

Post-Colonial Leadership Failure and the Future of Africa

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Abstract

Of the entire world's continent, Africa may be considered as having witnessed or undergone the most turbulent experience. The over four hundred years slavery witnessed, and about one hundred years of European colonialism following that evil and lamentable episode with its concomitant consequences can be advanced to buttress the above claim. Notwithstanding, the 1960s witnessed a substantial decolonization of a number of those erstwhile European dominions in Africa. Logically too, this period marked the coming into being of 'nationalist' leadership in the decolonized African states. Meanwhile, during or under the colonial period, due to frustration arising from, among other things, exploitation and deprivation, African people had looked up to the day that they would be liberated and consequently enjoy good things of life. Moreover, Africa had every reason to be so optimistic because their brothers who led them in the course of the process of decolonization promised them such. But alas, after the attainment of the so-called independence, African hope has been progressively dashed due to inept post-colonial African leadership of most African states. Furthermore, this Post-colonial leadership failure has inevitably led to or aggravated the unenviable position of Africa, generally marked by abject poverty, monumental corruption and ignorance, political instability, unemployment, declining balance of trade, low per capital income, underdevelopment, backwardness and a humiliating dependency relationship on the West. This paper intends to offer analytical interrogation of this vexed problematic and to proffer possible way forward.

Keywords: *Post-Colonial Leadership, Failure, Future of Africa*

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Background to the Study

In 1756, 56 men met in Philadelphia, United States of America and signed a document declaring the independence of the thirteen American colonies from Great Britain. In the war that followed, most of these men lost their lives or all their wealth or both. They were prepared to pay the cost for the freedom of their country. Close to three hundred years today and an ocean away, the question we must ask African leaders is, are they prepared, as those American sons were, to bear the cost of making their people economically, socially, politically and culturally free after the so-called independence of African states? Are they prepared to make the sacrifices necessary in order to transform Africa from a weak beggar continent to a continent of men and women who are to stand tall and strong amongst the continents of the world? The future lies in our hands, especially in the hands of those who by God's grace serve as representatives of the people.

African leaders in pre-colonial Africa-nineteenth century and even before substantially appeared to have understood what leadership was or at least what they were expected to do for their people. They appeared to have shown clear evidence that they were leaders of their people in such African areas that they were, by dint of providence opportunities to lead kingdom, state, nation, empire or whatever nomenclature that might have been in use regarding such African area. Such great sons of Africa as Chaka of the Zulu kingdom, Samori Ibn Lafiya Toure of the Mandinka empire and Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia can be presented here as some of the few examples. But this was before European colonization of Africa. Then colonialism followed.

Notwithstanding, the 1960's witnessed a substantial decolonization of a number of those erstwhile European dominions or colonies in Africa. Logically too, this period marked the emergence of new 'nationalist' leaderships in the decolonized African states. Since then, it is true to recognize the great contributions of some of the great and patriotic sons of post-colonial Africa such as, the late Dr. Kwame Osagia for Nkrumah of Ghana, the late Patrice Lumumba of Belgian Congo, the late Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, the late Captain Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso and president Paul Kagame of Rwanda. Generally, post-colonial African leaders appear not to even understand what leadership is. They appear to indicate that leadership is synonymous with personal aggrandizement. Leadership to them appears as an opportunity for the private accumulation of wealth through shameless stealing from the common wealth of their national states in Africa. These seemingly accursed African leaders do this in various ways using different strategies or methods. They even collude with foreign western countries to loot their African treasuries. Unfortunately, this has continued to negate Africa's march towards genuine development.

Leadership

I agree with Gyuse that leadership does not simply mean occupying a position because you may be in a position yet not be a leader or not be leading. Leadership is not just what you do, it is who you are. Leadership may be defined as a process of influence. Leadership is vision with a purpose. It is not just doing things in the right way, which is management; it is doing the right things. Leaders have followers and in this respect it does not mean paid camp followers who are hungers-on who stay on as long as there is something to be gained personally. I am

captivated by the Jewish historian's submission regarding David. He writes, "David left Gath and escaped to the cave of Adullam. When his brothers and father's household heard of it, they went down to him there. All those who were in distress or in debt or discontented gathered around him and he became their leader. About four hundred men were with him".¹

David was a military commander who had fallen out with Saul, his commander in chief. He became a wanted fugitive without an army, home or position yet people flocked to him. What this signifies is that the people saw in David something that they could not see in the commander-in-chief, Saul, who had an army, position and other forms of material possessions like money and mansions on his side. The people willingly gave David their allegiance not by compulsion. And David was able to build this rag tag group into a leadership team that becomes the foundation of the kingdom of Israel. Is it any wonder that even to this day, David is revered? His battle strategies are taught in military academies.

