

IMPERIALISM AND THE ROLE OF AFRICA AS RAW MATERIAL PRODUCER FOR GLOBAL PROSPERITY TO THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

BY

Prof. Ike. Odimegwu, Chinedu Ifeakor (PhD) & Nnamdi ThankGod Nwagbo. Philosophy
Department, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

Abstract

Colonization and imperialism are two exploiting double barrel schemes Europe and few advanced countries uses on Africa. The order of events, starting from colonial and post colonial eras, one may assume that the West does not mean well for Africa as long as she continue to deploy these two exploitative mechanisms on Africa. But the pertinent question remains, is the West really the anchor force that pushes Africa to play this role or is Africa the primary factor that willingly opened the door for the aforementioned and yet cries wolf? But somehow, there have been claims that providence has placed the West ahead to determine the guiding policies, economic structure and how they should be navigated. If such claims are true and the claimants are not being bias over what they're reporting, then Africa is doomed if she does not break away from this chain of Western imperialism. That means, achieving sustainable development, making good policies, good governance and achieving complete political and economic freedom will be a herculean task. The reality of the Western extraction of raw materials from African soil is an undeniable fact, yet some people still ask, why has it remained after all the African nations have gained their independence? On a normal, common sense teaches us that imperialism is politically driven hence they favour the extractors and exposes the countries where the extractions are taking place to abject poverty. Based on past experiences and now, the West by influence has shown with practical example how this imperialist activity works and have ensured that repressive regimes are kept in power in Africa so that they can still have access to the raw materials; the African wealth. What Africa need to do first is to cut-of the rope of neocolonialism and imperialism off her neck. One of the ways to do that is to resist every political influence and role the West always play in electing African leaders. If that is achieved, it will become a big plus to African continent. If disciplined and competent people with integrity are elected, then, it will enhance development and Africa will get better. Because, Europe and some developed countries are aware that any day Africa escape from the aforesaid hook of imperialism and their natural resources extraction in Africa continent, the living condition in their continent will fall. One of the aims of this paper is to interpret how Western influence and extraction of raw materials has impoverished Africa and have reduced Africa to a mere raw material producer for global prosperity to the advanced countries. A Hermeneutical approach was devised as a tool in pursuance of this aim. The only way the living condition in Africa can change in the nearest future is if Africa can shun Western economic imposition and reject every policy that does not improve the growth of Africa's economy and politics. For African continent to move forward, Africa must be practically independent of the Western

impositions and dictates. Africa must come out of its enclave of being a consumption continent and to become a production continent so as to stop relaying on aids and foreign products for survival. Good governance and Industrialization will push Africa forward to achieving this goal.

Key words: Colonization, Raw materials, Economy, Global prosperity, Imperialism

INTRODUCTION

Africa is a continent blessed with multiple natural resources. Some of these natural resources can be found beneath the soil surface and may require technology to extract, explore and process them. While some of these natural resources can be found on the surface of the earth. The wealth of Africa in raw materials should have placed Africa ahead of other continents in the areas of infrastructural development, technology, economy, human resource-development, and political stability. But on the contrary, colonial, neocolonial and imperialists activities in Africa by the West has denied Africa these privileges simply because the leadership and the institution allowed it. At this point we ask these pertinent questions as follows: why is Africa the poorest continent in the world even though being blessed with magnitude of natural resources that supposed to make her richer? Whose fault that Africa have not attain certain level of development to be at the same level with the West and some developed countries in the areas of politics, governance, development and a continent that makes the rule of law its priority? Is it the fault of Africa that she is impoverished or the fault of the West? If it is the West, then the question is how can African continent come out of this mess? These are some of the questions this paper will be addressing and the method of hermeneutics was adopted as tool in answering some of these questions. When we speak about imperialism and raw material producer what do we mean? In a nutshell, imperialism is the practice, theory or attitude of maintaining or extending power over foreign nations, particular through expansionism, employing not only hard power of economic and military (but also soft power culture and diplomatic power). Imperialism focuses on establishing or maintaining hegemony and a more or less formal empire. While related to the concept of colonialism, imperialism is distinct concept that can apply to other forms of expansion and many forms of government.⁴ Raw materials as used in this context are those natural resources countries or continents are endowed with. They can be the source of wealth to those nations or continent. A raw material, also known as a feedstock, unprocessed material, or primary commodity, is a basic material that is used to produce goods, finished goods, energy, or intermediate materials that are feedstock for future finished products. The term raw material denotes materials in unprocessed or minimally processed states such as raw latex, crude oil, cotton, coal, raw biomass, iron ore, plastic, logs, water, and so on.⁴

