

# A Holistic Philosophy of Emancipation and the Post-colonial African State\*

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## Abstract

*This work philosophically responds to what one could call the domination by the social scientific scholarship, of the discourse of emancipation, in Africa. Using the research methods of critical analysis and reflective argumentation, the work makes two fundamental and justifiable claims. The first claim is that the concept of emancipation is significant in the human history of Africa, given its inglorious past experience of slavery, colonisation, and the existing neo-colonialism. Expectedly, given that emancipation is mainly reduced to a phenomenon of social scientific research, there is a rich and diverse scholarly discussion of emancipation as development from social sciences in Africa. However, the diverse richness of such scholarly discussion is still intellectually impoverished by the limited philosophical angle of the extant literature on emancipation in Africa and insufficient attention to some other central issues in the concept. Consequently, the second claim responds by calling for a well-worked-out, holistic philosophy of emancipation that exposes and addresses core issues in the contemporary plight of the African state, thereby attending to the problematic issue of reductionism and insufficiency of scholarly coverage in the traditional discussion of emancipation in Africa. Therefore, we attempt a discursive articulation of such a philosophy of holism as positive transformation, identifying the metaphysical, the moral, the logical, and the epistemic levels of analysis of emancipation in the post-colonial African state.*

**Key words:** Africa, emancipation, holism, philosophy, post-colonialism, State

## Sumário

*Este trabalho, filosoficamente, responde ao que se poderia chamar a dominação pelo pensamento das ciências sociais, do discurso da emancipação, na África. Usando os métodos de análise crítica e reflexiva a argumentação de investigação, o trabalho faz duas afirmações fundamentais e justificáveis. A primeira alegação é que o conceito de emancipação é relevante na história humana na África, dada a sua experiência do passado inglório da escravatura, colonização e do neo-colonialismo existente. Sem dúvida, dado que a emancipação é, principalmente, reduzida a um fenómeno de pesquisa científica social, não há discussão académica rica e diversificada de emancipação como o desenvolvimento das ciências sociais em África.*

*No entanto, a riqueza da diversidade de tal discussão académica ainda é intelectualmente empobrecida. Na perspetiva filosófica, é limitada pela literatura existente sobre emancipação na África e atenção insuficiente para algumas outras questões centrais no conceito. Consequentemente, a segunda alegação responde propondo que haja um trabalho bem*



*elaborado, uma abordagem filosófica holística de emancipação que expõe e suscita questões fundamentais na situação contemporânea do Estado Africano, atendendo assim, a problemática da reducionismo e insuficiência de cobertura acadêmica no tradicional debate de emancipação na África. Portanto, procura-se neste artigo uma articulação discursiva de tal filosofia do holismo como transformação positiva, identificando a metafísica, a moral, a lógica, e os níveis epistemológicos de análise da emancipação do Estado Africano pós-colonial.*

**Palavras-chave:** África, emancipação, o holismo, filosofia, pós-colonialismo e Estado

*Emancipation is a legitimate human interest – Nuyen (1998:27)*

## **Introduction and Problem Statement**

There have been consistent arguments that the concept and discourse of emancipation should be accorded more scholarly attention in Africa, as the quotation so rightly captures. There are at least two basic reasons that have made this call presently relevant more than ever before. On the one hand, the discourse of emancipation is significant to Africa, given the extant reality of the inability of African states to adequately shake off and rise above their inglorious past experience of slavery and colonisation. On the other hand, the discourse is also significant because of the contemporary neo-colonialism that is manifest in the political and economic relations between African states and developed states. To address the problems identified, scholars especially from the social-scientific disciplines of political science, economics, and sociology in Africa, have produced much scholarship, looking at, and proffering solutions to, what one could aptly call the crisis of emancipation, and their consensus seems to be that emancipation is development. The present exercise is also in line, though only in focus, with the traditional attempts to address the crisis of emancipation in Africa. However, the present work differs from the so-called traditional attempts in its disciplinary approach, since it offers a constructively philosophical attempt to address the problem, ultimately taking emancipation as positive transformation. The central argument that is advanced here is that the crisis of emancipation which besets the post-colonial African state, could be better understood and substantially addressed from the perspective of a holistic philosophy of emancipation as positive transformation, a philosophical attempt that examines the crisis of emancipation in Africa from the angles of epistemology, ethics, logic, and metaphysics. In other words, the basic goal of this work is to discursively articulate a holistic philosophy of emancipation as positive transformation for the post-colonial or contemporary African state.<sup>1</sup>

The main body of the work is divided into five sections. After Section I, which introduces the discussion, Section II engages in some conceptual clarification; Section III critically examines some extant literature that focuses on some traditional theories of emancipation in Africa; Section IV attempts a systematic discussion of a holistic philosophy of emancipation for the contemporary Africa; and Section V summarises and concludes the discussion.

## Preliminary Conceptual Mapping

We shall commence this discussion by focusing on the clarification of two basic concepts, which form the discursive basis of the work. The concepts are: emancipation and philosophy.

### Emancipation:

According to Nuyen (1998:27), citing Jurgen Habermas, among the human interests is an interest in emancipation. For Nuyen, it is unlikely that many of Habermas' critics would disagree with this claim.<sup>2</sup> In this work, we cannot but agree with Nuyen (1998) on the position of Habermas that emancipation is a desirable. But, what constitutes this value?

Historically, emancipation as a word has been used variously. Originally, the Romans, in their legal language, spoke of emancipation as a 'release' from mancipium. The term stood for the total right of property exercised by the head of a household over persons and things. Thus, the slave, in being discharged from a mancipium became as free as the children of the household when they attained adulthood (see Grohs, 1976:65). Later, during the Enlightenment era, emancipation, otherwise called the liberation of man, came to be semantically equated with the power of reason of man to discover and understand the totality of reality. Therefore, a person who solely appeals to individual reason, rather than a metaphysical entity or an ecclesiastical authority, to sort out the totality of reality is mature, while a person who takes a different turn, is immature. A German Enlightenment philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1949 (1784):132), classically explains further that "such immaturity is self-caused if it is not caused by lack of intelligence, but by lack of determination and courage to use one's intelligence without being guided by another."