It is evident from above that leadership has been or should be imbued with certain crucial elements that will make it needful to the people. Leadership should care about the needs of the people. Yasuhiro Nakosone, former Japanese prime minister says that what makes a person a leader is, "...the same whether you are in business or government. You must be able to set goal, persuade everyone and have everyone participate. And you have to help create enthusiasm".² Leadership "focuses on people, on human wants and needs and on creating an environment where motivation can occur." In agreement with Gyuse, "leadership in practical terms... understands the wants and needs of the people and serving those needs in a manner that appeal to the people and encourages them to support the vision".³ As Jimmy Carter, former president of the United State says, "leaders also have a duty to understand the needs of the people who depend on them".⁴

Also leadership needs vision. I join Gyuse in his simplest understanding that, "vision is a picture of a future that has not yet arrived".⁵ Here it is important to consider, as example, the vision⁶ which Dr. Martin Luther King used to galvanize his nation towards greater racial equality. It is contained in his great, "I have a dream" speech which he delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC on August 28, 1963. The short speech reads:

I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day in the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation

¹.The Holy Bible (KJV), 1 Samuel 22:1-2

².Y. Nakasone, "The Statement as CEO" in Benins W. (ed) Leadership, Harvard Business Review Book, 1992, p,244

³.Elizabeth Jeffries, The Heart of Leadership, Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, Dubuque, 1966, p xvi

⁴.J. Carter, The Statement as CEO in Benins W. (ed) Leadership, Harvard Business Review Book, 1992, p,252

⁵.T. T. Gyuse, Nepad, Democracy, Leadership and the Foundation of Good Governance in Nigeria, A Keynote address at the National Conference on the new Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Organize at Benue State University, December, 2005, p9.

⁶.Speech by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Delivered on August 28, 1963

where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and together as sisters and brothers. Dr. King was assassinated shortly afterwards, but indeed his words continue to inspire. His vision is still the reference point for the continuing debate for improvement in race relations in America. Such is the power of vision. It inspires, it motivates and creates focus for the creative energies of those who have bought into it. As Robert Greenleaf, who has popularized the idea of servant leadership in contemporary society says:

Institutions function better when the idea, the dream is to the fore and the person, the leader is seen as a servant of the idea, it is not "I" that is moving the institution to greatness; it is the dream, the great idea. ... it is the idea that unites the people in a common effort, not the charisma of the leader.... Far too many contemporary institutions do not have an adequate dream, an imaginative concept that will raise the people's rights close to where they have the potential to be... that has the energy to lift people out of their moribund ways to a level of being and relating to the future that can be faced with more hope than most of us can summon today.⁷

I agree with Greenleaf that, we need such vision for Africa. Here too, I wish to be permitted to join Gyuse in agreeing that, "states, nations and institution that have achieved greatness have at their core a driving vision that propels their efforts."⁸ What is our vision regarding our Africa? Does it inspire? Does it give hope to the common Africa? Does the common African even know what it is? Note that I did not say should it inspire and give hope, I asked does it? There is a huge difference between what should and what is, we live in the "is" not the "should"

Again, leadership needs a sense of mission. This is because mission obviously gives reason and agency to vision. It helps in moving the people along the difficult journey progressively in spite of difficulties associated with it. Great leaders have also been known to pursue their vision with missionary zeal. When Nakasone became the prime minister of Japan, he set himself the goal of making Japan a major global player economically and culturally. At first, he faced opposition but as the dividends of his drive became more obvious, even his opponents came to appreciate his vision. Today you cannot talk about any global economic issue without contending with Japan. Indeed, consider the power of Sir Winston Churchill's words to the British parliament in 1942 as he anticipated the Battle of Britain. He says:

Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us now. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of the new dark Age, made more sinister, and perhaps more

⁷.Robert Greenleaf, The Leadership Crisis, Humanities, the Journal of Man, Vol. xiv, No. 3, 1978, Duquesne University, PA 15219

⁸.T. T. Gyuse, Nepad, Democracy, Leadership and the Foundation. . . p.10

*protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore trace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its commonwealth last for a thousand years, men say, "This was their finest hour".*⁹

It is important to note here that, although the Empire did not last a thousand years however, without doubt, it was Britain's finest hour. The British people went forward with a sense of mission, destiny and fury against Hitler and the Third Reich was contained.

