

Pre-Contact African Societies and the Challenging Realities of Post-Contact Economic Models

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Abstract: - *Going through Africa and looking at history, it is well known that her economic development lags behind that of other regions of the world. On the other hand, there is also a special breed of self-serving authoritarian leaders who have held and are still holding their people down in a strangle-hold. Some manipulate the legislature to make laws accommodating their unceasing interest in remaining heads of the government of their countries while others achieve same through questionable processes in courts while development indices remain at their lowest ebbs within their nations. Using empirical evidence from cross-sectional comparisons across some African countries, this study offers a new explanation for the successes and failures in African development, which builds upon the insights of post-contact theory. It argues that variations in the extent to which post-contact state institutions clash with pre-existing ones, accompanied with bad leadership largely account for what differentiates state capacity and economic growth across the region. The theoretical framework adopted in this work is development theory using Marxian view. Although, this is a descriptive study which employed the use of documentary evidence. The work recommends that African leaders should emulate leaders like President Mandela, imbibe the spirit of true democracy and adopt Africapitalism as a way of reviving the African economy.*

Introduction

The nature of government in pre-contact Africa had a wide variety of political arrangements including kingdoms, city-states and other organizations, each with their own languages and culture. They could be either stateless, state run or kingdoms, but most were founded on the principles of communalism, self-governing, autonomous entities, where all members took part, directly and indirectly in the daily running of the tribe (Kenworthy, 2009). When Europeans arrived in Africa, they took it upon themselves to bring us commerce, science, art and other measures of civilization long before the arrival of the colonizers (Nyoni, 2015). An overarching feature of pre-contact Africa was that its societies were not designed to be the all-powerful entities that they are today, hence the abundance of confederation. The emergence of colonialism reshaped the whole structure of African ways of life economically, politically, socially culturally and philosophically. These legacies are still impacting on the continent both positively and negatively till today. Europeans during colonialism utilized existing government systems and leadership through

The indirect rule system and no measures were taken to help Africa's transition to self-governance (Koren, 2017). Due to lack of authentic political experiences, African leaders were not equipped to govern. This plunged Africa into poverty and civil war. In effect, Africa became to the world an unceasingly sick baby whose seeming helplessness has invited all manner of doctors, diagnosis, and therefore prescriptions which unfortunately rather than abate the ailment has instead exacerbated it. Africa has remained the weeping child of the global community with leaders across the world especially from Europe and America raising alarms close to the proverbial 'crying more than the bereaved.' These alarms are usually followed by aids and all forms of intervention from nearly all institutions and countries across the globe headed towards the African continent. The aids and interventions came to the continent accompanied closely with regular patterns of derogatory notes dismissing Africa as a continent with a collection of foolish, thoughtless, mindless people who cannot think for themselves

and therefore cannot help themselves and cannot survive on their own.

In this situation, the practical realities that follow the interventions are hardly clear to the recipient African Country until much later when the conditions tied to loans, grants etc begin to bite. Africa is consequently treated like a patient picked up on the road by a life-support ambulance and whose medical history is hardly known with the result that prescriptions are done using the parameters and projections based on the medical case history of other patients.

The reason for these woes can be tied mostly to the post-contact economic models adopted by some African leaders like some fiscal policies, monetary policies, nature of taxation etc, which are often influenced by international institutions like IMF, World Bank. Also other causes are imperialism, the nature and types of corrupt leaders and the nature of leadership found in Africa. Corruption is not only about stealing funds. It is also about putting bad people in prime positions. These are people who have neither the passion, (sincerity) nor the qualifications, (skills) to do the job. This form of corruption is crippling Africa's development.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson, when the people fear their government, there is tyranny; when the government fears the people, there is liberty. Whatever may be the reason for the poor state of development in Africa, what is clear is that economic growth and development have remained elusive to many African countries. The irony, however, is that the failure of development in Africa has happened largely under the supervision of economic policy prescriptions from many international agencies including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) etc. In spite of their prescriptions or perhaps because of same, African economy is yet to stand on its feet.