Two reasonable comments could be made about the theories of emancipation offered so far. Firstly, both of them are highly individualistic; They focus only on individuals, but not groups as well. Secondly, both understandings are strictly non-political in nature. But, emancipation could also be used with respect to group relations and, in this sense, legal sovereignty is meant. According to Grohs (1976:65):

For a long time 'emancipation' in Africa meant solely liberation from European rule. But when 17 African states became independent in 1960 and when from 1956 to 1966 32 countries finally attained national sovereignty, the continent, in part, emancipated itself from this type of colonial rule.

Obviously, Grohs (1976) is also using emancipation here in the political sense, given the mention of national sovereignty or freedom from colonial rule, apart from the legal sense embedded. But, as implied in the use of 'in part' by Grohs (1976) in the citation, this sovereignty is not complete. Salami (2009:131) supports this conclusion when he notes that the ending of colonial rule in most countries in Africa has not resulted in a complete control of their economic or political affairs, given that they are sovereign states only in name; Many of them remain under the economic and political control of their former rulers. If this position is accepted, it logically follows that the concept



of national sovereignty does not exhaust that of emancipation. In simple words, emancipation is more conceptually extensive than national sovereignty. We also explore the extension of the conception of emancipation in the study.

So far, one can see that emancipation as a word is normally and synonymously used with freedom, be it directly or indirectly. One could also say that the concept is usually applied and the meaning extended, when it is conjugated with another lexical element, that is, the preposition 'of'. Thus, we have phrases, such as 'emancipation of the intellect;' 'emancipation of women'; 'emancipation of blacks'; and so on. In these and such instances, emancipation means freedom from constraints relative to the lexical object it goes with. But, if emancipation simply translates into freedom as has been contended so far, and to be free is not to be bound, according to Timothy Endicott (2010:246), then emancipation in this sense is absolutist, and this makes it suspect and falsifiable. The logic is that almost everything that is open to human sense-experience is spatio-temporally bound in one way or another. Thus, if emancipation means boundlessness, and we could rarely come across such a thing in the world of the human person, then emancipation only resides in the world of human imagination, having no practical significance. In other words, if the absolutist account of emancipation, so to speak, is what we crave in getting the discussion about the concept properly started, then the discussion would never get off the starting blocks, the reason being that human experience does not offer any existential parallel to such an account. To this extent, we should turn to a non-absolutist account of emancipation in the present work. We should note, *ab initio*, that our account of emancipation also derives from the concept of freedom, given the seemingly general acceptance of the synonymy of the two words. But, we have to define how emancipation is to be construed in relation to freedom in this work, given that freedom itself is capable of diverse understandings. Having noted this, we shall now attempt to contextually construe emancipation as a conscientious nurturing of the capacities of the human subject, either as individuals or groups, to attain to a high level of positive transformation (hereafter emancipation as positive transformation). This conception of emancipation surely needs some analysis.

First, this conception is both limitative and extensive. It is limitative because it applies only to rational human beings or moral agents – non-human beings are excluded. It is extensive, at the same time, because it does not only apply to the human subject as individuals; it also applies to the human subject as groups. Thus, it could reconcile the Enlightenment atomistic understanding of emancipation by Kant (1784) with the political conception of emancipation by Grohs (1976). A person with independence of thought is positively transformed as a political unit that is sovereign.

Second, positivity of transformation is emphasised in our contextual conception of emancipation because there is nothing in human experience that could decidedly show that transformation is essentially positive; it could as well be negative, and thus be undesirable, at least, to a morally conscious human person. Specifically, positive transformation is emphasised here, as consisting with emancipation, rather than transformation *per se*. Moreover, the reference to human capacities in the conception of emancipation recognises that the human person is the primary object of

positive transformation, in the first instance, given that if this is recognised and acted upon, the human person reciprocally becomes the subject of positive transformation to his/her environment, in the final analysis.

Third, our contextual conception of emancipation is a composite of both negative and positive freedom. According to Blackburn (2005:141), narrow/negative freedom is thought of, as the absence of constraint, whereas positive freedom is a condition of liberation from social and cultural forces that are perceived as impeding full realisation; to become free is therefore a challenge that is only met by personal transformation. The contextual understanding of emancipation is negative freedom because it signals the fact that the capacity of the human agent should not be bridled, if s/he is to achieve any transformation at all, and this invariably sits well with absence of constraint. At the same time, the contextual conception is positive freedom because the conception is not concerned with just any transformation, but a high-level positive one. A person may not be constrained (negative freedom); yet, s/he may negatively transform, and thus fail to achieve his/her full realisation, that is, positive freedom, which invariably contextually consists with positive transformation. The significance of the explication is that, though, negative freedom does not necessarily yield positive freedom, and thus the two are not necessarily coextensive, both have been harmonised in the conception of emancipation in the present work. It must be iterated that the idea of development as positive transformation, being advanced here, does not connote that the post-colonial African state should revolt against being bound by morally sensible international law, or that the citizenry of the post-colonial African state should revolt against their state's subjection to a morally sensible international law. Rather, the claim is that the post-colonial African person, in the first instance, and the post-colonial African state, in the final analysis, should engage in an extensively constructive critique of the self so as to set things straight internally and subsequently garner respect internationally.

Fourth, in terms of focus, our contextual understanding of emancipation as positive transformation is not conceptually closed but open. It does not apply to the positive transformation of the human person or a group of people relative to only a given social phenomenon at a time, such as the political, the economic, the cultural, and so on. Rather, it is applicable across the board, that is, it applies to all of them at the same time.

## **Philosophy**

Without bothering to go into its intellectually trite etymology, one could state that philosophy is definable in both descriptive and normative ways. In the descriptive sense, philosophy refers to the totality of the world-views of a people, the world-views that encapsulate their basic beliefs, concepts and attitudes in relation to their environment; or, the personal convictions of an individual about life. In this understanding of philosophy, the concern is just to present as is the thought and action of a people relative to their environment, or the personal convictions of the individual; it is not to subject the thought and action, or the personal convictions, to critical or logical analysis and



moral valuation, having a corrective focus in mind. This descriptive sense of philosophy is beyond the focus of the present study.

However, in the normative sense, philosophy may be a discipline of study, or a critically rational exercise. As the former, philosophy is one of many discourses in human societies, the practitioners of which are devoted to critical dialogue with their thoughts and actions as well as the realities in their environment, be it immediate or extended. In this understanding, philosophy may be second-order or first-order. As a second-order discourse, philosophy critically dialogues with the assumptions and presumptions of other discourses in human society, with a view to prescribing norms of proper disciplinary conduct to them. As a first-order discourse, philosophy essentially engages in auto-critique, that is, it critically dialogues with its own principles of disciplinary operation.