Leadership educates and persuades, as the African society is largely an illiterate one. The late President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, recognizing that Tanzania was composed of many illiterate peasant farmers adopted the role of teacher. His title until his death was Mwalimu, which means teacher. At the beginning of Tanzania independence, the Nwalimu was quite willing to take chalk and teach the people the rudiments of democracy. Possibly, as a result of this he remained relevant in Tanzania and even beyond long after he had left office until his death. Today Tanzania is perhaps the most politically literate country in Africa.¹⁰ I still find myself agreeing with Gyuse's view on this matter thus:

*Without education (and by I do not simply meant the attainment of formal education) people are susceptible to manipulation. We have seen this in our country. Whenever the elite of the community cannot find their way to the cake-sharing table, they manufacture a problem, which they sell to the common people who rise up and create confusion. Once the elites are "settled", the problem disappears. The manipulators use whatever will sell, religion, ethnicity, clan or even family ties and blackmail. Education and persuasion take time. It is much faster to buy people with money or promises, but this is a short-term strategy, because once the money is gone or the promise goes unfulfilled, the followers also go. On the other hand, those who are educated and persuaded concerning the rightness of a course of action will continue to support that view even when the leadership changes.*¹¹

The above should be supported that a lot of such submission can be said to have occurred in early twentieth century Russia under V.I. Lenin. Finally, creating an enabling environment for the membership of any given community, including African community is also a responsibility of leadership.

Leadership in pre-colonial Africa

The years from the 1880s witnessed greater interest on the part of European countries towards practical colonization of African continent. This statement is not to suggest, in any way that, the African continent was entirely free from European encroachment before the 1880s. Evidence abounds regarding the existence of pockets of eruption of some few European settlements on the African soil such as, South Africa, North African and West Africa.

⁹.Churchill Anticipated the Battle of Britain, by Wiston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Before the House of Commons, June 18, 1948

¹⁰.T. T. Gyuse, Nepad, Democracy, Leadership and the Foundation. . . p.11

¹¹.Ibid, p.11

However, the general spirit for the scramble for and consequent partition of Africa leading to or with a view to colonizing the African continent was a child of the 1880s period. Indeed, the period preceding the Berlin conference of between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885 increased the intensity of the scramble. In other words, the period exhibited a much more remarkable or greater enthusiasm towards the actualization of this goal.¹² Therefore by the beginning of the twentieth century it can be said generally that African continent had largely, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, notwithstanding remarkable African resistance against colonization fallen under European domination and colonization.

Leadership under the pre-colonial phase of Africa appears to show a remarkable difference from the leadership of the post-colonial period of Africa. Pre-colonial African leadership showed clear evidence of qualities of leadership as against the post-colonial Africa type of leadership. For instance, the pre-colonial African leadership in most cases among other things, showed or exhibited marked evidence of representing its people and working for the interest of the people. Generally, as will be seen later, such, among other things, appear to be absent in post-colonial leadership of Africa today.

Such proactive qualities of pre-colonial leader abound but we may be permitted to use, as illustration of the leadership of one of the great Africa patriot and sons to buttress what appeared to mark a somewhat general trend of what time. This patriotic son of Africa was known as Menelik II and indeed possessed remarkable qualities deserving of a leader. He showed strong evidence of knowing what he wanted for his people, what his people desired and also represented him people. Menelik II reigned as king of Shoa from 1865 to 1889 and as emperor of Ethiopia from 1889 to 1913. This period clearly shows that the partition and colonization of Africa caught up with his rule as the Emperor of Ethiopia. So many accounts of Emperor Menelik's leadership qualities have been submitted by different personalities leading to his successful administration of a heterogeneously constituted country of his. The sovereign's physician, Dr. Mereb, confirms this picture, adding that, "Menelik embodied law and order in his person and guaranteed justice to all, being called the "father of his people" by all his country's numerous tribes, Amharas, Gallas, Gurages and Shankellas, etc".¹³

