonialism.³²

Nwene-Osuh categorically states that what gave the Pan-Africanists purpose and courage to form the movement was that,

Pan-Africanists recognised that they are persons of one race, of a common historical background, and of a common identity. They are of a race whose cultures, wealth and personality have been taken away. They are all alienators, exploiters, oppressors and colonizers are European peoples and their descendants.³³

THE MEANING OF PAN-AFRICANISM

This simply means, all African(ism). It's movement is popularly ascribed to Mr. Henry Sylvester Williams, a West Indies Trinidad in 1900. Pan-Africanism is geared towards the emancipation of Negro Africans and self-government. Aforika Nweke articulates Pan-Africanism thus:

Pan-Africanism provides a common ideological basis for the advancement, both of African independence and collective security. Its primary goal is the unity of African peoples in one independence political community embracing all ethnic and national groups and free from political, economic and racial domination.³⁴

It is the ambition of the founders of Pan-Africanism to promote understanding among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences. Ndabaningi Sithole conceptualizes Pan-Africanism as a feeling common to peoples of African descent wherever they may be; it is a reawakening of

the African spirit in relation to itself and to the world at large. For Ndabaningi Sithole still, Pan-Africanism is the desire of Africans to reassert themselves in Africa and abroad. It is a new self concept of African peoples - a reaction of the African to the White Supremacy.³⁵

With the 1900 inaugural meeting held in London under the chairmanship of Barrister Henry Sylvester Williams, delegates in attendance were negroes mainly from England, the West Indies and the United States of America. The aim of the conference was to arouse British responsible opinion to respect natives in African land from abuse.

In 1919, the second Congress was convened in Paris. The essence was to impress upon the members of the Paris Peace Conference the importance of Africa in the future world. They proposed that allied and associated powers should establish a code of law for international protection of natives of Africa. Fifty seven people attended.

The third was in 1921 under the new leader, William Edward Burghardt Dubois (1868-1963). It was held in two segments, the first was in London and the second in Brussels. Its message was that the habit of democracy must be made to encircle the world. The emphasis was on

the importance of inter-racialism, equality and justice. It was recorded that one hundred and thirteen representatives were in attendance.

The fourth Conference was held in 1923 in London and Lisbon respectively. Its manifesto among other things made this striking demand, that Black folks should be treated as men - without this, no peace and progress. They asked for a voice for Africans in their own governments and the rights access to their land and its resources.³⁶

In 1927, in New York, the fifth Pan-African Congress took place. Two hundred and eight representatives came for the meeting. After this, organised Pan-African Congress lapsed for almost twenty years.

The Sixth, was in 1945 in Manchester under the Chairmanship of the Ghananian, George Padmore. African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abraham, Sekou Toure, Julius Nyerere et cetera attended for the first time. It was this Congress that Pan-African Movement become forceful and militant in demand for freedom and independence for Africa. They violently and determinedly declared:

If the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans as last resort may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world, or again we say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for their freedom by all means at their disposal.³⁷

The call for arms include; the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, freedom to print and read literature necessary for the education of the masses, freedom to demonstrate and strike. Indeed, the 1945 Pan-African Congress constituted a landmark in history of the movement. Commenting on the significance of this congress, Immanuel Geiss has this to say:

It was a landmark both in the history of Pan-Africanism and in that of decolonization.... It was the first evidence of vigorous self-assertion after an interval of almost two decades; at the same time it gave an impetus to effort, to achieve the immediate goal of national independence.³⁸

It was this 1945 Congress that gave birth to African nationalists in the struggle against all forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

We cannot end this critical historical survey of the Pan-African congresses without mentioning the last congress held in Tanzania in 1974 and its significance in the history of the movement. This was the first time that Pan-African congress was held in African continent.

It was attended by delegates and observers from Africa and the Caribbean countries, Canada, Britain, the Pacific as well as African Liberation Movements (ALM) and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

The conference was significant in the sense that it shifted radically from a mere condemnation of, and fight against colonialism (as most African nation had already been independent politically) to a dogged fight against neo-imperialism. In the communique at the end of the conference, it was clearly stated that;

Pan-Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the peoples, of their dignity and responsibility, the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind and the complete development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.³⁹

Thus Pan-Africanism at this point in time, 1974, turned into a philosophy of social action, of nation building as well as a vibrant means to regenerate Africans and their cultures. Okolo lists other declaration and vision of this great conference. According to him, the 1974 conference condemned foreign domination in Africa, it called for the destruction of the bases of the last colonial and racist regimes, the liquidation of all foreign military bases in Africa, the unity of Africans and peoples of African descent as well as the

political and material aid to the various liberation movements in Africa.⁴⁰

Consequently, Pan-Africanism was not only a means to fight the existential and situational ills of Africa and Africans but also a dynamic route to a new Africa or to a "renascent Africa," to use Dr Azikiwa's terminology.

Pan-Africanism as an African Personality is not only political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans and African descents in diaspora as brothers; it authenticates and glorifies the African past and inculcated pride in African values. As an African personality, it is the expression of a desire for African Unity between all peoples whose ancestors originally come from Africa. As such, it assumes a common brotherhood of Black Peoples everywhere.

Again, Pan-Africanism is not only a social movement that had political consequences in the lives of people, namely Africans and those of African descent dispersed throughout the globe, it embraces a world view and a philosophy as well, a vision of a people, their role and prospects in the world. The Pan-Africanists in the course of their seven congresses gradually formulated for themselves principles of self-identity and dignity.

The initial suffering of degradation, racial exploitation, oppression and injustice gave rise to the assertion of recognition and African personality.

This experience of alienated consciousness, of being in a place (New World) without being part of it generated in the diaspora Blacks a new kind of self-consciousness as a people, a new mission and sense of responsibility to history.⁴¹ Hence, Pan-Africanism, rising from this suffering of degradation became a revolt to auto-emancipation and an assertion of the worth of Africans.

In its main thrust therefore, Pan-Africanism was a strategy against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism et cetera, as well as a dynamic means for promoting Black dignity, freedom, social, economic and political progress in African society. Pan-Africanism meant a new lease of life for Africans, the overcoming of helplessness, poverty, racial degradation and insult and the dawn of a future greatness and unity for Africa and Africans. No wonder then, the late president of Guinea Bissau, Amilcar Cabral, conceived Pan-Africanism in terms of African repossessing themselves culturally and materially.

Finally, Pan-Africanism was born out of struggle - the struggle to enhance the Black dignity, Black pride, Black power, Black self-reliance, progress and unity in Africa. The realisation of African personality as an ideal and objectives of Pan-Africanism still remains a process manifesting itself in the issues of our fifth chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AFRICAN PERSONALITY

Negritude, Black Power, OAU and African Security, Non-Alignment, Global Black Unification and Black Is Beautiful, these represents ways and manner in which the Black man, have variously reacted to the defamation of his personality, humiliation, subjugation, alienation, slavery, colonisation, neo-colonisation et cetera. These philosophies and political movements, in a sense, are incarnations of Black struggle to recapture and actualise Black essence, pride and dignity. Hence, they are geared towards the realisation of African personality.

In this chapter our task is to see to what extent these other doctrines and social movements helped in the restoration and advancement of African personality. Negritude, Ujamaa et cetera are variations of the philosophical expression, African personality. We have discussed Ujamaa in the previous chapter.