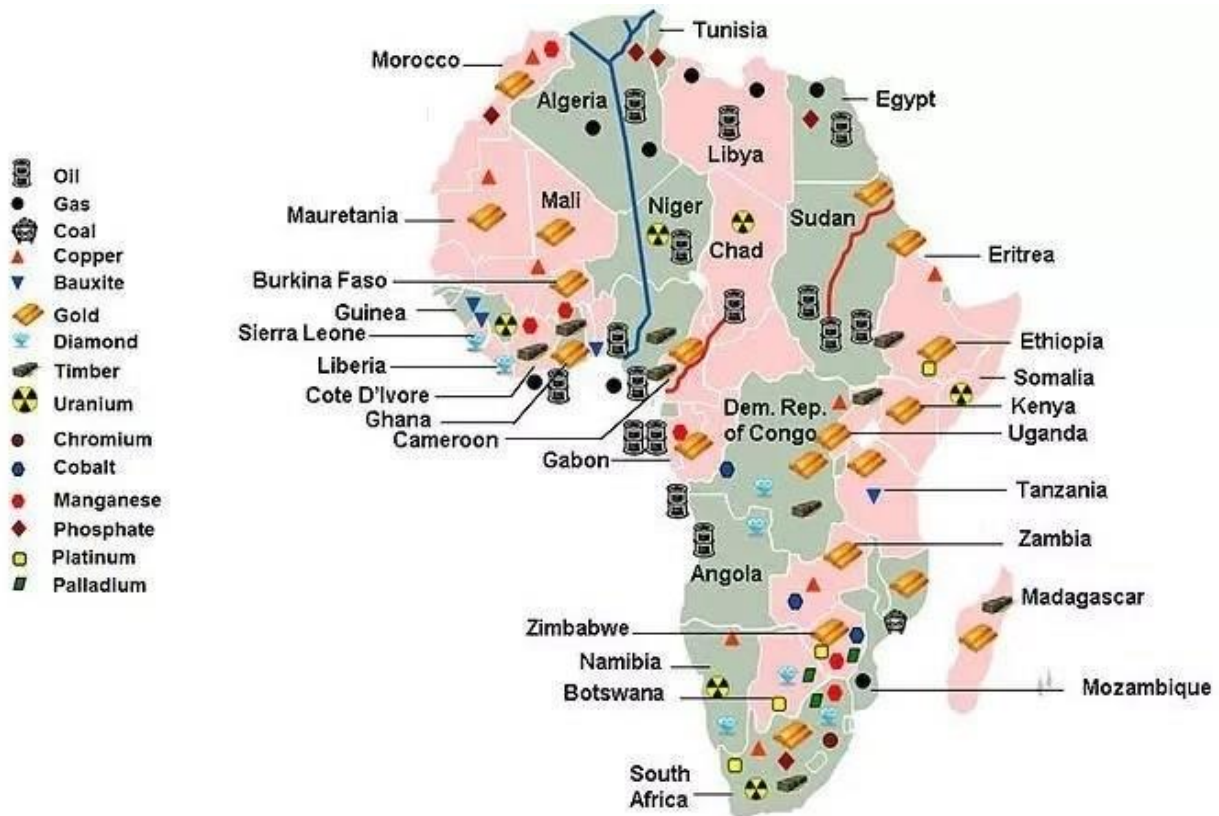
The concern of this paper is therefore to explore alternative autochthonous economic models with a view to making policy recommendations along the lines of getting African countries back to those viable pre-contact economic models which are not merely appropriate, timely but urgent.

2. Nature of the pre contact African Economies

The pre-contact African economies were organized around the family unit, and gold supply often dictated which society was the most powerful until the start of the Atlantic slave trade. The African continent has been called by one historian the social laboratory of humanity, Art, trade, small-scale manufacturing, medical knowledge, religion, state systems, history and legend all flourished before the formal political take-over of the continent by European powers (Redding, 2008). There was significant heterogeneity in political centralization across African ethnicities before colonization (Murdock, 1967). The beginning of the Atlantic slave trade in the late 1400s disrupted African society. West Africa stretched from modern-day Mauritania to the Democratic Republic of Congo. It encompasses lush rainforests along the equator, savannas on either side of the forests. In the driest areas, herders maintained sheep, goats, cattle or camels. In the most wooded areas near the equator, farmers raised yams, palm products or plantains. Africa was indeed self-sustaining economically without any form of foreign aids.