The late 19th century witnessed tremendous rise in European interest in scramble for and partition of Africa. Before this period there had been few European settlements scattered on the African continent. But such European settlements were not really concerned about partition or colonization of Africa. They were mainly concerned with trading on temporal settlement that served as resting places on their journey to the West Indies. Examples include places like Southern African, North Africa and former slave settlements in West Africa. However, the situation drastically changed in the late 19th century especially the period following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 as it witnessed the emergence and rather progressive increase in irresponsible leadership in Post-colonial Africa. The governing caste produced by this epoch appears to have its origin in Africa without its resemblance anywhere on the surface of the globe in terms of its destructive proclivity. It manifests all forms of

¹².A. A. Boahen, *Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, HEINEMANN, 1985, p.15

¹³.J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*. . .p.

degrading and debasing tendencies in all ramifications with destructive capabilities of the highest order in human history. This crop of African leaders are mere surrogate as stooges merely representing their Western imperialist masters on the African soil rather than representing the African people over whom they govern. In terms of plunder of the national wealth of the continent, this African leadership colludes with its Western imperialist masters to perpetuate this evil agenda. The leadership shows every sign of ineptitude and being answerable only to the imperialist overlords and not Africans. In terms of avarice, greed and corruption, this leadership shows no limit to the extent to which it can attain. African leadership in Post-Colonial period mostly shows that it is, rather than being independent, depends on the Western imperialist masters.

Under colonialism the people dreamt that with liberation would come the opportunity for the African to prove her worth. But contrary to such lofty hopes that accompanied Post-colonial Africa, African countries have witnessed the rise in demo-dictatorship, civil wars, poverty, famine, corruption. The principal source of this unfortunate situation is squarely the crisis and failures of leadership in governance, inability of developing a formidable vision and mission that target the yearnings and aspiration of its masses.

The Algeria psychiatrist, Fanon, in his seminal literature "*Wretched of the Earth*"¹⁴ made an exhaustive argument when he posit "This practice of therapy by hibernation, this sleep cure used on the people, may sometimes be successful; thus out of the conferences around the green baize table comes the political selectiveness which enable Monsieur M'ba the president of the Republic of Gabon to state in all seriousness on his arrival in Paris for an official visit. "Gabon is independent but between Gabon and France nothing has changed; everything goes on as before. In fact the only change is that Monsieur M'ba is president of Gabonese Republic and that he is received by the president of French Republic"¹⁵. Fanon's prophetic statement was a clear illustration of the fate of most post-colonial African leaders.

It is neither helpful nor advisable for anyone to ignore the external factors leading to the woes of the continent today, it is simply pathetic when Post-colonial African leadership chooses to overlook the internal factors that have contributed more to the deteriorating development in post-colonial Africa and only for the sole reason that they are cowards incapable of understanding their own very weakness. Like most of the founding nationalists of African Independence, notably Kwame Nkrumah whose vision for Africa was grandiose. African economic cum political malaise is not the result of lack of opportunities, as S. A. Kwaku put "God has blessed us with all the natural resources needed for good healthy living. We have abundant sunshine, great rivers, expansive farmlands and human resources"¹⁶ rather, the continent suffers from the affliction of dishonest rulers without mission and vision but this is not to demean the efforts of few exceptional leaders who have in words and deeds shown commitment to duty, among whom young leaders like Patrice M. Lumumba, Julius Kambirage Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Murtala Ramat Muhammed etc. can be counted. But these are just a few.

¹⁴.F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, New York, 1965.

¹⁵.F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, New York, 1965, p.52

¹⁶.B.B.C Focus on Africa, *Women on Top: The New Power in Politics*, Vol. 17 No. 1., January – March, 2006, p. 58.