As a discipline, philosophy has four basic branches: epistemology, ethics, logic, and metaphysics, and each of them is to be contextually understood in this work. Generally, the four sub-sets of philosophy focus on different fundamentals that aid human beings to appropriately order their lives and flourish in society. Epistemology focuses on human knowledge or, generally, what one could call 'knowledge infrastructure;' ethics study human conduct with an ultimate aim of prescribing norms of proper conduct; logic trains human beings in the art of right reasoning or deep/critical thinking/analysis that substantially helps the agents to successfully navigate their existential environment; and metaphysics makes a systematic attempt to help human beings to recognise and distinguish reality (what is) from mere appearance (what appears to be but is not).<sup>3</sup>

As a critically rational exercise, philosophy may be engaged in by any person who pays enough attention to argumentation, criticality, analyticity, logicity, systematisation, and so on in his/her thought and action, whether or not the person is a trained philosopher; whether or not the person knows s/he is doing philosophy; whether or not the focus of the exercise is philosophical or otherwise. In this sense, even a political scientist or a sociologist who aligns with the foregoing features of 'philosophical spirit,' may be philosophical in his/her work without knowing s/he is doing just that. The only clarification here is that while the features mentioned are primary research methods in the discourse of philosophy, they may just be ancillary research methods for other essentially non-philosophical discourses in society, such as political science (but, they may be primary in political theory because of their philosophical leaning), sociology, psychology, and so on.

It is noteworthy that the two normative understandings of philosophy are generally mutually inclusive, in the final analysis, given that they both emphasise the methodological features mentioned earlier. Moreover, philosophy is used as a second-order discourse as well as a critically rational exercise in the present discourse. We aim to apply the four basic branches of philosophy, as contextually understood, to critically and constructively engage with the concept of emancipation as positive transformation in post-colonial African state.

## Critical Engagement with Traditional Accounts of Emancipation in Africa

Some preliminary clarifications are apt, before we engage with some extant literature on the traditional accounts of emancipation in Africa. First, what we regard as traditional accounts of emancipation are so described because they constituted the very first sets of intellectual and popular attempts to address the problems of the African state in the post-colonial era. Second, since these accounts were (are) the intellectual efforts of people who were (are) domiciled in the African state of the post-colonial era, which is faced with the crisis of development, the accounts themselves are understandably development-focused. In other words, those who offer(ed) the accounts believe(d) that the pursuit of development is the only way the post-colonial African state could break free from its former colonial masters; thus, the traditional accounts equate emancipation with development. Third, some of the accounts were mainly offered in the early period of the post-independence Africa. The fact is that they are still supported, or called upon in one way or another, in the contemporary African state. Moreover, some variants of the accounts are of recent origin. Fourth, the neat categorisation of the accounts we give below seems to belie the fact that these accounts are practically interrelated; for example, the political account is both theoretically and practically related to the economic account. But, we still maintain the categorisation here on the basis of the main focus of each account as well as the disciplinary bent of the leading figures supportive of each account.

### Political/ideological account of emancipation

The political or ideological account of emancipation was the brain-child of some politically-inclined nationalist leaders in the early period of post-independence Africa, such as Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001) of Senegal; Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) of Ghana; Julius Nyerere (1922-1999) of Tanzania, and so on. The basic claim of the political/ideological account is that the freedom of the post-colonial African state lies, in the main, in its seeking for, and adopting of an autochthonous political system.<sup>4</sup> According to Ikuli (2006:34), for the African political thinkers,

development is to be attained through creation of an egalitarian, just, and self-sufficient polity. The State is the instrument through which such aspiration could be attained and becomes the mechanism by which the economy is organized. Key to this school of thought is the belief that real economic development and societal transformation are hinged on political centralization and mobilization.

Certain inferences could be made from the position of Ikuli (2006). First, the African political thinkers believed that the post-colonial African society could not be truly regarded as politically independent if it could not conjure up something that would be both autochthonous and political in nature. Thus, it is reasonable to state that the politically inclined nationalist leaders equated emancipation with an indigenously inspired political development. Second, as noted earlier,



the African political thinkers believed, and rightly so, that economic development could not be disaggregated from political development.

To this extent, these politically inclined nationalist leaders uncritically came up with a political ideology, *African socialism*; though, individual political thinkers had different versions of it (see Ikuli, 2006:34-38). The summation of this political ideology is that the political organisation of the post-colonial African state should be grounded in the cosmology of communalism, which was existent in the pre-colonial African societies. According to Ikuenobe (2006:1), communalism (which he actually uses interchangeably with communitarianism) is the idea of people living together as a group in a specific location and sharing some commonalities of history, ideology, belief system, values, lineage, kinship, or political system. He explains further that the idea of community is a conceptual foundation on which most African ideas, beliefs, values, ontology, cosmology, and ways of life are grounded (p 53).

The political/ideological account of emancipation in Africa is undeniably laudable, given its merit of showcasing that our pre-colonial thinking and practice in Africa had something of political value to contribute to the development of the post-colonial African state. But, the political ideology could still be fundamentally critiqued. The weakness is that the account over-romanticised the African past, wrongly believing that whatever derived from the past of Africa is unquestionably applicable now. Every epoch of human development, as history teaches us, is a composite of the good and the bad. Given this, to over-romanticise the past of any given people is something less than good scholarship. Here, we should not be mistaken to state that the African past has nothing of value to contribute to the present developmental efforts in Africa, which would be a fallaciously absolute statement. Rather, the claim is that over-dependence on the *episteme* of the past life, as the foundation of the present approach to life, is a didactic fallacy, given that it is consistent with always deriving the universal from the particular; it is like saying that since lessons can sometimes (particular) be learnt from the past/history, therefore they *should* always (universal) be learnt from the past/history. In order to learn anything from the past, we have to assume that it resembles the future closely enough that any lesson from prior experience can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to new situations (see Spoerhase & King, 2009:271).<sup>5</sup> It is true that we can learn from the past, but we must also remember that things do change in fundamental terms over a period of time. The present may not, in most cases, resemble the past. Thus, we should only use past knowledge in the present only where it is applicable; it is not in all cases that it is holistically applicable, that is, applicable without modification; failure to recognise this fact makes it fallacious (Badru, 2013b).

