



Rethinking Moses Òkè on the Recolonisation Project

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Abstract

The study engages Òkè's submission that *a people that continually looks back to its past that failed then, and could not sustain them for present salvation, must change their perception and attitude to that past or hold themselves ready for eventual recolonisation*. It presents concise discussions on Òkè's recolonisation project (RP) – both for and against. It argues that Òkè and the commentators alike, i.e. the defenders and the critics, have failed to pay attention to the fact that Òkè's RP does not presuppose a complete mockery of decolonisation campaign. Nevertheless, Òkè can be seen in the light of his consistency in maintaining the same fundamental principles that made him to reject decolonisation, and propose recolonisation as the alternative. This made Òkè to concede that recolonisation is possible. The study employs the methods of conceptual analysis and philosophical argumentation.

Key words: Colonialism, Decolonisation, Recolonisation, Intercultural contact, Cultural past

Introduction

This study analyses why the defenders of decolonisation could regard Òkè's fear that "a people that continually look back to its past that failed them, and could not sustain them for present salvation, must change their attitude to that past or hold themselves ready for eventual recolonisation," (2006:340) as threat to the decolonisation campaign. It connects the attitudes shown by some scholars toward decolonisation with how colonialism is depicted to have worked against the interest of Africa. This does not preclude the ways in which scholars such as Fálolá, Táíwò, and Masolo have raised their concerns regarding Òkè's recolonisation as a viable project. The similarities in the dispositions of scholars regarding how neo-colonial structures were erected to stop the advancement of Africa

indicate a connection with how Appiah has asked that colonialism be eschewed from the orientation of Africa because of the negative implications it might have on the mindset of future Africans. Nevertheless, the perspectives of the defenders and the critics of Òkè on recolonisation have failed to pay attention to the fact that his idea of recolonisation does not make a complete mockery of decolonisation. He only points to the fact that recolonisation is a possibility when people refuse to change their attitude to that past.

On Decolonisation: Òkè and Others in Perspective

The quest to decolonise Africa has remained visible in the yearnings against the colonial relationship which the West shares with Africa. The problem of identity that is peculiarly African commenced with how colonialism has undermined the African psyche. Scholars and statesmen such as Wiredu, Bódúnrìn, Mákíndé, Nkrumah, Senghor, and Nyerere have expressed their disaffections for the ascription of irrational status to philosophical activity in Africa. This got to its peak when Kaphagawani (1986: 86) re-introduced it, and Serequeberhan concludes that “given the violence of Africa’s encounter with Europe, the dark continent was introduced into the modern world” (1998: 234). There has not been any agreement among scholars if this view prompted the yearnings for decolonisation.

Similarly, there has not been sincere agreement among scholars on how to classify colonialism because of the different interpretations of its impact. The interpretation of Serequeberhan on how violence is attached to the calls against colonialism appears as if wrong dispositions against it cannot be mitigated. He says that “Europe is found wanting on its own terms by the very criteria it uses to externally evaluate humanity of Africa as uncivilized” (1998: 235). Kaphagawani calls what necessitated such as colonialism arising from anthropology. It is known by the “attempt to falsify an anthropological thesis, Levy Bruhlian thesis in particular, which denied Africans, south of Sahara, properties of ratiocination and its cognates due to the apparent primitiveness of these people’s mentality” (1998: 86). It is quite understandable why Serequeberhan’s adoption of *the violence of Africa’s encounter with Europe*, can be premised

on Levy Bruhl’s anthropological description of the African psyche as primitive. This was caused by “the necessity to provide a social base for facilitating control over the colonised society” (Ọlọruntimehin, 2007: 15).

Appiah admits that colonialism is what “most outsiders see as something which could be an obvious basis for resentment than the experience of a colonised people forced to accept the swaggering presence of the coloniser” (1992: 7). This refers to a sense that the colonisers overrate the extent of their cultural penetration which is consistent with a longing for freedom, but it does not entail the failure of self-confidence that lead to alienation. As Ọlọruntimehin opines, colonialism refers to “the educational systems of most African States which are part of the heritage of the colonial system; and not just that, colonialism led to calls to domesticate our scholarship” (2007: 15). The attempt to decolonize and domesticate the African scholarship has met with obstacles, such as the difference in languages and cultural beliefs. In Cabral’s view, colonialism is a circumstance which makes it

“very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the organised repression of the cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of foreign domination can be assured definitively only by physical liquidation of a significant part of the dominated population” (1998: 260).