As a monarch Menelik had a homely, yet impressive character. Leading by example, he was constantly participating in manual work of all kind and dignified occupations which were traditionally regarded as inferior. It is this disposition of him that makes Vanderheyem to record that it was not unusual for “this remarkable sovereign to get off his mule and set an example by himself taking part in any work which was in hand. The British envoy, Hohler collaborates this view thus:

*Menelik often assisted in such varied work as church building and grass cutting. It was not therefore surprising that the Emperor should have issued a decree castigating his people for their traditional dislike for manual work, and declaring the farmer more important than the King. All mankind is descended from Adam and Eve; there was no other ancestor. Discrimination is the result of ignorance. God said to Adam: “In the sweat of your brow shall thou eat bread”. If we do not carry out this injunction and everyone is idle, there will be neither government nor country.*¹⁷

During a great famine which occurred in 1889-1893, Menelik set an example to his people by working in the field himself. He used both pick-axe and hatchet and symbolically dispatched such implements to the provincial rulers with the message to imitate him. A British observer, Captain Well by continues this account, adding that the monarch tilled the soil in due time and handed over to the sufferers, the fruits of their labours as an encouragement for them to do likewise. During those years, he ate no beef and argued: “why should I enjoy plenty while my people were in want”¹⁸. Well by adds: “I doubt if any European ruler would have denied himself to the same extent for a similar cause”¹⁹. His leadership style made a deep impression and he was emulated by everyone including dignitaries, ecclesiastics and priests.

As a modernizing ruler, Menelik was interested in machinery of all kinds and in innovation as well. He believed Ethiopia could preserve its independence in the wake of European expansion by adopting those techniques used in Europe during the period of Europeans long isolation. He ridiculously turned down an old cannon and musical box as presents from President Grevy of France when he told the president's envoy “You will thank the President very much for having known that I saw a grandfather. These presents are in truth excellent toys for my grandchildren”²⁰.

He conducted the envoy to his arms depot where they saw cannons and riffles of the latest type – his toys. Through the Ucciali Treaty, Italy felt that it was in a position to proclaim a protectorate over Ethiopia. However, Emperor Menelik refused to accept the interpretation of the Ucciali Treaty. On September 27, 1890, eleven months after the announcement of the Italian claim, the Emperor wrote to King Umberto I of Italy declaring that on re-examination of Article XVII of the treaty, Italy and Ethiopia did not agree:

When I made the treaty of friendship with Italy... I said that because of our friendship, our affairs in Europe might be carried on with the aid of the sovereign

¹⁷.J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*, Vol. 1. No. 1, London, 1965, p.3

¹⁸.J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*. . . p.4

¹⁹.Ibid,p.4

²⁰.J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*. . .p.5

*of Italy, but I have not made any treaty which obliges me to do so. I am not the man to employ the aid of another to carry on my affairs your majesty understands very well.*²¹

To break away from Italian dependence and loan, the Emperor stopped drawing loans from Italy and started paying back the part he had used already. The Italo-Ethiopia relations got sour and hit the rocks as Italy insisted it must maintain her dignity to the other powers and could never admit it made mistakes in Article XVII. The Ethiopian dignity too was under question as the treaty had another meaning in the Ethiopian language in which it was written. The monarch took advantage of the over two years of delay to procure arms from France and Russia. He denounced the treaty of Ucciali on February 12, 1893 and informed the European powers on February 27 that “Ethiopia has no need of no one; she stretches out her hands unto God”.²²

Fight began in January 1895 with the Italian invaders recording victory and occupying territories such as Adigrant, Makalle and Amba Alaji. However, Menelik moved north with a large army, won significant victories over Italy at Amba Alaji and Makalle in the turn of the year. The Italian forces fell back on Adowa.