5:1 NEGRITUDE

Negritude has its origin in the Latin word, "Negritudo," meaning black or blackness. Negritude as a concept, movement and idea was popularised on the pages of Presence Africaine. Its major advocates were Aime Cesaire, a

West Indian from Martinique, Leon Damas from Guyana and Leopold Sedar Senghor from Senegal, Césaire is credited with being the first to use the term, Negritude, in a long poem entitled: "Cashier d'un retour au pays natale."¹

In the long poem, Césaire wrote about his return to his native land of Martinique, his return to himself for in returning, he learned to accept what he had been trying to escape - himself as a Black man.

Negritude, as a concept and movement came into existence in the mid-thirties with the meeting of students from Africa, Haiti, Guyana, Martinique, North America, Antilles et cetera, studying then in France - as result of their common experience of racism, alienated consciousness, of living in a white world (France) without really belonging to it.

The French policy of assimilation also contributed to this great movement because this policy meant in practice complete self-alienation of the Black person from his distinct cultural background, outlook and values. The policy, in short, amounted to making French citizens out of these Black students from different parts of the black world. The policy of assimilation ignored and even despised the whole values and civilisations of the colonised peoples. Césaire stated the ultimate effect of white racism and assimilation policy in the following words:

Europeans despised everything about Africa and in France people spoke of a civilized world and a barbarian world. The barbarian world was Africa and the civilized world Europe. Therefore, the best thing one could do with an African was to assimilate him. The idea was to return him into a French man with a black skin.²

The French Policy of assimilation was more of cultural domination. The young African intellectuals, developed a sense of awareness and communal responsibility towards their predicaments. Cesaire admitted that the Africans were discovering themselves. They were abjectly vehement to free themselves from being treated as an "Un soir" or object. In the main, negritude is a reaction to the racist colonialist ideology of white supremacy.

Negritude is the philosophy of blackness. It stresses the essential Unity of Black people. Again, it stresses the unity of all humanity. This unity must be achieved by the assimilation as between equals and on voluntary basis, not through the enforced assimilation of cultural imperialism. Negritude as an ideology for art; it served its worthy purpose as a rejection of French models and as affirmation of African presence and values. Okolo asserts:

Negritude contained in its vision a new African personality, African world-view, and a path to authentic black existence. It is from this perspective that the movement has exercised lasting influence in African history.³

Negritude is the cultural affirmation of being, of the Black man himself and the cultural roots and values of his world. Cesaire says:

We affirmed that we were Negroes and that we were proud of it, and that we thought that Africa was not some sort of black page in the history of humanity; in sum, we asserted that our negro heritage was worthy of respect, and that this heritage was not relegated to the past, that its values were values that could still make an important contribution to the world.⁴

Leopold Seda Senghor in his erudite articulation defined negritude concept as negro personality., or the cultural heritage, the values, and above all, the spirit of negro - African civilisation.⁵ In other terms the sense of communion, the gift of imagination, and the gift of rhythm are the traits of negritude that we find like an indelible seal on all the works of activities of the Black man.

Negritude, as Black pride was what Senghor in African Action expressed when he says:

We would think and we would say that we were, we negroes, the salt of the earth, that we were the bearers of an extraordinary message that nobody else could proffer except us. Unconsciously through osmosis and reaction at the same time, we would speak like Hitler and colonialists, we would extol the blood.... After the negation of white values, the affirmation of negro values.⁶

This affirmation of Black pride and dignity was a rejection of the view that the Black man was the "white man's burden." Colonialism was not an affirmation but a denial of African personality. Therefore the idea of colonialism as a "civilising mission" was suspect; such a view ignores the rapacious nature of colonialism.

In a word, negritude declared the uniqueness and irreplaceability of the African personality and as well as Africa's unmistakable presence in the world. It is important to note therefore, that negritude meant much more to the colonial situation of racial humiliation. It was not just an "anti-racist racism" as Sartre asserts. It was positively and mainly an affirmation of being, a portrait of Black subjectivity based on certain qualities common to the thoughts and conduct of the Black peoples all over the world.

For the scholar, Onwuachi, negritude is both an ideology of Black liberation as well as the essence of the African. The ideology of negritude is saying in essence, that Africa like all other human world, must be viewed and understood in terms of the African people's collective experience and effectiveness. Onwuachi opines that Africa must be appreciated for what she is and not for what the European world wants Africa to be or wants to make out of Africa.⁷

However, that may be, negritude has drawn to itself many critics. Among them are: Nigerian Wole Soyinka, Algerian Frantz Fanon, Ghanaian Nkrumah et cetera. They attacked the philosophy of negritude as being a bottom dog. For them, negritude is devoid of action and it is simply an empty romanticisation of African glorious past.

Negritude was meant to lead to action. Negritude is dynamic and has contributed to the growth of Africanity. It was on this note, Senghor opines that negritude must be the contribution from us, the peoples sub-saharan Africa, to growth of Africanity, and beyond that to building of the civilisation of the universal.⁸

Negritude was not only the affirmation of the Black man, his world and values but also a dynamic means to recover his values and past glories, a get-away to a new self. It was meant to be, as we have seen, the key to Black civilisation and as a literary movement, the organ to express concretely what was special and unique in Black cultural tradition, with Africa as its repository. Césaire summarised it all - negritude is, I answer, that above all it is a concrete rather than an abstract coming to consciousness.⁹

Negritude in action was demonstrated in the first independence struggles in Haiti.

Yes, negritude in action Haiti is the country where negro people stood up for the first time, affirming their determination to shape a new world, a free world.¹⁰

Okolo confirmed negritude in action by saying, The history of the black man's revolts against colonialism and racism, for instance, is a prime proof of negritude in action or negritude as praxis.¹¹

To postulate further that negritude is not a mere arm chair concept, the various arts revival in form of African arts festivals is negritude in action. A good example is the all African arts and culture festival held in Lagos - FESTAC 77. Liberation of Africans from servitude is not only political or economic; it is also cultural (the prime task of negritude). This opinion necessitated Césaire to opine,

...Our negro characteristics should not be forgotten, the emancipation of the negro consisted of more than just a political emancipation.¹²

From the cultural point of view, negritude is an incarnation of African dignity. The young African students asserted their African personality by rejecting alienation by way of the French policy of assimilation. They wanted to possess themselves culturally and uphold their rich cultural heritage/arts.

5:2 BLACK POWER

Black power, first, was a slogan made popular by African-American, Carmichael Stokley in July 1966 in a March Protest in Mississippi against Black separatism. Carmichael started a chant: "Black Power! We want Black Power."

The Black power slogan had been used before by Richard Wright and Adam Clayton Powell in the summer of 1965 when a group called the Organisation of Black Power met in Detroit to attempt to represent Malcolm X's (originally known as Malcolm Little) ideas. Adam Clayton Powell used Black power slogan at the commencement and inauguration of Howard University (USA). Black power crusaders rejected non-violence method in the struggle for Black equality, Black freedom and Black independence. We should point out succinctly that Martin Luther King, Jr. in his campaign for Black freedom, advocates the

stoppage and usage of Black power for it, according to him, breeds violence. What precisely is Black Power?

Black power speaks of the African - American recognition and aggressive assertion of his own fundamental sense of dignity, integrity, worth and cultural heritage. Black power is not anti-white people but is anti anything and everything that serves to oppress the Blacks. The crusaders of Black power were of the view that, if whites align themselves on the side of oppression, then Black power must be anti-white. In a word, for Blacks, Black power is the microscope and telescope through which they look at themselves and the world. Black power is a logical and much needed expression of the African-Americans awakening to self awareness. If the Black man has any power in America and elsewhere in the world, it is Black power.