Moreover, uncritically foisting any political ideology, past or present, local or foreign, on the post-colonial African state is less than ideal, apart from being strictly unphilosophical.

### **Cultural/sociological account of emancipation**

This account states that the emancipation of the post-colonial African state could be achieved if we bring back to the foreground, in the present era, our traditional cultural values, which have been denigrated and relegated to the background because of our colonial legacy and neo-colonial



thinking and practice. Thus, it is a cultural variant of the political/ideological account examined earlier. The cultural account, it must be noted, is reactive to the so-called Euro-centrism as well as the epi-phenomenal cultural imperialism of the colonialists – the thinking that denigrated whatever was ascribable to the African culture. Steve Biko (1987: 29) aptly captures the way Africa is culturally demoted by the *foreign other*, thus:

No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism... Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition... No wonder the African child learns to hate his heritage in his days at school. So negative is the image presented to him that he tends to find solace only in close identification with the white society.

It is also noteworthy that Western philosophers, such as David Hume (1711-1776), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), and Hegel (1770-1831), among others grounded the so-called Euro-centrism and the epi-phenomenal cultural imperialism of the colonialists. Hume (1854:228-9), cited in William (2005:82), specifically states:

“I am apt to suspect the negroes and in general all other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences...there are Negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; tho’ low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every possession. In Jamaica indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly. ”

From the words of Hume, we could reasonably infer that absence of arts and sciences connotes absence of developed and rational culture, given that arts and sciences are the fulcrum of Western culture. If this is accepted, it consistently flows that if it is true that Negroes have no arts and sciences, then it logically follows that they are not culturally developed. But, there is a problem with this Humean view. Hume is a thorough-paced empiricist, but his position becomes intellectually ludicrous if it is subjected to his empiricist framework. According to Hume (2007:18):

All the objects of human reason or enquiry may naturally be divided into two kinds, to wit, *Relations of Ideas*, and *Matters of Fact*. Of the first kind are the sciences of Geometry, Algebra, and Arithmetic; and in short, every affirmation, which is either intuitively or demonstratively certain. *That the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the square of the two sides*, is a proposition, which expresses a relation between these figures. *That three times five is*



*equal to the half of thirty*, expresses a relation between these numbers. Propositions of this kind are discoverable by the mere operation of thought, without dependence on what is any where existent in the universe...Matters of fact, which are the second objects of human reason, are not ascertained in the same manner; nor is our evidence of their truth, however great, of a like nature with the foregoing. The contrary of any matter of fact is still possible, because it can never imply a contradiction, and is conceived by the mind with the same facility and distinctness, as if ever so conformable to reality...

For Hume (2007:23), the foundation of all our reasoning and conclusions concerning matters of fact is experience. Now, the acceptability of Hume's conclusion about the black people and other non-whites must either be located in relations of ideas or matters of fact. But, we could not rightly assert that the truth of the assertions of Hume is discoverable by the mere operation of thought, thus belonging to the relations of ideas, given that there is nothing in the views that is intuitively certain: the predicate of the statement, *the Negroes and in general all other species of men are naturally inferior to whites*, is not implied in the subject. This makes us turn to experience, which Hume argues, validates matters of fact. But, even experience does not validate Hume's conclusion, given that the statement that *the Negroes and in general all other species of men are naturally inferior to whites* is not a kind of statement that any contextual and transient experience of the human person could validate once and for all, since it is a universally affirmative statement. On the basis of this justifiable critique, the views of Hume are devoid of merit.

Kant and Hegel also echoed racist views and Euro centrism. Kant maintains that the indigenous Americans and the blacks are spiritually inferior in the human species (Makumba, 2007:37). For Hegel (1956:103, 99, 93), human history, as a manifestation of the world spirit (*Weltgeist*), "...travels from East to West, the Europe is absolutely the end of history, Asia the beginning...The Greco-Roman World represents the antithesis of the Oriental World, which unites in the dialectical triad to form a synthesis in the Modern Christian-Germanic World..." But, what role has Africa in the manifestation of the world spirit? For Hegel, Africa has no role to play; thus, it should be excluded from the manifestation of the world spirit since "...it has no movement or development to exhibit... [and thus] is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature... in Negro life the characteristic point is that consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence..."

Just as with Hume's views, the Euro-centrism of both Kant and Hegel does not also stand up to reason, and this is unfortunate, given the significance that Kant and Hegel attach to reason in their individual works. Furthermore, the Eurocentric views are not justified by experience, given that there was no conclusive evidence in the past, and neither is there in the present, that decidedly gives supremacy to one race over the other(s).

In response to Euro-centrism and cultural imperialism of the former colonialists and their legacy, some African scholars have spiritedly argued that the post-colonial Africa, in its drive for

development, should also elevate and employ indigenous cultures to offset the deficit of foreign cultural imperialism. In fact, Claude Ake (2001:15) decries the way culture has been construed relative to development, thus:

Culture, like the institutional framework, has been largely ignored as if it, too, had no serious implication for the success of development strategies...Instead of looking at traditional culture as something that the development paradigm has to come to terms with and even built on positively, many disdained it...they construed anything traditional, including the rural people, negatively...Unfortunately, taking this position makes the people and their culture problematic rather than the process of development itself.

Supportive of Ake (2001)'s view, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2011:160,161) states:

For one thing, it is important to make a point that people best develop from the foundations of their indigenous knowledge. African societies like all non-Western, non-industrialized societies of Asia and Latin-America are made up of populations which have ancient collective memories and funds of knowledge about their environments and which they utilize in the implementation of their modes of livelihood. Such knowledge has deep and penetrating roots embedded in the cultures of the people. Development, to be meaningful, needs to acknowledge this fund of indigenous knowledge and construct new knowledge on the foundations of what the people already know...Culture is a large and encompassing concept. It implies the totality of products that have resulted from the creative ingenuity of humans. Some of these products are material and are therefore tangible; while others, in such areas of social life like religion, language, beliefs, customs and values, are intangible, but are often more instrumental in the guidance of behaviour than the more recognizable material products of culture. While culture is the result of human creativity, it is also the key factor which shapes the way people behave.