As Masolo presents it, colonialism is the attempt to “tie the African intellectual practice down in order not to break away from its Western conditioning” (1994: 147). Colonialism became the “attitude of the West that intended to annihilate black culture and civilization. The Western attitude started as a mere cultural bias, supported by a racist orthodox Biblical ideology. This gradually grew into a formidable two-pronged historical reality: slavery and slave trade, and academic expressions” (1994: 3). He sees colonialism as “what is judged overwhelmingly for the ills associated with it” (1997: 285). But Masolo fails to agree with Táíwò, that “colonialism opposes traditional chieftaincy to embrace modern governance. Colonialism messes with this traditional chieftaincy” (2021: 53-54). The African response to colonialism as

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the attempt to resolve the turmoil caused by epochal consequences of the twin developments of abolition of slavery and European slave trade marked the commitment to “the rejuvenation of African agency and to making Africa able to govern itself and move in tandem with the world in humanity’s march of progress; and the template from which great future was to be fashioned was forged from modernity” (2021: 55-56).

One thing which is common to the positions on colonialism is the presence of a functional ideological orientation coming from the West. This caused a reaction: a reaction which made decolonisation to call for a shift in paradigm. This led to what Manthalu calls the concern of decolonisation, which is “marginalisation of African perspectives” (2023: 127). The other is Masolo’s admission that colonialism was not quite simplistic. This dates, as far back as the time of slavery in the sixteenth century, and realized itself in the defence of African humanity in a type of apology for Africa (1994: 11). What made colonialism to thrive is the dichotomy between “a violent, racist, expansionist, and imperialist Europe, on the one hand, and a powerlessly resistant and *reactionist* Africa, on the other. It is a tough, individualistic, competitive, violent, and materialist European civilisation armed

with science and technology, was at war against a sweet and human but weak African civilisation” (1994: 11). He targets the possibility: that any attempt to decolonize might not resolve half of the problems created by colonialism. Táiwò and Appiah agree with Masolo on this. But in Manthalu’s words, “much of the decolonisation discourse has focused on uncovering the subtlety of forms/ impact of coloniality in Africa, and the necessity for decolonised education in Africa” (2023: 127).

Commentators on Òkè have drawn implications from how decolonisation has been represented. What these scholars presented on colonialism serves as the precursor to decolonisation. Òkè sees colonialism as the basis for analysing decolonisation. His idea of colonialism is “when the foreigners came to find an environment conducive to serve their own interests, with the active cooperation of Africa” (2002: 39). Africa was forced to build development on the Western method. But on the relevance of Rodney, Karim Hirji affirms that “Africa was deliberately exploited and underdeveloped by the European colonial regimes” (2017: 2). This necessitated the neo-colonial condition of Africa. Òkè feels different. He posits that the “intercultural contact with colonial culture has killed the traditional culture; and that whatever the content of the African cultural past could be, they are too obsolete to meet the demands of a *contemporary scientific world*” (2006: 332). This uses global politics, governance, and economic might as a threat to Africa’s development. The clarification made by Oyedola points to an apparent displeasure that “the underdeveloped condition of Africa has been taken advantage of” (2016: 11).

Òkè’s point is convincing, but we must ask, what are the reasons we can deduce from his view regarding the nature of colonialism? *One*, the intercultural contact with colonial culture has killed traditional culture. This can be emphasized in two ways: (i) Masolo points to the fact that a violent, racist, expansionist, and imperialist Europe has indirectly killed the African traditional culture through the direct and indirect rules, missionary works, education, science, and sowing the seed of discord into the Africa way of life. And (ii), Africans no longer believe in their respective traditional past as events have overturned the need for a return to such traditional past.

Two, there may not be anything like African cultural past to return to. The “need to be futuristic is more viable than looking back to a largely unhelpful past about which we now barely know the truth” (Òkè, 2006: 340). Masolo calls what Africa needs as post-colonial search for distinct identity. Fálolá and Appiah call it decolonisation. And Òkè fears that they will end in “eventual recolonisation” (2006: 340). The views are different, but scholars have made a Negritudist plea to return to the cultural past. The Negritudist plea, which as Senghor says, is “a kind of a disagreement which Senghor made with Europe but not with its values any longer, with the exception of capitalism” (1998: 441). However, no one currently understands the content of the cultural past. Advancement in science and technology has dealt a blow to whatever may be left regarding the African traditional past. And three, Òkè admits that whatever the content of the African cultural past could be, it is too obsolete to meet the demands of a contemporary scientific world.