In a series of speeches to African-American students, Carmichael discussed a broad and diversified interpretation of Black power which includes, political, economic social and cultural power. No wonder then Richard Fruecht asserts that Black power means Black politics and money.

Black power basically means political power which used as a stepping stone, could lead to economic power so much needed for the black survival as a race.13

What Fruecht Seems to be saying is that control of politics and economy is the foundation for Black liberation. Nkrumah in his message to the Black people in Britain in 1968 re-echoes this view when he says

Black power is the sum total of the economic, cultural and political power which the black man must have in order to achieve his survival in a highly developed technical society and in a world ravaged by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and facism.¹⁴

From this then, Black power is not just a slogan. It is a new stage of revolutionary consciousness of the Black yearnings and aspirations. Since the Black man is the most oppressed of the races of mankind, Black power is therefore the struggle for possession of economic, cultural, social and political power. It is part of the world rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the exploited against the exploiter. It operates wherever Africans and people of African descent live.

Black power is a rewriting, reframing, and refocusing of the distorted Black image. It is to correct notion of the ugly in anything black such as: blackmail, blackguard, blacklist, blackbook, black—Thursday, blackhearted, blackmagic, blackmark, black-market et cetera.

In another extension, Black power is the concept of the African-American traditional belief in solidarity, integration and "coloured self-help" by individuals and groups in the pursuit of their collective goals. The first organised self-help venture was in 1787 by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. They established the Free African Society in Philadelphia. It was a mutual benefit organisation to help the sick and bury the dead. This self-help ideology led African-Americans to build independent churches, and schools; coupled to this is Black founding of banks as the depositories to these foundations.

In 1875, "coloured self-help" philosophy had a brilliant advocate in Alexander W. Crummel, rector of St Luke's Episcopal Church in Washington. Crummel advocated voluntary association and disagreed with persons who insist that "coloured people" of America and elsewhere should, as soon as possible, forget that they are "coloured people." He urged African-Americans to make distinctive efforts as a group for education, property and industry.¹⁵

Self-help as Black power implies that education and acquisition of property would ultimately win African-Americans their political rights. This view gave rise to the celebrated differences between Booker T. Washington and Dubois. Washington advised African-Americans to steer clear of white man's politics and seek first, education

and property. Dubois maintained that political rights to vote and hold public office were inherent in the sum of manhood rights.

This brings us to yet another notion of Black power. Black power, as it were, is to "think black". To "think black" is to elect Black officials into government - a strategy employed by African-Americans in their movement to wrest themselves from "domestic colonisation" in America. No wonder, Carmichael succinctly says:

Power was the thing that brought respect in this world, and Negroes must get it at any cost, just as the Jews, Irish and Italians had done as American ethnic groups.¹⁶

Black power is as a result of black powerlessness. Chinweizu, in his Magnum Opus: The West and The Rest of Us, is of the view that white dignity is founded on white power, therefore, Black dignity can only be founded on Black power. He observes that Africans all over suffer dipersonalisation not because of their colour but because they had become a powerless and conquered race. If Africans still suffer indignities today, is because we have not yet abolished our condition as a conquered people. We cannot change our race or colour but we can change the status of our power and by so doing bring our long era of indignities and dipersonalisation to a close.¹⁷

Actually, in the world in which we live, dignity or personality follows power; dignity is a product of power. If Africans or Blacks want dignity, they should create effective African or Black power. Blacks' only road to dignity lies in their collective power. To try to regain dignity/respect by pleading and prostrating to the racist arrogance of the West is to beg the question. To regain our respect we must make it impossible for any group to ever again trample upon us. The "how" will be made available in the next chapter.

Black power slogan and movement concretely and discretely demonstrates the principles of African personality. Black power, in its quest for Black control of Black community is reaffirmation of wanting to possess and be responsible for oneself.

Black power, as a product of the history of slavery and segregation in the United States, shares the same existential background of African personality struggles. African power is the product of a changing self-understanding among Africans and African descent.

Black power movement is a sign of a changing minority, of the pressure for a change in strategy by African-Americans towards emancipation. It signifies the reality of change in the Black community. As such it is a developing ethnocentrism which is transforming African group

consciousness, and it represents a focus upon global Black unity. Black power is then one of the ethnocentric movements that have appeared among Africans and African descents.¹⁸

Black power by virtue of its self-help or self-reliance, depicts African personality struggles. The African-Americans realised their economic powerlessness and called for African communion, dignity. Through schools and self-education, the ground was fertile to exercise African dignity by first decolonising the mind. And again, to "think black" of Black Power, in our estimate is political African personality - an indogenous African-American political ideology.

5:3 OAU AND AFRICAN SECURITY

The Organisation of African Unity was formed in May 1963. Before long, there has been attempts towards unification at the regional levels. We shall briefly chronicle them since they form the nucleus for which O.A.U. was conceived.

The first step at unification was in July 1954 when the presidents of Liberia and Guinea met at Sanniquellie to discuss the whole question of African emancipation and unity. At the end of the summit the name, Committee of Independent African States emerged.

Members of the committee were to maintain their own national identity and constitutional structure. Each member of the committee agreed not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other members. The general policy of the committee was to build primarily, a free and prosperous African community for the good of its peoples and the world in general.

The policy seeks to maintain a diplomatic, economic and cultural relations on the basis of equality and reciprocity with all the nations of the world which adopted positions compatible with African interest. And again, the objective include to help African territories not yet independent to gain freedom.

The second significant step towards African political union was taken on 23rd November, 1958 when Ghana and the Republic of Guinea united to form seed for the Union of African states. In this unification, a system of exchange of resident ministers who were recognised as members of both government was established.

To supplement to the above two regional unification, in April 1961 leaders of Ghana, Guinea and Mali (Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Modibo Keita) formed the Union of African States rightly known as Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. The motives and objectives are not different from the first two respectively.

The three regional attempts at African Unity failed ignorantly given rise to OAU in May 1963. In quest for proper name for this unity, many representatives suggested different names. Some suggested Organisation of African and Malagascar States. The dispute at first was either to incorporate Malagascar and other surrounding islands of African states. Aden Abdullah Osman of Somali, in his humble opinion, suggested Organisation of States of Continental Africa and its Islands. He however confessed that this might be put in less clumsy English.

Julius Nyrere, in his capacity as the president of Tanganyika suggested Organisation of African Independent States (OAIS); while Milton Obote of Uganda was of the view of naming it Organisation of African States (OAS). Kwame Nkrumah preferred Union of African States (UAS), Hubert Maga of Dahomey made the final suggestion that was unanimously accepted. Hence, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Article I then states it graphically: "The High contracting parties do by the present Charter establish an organisation to be known as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)." In Article 2, "The Organisation shall include the continental African states, Madagascar and other islands surrounding Africa.

Before we go into indepth exposition of the content of OAU Charter, it will not be out of place first, to define what in essence, is Organisation of African Unity. OAU is a comprehensive intergovernmental organisation embracing all aspects of inter-state relationship including political and security questions, as well as economic, social and related matters. The *raison d'être* of the African unity is the attainment of peace and security, freedom and justice, economic and social development through common efforts among the African states. As such, it seeks to promote within Africa, the main purpose of the United Nations and African dignity.

OAU CHARTER AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBER STATES

One of the characteristics of the OAU is that it undertakes in Article 2(i) of its Charter to promote the Unity and solidarity of the African states. The preamble refers to the common determination among states in response to the aspirations of peoples for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences. At the same time, the Charter states that one of the purposes of the OAU is to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the African States (cf Article 2:1.c).