The name Africa is of African origins from the Egyptian word "Afru-ika" or Motherland'. Africa is considered by most paleoanthropologists to be the oldest inhabited territory on earth, with human species originating from the continent. Africa was and is still richly blessed with a bounty of natural resources. The continent holds 30% of the world's known mineral reserves. These include cobalt, uranium, diamonds, and gold, as well as significant oil and gas reserves (Lebert, 2015).

Figure 1 Map of Africa showing all the continent's natural resources



Source: (Odusanya, 2018), <https://www.legit.ng/1146046-richest-african-countries-terms-natural-resources.html>.

From the above map, we can see that the continent of Africa is endowed with considerable amount of natural resources. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the continent of Africa is known to have more than 40 percent of the world's reserves of Platinum Group Minerals (PGMs), phosphate, gold, cobalt, vanadium, vermiculite, chromites, manganese, and diamonds (Jalloh, 2013). The resilience of large parts of Africa in the face of challenging conditions reflects continuing diversification in many of the continent's economies. Between 2010 and 2014, services generated 48% of Africa's GDP growth, up from 44% in the preceding decade. Growth in Africa's manufacturing sector has been low at 4.3% a year between 2010 and 2014, but utilities and construction achieved significant expansion to ensure that industries overall generated 23% of Africa's growth, up from 17% in the preceding decade (Leke, 2016).

However, despite being so richly endowed and despite the mining boom of the past decade, Africa

has drawn little benefit from these mineral wealth and remains one of the poorest continents on the globe, with almost fifty percent of the population living on less than \$1.25 per day (Lebert, 2015). The seemingly intractable nature of Africa's poverty has led to debate concerning its root causes. Bad leadership which leads to endemic warfare and unrest, widespread corruption, despotic and sit tight regimes are all causes and effects of the continued economic problems and economic woes in Africa. Also, there is high level of "illicit financial flows" and many cases of money laundering by some African corrupt and sit-tight leaders. Such illicit out flows undermine social and economic development of the continent instead of investing these resources into improving the infrastructure, health and education of these poor countries. For instance, Zambia is the largest producer of copper in Africa and the seventh largest globally; yet, Zambia is one of the poorest countries in the world.

Table 1: List of African Countries with Their Minerals Resources

Countries	Minerals	GDP
South Africa	Gold, Diamonds, Uranium, Wheat, Chromium, Fruits, Sugar,	\$683.1 billion
Nigeria	Crude oil, Cocoa, Groundnuts, Palm oil, Maize, Sorghum, Tin, Columbine, Iron ore	\$1.058 billion
Ghana	Gold, Diamonds, Cocoa, Aluminum, and Bauxite	\$48.4 billion
Egypt	Petroleum, Natural gas, Phosphate, Gold, iron ore.	\$945.4 billion
Morocco	Wheat, Barley, Citrus, Dates, Phosphates, Iron ore, Manganese	\$103.8 billion
Namibia	Millet, Sorghum, Diamonds, Cocoa, Aluminium, and Bauxite	\$13.11 billion
Tunisia	Olives, Dates, Wheat, Petroleum, Iron ore, Phosphates,.	\$125.1 billion
Kenya	Coffee, Maize, Tea, Sugarcane, Limestone, Soda ash, Turbines	\$134.7 billion
Congo	Cassava, Maize, Coffee, Rubies, Copper, Cobalt, Zinc, Gold, Diamonds	\$32.69 billion
Cote D'Ivoire	Coffee, Cocoa, Timber, Maize, Petroleum, Rice Manganese, Diamonds	\$31.06 billion
Tanzania	Coffee, cotton, tea, Maize, Tin, Phosphate, Iron, Cassava, Diamonds and Gold	\$33.23billion
Angola	Iron, Petroleum, Diamonds	\$175.5 billion
Mozambique	Aluminum, Beryllium, Tantalum, Limestone, Cement, Marbles, Gemstone, Coals, Iron, Gold, Oil, Gas and Steel	
Togo	Cassava, Yams, Sorghum, Groundnut	\$4.767 billion