Moses Òkè on Recolonisation: The View of Commentators

Different commentators have argued on Òkè's adoption of recolonisation. His avowed displeasure with decolonisation has set it backward. He identified some reasons, but there is need to commence the discussion from the threat which neo-colonialism poses for its sustenance. The views of those who rejected and supported Òkè will be analysed.

The neo-colonial brand of the African life is appropriately presented by Fálolá, whose perspective fails to provide any form of support for Òkè. He opines that “as power was being transferred to Africans, the European powers were putting in place a series of policies to protect themselves and to secure a transition from the exercise of power based on direct control to the indirect exercise of power known as neo-colonialism. Colonial legacies became a feature of the contemporary era” (2002: xxvi). The psychological aspect of African culture was withdrawn. What the political independence achieved for Africa is a partial control. He seems to have moved beyond this argument, asking to “set appropriate boundaries to curtail the West” (2007: 25). This is the next thing to do. Africa is faced with a robust approach: we need to drift

from the European modernity, imposed by colonialism, to the American modernism (2007: 28). The problem Africa is now facing is how to reconceptualise modernity, or how to interrogate modernity. Colonial modernity and ‘civilisation’ delivered something else for Africa. They frustrate the advancement of decolonisation (2007: 37).

Fálolá's sympathy to the African condition fails to create any form of support for Òkè. In Fálolá's words, “as much as colonialism crumbled because nationalism intensified, it became imperative for colonialism to wither. Even with the advent of decolonisation, it becomes the transfer of power to Africa” (2002: xvi), just as colonialism “made Africa to serve the economic interests of Europe” (2002: xxii). Through this, Europe sabotaged the political systems of the African colonies. As a form of decolonisation, “revolt was the choice of those who wanted improved opportunities. The experience of colonial exploitation united Africans, as Africans began to talk as if they had a common destiny” (2002: xxii-xxiii). At some point, neo-colonialism came to an end, paving way for decolonisation. The contents of decolonisation are the demands for reforms, Africanism, and transfer of power (2002: xxiv-xxvi). As Fálolá says, what forms the content of decolonisation did not stop with the transfer of power back to Africans, but also involve an analysis of the neo-colonial activities of Europe. This is called *beyond colonial rule* (2002: xxvi). Kaphagawani calls it *the process of decolonisation, mental as well as physical, which led to post-colonial quest for an African identity* (1998: 87). The problem of the post-colonial quest for identity becomes what is facing Africa.

Masolo analyses the fate of decolonisation while attempting to support Òkè. He states that, “for quite good reasons, one of the dominant themes of postcolonial theory is the issue of identity” (1997: 283), and that “a number of factors make it difficult to assess what are to be the meaning and implications of a long period of domination of one society by another, while the factors can include the consideration of who judges such meaning and implications” (1997: 283). He submits that “post-colonialism defines itself in the shadow of the colonial rule, from which it is inseparable” (1997: 285). If colonialism has been subdued, and decolonisation becomes the attempt to return power back to Africans, the question is, how can “the overthrow of

colonialism be replaced with another, liberated and assuredly, authentic identity?" (1997: 285) Masolo responds that "so strong is the pull toward the *objectivity of this identity* that most of those who speak of Africa from this emancipatory perspective think of it only as a solid rock which has withstood all the storms of history except colonialism" (1997: 285). The mechanism for survival seems to be at play in the quest for a distinct identity, and to seek for how post-coloniality does not recapture the African mind. But Masolo says that "if an African identity is to empower us, what is required is not so much that we throw out falsehood but that we acknowledge, first of all, that race and history and metaphysics do not enforce our identity" (1997: 298). Biakolo's way of looking at the connection between the postcolonial search for a distinct African identity and decolonisation is that "the historical course of the apprehension of the *Other* in Western thought from classical times until the consolidation of the African image in the power-knowledge system of colonialism and post-colonial period. This reveals an ingenuity which goes further to confirm the political behind the western construction of the cultural paradigm of the *Other*" (1998: 1). Consequently, the image of Africa as West sees it is "brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, superstitious, savage, and barbaric which was current in the colonies in the eighteenth century (1998: 2). This is an express cultural frame of reference. This means that "the basis of the distinctions is hardly more than ethnocentric convention" (1998: 12).