The main elements of OAU may be described in brief, in terms of the following basic attitudes of the African states which are: (1) a unique inclination to combine Pan-Africanism or Pan-Negroism with nationalism, (2) a quest for autonomy in solving African problems, and (3) a drive to liberate the entire continent from colonialism and racial discrimination.

The obligation of the member states under the OAU Charter is laid down in Article VI which states that they pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III consisting of the following: (1) Sovereign equality of member states, (2) non-interference in the internal affairs of states, (3) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state, (4) peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration; (5) unreserved condemnation of subversive activities, (6) absolute dedication to the total emancipation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

More specific obligations are undertaken in Article XIX where the member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means, and to this end, undertake to establish a commission of mediation, conciliation and arbitration. According to the protocol

of this commission, adopted by the OAU as an integral part of its Charter, recourse by member states to arbitration is regarded as submission in good faith to the award of the Arbitral Tribunal (Article 28 of Protocol)

The resolutions of the OAU organs directed to the member states are all recommendations. If such state(s) fail to comply with them or even with the OAU Charter principles which they have pledged to observe, there seem to be no measures that the OAU could take against them. The OAU Charter does not provide for the suspension or expulsion of a member state concerned, which becomes effective one year from the date of written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General (Article XXXII of the OAU Charter).¹⁹

AFRICAN SECURITY

Security is important to Africans. This accounts for the reason the issue receives accolades of the OAU in their Charter. The African leaders wanted peace and Security both from within and without. Security thus defined by African Heads of States emerges as a concept destined not only to protect the national integrity of the state but also to defend those essential values that constitute

specifically African dignity/identity. African security in essence, is the element of the Charter.

As it were, African security is the survival of African race at the encounter of the other (West or East) in all forms, kind and degree. And again, African security points to African development or progress (we shall come to that). Security does not mean merely safeguarding of territorial boundaries. It means also ensuring that the continent is industrialized rapidly and develops into a cohesive, egalitarian technological society.²⁰ Andre G. Gunder Frank observes that in Latin America,

the concept of national security has been elevated into a "doctrine" sometimes referred to as "technocratic" ideology, which postulates that the security problems of Third World Societies can only be solved through the desideratum of science and technology under the aegis of the Armed Forces.²¹

To visionize continental or national security as an ideology is to make a synthesis of political, economic, socio-psychological, military and geographical strategies in international politics. Economic and technological advancement remain, in the main, one of the essential elements towards continental security - that Africa may preserve its manhood, integrity, personality or security, there is the deep need to strengthen, not only the economic, political or technological status, also the power of military establishments. Africa, where necessary should

atomize and nuclearize its arms; for African personality cum dignity is not a gift of charity obtained by kneeling and stretching of arms before the "powers that be". Africa should wrest power powerfully from the West and use (exercise) it powerfully.

In 1964 the Heads of States and government of the OAU adopted DENUCLEARISATION of Africa as an approach to African security; they announced their readiness to undertake in all international treaty to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. Nforika Nweke reacting to this opines that those who believe in the practicability of African security through DENUCLEARISATION are deceiving themselves.²² We add, that one does not dispose what he does not possess.

Finally, African security amidst technological advancement, strong military and economic base, and socio-cultural emancipation, must have its foundation in African Unity. Once there is Unity, security could be meaningful. Balkanisation will go a long way towards stampeding this goal. We must all hang together lest we hang separately.

Pan-Africanism provides a common ideological basis for the advancement of African security. Its primary goal is the independence political community embracing all ethnic and national groups free from Political, economic and racial domination.

African personality will be irrelevant without the common front of the OAU and African Security. The OAU and African Security manifest singleness of purpose, that is, unity and liberation of African continent from colonialism thereby creating a new African Personality devoid of subjugation. In a word, the OAU as an African Personality, is a quest for autonomy in solving African problems and a reaction to colonialism and racial discrimination.

5.4 NON-ALIGNMENT

The most important place for articulating non-alignment remains the United Nations. It is of course true, however, that the tenability of the policy of non-alignment varies according to the situation of each country or continent.

Non-alignment is saying that Africa have a positive and constructive contribution to make to the work of international communities to which it belongs whether it be the commonwealth, the Afrp-Asian or the United Nations. Inherent in non-alignment is the conviction that Africans have a rightful place in the harmony of all nations; that the world will not find its true balance, will not become what it aspires to become until the African affirmation has been made and the countries of Africa assume their

rightful places among other nations of the world. Non-alignment is affirming that we, African people, seek the same world peace, stability, security and well-being that all decent people seek the world over, and we are unwilling to be used willy-nilly as pawns in Great power struggles. We will not become the stooge or satellite of any bloc or body.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, sees non-alignment as the prerogative of a state to preserve to itself the decision whether or not to associate with any power bloc or military alliance or concert of states or ideological school of thought.²³ What Azikiwe is saying is that non-alignment is essentially an extra badge of independent states and of the dignity of independent initiative.

Non-alignment, as it were, does not constitute itself as a third bloc though it is often spoken as a third force. However, Colonel Nasser agrees that non-aligned countries have no intention of forming any bloc.²⁴ Azikiwe reaffirms Nasser's view when he spoke at Belgrade conference.

We are not here to constitute ourselves into a third bloc, yet by this very conference we are constituting ourselves into a moral force and influence between the East and the West in the cause of peace.²⁵

By Azikiwe's view, African countries in adopting non-aligned posture, constituted themselves into "a-go-between" in peace making of West and East blocs. Non-alignment allows for the development of friendly feelings towards both blocs. It feels free to praise and to criticise them. In the main, non-aligned position is often presented as being in the best interest of the West and East. By non-alignment, we the Africans, say what we believe, whether this pleases the west or the East is not our concern. We do not tend to support one bloc against the other, but we are bent on finding the best solutions to the problems pressing on us. We shall study all existing views and we shall express ourselves in support of those providing for the most objective settlements.

Our standing, in the eyes of the world will be greatly enhanced if we consistently express our views on international disputes, without fear or favour and act in accordance with the moral dictates of our conscience.²⁶ The watch word is Freedom to choose and decide each international issue on its specific merits in our own interest. If our interest, decisions and principles coincides with that of the Western or Eastern bloc, this is entirely a matter of chance and not the result of calculation.

However the above may be, non-alignment is not non-commitment or adopting an isolation posture. It is not fearful of becoming involved in world affairs. On the other hand, it demands to be involved, but not on the Great Powers terms. On this issue of non-alignment assumed to be non-commitment or isolation, Colonel Nasser and president Abboud of Sudan are very eloquent. For Nasser,

We should remain in constant touch with the two conflicting military camps, since non-alignment does not mean that we isolate ourselves from problems, it means that we should contribute positively to the consolidation of understanding, and to the opening of channels for the deep chasms caused by crises.²⁷

President Abboud of Sudan in his own contribution as against non-alignment in relation to isolation, says that we the small nations cannot stand aloof from the suicidal race of armament; and that it is our duty to the world to put the Great Powers wise to the dangers of their activities.²⁸

It still remains that our neutralism does not mean isolation, or non-commitment or detachment from one part of humanity or the other. On the other hand, it means the search for and acceptance of whatever is true and just in the sum total of human thinking. Our neutralism is dynamic and viable. Its concern is to save human values and to promote the peace and progress of human race.

Neutralism is freedom from prejudice, it is not reluctance to make judgements. This alone is valuable in the antithetic stance of communism and capitalism. Neutral countries, like Africa, form a sort of buffer, a shock-absorber of the two blocs. Hence, African non-alignment is the occasion of a moderating influence on the two systems. It must be remembered that there are a few neutralist bodies in the world - The British Commonwealth and the United Nations Organisation call to mind.