Undoubtedly, contemporary elevation and application of aspects of indigenous cultures is a way towards true emancipation as development in the post-colonial Africa, since it shows the relevance of those cultural aspects to contemporary issues as well as supplies the contextual knowledge to the success of any development activity, and that no development programme could succeed in the absence of a solid understanding of contextual realities. The foregoing constitutes its merit. Nonetheless, it still remains one of the ways; it is not the only way, as Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2011) seems to suggest. After all, there are other existential issues that are not addressed by this cultural account, such as the moral deficit of administrative leadership in Africa; epistemically skewed policy process within the public sector, and so on. Moreover, the cultural account is only sociologically descriptive; there is no critical and sustained engagement with the indigenous cultures to be employed to counterpoise the legacy of colonial cultural imperialism.



Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2011:161-163; 165-166) emphasises indigenous languages as the key to African cultural emancipation as development. But, his cultural account does not specifically task professional African linguists and African philosophers of language, for instance, to brainstorm on how to further develop the use of indigenous languages to a high level that could make them constructively engage with serious scientific research and development (R&D).

Also, it is noteworthy that both the political and cultural accounts of emancipation as development are highly ethnographic: they are only interested in studying African cultures and deploying out of them what they think to be of relevance to social development in the post-colonial era. The accounts do not critically examine and interrogate the cultures themselves or what they take out of them as relevant to development purposes. Thus, they are strictly not philosophical as some African scholars are wont to refer to them (see, for example, Chachage, 1994).

### **Economic/scientific theory of emancipation**

As it suggests, the economic/scientific account of African emancipation entails two inter-related claims. The first claim is that the development of the post-colonial African state would ultimately be an outcome of economic development. The second claim, which derives from the first, is that the economic development of the post-colonial African state could only be achieved through the path of science and technology. It is noteworthy that the economic/scientific account is perhaps the most popular of all the accounts, given that even other accounts refer to it in one way or another, and that it was and is still being advanced by some of the best intellectuals in economics and political economy on the continent of Africa. Also worth noting is that the economic/scientific account of emancipation as economic development is theoretically grounded in the popular Marxian thesis of economic determinism. According to this thesis, the economic system is the foundation on which socio-political, religious and other institutions are erected (see Mark & Engels, 1959:9). Now, if we accept that the economic system is the foundation for the superstructure of other social institutions, using the Marxian expression, it logically follows that the development of the economic system is basic to the development of the superstructure.

Many prominent African intellectuals have supported the economic account of emancipation as economic development. According to Asante (1991:45, 60), quoting Adedeji Adebayo, a new approach to African development, on the part of Africans, entails a:

complete break with the old externally-oriented theories of development. It emphasizes the domestic natural resources base as the basis for determining profiles of development and economic growth and for designing and implementing appropriate strategies for manpower development, industrialization and the promotion of goods and services based on intra-and inter-sectional linkages and the expansion of national and regional markets...to forge a comprehensive unified approach to economic development of their continent.

Similarly, Akinjide Osuntokun (2013:5) states that:

...Africa's gross contribution to world economy is still abysmally low; and most of Africa's contribution to global trade is in form of low agricultural raw materials and minerals; and Africa's contribution is largely shared between the oil producing countries of Nigeria and Angola and the mineral producing countries of Southern Africa including the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)...If Africa wants to have influence in the rest of the world, it would have to concentrate on rapid economic development for which its vast natural resources entitle her.

Following on the stance of Osuntokun (2013), Nwoke (2013:5) bemoans Africa's underdevelopment, noting that:

...much of Africa's underdevelopment is the result of its engagement predominantly in primary resource production, which is controlled by foreign transactional entities, merely for export to metropolitan countries. This contrived and structural development of underdevelopment is, therefore, largely externally-induced.

In order to address the crisis of underdevelopment in Africa, Nwoke (2013:74-81) offers a largely economic strategic agenda, which includes, among others, (i) A 100% national ownership and control of the minerals sector; (ii) Application of mineral resources towards industrial transformation; (iii) Embarking on a gradual and progressive phase-out of mineral exports; (iv) Embarking on local geological survey and exploration; (v) Establishing indigenous technological research and development centers of excellence; (vi) Investing in human capital development; (vii) Reviving iron and steel industries; (viii) Producing for economic emancipation; (ix) Developing international competitiveness for our goods and services; (x) Ensuring food security, and (xi) Providing the basic needs of people.

Admittedly, the economic premise of the post-colonial African state has much strength to alter, positively or negatively, the premises for all other questions within the state: economic buoyancy or depression fundamentally affects the success or failure of administrative leadership, which in turn affects other social institutions in the final analysis. But, it is equally arguable that economic buoyancy or depression itself may be an outcome of the policy inclinations of an excellent or unwholesome administrative leadership within the post-colonial African state. However, the economic account does not address the problem of unwholesome administrative leadership in the post-colonial Africa. Moreover, economic buoyancy of the post-colonial African state does not necessarily correlate with human development within the state. The economic account of emancipation as development grossly downplays this problem.



## A Holistic Philosophy of Emancipation and the Post-Colonial African State

Before discussing a holistic philosophy of emancipation for the post-colonial African state, we should make some important comments about the traditional accounts just examined. First, none of the accounts inquires into the kinds of ontology and cosmology that could contribute to positive transformation, and thus be promoted in the person in Africa. Second, none of the accounts place much emphasis on the development of moral capital by the administrative leadership and the followership. Third, the accounts are largely silent on the institutional inefficiency in Africa because of corruption and exploitation by managers of human and non-human resources on the continent. Fourth, they largely ignore addressing the foreign foundation of the knowledge infrastructure in Africa, a fundamental basis of the unresolved problem of intellectual imperialism, which is the domination of one people by another in their world of thinking (Alatas, 2000:24), on the continent. Fifth, the traditional accounts are silent on the significant role of objectively sound logical analysis of extant realities in Africa, before deciding upon any political or/and economic ideology for adoption. Sixth, in terms of causation, the traditional accounts solely view the burden of Africa's underdevelopment from the externalist angle, to which the theories are responsive.

On the basis of all these failings, the traditional accounts of emancipation as development are neither holistic in their problem identification/analysis, nor in their prescriptions of solutions. To address the mentioned failings of the accounts, we have come up with what we could regard as holistic philosophy that takes emancipation as positive transformation. The present account of emancipation, to reiterate, is to be pursued within the disciplinary branches of philosophy.