The view of Staden that "cultural imperialist thesis is related to the theories of post-colonialism is a simplified view of cultural imperialism, expressing the imposition of a single, homogenous foreign culture on local or marginalized cultures" (1998: 21). This supports Òkè that "the root cause of the present crisis in Africa is the colonialists' denial of the African humanity" (2006: 334). The postcolonial search for an authentic African identity can be understood in relation to the very specific cultural context, or it is located in the very specific cultural context with which philosophy is identifiable with the African way of life.

Whither Decolonisation: Towards Recolonisation

In order to unravel how the political actors have made decolonisation impossible, Oyedola and

Oyedola argues that, "one common reason for Òkè's cynicism towards the resuscitation of African cultural heritage is because the foundation of African cultural heritage could be so weak to resist the dominance of the colonialist culture. Since this is so, it is not likely going to be helpful to solve the problems of Africa, let alone moving Africa forward" (2015: 97). It is pointed out that Òkè's view of the postcolonial search for a distinct African identity through the traditional values, such as communalism and de-monetisation are too obsolete to be reconciled with the modern cultures (2006: 334). Given the failure of the indigenous cultural arrangements to repel the attack on African cultures, there is no reason whatsoever to think that they will be able to bail the continent out of its present predicament (2006: 338).

The questions which are central are: what is this indigenous cultural arrangement? What attack are they to repel? And what predicament is so present about the African continent? Òkè responds to the first question that Africa had culture. The culture refers to the traditional values of demonetisation and de-centralized traditional African political system. In the new world order, Òkè admits that "they are, at best, abandoned" (2006: 337). The response to the second question can be divided into two ways: (i) he was reluctant to blame the problems which face African development on colonialism. And (ii), "the lazy and corrupt are responsible for African problems. We do not need to return to the African traditional past, but we need to change our attitudes toward the African society for the better" (2006: 341). A return to the African traditional past will be counter-productive (Oyedola & Oyedola, 2015: 98). And the response to the third question is that there was a time when slavery was the only predicament of Africa. Colonialism later came, but became another predicament.

What these responses have generated is the lack of connection between decolonisation and colonialism. This is where Buttner's view is helpful. The history of imperialism shows that "the same time the history of the West's covert aggression against the African peoples, political slogans and special theories on Africa changed like chameleons., and they range from the justification of colonial exploitation on the grounds of so-called racial superiority to the present watchword of partnership" (1985: 169). As Buttner says, it

is not difficult to see that the achievements of classical bourgeois philosophy with its humanist foundations, and that the political slogan of equality, freedom, and brotherhood were incompatible with the justification of colonial conquest (1985: 170). There is a post-colonial aggression towards Africa. The intention of the neo-colonial aggression has been assessed. The basis, as Fáshínà posits, is contained in the inner nature of colonialism. Here, the essential connection of colonialism with capitalism is concealed (1985: 188). What makes Fáshínà's submission helpful is that "colonial relations are relations of exploitation" (1985: 188). What would be the orientation of neo-colonialists toward the post-colonial search for an authentic African identity? Among other things to watch out for will be the lack of peaceful coexistence between the African belief system and the negative impacts which foreign languages will continue to have on Africans. This will lead to the continual dehumanization of Africa.

For Iweriebor,

"psychological colonisation became the process by which the colonisers attempted to create colonized societies and peoples who were politically disempowered, culturally defeated, and programmed to feel inferior, and deserving of domination. This entailed assaulting the key cultural props and belief systems of the colonised people and representing them as inherently inferior; and that the consequence of the successful inculcation of psychological colonisation was the creation of peoples that are disoriented, insecure, controllable, and totally dependent on the dominators for approval and advancement" (2002: 465).

This leads to Africans running to the West for shelter. Gyekye admits that "a mentality which almost invariably leads many Africans to prefer European practices and institutions, even if a closer look might suggest that the equivalent African thing is of comparable worth" (2004: 34). The ways to achieve this is through corruption: by stealing the money in their nation's treasury to purchase a life of luxury in Europe. These are pointers to why decolonisation seems impossible to attain.