In another sense, non-alignment is spoken as the right of a nation (Africa) to establish the type of government it desires, freedom to choose its regime, its economic and social system, its way of life. In short, freedom to act in accordance with its own guiding spirit unhampered by any pressure from outside.

Finally, a distinctive African Personality in international affairs would be possible only if African countries are allowed to develop according to their own ways of life, customs, traditions and cultures and allowed too, to adopt a posture of positive neutrality in world affairs. The projection of such a personality through non-alignment is one of the ways whereby African nations can show the world that they are masters of their own destinies. African personality in non-alignment represents African stance in international politics.

5:5 GLOBAL BLACK UNIFICATION

If the OAU is primarily aimed at uniting the continental Africans, global Black unification is articulated towards uniting all Africans wherever they may be; the goal for which Pan-Africanism or Pan-Negroism sets out to achieve. African personality is for the welfare of all Africans and as such, global Black unity becomes a panacea or rather a pointer to African personality. The African-American civil rights crusader, Malcolm X, in July 1964 reminded the OAU summit of the need for brotherhood between continental Africans and Africans in diaspora particularly the African-Americans.

We in America, are your lost brothers and sisters and I am only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the Afro-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that had rejected us, and like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

He continues,

Your (ie continental Africans) problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected unless we are also respected. You will never be recognised as free human beings until and unless we are also recognised and treated as human beings.²⁹

Malcolm X's call is very sympathetic. He mirrored the depersonalised situations of the Blacks in America. In summary, Malcolm is saying that the OAU should incorporate African descents in their Charter, aims and objectives;

that the OAU's quest for African identity is Black identity; Africa would remain an important ancestral base from which, from time to time, the diaspora Africans could draw inspiration and strenght. Tony Thomas, an African-American observes that success in the struggle on American soil is a prerequisite for the liberation and unification of Africa itself.³⁰

Raphael C. Uwachue, an ex-diplomat on global Black unification succinctly observes that there is an urgent need to develop and sustain a dynamic link between Africans and their descendants abroad for the mutual benefit of both parties. He laments that the Organisation of African Unity's interest revolved on African states instead of Black people.³¹ As long as Black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on the ground of their colour, Black People everywhere still stand together in opposition to that oppression in future as in the past.

In the following verse, Ify Amadiume calls Blacks of the world to unite. He declares:

All Black for that is one name
 Come back to one mother
 To cure disease suffered
 In culture strange,
 In strenght renewed
 To go back and say
 I have always known my own
 Do not force me to serve your own....³²

Amadiume's verse recognises Blacks as one fold. He employs Blacks collectively to cure disease suffered (ie humiliation and culture estrangement). It is only when this is done would Blacks have "found their own" - the dignity lost. This dignity is Black strenght, our own, our personality.

Granted, there is apparently a gulf between the "uprooted Africans" and the continental Africans, the emotional impulse towards identification and the attempt to bridge this gulf survives powerfully. No wonder, Langston Hughes, an African-American, once expressed in one of his Black solidarity verses,

We are related - You and I
 You from the West Indies,
 I from Kentucky
 We are related - You and I
 You from Africa
 I from these states
 We are brother - You and I.³³

"Uprooted Africans" of today have agreed directly or indirectly on reclamation of Africa as their traditional home. They take pride in descending from great and noble Africa. Some take African citizenship in African countries and inter-marriages has been on the increase.

The consciousness of kind, and the need for collective Black identity spurred Malcolm X to campaign for Black Nationalism while Marcus Garvey rallied for Back-To-Africa-Movement, a kind of Black Zionism or irredentism. Black

struggle for unity coupled with African-American Zionism or Back-To-Land is African Personality in action.

5.6 BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL (A POETIC EXPOSÉ)

Black is beautiful as a slogan and movement triumphed when the Black consciousness and Black identification of self was at its peak, when the diaspora African and native African writers and poets emphasises Black poetry or African literatures. The Ebony Magazine is evidential to this end. The poets/writers had wanted to restore dignity and pride in that which is black as against the derogatory usage.

The term, BLACK was sometime considered offensive, blatantly insulting, epithetic and denigrating. In America, for instance, African descents were first identified as coloured people, negroes and niggers. Much later they were addressed as Afro-Americans. Today they are proud to be addressed as African-Americans. Hence, from coloured shame to coloured fame. This has done much to neutralise the damaging effects of oppression from being Black.

Nevertheless, the Black consciousness or Black awareness movements are conceived as a kind of black is beautiful slogan. It is a set of ideas, beliefs and behavioural patterns which affirm the beauty of blackness and dispel

any negative images Black people or white people have about blackness. Blackness becomes a feeling of pride. Langston Hughes, in his poem expresses this Black pride graphically:

I am a Negro
 Black as the night is black
 Black like the depths, of my Africa.³⁴

Dr. R. A. Armattoo a Togolese writer who lived for a long time in Europe extolling blackness in one of his defiant poems writes:

Our God is black
 Black of eternal blackness
 With large voluptuous lips
 Matted hair and brown liquid eyes
 For in his image are we made
 Our God is black.³⁵

The above poem was an elegant move by an African to enter into the office of religion and contextualize God as being black. This poem reminds us of the great theological debate of enculturation and acculturation. The argument is that if God is to be made black, He will understand Black problems. Our God is black. In His image we are made. Armattoo took pride in asserting that our lips are voluptuous.

Leopold Seda Senghor epitomises the beauty of dark women when he says

Women nude, women black
 clad in your colour which is life
 Your beauty strikes me in the heart
 As lightning strikes the eagles.36

What Senghor expressed in the above short but apt verse is that black colour is "life" and attractive. George Despotos in what looked like a reply, opines in his verse:

We hurl in the face of the world,
 Our primal and prognathous challenge,
 Stark naked 'neath the palm trees,
 Stark naked 'neath the bamboo tree
 The pride of being black
 The glory of being Negroes.37

Dark skin is still prevalent and that many Blacks reject their body image is evident going by the demands for skin lightening creams. The ever present knowledge that one's dark physiognomy is evaluated as ugly lowers self-esteem and therefore, weakens self-confidence. One of the main tasks of black is beautiful, as a slogan, is to affirm the beauty of our blackness; to view beauty in black skin, thick lips, broad nostrils and kinky hair. One's black, is forever black. It cannot be bleached. No wonder Leumas Sirrah wrote the poem:

"ME - I'M BLACK."

I'm black
 I'm black
 I can't change the fact
 understanding I don't lack
 I'm me - I'm black

I am what I am -
 That's all that I am
 I'm me I am
 I'm black
 I am black.38

Being black is not a lack, as expressed in the poem.

"I am me, I am black." D.T. Ogilvie's "BLACK THOUGHTS" also expresses the changelessness of being black.

Once you are black
You can never be blacker
Than your black brother.³⁹

Frank Kobina Parkes illustrates the riches in the colour black when he wrote the poem: "AFRICAN HEAVEN." In the poem, he associates the colour black to chocolate brown or dustlike colours. Parkes would prefer black to all others. He advises that his four talking drums should be black, dirty black.

Give me black souls
Let them be black
Or chocolate brown
Or make them the
Colour of dust - Dustlike,
Browner than sand
But if you can
Please keep them black

Give me some drums
Let them be three
Or may be four
And make them black -
Dirty and black.⁴⁰

The rhythm of the four drums are likely to be black. Black is the origin of all that is, hence Marvin, X's Verse ; "THE ORIGIN OF BLACKNESS."