### The metaphysics of positive transformation in Africa

To begin with, we should note that the metaphysics of positive transformation in Africa employs ontology and cosmology, the basic sub-sets of metaphysics, to dialogue with the African person, in the first instance. But, why is the African person the focus? The reason is that the African person should be the primary subject and object of positive transformation, which in turn should positively transform the African socio-political space, in the final analysis.

Ontology is used here to mean a metaphysical enterprise that philosophically studies the nature and qualities of being or what is. There are certain questions to address relative to the positive transformation of the African person. First, what kind of Africanity should be promoted in Africa? Second, how should it to be promoted? Africanity is understood here as what the self is essentially taken to be, or the core identity of the self within the African social space, in contradistinction with the non-African order. Four kinds of Africanity or personality paradigms in Africa have emerged. They are: (i) **Authentic/traditional Africanity**, which was existent before the occurrence of any overwhelming influence from the outside of Africa, be it from the Arab world or the Western world; (ii) **Arabo-Islamic Africanity**, which evolved from the Arabo-Islamic incursion into the African sociocultural space, through the Trans-Saharan slave trade and the Islamic jihads; (iii) **Euro-**

**Christian Africanity**, which was initiated, within the African sociocultural space, by the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and later consolidated through colonisation by the Western world; and (iv) **Eclectic Africanity**, which is a contemporary outcome of the dilution of the authentic/traditional Africanity by the combined forces of Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity.

A lot of criticisms could be raised against any effort to ensure a holistic return to the first kind of Africanity. To start with, it is doubtful whether we could successfully achieve it, given the overwhelming influences of Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity in contemporary Africa. We should also think about the cultural force of globalisation from outside Africa. Also, even if we could successfully make a holistic return, the question is whether it is advisable to do so, when advances are being made in other cultures of the world. Thus, a holistic return to the authentic/traditional Africanity may be more problematic than salutary. But, this conclusion does not emphatically state we could never derive any good from our authentic/traditional Africanity, even in the contemporary world. We return to this point later.

The conclusion above makes us turn to Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity. In spite of the merit of enabling the African self to know about, and benefit from, the civilisations of their respective regions, the fact is that both Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity have fundamentally polarised Africans among themselves, leading to conflicts and wars in Africa. Examples abound in the Christian-Muslim relations between the North and the South in Nigeria; the North and the South in Sudan, and so on. Thus, both Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity may not be good candidates for the emancipation as positive transformation of the African person.

This takes us to eclectic Africanity. A fundamental challenge is that it is an amalgam of incongruous elements, because of different cultural values – Arabo-Islamism and Euro-Christianity with traditional Africanity. The outcome of this is, at least, twofold: (i) There is the emergence of an African self that is inherently contradictory, the fact being that it is a composite of the foreign and the local; (ii) The African self is also indecisive of its true identity, given that it is not wholly foreign, just as it is not wholly local. But, eclectic Africanity may still have some merit, though. It is expected to be an enriched form of Africanity: it borrows from the foreign other to enrich the African self, giving it a more robust outlook. This, of course, assumes that the borrowings are critically selective, pragmatically appropriate, and properly synthesised, all of which call for a deep or critical thinking on the part of the African self. The foregoing connects the metaphysics and the logic of positive transformation in Africa.

Unfortunately, however, this supposed enrichment is largely still in the abstract because the African self has not yet fully succeeded in (i) Being critically selective in choosing what to embrace from the foreign other; (ii) Knowing what to reject from the foreign other if they are not pragmatically appropriate to the social space in Africa; (iii) Knowing how to properly synthesise the borrowings from the foreign other. The problem of uncritical borrowing as well as pragmatic impropriety is practically instantiated in some Africans, old and young, who bleach their dark skin in order to appear light complexioned and, thus, indirectly showing that a light complexion is superior to a dark complexion. The relevant ontological question here is: What constitutes an ideal complexion?



Derivative from this are other questions, such as: Is a light complexion an ideal complexion, while a dark-complexion is not? What is ontologically wrong with a dark complexion that those Africans are not proud of? Critical reasoning must be deployed here to address the questions.

Cosmology is used here to mean a metaphysical enterprise that philosophically studies the worldviews of a people about a host of existential realities, such as birth, death, reincarnation, social relationships, and so on, or extra-sensible entities, such as God, evil, and such like. One of the central interrogatives that must be addressed with respect to the positive transformation of the African person is: Are all our traditional worldviews still pragmatically relevant to the contemporary epoch in Africa? Mere reason tells us that it is only an uncritical approach to truth to say that all our traditional worldviews are still pragmatically relevant in the contemporary African state to fully appreciate emancipation as positive transformation. But, to know what to accept from the worldviews as relevant and what to reject from them as irrelevant requires deep/critical analysis. It is this deep/critical analysis that shows us the path to what is relevant and where is relevant as well as what is not relevant and why it is not relevant. For example, the idea of communalism, which is a basic in African cosmology (see Ikuenobe, 2006; 53), may be critically examined from moral and political angles as to its propriety in post-colonial Africa.

Morally, the communal idea of common ownership of social resources fosters the value of fellow feeling, which invariably builds social cohesion, given that whatever resources for common distribution, regardless of the diversity of the would-be beneficiaries, are taken as ideally, though it may not be practically, owned by all in society; if ideally taken as owned by all, then the interests of all the would-be beneficiaries of resource distribution are taken into consideration. Politically, we should note that communal practice thrives best in a small community with a homogenous population, making it administratively possible for practical common ownership of social resources. But, most post-colonial African states are not small communities, apart from the fact that most are largely poly-ethnic and religious. Thus, critical analysis has shown that what we could call political communalism may not be administratively feasible in much of post-colonial Africa. But, we strongly feel that moral communalism may still be feasible in post-colonial Africa, given that it is attitudinal, and this could be cultivated if people are properly attuned to doing just that. Thus, its applicability is not a function of spatio-temporality, which negates the applicability of political communalism in post-colonial Africa. As we could see, our ontology of the African self is co-relative with our cosmology in the understanding of emancipation as positive transformation.