Maringe differs because, "the call for decolonisation of higher education has been increasing in many post-colonial nations across the world" (2023: 1). But

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when asked what decolonisation means, he says that "it is to Africanise the curriculum; to remove all colonial vestiges and symbols from education; to centralize the use of African languages as official languages of communication and as the medium of instruction; to creating pedagogic and epistemic justice, and to promoting inclusivity in education" (2023: 11). This is not an extremist position, but it sounds unachievable since many of the reasons why decolonisation is impossible come from the disposition of Africa against Africa. This reason can be hinged on Òkè: "it may not be an idle speculation to say that without slavery and colonialism, the Europeans through normal cultural interactions would still have dominated Africa. The basis for this view is in the regular ways of Africans as demonstrated in the greed of the leaders. Prior to the European incursion, Africans were already enslaving and dehumanising their peoples; and that the foreigners came to find an environment conducive to serve their self-interests, with the active cooperation or connivance of the people" (2006: 339).

Táíwò's contribution to the debate on decolonisation is notable. In his view, we must confront the absence

of Africa from the history of the philosophical traditions (analytic and phenomenological) because, no thanks to colonialism and Christianisation, through which Africa became the inheritor and perpetrators of these heritages (1998: 4). Another problem identified by Táíwò is how the West has presented itself as the embodiment and inventor of the *universal*. As Táíwò notes, “we must protest even more loudly that its universal is so peculiar, and that its’ global is local; the West, in constructing the universal, has merely puffed itself up and invited the rest of humanity to be complicit in this historical swindle” (1998: 4). Many issues were put up together forming the root cause of colonialism and neo-colonialism, such that decolonization is made impossible. One, colonialism has its essential connection with capitalism. Two, the achievements of classical bourgeois philosophy with its humanist foundations and the political slogan of equality, freedom, and brotherhood were incompatible with the justification of colonial conquest and neo-colonial exploitations. This culminates in the emergence of the neo-colonial aggression towards Africa. Three, the West has historically swindled Africa. And four “the imperative of Europe’s industrial production and capitalist economic calculations could not tolerate relations of equality and equal exchange with African societies” (Iweriebor, 2002: 5). This mindset still persists today.

There are many pointers as to why decolonisation is impossible: one, “while attempting to disempower Africa, and also program them to accept domination, what the coloniser did was to falsify African history. This is entrenched in the view that Africa had no history or more specifically, that it had no societies with organized political and cultural systems and developed economies and technologies; and that the African societies had no arts, culture, and science; and that in Western thought, Africa had no organized existence called civilisation” (Iweriebor, 2002: 469-70). In another dimension, the colonial education systems formed the second major mechanism used in colonising the psyche of Africa (Iweriebor, 2002: 471). This is because “Africans saw colonial education as an avenue for social and occupational advancement in a novel situation. The European school system became powerful mechanism through which the psychology of colonialism was implanted in the mindset of Africa” (2002: 471). Many of the things

previously known with Africa were demonised and subjected to ridicule. This has not been lifted out of the mind of an average African. Those who received Western education became professionals, who either used the power of language to propel others to embrace the Western education, preached Christian ideals as the perfect way, taught European history as African history, enforced democracy, told the teeming African youth to move to Europe for education, and embrace European languages as official means of communication. African languages were disempowered, the postcolonial mass media became the real deal, religious imperialism became rampant, residential segregation were preached, and today, Africa embraced the dialectics of dependence on the Western life.

Finally, with all of the current issues in the world order pointing toward negativity, how will decolonisation ease the African mind off the neo-colonial chain? How will an African way of life be imprinted on it? As Africans are attempting to decolonise, Europeans are also decolonising. The African decolonisation takes place using the European ideological structure. But the European urge for decolonisation is a continuous and

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deliberate attempt to perpetuate neo-colonial imprisonment of the African mind. Adéjùmḡbí concedes that “neo-colonialism continues to assume significance in light of all the former colonists’ method of control” (2002: 491). Notably, if Barry Hallen’s view that “the characterisation of Africa’s pre-colonial indigenous cultures as significantly ahistorical in character has been dismissed as patently false” (2002: 3), becomes admissible, where are we to go from there? As Hallen posits, “Africans are said to live in a world that is fundamentally symbiotic and ritualized in character,” (2002: 14). They believe such character in the secret. What prompts decolonisation is that “a number of philosophers in Africa contend that there are elements to African cognition that are sufficiently distinctive to somehow set it apart” (2002: 35). It is this disposition which seems to make many to believe that decolonisation is achievable. The problems which stand against the possibility of decolonisation are enormous.