Black is not a colour
All colours comes from Black
Black is a rhythm
The first word was Black
The first man was Black
God is Black
Black knows its brother
You can't run from Black
You can't hide from Black
Your mother is Black
Your father is Black
Your shadow is Black
The things you see and hear are Black
The things you can't see and hear are Black
Black is reality.⁴¹

The general characteristics is that the poems pictured the nascent idea of black is good, and of African personality. Black is beautiful thus becomes an arm of African dignity in manifestation - Pride in one's colour.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6:1 SUMMARY

Chapter one was the general introduction of the study leading first, to the background of the work, statement of the problem, purpose, delimitation, methodology and significance of the study. We finally made a review of our relevant literature. For the purpose of clarity, we classified our literatures into four logical sections. We apologize for the not too recent books - such is the case because, our thesis is generic; adding to this is the general African (Nigeria) problem where publications and dearth of books remains problematic.

For the purpose of not being unwieldy and sounding ambiguous, we, in chapter two, examined the key but operating terms like: Eclectic, Hermeneutics, African and Personality.

Chapter three saw us taking a retrospective view of the African person. We concentrated on the pre-colonial African and colonised African experiences.

In the fourth Chapter, we espoused the varied definitions and meanings of the concept of African personality by different African socio-political thinkers . We found

it refreshingly interesting in considering Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa Socialism and its import as an African personality. We also considered Pan-Africanism.

Chapter five which of course, is the philosophy of African personality was however, not an easy one. We espoused the concepts; Negritude, Black Power, OAU and African Security, Non-Alignment, Global Black Unification and Black Is Beautiful slogan. We meaningfully associated them as the manifestation of African personality. We must comment that their commonality lies in the affirmation of African/Black authentic self. Their inherent errors or shortcomings in the method of this affirmation is a human one. They were all sincere efforts to give Africa(ns) a new meaning.

6.2 CONCLUSION

Concerning colonialism and scramble for Africa, the African is a man of sorrow in the human family. The white man in hewing out for himself a fixed abode in Africa, has massacred the African in heaps. The Black man is taken for a botton dog., a comedian and a pawn. The Black man is a quasi human, an excellent animal but only an animal born to serve a "superior race."

Africa deserves to be understood and be recognised from the viewpoint and perspective of her own people. Africa is no longer willing to be referred to as British, French, Belgian or Portuguese Africa. Africa must create and assert her own personality and speak for herself. She cannot be a projection of Europe nor any longer permit herself to be interpreted or spoken for by self-appointed interpreters. The Black man is no longer a voice drowned in a sea of dehumanizing forces, he now seeks a way of life which reveals his sense of significance.

The day when the white man will cease to control the decisions that affect the lives of Africans is nowhere in sight, but the day when Africans accept this state of affairs as natural, logical and best is in sight. Today in Africa, there is no way to escape modern world but no easy way to join it either. Clearly, it would not work for Africans to slavishly imitate their western mentors, nor to obediently follow their directions. It is most improbable that we Africans will catch-up with the white men, at least in the present dispensation. What is important is steady growth and reasonable comfortability of us Africans within a reasonable given period and with a view of bettering the future to match our foreseeable futuristic experience.

Men have tried to compare races on the basis of some equality. In all the works of nature, equality is a near difficult dream. If one searches the universe he will hardly, if not impossible, find two units alike. Nature and circumstances have bestowed upon each a peculiar individuality. Each is a perfect germ, like a work of arts, it shines in its own glory different from all of its companions.

The races of mankind are composed of free and unique individuals. I humbly request that Africa should not be compared to Europe or to any other continent. I make this request not from any fear that such comparison might bring humiliation upon Africa. The reason is that common standard is difficult. Comparison often amount to fallacy of superimposition of identity. Africa is for Africa. The history, background and experiences of the African differ with other peoples of the world. The African must not waste his time weeping and mourning the lost opportunities, the consequences of his unedifying history of centuries of slavery, socio-cultural, political and economic debasement.

Amidst the vicissitudes of life, the African believes that others have a superior genius. Are Africans lacking the initiative to invent? Certainly, we feel that we are incapable of inventing something that will be of benefit

to the world. Africa has produced geniuses in the past. Africa is producing geniuses today. And Africa can and will produce geniuses tomorrow.

African inventors are not lacking. For instance, Eli Whitney, a caucasoid, is credited with the invention of cotton gin, which revolutionized the manufacture of cotton. Henry E. Barker examiner of the United States Patent Office states that Whitney got the idea from a Black slave.¹ Norbert Rillieux, a Black man, invented an evaporating Pan which has since been the basis of refining and manufacturing of sugar. Henry Blair, another Black man, invented two corn harvesters in 1834-1836, thus practically revolutionizing applied agriculture. Jan E. Matzelliger, a Black man of Dutch Guiana descent, invented the Lasting Machine, by which the mass production of boots and shoes was made possible and that he sold this Patent in 1852 to the United Shoe Machinery Company, One of the greatest shoe producing concerns in the world. The number is innumerable - J.H. and S.L. Dickinson two Black men, invented over twelve appliances which enable the piano to be played automatically. Shelby J. Davidson, another Black man, invented a mechanical tabulator (adding machine) which has been incorporated in modern comptometre Machines.²

In that same order, J. L. Pickering of Haiti, James Smith of California, W.G. Madison of Iowa, and H.E. Hoster of Missouri, all Black men, have been granted patents for certain devices employed in airships. It is without argument that Granville T. Woods, a Black man, made the following inventions which are used today eg steam boiler furnace, amusement Machine apparatus (a type of incubator), and electrical air brakes (devices for transmitting messages between moving trains). The patents of these inventions have been bought and used by the following American Companies: General Electric Company, Westhouse. Air Brake Company and Bell Telephone Company respectively.³ It is high time Africans realize that they too have brains like others. We have talents which are latent but can be stired up or developed.

In the area of religion, Africa has made its contribution. The Judeo-Christian revelations are fostered in Africa. Moses the greatest lawgiver the world ever had was born and educated in Africa; when there was famine, Abraham went to Egypt to sojourn (Gen.12:10); Jacob and his sons were subsequently saved from extinction in the same way. The great philosophers of Greece and Rome were nortured in Africa.

Jesus, when in infancy was preserved from death in Africa (Egypt). Years later when He was accused by Asia (the Jews) and condemned by Europe (Rome) and when he was to die a shameful death on the cross, it was an African, Simon of Cyren that offered a helping hand. If not for Africa, Moses and Jesus (representing Jewish and Christian religions respectively) would have died prematurely and un-noticed.

Again, when America needed development, it was the African sweat and flesh that was assembled to develop it. Today, the police of the earth or rather, the giant of the nations has kicked and forgotten the breast (ie Africa) that fed her.

Africa has in the past served the earth in different capacities. Today she has not fallen short of this great call of service. She is everywhere the servant of others. When the New World was engulfed with over production, Africa provided ready market. In the light of ultimate good of the universe, I do not see why the calling of the One, Blacks, should be considered the result of a curse, and the calling of the other, whites, the result of special favour. It has been asserted that whites serve mankind by ruling while Blacks serve mankind by serving. That is to say, one eats the food, the other cooks and washes the dishes and eat the crumbs. Even if

this is true, one can also recall the biblical saying:

"One who must be the chief and leader must serve first."

To my mind, Africa has performed her duty dutifully (as first a teacher and long now a student of world history) and the hour of glory has come.