Source: Internet Source Field work (2019)

Africa is known to be blessed with numerous natural minerals and rich soils, and there are multiple locations in many countries where you can find these minerals in unimaginable quantities. In fact, Africa is a home to the major amount of mineral deposits of the world (Oduanya, 2018). When a country, as well endowed agriculturally as Ghana, becomes a recipient of food aid, there must be something fundamentally wrong. When an oil rich country like Nigeria that produces an average of 2.53 million barrels of oil (402.000m³) per day and being an important supplier of oil to the United States and other African countries is taking IMF loan, seeking international aid and has a poverty level of about 86.9million people now living in extreme poverty, then something is fundamentally wrong. Nigeria has produced crude oil since the 1960s; its discovery in some other West African countries is of recent development, with Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone recently emerging as oil rich economies. The question that comes to mind is whether the discovery of natural resources has translated into improving the well-being of citizens of those countries or not. This has provoked a series of debates amongst economists over the last two decades.

Indications are clear that Africa's development in the first half of this decade has been dominated by multiple transitions which, in some countries, often have run concurrently: from war to peace, from one-party rule to multi-party governance, from apartheid to non-racial democracy, from command economies dominated by governments and sheltered from imports to free markets, private enterprise and more liberal trade. As at 1998 UNCTAD Trade and Development Report points out that Africa's growth performance was on the average quite strong for over a decade-from the mid-1960s until the first oil shock in (1973). GDP growth in SSA averaged about 4.5 percent per year during the period, although that was lower than in other developing regions (with the exception of South Asia) (Rwegasira, 1998)

In a few countries, the transition was unfortunately in the wrong direction: from relative peace and stability to intensified civil war and even brutal genocide. It is not a single genocide but a collection of ethnic wars which ranged from Sudan, the Congo, through to Uganda and Rwanda. In Sudan, two million people belonging to various Nilotic people (indigenes of Nile valley) were killed by Sudanese Arabs from the North, and then in Congo, roughly

five million people died during the second Congo war. In Uganda, three hundred thousand people were murdered during the regime of Idi Amin and 500 thousand during the reign of his successor Milton Obote. Then in the early 1970s, over 150 thousand Hutus were killed by Tutsi people in Burundi by order of General Michel Micombero. As many as 20 million Africans were internally displaced within their countries or forced to seek refuge in other countries, fleeing conflict flashpoints. But, on the bright side, the transition to peace has been consolidated in several other countries.

3. Leaderships Failures in Africa

Walter Rodney, in his book, 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' contends that Western capitalist nations developed through a process that underdeveloped African nation. It is true that the relationship between the colonies and their colonizers was nothing but parasitic economic wealth which was transferred from the colonies to the colonizers (Mugwiji, 2016). African leaders are quick to blame the legacy of colonialism, others accuse its neo-colonial dimension, and some others pose culture, climate and bio-geographic factors as the explanation to the "why" of the African problems. But to continue blaming Western powers for under developing Africa decades after most African countries have gained independence is simply failure to take responsibility for our own actions. In fact, the wave, the struggle for African Independence that started in the late 50's and continued through the 60's, can be said to be based on this understanding and exposures of colonial rule. African continent has come quite a long way with regard to espousing democracy, yet it still has to overcome numerous hurdles as it endeavors to rewrite its history. Among the many setbacks the continent has suffered over the years is the host of so called African dictators club who continue to hold their citizenry ransom while ruthlessly clamping down on any opposing voices. In Africa, there have been cases of unconstitutional seizures of power, or leaders have perpetuated their stay in office despite a lack of electoral support. Below are lists of some sit tight dictators and their performances in Africa:

3.1. President Yahya Jammeh (Gambia: 1994-2017)

Yahya Jammeh took power in a bloodless military coup in 1994. Jammeh surprisingly, conceded defeat to Adama Barrow at the 2016 general elections, and later rejected it but was later forced out of office. He ruled the country for a period of 23 years. The GDP figure of the country in 2017 was \$1,490 million. The Gambia in 2017 when he left office was \$709, \$236 higher than in 2016 when it was \$473. The poverty level in Gambia remained flat. National poverty increased from 48.1 percent in 2010 to 48.6 percent in 2015. The poverty rate of the rural areas increased from 64.2 in 2010 to 69.5 in 2015 while the rural poor accounts for 64% of the total poor in the country. He finally left Gambia on exile to Equatorial Guinea after sustained pressure by the African Union, ECOWAS, and UN. Strong human rights abuses marked Yahya Jammeh's regime,

3.2 President Paul Kagame (Rwanda: 1994-Present)

Paul Kagame became the President of Rwanda in the year 2000. He rose to power through his guerrilla movement that ended the 1994 Rwandan Genocide. He has been in power for 21 years. Kagame has led Rwanda towards the path of economic prosperity; his government has been described by the UN and several international leaders as the model of good governance in Africa. His regime been marked by accusations of human right abuse, oppression of political opponents and the press.

3.3. Gnassingbé Eyadéma (Togo: 1967–2005)

Gnassingbé Eyadema remains one of Africa's longest-serving dictators. He ruled Togo for 38 years. Eyadema became the president of Togo in 1967 after he led a military coup against the then President, a man he helped bring to power in a bloody military coup. Togo's unemployment rate as at 2016 was 6.9 and was ranked 143 of 177 countries in the 2004 UNDP. Togo is one of the poorest countries in the world where more than 30% of the population lives below the poverty line. He died of a heart attack in 2005, and his son Faure was named the President of Togo in controversial circumstances. Even with his long stay in office,

Togo's GDP has remained very low. Eyadema is the pioneer of Africa's first military coup d'état, an act that soon became the political trend in Africa. He was accused of several cases of human right abuses.

3.4. Hastings Kamuzu Banda (Malawi: 1964–1994)

Banda, one of Africa's greatest dictators, led Malawi from 1964 till 1994. He ruled Malawi for 31 years. Brookings institute indicated that 59.3 percent out of 18,855,785 Malawians are still living on less than \$1.90 a day. Malawi has continued to be one of the poorest countries in the world with 50.7 percent of the population living below the poverty line and 25 percent living in extreme poverty as at 2017. Banda lost effective control of Malawi during his absence from Malawi in 1993 when he was flown to South Africa for an emergency brain surgery. Bakili Muluzi, his former political protégé, became president in 1994, after the general elections Banda had earlier postponed was conducted in 1994. In fact, one in three children under five died of starvation, he regularly tortured and murdered political opponents. Human rights groups estimate that at least 6,000 people were killed, tortured and jailed without trial under Banda.

3.5. Obiang Mbasogo (Equatorial Guinea: 1979–Present)

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo has been President of Equatorial Guinea since 1979 when he ousted his uncle, Francisco Macías Nguema, in a bloody military coup and sentenced him to death by firing squad. President Obiang is one of the oldest and longest serving dictators in Africa. He has ruled the country for 36 years. According to the World Bank, 76.8 percent of the population lives in poverty irrespective of the fact that she is a small but an oil-rich country boasting the highest per capita income on the continent (Bekele, 2017). Roughly half of the population lacks access to potable water while she has the lowest life expectancy rate and infant mortality which are below the sub-Saharan African average.

3.6. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi (Libya: 1969–2011)

Gaddafi seized power in a bloodless military coup in 1969. The charismatic leader of Libya and one of the greatest dictators in African history met his end during the Libyan revolution in 2011 after rebels in Sirte, his city of birth, killed him. Gaddafi was in power for 42 years and was regarded as the worst dictators in Africa. Under Gaddafi, Libya became the first developing country to own a majority share of the revenues from its oil production. Gaddafi provided access to free health care, safe houses, food and clean drinking water, free education to university level which led to the dramatic rise in literacy rates. He led oil-rich Libya as an absolute dictator, for close to 42 years, he quashed anyone that opposed him, and was responsible for the death of thousands of his people