### **The epistemology of positive transformation in Africa**

As noted earlier, epistemology philosophically engages with the knowledge of the individual person or, generally, the knowledge infrastructure of the human group. Knowledge infrastructure, as used here, embraces both human and non-human resources of knowledge generation, structuring, and dissemination to achieve specific individual and/or common goals. The human aspect is composed of, but not limited to, those who are trained to actively engage in systematic research and dissemination of the research output, while the latter is represented by universities, specialised



institutes, polytechnics, and other research centres. Since knowledge infrastructure ultimately aims at social growth and development, then we could also state that the knowledge infrastructure of a people is also their epistemic capital in the instrumental sense. Here, we emphasise that knowledge infrastructure or epistemic capital is foundational to our understanding of emancipation as positive transformation. The centrality of it is fore-grounded in a Yoruba adage: *Ologbon nii oga alagbara*, which in English means 'a wise person is superior to an unwise mighty person,' given that the former could wisely manipulate the latter to do the former's biddings.

One of the cogent reasons why the developing world (inclusive of Africa) is largely behind the developed world is because of over-dependency by the former on the knowledge infrastructure or epistemic capital of the latter. There are, at least, four major levels of this over-dependency: (i) Ideational level; (ii) Funding level; (iii) Research-focus level, and (iv) Research methodology level.

At the first level, the defining characteristic is the inundation of the scholarship of Africans by scientific and social scientific theories, hypothesis, and models postulated and developed by Western scholars. African scholars use these theories, hypothesis, and models to address social problems on the continent, not considering the cultural inclinations of the theories, hypothesis, and models as well as the peculiarities of African societies. Therefore, Western scholarship seems to have become an interpretative community, to which scholarship in Africa looks to determine what is intellectually acceptable and what is not, what the areas of current intellectual debates are and the methodologies of the conduct of the debates. Alatas (2008:11) graphically captures this by noting that 'academic dependency at the level of ideas is the general condition of knowledge in the South'.

At the second, third, and fourth levels, we know that many scholars in Africa seek for and obtain funding support from the West to conduct various forms of research or attend important international conferences outside the continent. Even African institutions like the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in Senegal<sup>6</sup> derive much funding from the West to support social scientific research on the continent, and these institutions duly acknowledge this financial support. Because of this support, there is a high tendency for the foci of research of those African scholars and African institutions to be influenced by the foreign donors. Moreover, since specific foci of research usually call for specific methods of enquiry, it logically follows that foreign influence of research foci brings about foreign influence on research methods.

But, why is the West at the vertex of epistemic ladder in the humanities and the social sciences (or even sciences)? Reason tells us that the following may be significant: inquisitiveness of the mind; willingness to engage in risks in order to make novel discoveries; a high value placed on creativity; individual and group commitment to the promotion of intellectual excellence and success; problem-oriented research; deep interest in contributing to social development, and so on. Thus, to build the requisite epistemic capital in post-colonial Africa, African scholars and relevant others should cultivate all the noted features of scholarship in the West. Moreover, the idea of publishing just for promotion purposes and any form of academic fraud in some of our higher institutions and research centres in Africa should be discouraged. Put differently, what could be regarded as intellectual corruption should be avoided in the scholarship of post-colonial Africa. Intellectual



corruption, for Omotola (2007:31), connotes the perversion of intellectual responsibilities, be it deliberate or not, for personal gain at the expense of the system; it is what one could regard as the morally depraved deployment of the intellectual resource for the course of dubious achievement. It should be emphasised that the sense of problem-oriented research, with a focus on extant realities in Africa, should be fully developed and sustained by scholars in Africa, and this should also be further encouraged by corporate bodies and the post-colonial African state, through adequate funding of research and development (R&D). In helping to fund research and development (R&D), or founding research institutes in Africa, indigenous corporate bodies should not be overly profit-conscious, given that an all-out profit-consciousness may sometimes sacrifice quality (and even morality) for quantity. Rather, they should take it as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) to their business environment.

### **The ethics of positive transformation in Africa**

Further to the discussion so far, we should also aver that the post-colonial African state requires an ethical framework to achieve the goal of emancipation as positive transformation. This ethical framework is to address the problem of unwholesome administrative leadership in the post-colonial Africa. Moreover, the normative framework adverts to the internalist angle of the burden of African underdevelopment, which the traditional accounts grossly overlook. The relevance of this framework could not be over-emphasised. For example, in Nigeria, according to Jinadu (2012:9), 'The tragedy of our politics is that our political class continues to push its self-interest, almost to the point not only of their own self-destruction but also of stultifying our national development.' For Ogbeidi (2012:3), the logic of the Nigerian political leadership class has been that of self-service as some of the leaders are mired in the pursuit of selfish and personal goals at the expense of broader national interests. What has been predicated of Nigeria is also true of most African states. According to Ogbonnaya & Ofoeze (1994:49), most African states are predatory or vampire states. Ujomu (2002:209) explains further:

The predatory state is characterized by both prebendalism and predation understood as political patronage, systematic government corruption, concentration of power at the top and the personalization of networks for the delegation of power...The African state has attained this unenviable status through the age long process of the institutionalization of a decadent political culture which has led to...some of the most tyrannical and destructive patterns of political rule in the 20th century. The cases of Abacha in Nigeria, Mobutu in Zaire, Idi Amin in Uganda, Bokassa in Central African Republic, Doe in Liberia, Barre in Somalia, are illustrative here.

All the political misdeeds of the African leaders mentioned and suchlike leaders in Africa have created a sort of vertical distrust within the post-colonial African state: the African citizenry have lost much confidence in the post-colonial African state to further their socio-political and economic

interests. Thus, to get out of this clime of 'state capture'<sup>7</sup> in much of Africa and achieve emancipation as positive transformation, there should be a constitutionally-entrenched ethical framework of political utilitarianism, which should guide whom to elect/choose as administrative leaders in Africa and why they are so elected/chosen as leaders. This ethical framework emphasises on three fundamentals: (i) Probity and professionalism in bureaucratic positions; (ii) Moral capital in politics; and (iii) Performance-driven political leadership. A strong constitutional emphasis on the criteria would, all things being equal, bring about ethical revolution in post-colonial Africa, and ultimately achieve emancipation as positive transformation, while a de-emphasis of the criteria would spell doom for the achievement of emancipation as positive transformation in the post-colonial African state (see Badru, 2014).