To attain this hour of glory or should I say, African dignity, African identity, African personality, or the authentic existence of the African, to my mind, education is a must. Education is one of the most important means of self-actualisation and restoration of respect. Any fundamental change in the intellectual, social economic, cultural, and political outlooks of any society has to be preceded by a qualitative educational evolution. How can we have qualitative educational evolution in Africa? Of course, it is not by present but steady decline in the enrolment figures in our schools; neither could it be by the withdrawal of the pupils already in school or the introduction of high school fees in African institutes of learning.

Illiteracy breeds other ills for Africa. The social problems resulting from illiteracy and poor orientation culminates unfortunately into: hunger, poverty, suffering, unemployment, over population, refugee, endemic tribalism and as such, depersonalises Africans and all that is Africa.

The education of the Africans in the past and present, I estimate, has prepared Africans for life in a social order which is stagnant and unprogressive. It has made us to cultivate false values which are based on the Veneer of a decadent civilisation. African's present educational system is anachronistic, for it makes us to pursue and take shadows for reality. It makes us permanent and poor imitators of Western civilisation. The education of the African, lacks perspective, so to speak. It is interested in perpetuating the European status quo. All that we have said can be summed up in the words of late Zik of Africa:

Africans have been mis-educated. They need mental emancipation so as to be re-educated to the real needs of 'Renascent Africa.'⁴

Zik is saying that African present society is shaped according to our educational perspectives and objectives and that a re-evaluation of concepts and values are necessary for African resurgence. African educational system should, as it were, generate creative scholarship. To this end Clive Harber in his book: Politics In African Education,⁵ did not hold any contrary view.

I advocate that education in Africa must equip African sons and daughters with the personality resources for meeting and coping with the intensities of the African situations. Education in Africa must enable us as much

as possible, under the strains and stresses to which the continent is subjected. The educational structure of Africa should not be rigidly geared in ad hoc and opportunist way of problem solving of the day alone. Education is a perennial activity; and who can tell what the need of Africa will be from time to time? Who can tell how they might change? Needs change, some are satisfied, some fall into abeyance, and new ones arise or are created. The educational structure of Africa, in a word, should be primed to make remedial provisions for changing and unforeseen needs.⁶

Frantz Fanon, in his struggles for the restoration of African personality continuously reminds us, Africans, to go back to our roots and rediscover, promote and project our personality through reflexive thinking. Fanon believed that western education has corrupted the African mind and as such, alienated and impoverished the social existence of the Africa. He advocates for de-colonisation of the African mind.⁷ The modern African, although educated, needs to be re-educated in that which is African. The contemporary African person, via western education has been mentally brain-drained, if not white-washed. He is intellectually imperialised.

Americans are brought up to love America and the American dreams through their educational institutions fashioned by the philosopher and educationist, John Dewey. It ensures that every American is exposed to and immersed in the Americans way of life. In the then Soviet Union, before the great fall, the youth and adults were initiated into Marxism and Communism through educational system. To us, I submit, there should also be an indigenous educational system that should be aimed at integrating and re-integrating the African to his cultural milieu.

In Nigeria for instance, the Junior Secondary and senior secondary school system (JSS and SSS) should be encouraged and emulated by other African nations hence, it gives room for self-reliance, creativity and diversification of potentials. However, this ambition is yet to be fully achieved. This brings us to economic recovery. No nation of the world today wields power without, to a great extent, being economically independent Africa is among, if not, the richest continent in the world but most of it's riches lie stupefied in potentiality and dormancy. The most difficult problem in releasing this hidden productive force of Africa is a human one.

9.3 - THE EFFECTS OF AID ON AFRICAN PERSONALITY

In our statement of the problem we did raise the question whether African personality is rationally determinable in the face of manipulative aids or grants from developed world. In this work, we submit that indiscriminate aids, grants or charity from abroad tend towards defaming and depersonalising the African in his being and dignity. Aids or grants taint and mock African dignity. We maintain, that there is an effect of aids/grants upon the assertion of African personality. The aids from the white continent to Africa is like the Greek gift.

We shall authenticate the above opinion in this section by reviewing Western foreign policies as regards aids to developing nations of Africa. But first, has aid placed Africa in the pinnacle of economic self-determinism? Is it boom or doom to African personality? If there is anything called charity, it should not be without justice. In the same manner, aids or "crumbs" from the New World should command justice and fair deal and not subjugation, alienation and reification of African continent.

General George Marshall, founder of the Marshall plan and the brain behind American aids is of the view that should America fail in carrying out aids,

it will effect her international trade.⁸ In other words, without a new aid programme there would be a sharp drop in American exports. The role of foreign aid as a stimulant to American exports and as a weapon opening up new markets for American business, was pointed out by one time president of America, Kennedy when in September 1963 he asserted;

I wish American business men who keep talking against the foreign aid programme would realize how significant it has been in assisting them to get into markets where they would have no entry and no experience and which has traditionally been European.... And the importance of this aid to our export is increasing.⁹

Aids then are not all Charity, not a simple give away to pathetic nations of the world, say, Africa. Paul Hoffman, commenting on effects of foreign aids to America in an article in Fortune Magazine declares:

Doesn't it badly distort reality to call something that creates large numbers of jobs for American works foreign aids? Are actions that greatly increase our export earnings foreign aids? Is it foreign aids when we help to secure for ourselves new sources of assential raw materials? Is it foreign aids when we follow a course that could eventually lower the cost of goods and services Americans need every day?.... We earned our first sizeable dividends from that pioneering cooperative venture known as the Marshall Plan.¹⁰

From the foregoing, if Africa must accept aids from Europe or America, she should demonstrate total scepticism. Hence, an economy dominated by foreign investment is an economy managed by and from foreign decision centers. It is a colonised and imperialised economy. If Africa allows the West to chart the course of her economic development, they shall only have sectors of economies developed and of importance to the West. Indeed, foreign aid has usually gone to develop those facilities whereby private foreign investment would most quickly gain control over the economy of the aided nation. And the established terms or structures of international trade set up by the rich to impoverish the poor have simply helped in divesting the poor developing country of its control over its economy.

Foreign grants more often than not are political tool to buy over the developing world of Africa. Foreign "Crumbs" has the major objective of serving, not the overall economic interest of the recipients, but the political and economic interests of the donors and their collaborators in the recipient countries. Foreign aids leads to interference by the donors in the domestic and external affairs of the recipients - hence, he who pays

the piper dictates the tune. Most of all the foreign aids to Africa were received for specific projects instead of the whole development plans. And again, the cost of debt rescheduling and debt servicing negate whatever advantage there are in foreign aids as an instrument of economic self-determinism. Africa's external loans are used, in part, to service her debts and this has affected her international credit rating and consequently her prestige, dignity, identity and personality. It is to be argued that foreign aids reinforces dependence. Its continued acceptance affects, to a very significant extent, the rate of freedom and development.

There is no doubt that when a developed country extends foreign aids to an underdeveloped country, the donor aims essentially at either reaping economic benefits or converting superior economic power into a pattern of political alignment that would improve her global position.

Dependence on external power in form of aids hinders national development. In this regard, it conditions the domestic and foreign policies of the recipient country. The country aligns her policies to those of her major aids donors. Implicit in the psychology of aids or grants is the acceptance by the beneficiaries not to act in ways

inimical to the interest of donors. Of course, these include adopting development strategies acceptable to the countries major aid donors. No wonder then, development in Africa has continued to be conditioned by events in the advanced capitalist countries.