3.7. Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe: 1987-2017)

Robert Gabriel Mugabe is the former President of Zimbabwe and one of the oldest dictators in Africa. He was in power from 1980 when he was prime minister of Zimbabwe before he consolidated his power to become president on 31st December 1987. He ruled Zimbabwe for 28 years and more than 70% of Zimbabweans are living in poverty (Mahove, 2016). The United Nations estimates Unemployment in Zimbabwe to be as high as 80%, the economy of Zimbabwe is in ruins, and life expectancy for both male and females is a little above 50 years. Massive hyperinflation has made the local currency of Zimbabwe worthless, the exchange rate of Zimbabwe dollar is 35 quadrillion to US\$1. The local currency has been retired and replaced with the US dollar and South African rand, and this has led to the near collapse of the manufacturing industry in Zimbabwe. Uncle Roo (as he is called) is the quintessential hero to tyrant, the modern-day messiah that helped bring freedom to Zimbabweans only to get himself power drunk. He has been in power since 1980. Robert Gabriel Mugabe is a man who needs no introduction. Mugabe is an odd man when it comes to dictators.

The long tenure of Mobutu Sese Seko bequeathed to the Congo the many years of civil wars, insurrections and the instability which remain till this day. The 42 years of Muammar Gaddafi left Libya in shambles, such that six years after the Arab

Springs, the country remains a failed state in spite of huge efforts by the international community. President Teodoro Obiang Nguema who has been in power in Equatorial Guinea for 38 years and the most news-making attributes of his regime are the unspeakable corruption of the regime and the scandalous extravagance. Angola's President Jose Eduardo Santos, "the quiet dictator," has been in power for 38 years. After more than 10 years in power, President Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi stunned the world in April 2015 when he announced that he would be seeking a third term, contrary to the prescriptions of the country's constitution. Ever since, the country has known no peace. At least 215,000 Burundians have fled their country, hundreds have been killed, and a coup attempt was made to oust the dictator which, when it failed, led to horrifying reprisals. President Yoweri Museveni led the National Resistance Army into Kampala, Uganda, in January 1986 to seize power. After 31 years, he won yet five-year tenure in February 2016.

Governance may not be an exacting science but experience all over the world has shown that four years is enough for leaders to demonstrate their skills and talents. A second four years is the maximum period after which it becomes apparent that new ideas would be required and new blood infused if the country is to continue to progress. Gnassingbe Eyadema was president of Togo for 38 years. He came in through a coup d'état and refused to leave until his death. Eyadema ran Togo as a personal estate.

4. Solutions to Bad Leaderships in Africa

Although the problem of leadership is undeniably a global one, it stands out as Africa's biggest and intractable problem. According to John Hayford, Africa's biggest problem today lies with leadership. The leaders are so removed from the people that they are looked upon as foreigners. They are driven by self-interest, so excessive that their peoples' interests are forgotten — hardly different from the colonial masters—but what can be done?

We have the capacity to end poverty, what really then is lacking is the will to do so. And that will is largely locked in the hands of those who call

themselves leaders; business or political. And there is only one path—organize—use people numbers to create civil societies that hold leadership accountable. Have clear policy pushed into government. Peer review your peers and peer review your leaders. Make it so that any leader that has a hint of corruption, tribalism, nepotism, cronyism, Western choir boy-ism, non-Pan-African, or anti-Africanism on their breath has no hope of getting into office, or CEO of anything powerful.

If leadership is measured in fiscal buoyancy and GDP terms then Ronald Reagan was one of the best leaders in history. If leadership is defined by thwarting the statehood of an oppressed people then Netenyahu is an excellent leader for the Zionist camp. Colonial oriented Barbados would certainly be ranked as excellent leadership with its number 47 HDI index. If warfare and global chaos is used to define a brave and valiant leader then Bush is such. If national pride is the virtue of good leadership then Hitler was amazing. If leadership is measured by national unity and solidarity then Mao was the best leader. What are we measuring when we say "a good leader"? If we want to discuss leadership in private enterprise well it is a lot easier, because Job satisfaction, economical index, wage ranking, are boxes we can tick and then Steve Jobs might be a good leader. Henry Ford would be a good leader. But running a country is a little more complex because even private business development, or lack thereof can be blamed on the political heads of state (African Leadership, 2014).

Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable... Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.—Martin Luther King, Jr.

5. Theoretical Framework

The work adopted the development theory using Marxian view. According to Marx, when it comes to developing countries, Marxist and neo-Marxist writers have argued that capitalist path will not suit them. The situation prevailing in these countries is basically different from that where the Western countries started their development. Thus, Paul

Baran (The political Economy of Growth; 1957) observed that the advanced countries of today had managed accumulation of capital by exploiting their colonial territories. The present day developing countries have no access to such resources (Gaub, 2007). He further said that the capitalists of the developing countries are incapable of developing the forces of production. Hence, capitalist path would hardly promote their progress. Supporting his view, Andre G. Frank postulated that Western countries capitalism played a different role because it was rooted in imperialism. Frank advanced a center-periphery model to elucidate the role of imperialism. He likened metropolis to center and satellite to periphery. They are linked in such a way that the development of the center leads to corresponding underdevelopment in the periphery. Frank suggests that in order to stop underdevelopment of the new nations, they should be delinked from the capitalist economies.

Even though African leaders are quick to blame the legacy of colonialism, others accuse its neo-colonial dimension while the economic woes are blamed on imperialism, the question remains; can't African leaders create their own path to development? Authors like, Walter Rodney (How Europe underdeveloped Africa; 1974), and B. Cumings (The Origins of Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial sectors, Products and Cycles, and Political consequences'. International Organization; 1984) confirmed Frank's conclusions in the context of Africa and Asia respectively (Gaub, 2007).

Tenets of the Theory

The principal tenet of the neo-Marxist theory of underdevelopment is that underdevelopment of third world countries is not a stage on the road to capitalism. It is rather a condition or symptom of their domination by the capitalist world. Advanced industrial societies of the West have been accused to be responsible for the economic and political underdevelopment of the third world. Under the present day conditions, the underdeveloped societies are still economically dependent on the export of primary products –various raw materials and agricultural products. The markets for these products

are controlled by the capitalist economies. This is true given the fact that the mechanisms of subordinating dependence on foreign capital, export of raw materials, importing of manufactured goods from the former colonies and from other economic powers have not disappeared. They have been adapted to the dynamics of the unequal global order (Nanga, 2015). Again, industrially advanced countries invest their capital in the former colonies and use them as suppliers of raw materials and labor at throwaway prices and as potential markets for manufactured goods at the market prices. Irrespective of all the rich minerals in Africa, they are still wallowing in abject poverty. Thus the former metropolitan countries continue to reap economic profits as earlier without incurring the political costs of colonialism (Gaub, 2007).

6. Alternative Indigenous Models for African Economies.

When we talk of development, we mean the securing of social and economic growth by changing the conditions of under-development through organized and planned efforts aimed at the control of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and economic and industrial under-development (Ghai, 2015). The reality is that there have existed several different models of development. Out of these no single development model stands universally accepted. Initially, the Western model of liberty, economic growth and modernization was adopted by several states. Then some states came forward to adopt the Socialist model of development. Some others like India decided to adopt a mixed liberal-democratic-socialist model. Presently the world has been strongly advocating the Sustainable Development Model. It is believed that Africa can reclaim its development in the 21st century if its development process is rooted in African systems of thought and is people-centered rather than western capitalist models transplanted by apostles of external agencies.

Sustainable development can be said to be the type of development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland Commission). It can be broken down into

environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and sociopolitical sustainability. In sub-Saharan Africa, there has been strong growth in the past decade, they have had success in increasing human development levels but its poverty rates have remained stubbornly high. With its limited economic diversification, persisting inequalities, high unemployment, and environmental degradation, the continent has not yet embark on a sustainable development path which can benefit the entire populace (UNDP). In essence, we can see that changes in today's global landscape mean that emerging markets must consider how they can shape their own futures. This entails focusing their efforts and resources inwardly as a result of challenging economic times. African economies must take steps to secure her share of global economic growth. In addition, we must be able to sustain the economic growth of Africa ourselves.