Moreover, since a society does not rise above its values, it follows that the citizenry itself, the quality of which is reflective in the quality of leadership, ought to engage in (i) Moral de-orientation, and (ii) Moral re-orientation. By the former, we mean that the citizenry in post-colonial Africa must eschew morally based values, such as high-level materialism, exploitative interaction<sup>8</sup> between the self and the other in Africa, back-biting, etc.; the values that are now dominant in Africa. By the latter, we mean the citizenry in post-colonial Africa ought to re-embrace morally desirable values, such as altruism, kindness, fellow-feeling, etc. that have been largely lost in the present-day Africa. This moral prescription somewhat affirms that the burden of Africa's underdevelopment constitutes both positive and negative duty that both the administrative leadership and the followership in Africa ought to jointly and conscientiously attend to. The duty is positive in that it requires both the leadership and the followers to take some given concrete steps to attend to, and the duty is also negative in that it also requires both the leadership and the followers to refrain from following certain behavioural patterns, which is inimical to addressing the problem.

### **The logic of positive transformation in Africa**

The logic of emancipation as positive transformation in the post-colonial Africa entails a continual and constructively critical analysis and interrogation of our socio-political and economic institutions on the continent. Just as the critical reflections of moral and political philosophers, such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Adam Smith (1723-1790), G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831) and so on, fundamentally influenced the socio-political and economic landscapes in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment epochs in Europe, and still largely do, moral and political philosophers and political scientists in Africa must also engage in critical reflections to pragmatically address socio-political problems in post-colonial Africa, such as the best political ideology to adopt, given our peculiarities in Africa; how to make the African state promote the greatest interests of the greatest number, what ought to be the basis of political obligation of the African people to the state, how best to frontally address the deficit of security within some African states (such as Nigeria) and across state boundaries in Africa, how best to build and maintain peace within the African state, and so on without always relying on foreign prescriptions and paradigms of socio-political



institutions. All these critical reflections must be done in sync with the extant realities in Africa.

Economically, a think-tank of African scholars should be formed, funded and charged with the responsibility of constructively brainstorming on the best economic ideology for achieving emancipation as positive transformation in post-colonial Africa. They should not uncritically advance on the continent a mere given economic ideology because some powers that be in the global economic/financial institutions, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) or World Bank (WB), support and recommend it to Africa. In the think tank, there should be expert economists, political scientists, and political and moral philosophers. The economists are to critically use their disciplinary knowledge to see which is best for Africa among (i) An economic ideology that supports state dominance in economic policy-decisions or command economy; (ii) An economic ideology that favours the dominance of the private sector in the determination of economic policy-decisions, or market economy; and (iii) An economic ideology that combines the basic features of (i) and (ii) or a mixed economy. The political scientists should deploy their professional knowledge to unravel the short-run and the long-run implications on governance of any choice made by the economists. The political and moral philosophers should critically look into the deep philosophical assumptions of each of the economic ideologies and try to make a reasoned pronouncement on the basis of which (or combination of which) successfully addresses the extant realities in Africa, such as a high population of the socially disadvantaged.

Perhaps, there might be a counter that, while expert economists and political scientists are relevant in the present consideration, moral and political philosophers have no business being there. This position, however, is not sustainable. Economics is essentially all about social distribution of income and wealth or goods and services with respect to human beings who have values. Thus, moral consideration/valuation necessarily comes in (see Kolm, 2007; Hausman & MacPherson, 2006(1996)).

It might also be argued that (i) There is nothing to think of the command (or socialist) ideology, that the ideology has been dead since the balkanisation of the old Soviet Union in the 1990s; that (ii) The socialist ideology failed because it had not in the past developed any practicing state in the Eastern bloc and would not in the future develop any state, even if it were to be revived – an idea that is unthinkable given that we are now witnessing ‘the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government’...and that...‘the basic principles of the liberal democratic state could not be improved upon’ (Fukuyama, 1989:1,3). We are not particularly concerned with whether or not liberal capitalism is the end point of human economic evolution. But, we should quickly dismiss the belief that the socialist ideology could never be developmental by noting that the old Soviet Union substantially developed through socialist collectivisation of labour.

Two central questions that should guide the think tank are: (i) The question of maximisation of economic growth and development in Africa; and (ii) The question of minimisation of a high level of poverty on the African continent. They should try to see how answers to the two questions could be pragmatically harmonised, without unnecessary trade-offs.

## Summary and Conclusion

In this work, we have attempted to critically examine the social scientific perspectives of some traditional accounts of emancipation in Africa. We noted that these accounts were not holistic because each of them focused on a specific aspect of the problem and prescribed its solution(s) accordingly. Nonetheless, we noted that the consensus among them was that emancipation in the post-colonial African state should be pursued within the conceptual framework of development. Reactive to the problem of reductionism and insufficiency of scholarly coverage of other salient issues in the concept of emancipation as development by the traditional accounts, we proposed a holistic philosophy of emancipation as positive transformation. In the discussion of this proposal, using the disciplinary framework of epistemology, ethics, logic, and metaphysics, we argued that the concept of emancipation as positive transformation entails a host of interrelated issues, which should be frontally addressed before the post-colonial African state is said to be largely emancipated.

## Endnotes

- 1 That we have used 'post-colonial African state' and 'contemporary African state' synonymously here does not mean they are semantically identical. The usage is only adopted for convenience.
- 2 This has been slightly modified, though the main idea is still retained, as it appears
- 3 See Badru et al (2013a:60).
- 4 See Kwame Nkrumah (1973; 1974); Nyerere (1968; 1969); Senghor (1964), etc.
- 5 The words *particular* and *universal* were the additions of Badru (2013b); they were not in the original work of Spoerhase & King (2009).
- 6 See [www.codesria.org](http://www.codesria.org) for information on its donors.
- 7 'State capture' emerges where the political and economic resources of the state are overtly or covertly controlled and distributed by members of a powerful clique, who pretend to be representative of common interests of the people within the state.
- 8 By exploitative interaction, we mean a kind of interaction that always instrumentalises the other; a relationship mainly based on what the self stands to gain in any encounter with the other. This kind of relationship does not recognise that the instrumentalisation disregards the ontological worth of the other.



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\* We are compelled to use the adjectival 'post-colonial' in the title of the work because there is no better linguistic alternative. It does not denote that we subscribe to the view that the African State after colonisation is free of the colonial.