In a word, not only that foreign aids in Africa aggravated Africa's international credit rating, and problems associated with debt servicing, reschedulement or conversion, inflationary problems could arise from the malhandling or misappropriating of the loans especially if such aids are to be used to increase the productivity of the continent. Also the extension of foreign aids leads to increased importation of goods and services usually from donor countries.

Lloyd Timberlake in his book: Africa In Crisis, wrote extensively on the causes, the cures of environmental bankruptcy and the failures of aids/grants to Africa. He is of the view that the majority of people in Africa have the ability, the will, and the foresight to bring their continent to its rightful place among the family of nations. To do this, they need not charity, but far-sighted and unselfish investments from their wealthier members of that family.¹¹ He reaffirms that unless policies are altered, development and dignity for and in Africa will continue to be frustrated, leading

to what the Economic Commission for Africa has called, a political, social and economic nightmare.¹²

Washington Post columnist, Stephen Rosenfeld, captures the African picture of backwardness, indignity, and the fruitlessness of the western aids when he writes that, "it is hard to look at Black Africa without feeling that something has gone terribly wrong. It is not the spectacle of suffering that troubles us, whites, it is the sense that we of America and west who thought we knew how to help these people. We did not know well enough, although we acted as we did." Stephen Rosenfeld continued, "it is now broadly recognised that we provide funds and wield power that our (whites) advice or aids have deeply flawed."¹³ For instance, when France advised Franco-Phone countries to devalue their ceptar in 1994 they did, but inflation ensued.

Furthermore, the failure of western aids to Africa was made graphic in the words of World Bank Senior Vice President, Ernest Stern:

We have failed in Africa, along with everybody (ie other charity foundations) else we have not fully understood the problems. We have not identified priorities. We have not always designed our projects to fit the agro-climatic conditions of Africa and the social, cultural and political framework of African countries. Everyone else are still unclear about what can be done to Africa.¹⁴

The confession of the World Bank Chief, Ernest Stern, is a sincere one. He, in union with other foreign aid groups like Development Assistance Committee (DAC), Overseas Development Fund of the EEC, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA) at cetera, have not planned their scheme or aids to align with African realities be it agro-climatic conditions, socio-cultural or political ideologies operating in African countries.

We cannot forget in a hurry the advice given to Europeans by René Dumont in his book: False Start In Africa concerning wresting Africa from the unslaught of underdevelopment and depersonalisation. René, a French Scholar of economics and politics, was committed towards African's rediviva. He called his white colleagues to aid Africa disinterestingly, without strigent clauses. He declares:

...and what have we done uptil now to give Africans more effective help? It is high time that we offer Africa truly 'disinterested' aid, concerned above all with Africa's development, and not with prolonging abuses and privileges.15

However that maybe, in the world in which we are co-operation is fast replacing aids, grants or loans and assistance imply the three or charity. No matter how much aid is promised, if it slows down indigenous industrialisation and general development, it is satellitisation. One could legitimately call it neo-colonialism, the surrogate brother of dehumanisation, depersonalisation, subjugation and indignity.

Foreign investment often takes the shape of loans, aids or grants so as to hold the beneficiaries to perpetual tutelege. Africa has no other choice but to carry out autonomous investment/development if it wishes to escape present and future subservience to others. Russia, China and Japan at one point or the other demonstrates autonomous investment/development so as to escape from imperialism. It should be recalled that when in eighteenth century, Russia realised her inferiority to the West, Peter the Great and his Czarnist elite began the autonomous transformation of Russia into a world Power.

Similarly, when in nineteenth century Japan realised her inadequacy to the west, her Meiji elite autonomously reformed Japan into a world power. Today, Japanese technology and economy is floated abroad.

Similarly too, when in the twentieth century, China felt humiliation to first, the west, and secondly to

Japan, her Maoist elite autonomously revolutionised her into a world force. The same could be attempted in Africa by African technocrats to ensure African economic regeneration. Transplantation of ideology will not, to my mind, be a bad one. We can contextualize some technological ideologies operating outside Africa into our own system.

Nyerere, through Ujamaa Socialism had it upper most in his mind to make Tanzania self-reliant nation. He had wanted his country to be economically viable. He then saw it as stupidity and foolishness to rely on money from abroad for the development of Tanzania. What is true of Tanzania could be equally true of African development in general. The Black man needs a mental economic revolution. Without this we can never fully realise the need to be original and assume full responsibility for our progress or manhood. We must, I insist, develop a new and original economic ideology that is not a poor copy of either the capitalist or communist approach to economic development, we may borrow from the East or the West but we must evolve in our own way, taking into account our own cultural heritage and the reality of our situation.

We have been suddenly propelled into a civilisation different from our own. We must therefore, find a way of combining foreign methods and some of our traditional

institutions and values so as to forge a new basis for rapid economic development.¹⁶ Some indigenous African economists or thinkers advise that Africa should go back to traditional economic arrangement which is characterised by: humane economic wisdom, egalitarian concept of private property, collective ownership of the basic means of production, and community labour for public utilities - the road to this, we assert, is through a mediated form. A task that is however, intricately difficult if not impossible.

In the main, politics is a source of power in the world in which we live. Again, politics is a source of dignity and self-actualisation. It is a deception for any nation or continent to dream of her personality without wielding political power and strong independence. For the Black man, wherever he finds himself, needs this power. If we deserve dignity or personality, then we must create Black or African power. Our only road to dignity lies in the mountains and jungles of collective power. To regain our dignity we must make it impossible for any group to ever again trample upon us.

We suffered and are still suffering indignities not because of our colour, but because we had become a powerless and conquered people. We need the strenght of our

combined numbers and resources to protect ourselves from the very dangers of returning colonialism in all its disguised forms. We need it to combat the entrenched forces dividing our continent and still holding back millions of our brothers. Granted that all African nations are politically independent, we need to secure total African liberation. We need to carry out the reconstruction and rehabilitation ourselves.

Nkrumah rightly pointed out that no single African state today can protect its sovereignty against an imperialist aggressor. He declares that if we do not unite and combine our military resources for common defence, the individual states, out of a sense of insecurity, may be drawn into making defence pacts with foreign powers which may endanger the security of us all.¹⁷

It is good for us to have a unified military force and defence strategy. It will not be altogether very bad for African nations to adopt a unified foreign policy and diplomacy to give political direction to Africa. Under a major political union of Africa, Nkrumah argues, there could emerge a united Africa, great and powerful. If this is done, the territorial boundaries which are the relics of colonialism will become obsolete and superfluous. Nkrumah insists, the forces that unite us are far greater than the difficulties that divide us at present, and our

goal must be the establishment of Africa's dignity, progress and prosperity. Hence, Continental Union of Africa is an inescapable desideratum, if we are determined to move forward to a realisation of our hopes and plans for creating a modern society which will give our peoples the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfactory life.¹⁸ It is said that it took the United States a hundred and seventy years to achieve unity. The quest for this unity is still in progress. Similarly, a united African political kingdom is a continuous struggle.

The political naïveness of most African leaders has accounted for the political backwardness and instability of the African nations. Coups and counter-coups have added ugly spices to this. The African leaders are political neophytes and as such, beget naïve government and policies. The unbridled selfish quest for power, wealth, corruption and squandermania mentality or squandermania consciousness are the undoing of African personality and dignity both at home and in the international community. For Africa to regain political resurgence, and all that was lost, she needs both the "African Renaissance"¹⁹ and "Renascent Africa."²⁰ The renaissance and the renascent African person is articulate. He is destined to usher forth a New Africa in all departments of African existence.

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