Òkè raised concerns regarding decolonisation. Despite the step-by-step analyses made by Serequeberhan, Masolo, and Fálolá in accepting the reality of decolonisation, Òkè differs. The reasons for tilting toward recolonisation are that, the present African situation “can best be described as the crisis of post-colonial Africa. Lagging behind, as it were, on all developmental fronts, Africa is regarded by many as the world’s tragedy. A common explanation for this situation is that the indigenous culture was imposed upon Africa by alien colonialist culture leading to a confused cultural amalgam in which the Western conceptions of the good have been imposed upon African thought and conduct” (2006: 332). Also, that “the African history is a depressing tale of dispossession and impoverishment; most Africans are very deeply concerned about how to halt the fast degeneration of the human condition and how to bring about some worthwhile improvement” (2006: 333). The fears are responsible for making recolonisation a huge possibility. If we are to be sincere, how can there be *decolonisation* when what was intended to be decolonised lives as a form of cultural amalgam in the activities of the people? The people are entirely colonised. Their capacity to iron out critical issues is to be conducted by using the Western paradigm. The people see the provisions of modernisation and science as

universal. They see it as the life to be lived. As Òkè admits, “Africa is denied the right to be itself” (2006: 335). Decolonisation can only take place when the African way of life is, in entirety, in the hands of Africa. Kanyandago admits that “the phenomenon of dehumanising Africans and the attitudes that go with it are not limited to history; they persist in the way the West is relating with Africa” (2003: 41).

Òkè (2006: 335) agrees with Kanyandago (2003: 44) that the age long process of deculturation has consequences. He gave reasons why the attempts made to decolonize may not work. One, colonialism has been thoroughly imperialistic, such that Africa has not been able to rise above their history of colonisation (2006: 337). And two, the past seems to be a wrong direction in which to seek the way forward for Africa. The failure of traditional institutions to withstand the onslaught of slavery and the threat of direct colonialism rejects its viability to cope with the complex issues of governance and social co-existence in this age of globalisation. And that the paradigms on which the demolished traditional institutions stood are no longer compatible with the new world order (2006: 337). Recolonisation is a yoke; it is difficult to run away from it. The process for recolonisation has been completed by Africa itself. The emphasis is that “the structures that we have at present, which are products of the amalgam of indigenous African cultures, our colonial experiences, and foreign religious impacts are inherently generative of greed and consumption rather than production” (2006: 340).

Recolonisation is “the contemporary African reality, which points to the majority of the Africans, who have either forgotten their cultural roots, but have assimilated foreign cultures and ideas” (2006: 334). If we are to avoid recolonisation, “we need to be more futuristic than looking back to a largely unhelpful past about which we now barely know the truth. It has to be emphasized that nostalgia is always more often than not decadent. A people that continually look back to its past that failed them then, and could not sustain them for present salvation, must either change their attitude to that past or hold themselves ready for eventual recolonisation” (2006: 340). From Òkè’s view, “Africa has been decultured: a situation where Africans have eventually internalized the inferior position to which they are constantly reduced” (2006: 335).

Conclusion

A benign consideration of decolonisation takes into consideration all that has been perpetrated between the West and Africa. Even at the reality of decolonisation, many African leaders would not give decolonisation a chance given their inhumane economic policies. It is one thing to be theoretical about it, it is another to see the practicality as quite possible. It is a waste of time if decolonisation is not united in its theoretical and practical possibilities.

It may not be theoretically easy to adopt Òkè's submission that "the intercultural contact with colonial culture has killed traditional culture. Hence, there may not be anything like African cultural past to return to. And that whatever the content of the African cultural past could be, they are too obsolete to meet the demands of a contemporary scientific world" (2006: 336). The attempt to dismiss this position will be a daunting task. African nations put up different economic muscles even against themselves. The character of leaders in modern day Africa contradicts decolonisation. Òkè is not sympathetic towards this type of African condition, but admits that "given the failure of our indigenous cultural arrangements to repel the attack of other countries in the past, there is no reason whatsoever to think that they will be able to bail the continent out of its present predicament" (2006: 338). The pragmatic currency of the claim makes it very difficult to detest its utility.

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