Again, adoption of indigenous economic policy of Africapitalism which is predicated on the belief that Africa's private sector can and must play a leading role in the continent's development. In the words of Elumelu, he said, "The future we all want for ourselves is one of our own making". Africapitalism is an economic philosophy that embodies the private sector's commitment to the economic transformation of Africa through investments that generate both economic prosperity and social wealth (The Tony Elumelu Foundation). The principles of Africapitalism are entrepreneurship- unlocking the individual's power to create and grow their businesses into successful companies, long term investments- creating greater and broader economic values, strategic sectors- investing in sectors delivering a financial return such as agriculture, power, healthcare, and finance, value-added growth, regional connectivity, shared purpose and development dividend (Elumelu, 2017). The idea is a call-to-action for businesses to decide on increasing the economic and social wealth and promote development in various communities and various nations they live in. Therefore, to collectively succeed, individual governments must work towards a regional imperative if Africa's economies are to be changed in a way that drives

sustainable and inclusive growth and development for the continent as a whole. These regional trading corridors cannot work in isolation but must be scalable to improve connectivity across the African continent (Makhubela, 2018). There is another potential solution to African economic woes. It is the adoption of a new economic philosophy called Africapitalism. This embodies the private sector's commitment to the economic transformation of Africa through investments that generate both economic prosperity and social wealth (Ameshi, 2015). Africapitalism is a term coined by a Nigerian renowned economist, Tony Elumelu where he argued that "Africa's renaissance lies in the confluence of the right business and potential action"(Amaeshi & Idemudia, 2015). He further postulated that Africans have long engaged in capitalist economic transactions. But the type of capitalism introduced by colonialists has not always been aligned with the needs of Africans. It remains overly informed and driven by agendas set outside the continent. In the words of Elumelu, he argues:

"African renaissance lies in the confluence of the right business and political action".(Ameshi, 2015).

Even though Africa is infested with sit-tight and corrupt leaders, the inherited colonial political and economic systems are yet to be properly domesticated in the continent. For instance, most Africa is crippled by weak institutions, poor governance and distressed civil societies. Many analysts and apologists have forcefully argued that Africa is a late comer to the global economy, but African leaders at all levels should take advantage of global trends and platforms like the African CEO Forum to ensure what will work for Africa. In other words, they should not be entrapped by mistakes of other countries in North America and Europe.

African governments should be able to develop sustainability policy in all sectors of the economy, at all levels, with all types of instruments. Sustainability policy must foster environmental protection and social; identify barriers to sustainability and ways of overcoming them. Finally developing capacity building is equally of essence. This entails developing personal and organizational skills. These skills are developed by communication,

improved educational systems, information and training and developing indigenous technologies.

7. Summary and Policy Recommendations

It is quite unfortunate that African leaders are not inclined to relinquish power once they get hold of it. In Africa, when our leaders get into power, in most cases, they choose to remain in the position until they die. They see their office as their entitlement. African leaders should emulate great leaders in Africa like Nelson Mandela who is one of the greatest leaders Africa has ever produced. After spending a whopping 27 years in prison fighting for democracy in South Africa, Mandela chose to be president of the country for only one-term of five years. After such a long struggle, many might not have begrudged him if he became a life-president. But that was clearly anathema to Nelson Mandela (Aribisala, 2013).

When we talk of true democracy, we mean government by the people or rule by the majority in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections. African leaders are held regular elections but even when they are elected through a democratic process, they manipulate some vital democratic institutions such as the Judiciary, legislature to enable them suppress opposition in a bid to hang on to power unduly. People like Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo took the sit-tight madness in Togo to an inglorious height. He was the President of Togo for 38 years (Ukegbu, 2017). The sit-tight syndrome can be traced to the history of leadership in Africa, right from the era of independence till date. African leaders should emulate countries like Norway, Iceland, Sweden and New Zealand in practicing true democracy where civil liberties and basic political freedoms are not only respected but also reinforced by a political culture conducive to the thinking of democratic principles.

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