Leadership of this quality seems to have made a deep impression. Post-colonial African rogues who emerged in leadership position after the lowering of the Union Jack were in no way better than their imperialist's invaders, as they continued to be obsessed with power. These so called leaders would stop at nothing in their quest to eventually outlive their usefulness in power. Some of them have tinkered with their national constitutions a thousand times in their bid to remain president for life²³ notably Sam Nujoma, Yoweri Museveni, Paul Biya etc. “In Swaziland, the despotic King Nswati III is busy erecting a harem to satisfy his libido. Every year he marries a bevy of new wives from a string of young semi-nude girls who queue up in front of him during a strange annual festival”.²⁴ Samuel Deo and his accomplice Major John G. Rancy of Liberia made deliberate attempt to win American trust just to remain in power beyond 1985, in an attempt to keep the country within US orbit, financial assistance was pumped in massive doses, Egypt under the late Hosni Mubarak, Zimbabwe under late Robert Mugabe, and Democratic Republic of Congo under Mobutu Sese Seko etc. From the western imperialists to post-colonial African rulers the pattern of looting remained unchanged. Unlike Menelik who paid off Italy, postcolonial leaders continued to become beggars to their colonizers. In Nigeria under Obasanjo, “who after six years of his presidency has decided to fight corruption after wasting Nigeria's money traveling around the world begging world leaders to forgive Nigerian debts without any progress and was told that Nigeria's problem is not the debt but rather corruption, mismanagement and poor law enforcement system”²⁵. Post-colonial Africa leaders have essentially become criminals on an industrial scale. Most of the Nigerian senators and members of the House of Representatives have personally admitted

²¹.J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*. . .p.9

²².J. B. Webster, *Tarikh: 1 Leadership in the 19th Century Africa*, Vol. 1. No. 1, London, 1965, p.4

²³.*Africa Today: Voice of the Continent*, Vol. 12 No. 4, April, 2006, p.4

²⁴.Ibid, p.4

²⁵.*Africa Today: Voice of the Continent*, Vol. 11 No. 12, December, 2005, p.4

taking bribes. As one senator put it, "It is normal to receive money from ministers"²⁶. Recently Nigeria's apex bank admitted paying members of National Assembly to enable them to pass favourable legislations.

Transparency International, a Swedish based International Organization specializing in monitoring government's performance around the world rated Nigeria as one of the world's most corrupt countries. If the president can collect all the money stolen by these so called comprador-bourgeois in the last six years will it not have enough money to pay the \$30 billion debt? For years, Democratic Republic of Congo's politicians have struck deals that enrich themselves but provide no benefit to the Congolese people.²⁷ Of the US\$4 billion reckoned to have been stolen by Mobutu, nothing remains, according to his family and political allies. It suffices to also argue that Post-Colonial African leaders have over the years continued to use the tool of ethno-religious violence to their benefit as a neo-colonial strategy in remaining in power. There have been failure of strategy and tactics, their inability to manage diversity has deepened ethno-religious tension and created heated animosity that has over the years resulted in chaos and conflicts. The tragedy is that when you put too much power in the hands one particular ethnic or religious group it does create room for fear. For instance, the Rwanda genocide of 1994, the ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, in Somalia and Sudan. Leadership by accident will produce accident, Post-colonial African leaders who accidental emerged clearly show the state of unpreparedness of these leaders who emerged without vision and mission.

Looking forward post-colonial African leaders must, as a matter of urgency, make a rethink of how to emancipate themselves from the shackles of Western imperialists and rediscover for them the solution to Africa's leadership crisis. Fanon better buttresses this when he argued that:

*So, comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institution and societies which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature. If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe, and America into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to European. They will know how to do it better than the most of gifted amongst us. But if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown t, then we must make discoveries. If we wish to live up to our people's expectation, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe.*²⁸

United State of Africa! Why not? Or better still why not a union government to concretize this. After all, if a certain union government existed in Washington DC and exercises so much enormous powers on behalf of a certain United States of America, what stops Africa from coalescing into one union with its own united government? While these were some of the major issues that birthed the toothless bulldog called the AU, the need for a new dialogue due

²⁶. Ibid, p.4

²⁷. B.B.C *Focus on Africa*, Vol. 17 No. 2, April-June, 2006, p.13

²⁸. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, New York, 1965, p.254

to disagreement amongst post-colonial African leaders. The Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah consistently argued that looking forward post-colonial African leaders must reunite itself, rather than perpetually continue to seek for support from their Western imperialist master. Kwame Nkrumah added “We all want a united Africa, united not only in our concept of what unity connotes but united in our common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis”.²⁹

Paul Kagame of Rwanda added that:

*I will rather argue that we need to mobilize the right mindset, rather than more funding. After all, in Africa we have everything we need, in real terms, whatever is lacking we have the means to acquire. And yet, we remain mentally married to the ideas that nothing can get moving without external finances. We are even begging for things we already have. That is absolutely a failure of mindset.*³⁰