Colonialism on the other hand is the extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler colonies or administrative dependencies in which indigenous populations are directly ruled or displaced. Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labour, and markets of the colonial territory, and also oppose sociocultural, religious and linguistic structures of the conquered population. Colonialism was often based on the ethnocentric belief that the morals and values of the colonizer were superior

to those of the colonized. In colonialism the traditional Africa religion, which was built on communism and developmental consciousness was interrupted. It was the activities of colonization that establish the foundation for Western ideological imposition which was practically foreign to Africa's ontology and cosmology. This paper establishes that colonization of African continent and imperialists activities in Africa, championed by Europe is real and both the West and African have contributed to it. It also established that for this activity to be carried out, it takes agreement between the imperialists, the leadership and a weak institution to carry it out. But it must be a nation that has selfish leaders and with weak institution. For the exploitation activities, the primary aim of the imperialist is always to have access to the wealth of that nation such as natural resources and human resources. Also, this paper establishes that extracting these raw materials and sending them to some of these developed countries especially Europe, have serious negative impact on the economy and development of Africa. The poor economy and weakness of African country's currencies in the past few decades can be traced to imperialist activities going on in Africa. Raw materials are been exported to Europe and some of the developed countries of the world and this activity somehow have slowed down the economy and development in Africa. Despite the economic exploitation Africa have experienced in the past and is still experiencing today, Africa's leaders and its institution is still treating the effect rather than the root cause of the problem. Even though African leaders have competent human resources that can liberate Africa, but the leaders and weak institution have been blocking every attempt made to liberate Africa because of their selfish interest. The truth is that African leaders and the institution are still playing games with African future. That is why corruption has continued and are been seen as a lucrative venture. What we must know is that the extractions of raw materials in African shore can never stop if the mindset of African leaders and institution did not change. We should also know that more extractions will make the extracting countries richer and where the extraction is been done will remain underdeveloped and poor. There is need for Africa to emancipate and work together to ensuring that this monster of imperialism that is going on in Africa is eradicated. In fighting this ugly vice, Africans should know that the countries that are in this business of imperialism will not release her from this determinism without a big fight. Having this knowledge will guide African countries, African leaders and the institution to continue fighting until the battle is won.

COLONIZATION AND IMPERIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON AFRICA

According to Achebe, apart from religion, the white man also came with its own government and imposed it on Africa. They built courts where the District Commissioner judge cases in ignorance against the traditions of the land. To Achebe, the white man is very cleaver. He came quietly and peacefully with his religion and we were amused at his foolishness and allowed him stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clans no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.¹ The white man used tricks on the pre-colonial African leaders and natives. They used dialogue and sought for African community co-operation and acceptance. The white man turned into a tiger in a short while; he built law court, began to use guns and injustice to oppress and torture Africans. As a result, Africa lost its cultural values and communal way of living and the white man began to take advantage of Africa's wealth and raw materials. They started arresting the natives, charging them to court as a colonial strategy to weaponize and demonize Africa. They arrested clan leaders, charge them to court, accused them of molesting others. Condition was given for their bailing; a fine of two

hundred bags of cowries which would be realized through tax collections from the indigenes before they could be released. The moment the leaders of the clans consented, colonialism and capitalism was established. This is the battle Africa is still fighting till today and has not been able to clear it off its neck.

Colonialism is an emotive and incendiary concept. It follows different waves of British presence and various kinds of Briton pursuing their own interest came to Africa. A combination of European curiosity about a legendary and mysterious inland river in West Africa and industrial revolution in Europe changed the nature of the relationship between Europe and Africa.² Richards Lander's discovery of fertile land on the banks of the River Niger changed the emphasis of the British contact with West Africa from exploration to economic extraction.³ In general; European economic interest in Africa was evident from the way European countries named territories after the communities they expected to extract. Ivory Coast, Gold Coast (later Ghana) and Slave Coast (Nigeria). By mid-to-late 1884-5, European countries were almost coming to war in their haste to grab piece of Africa for themselves. With colonialism that curiosity to develop Africa into a financial giant of the world and a respected continent was shattered. The first thing the Europe did as they step their feet on Africa soil was to start enforcing superiority of white race over blacks on African continent. Colonialism was a well calculated and planned ideology which the west devised to enable them advance and gain access into the wealth of Africa in both raw materials and human resources. As soon as they gained access to those raw materials they took control and began to lord it on Africa until Africa lost its glory and value politically and economically. But this work recognizes the fact that Africa is presently making effort to find it feet again.

On the other hand imperialism is the practice, theory or attitude of maintaining or extending power over foreign nations, particular through expansionism, employing not only hard power economic and military power) but also soft power culture and diplomatic power). Imperialism focuses on establishing or maintaining hegemony and a more or less formal empire. While related to the concept of colonialism, imperialism is distinct concept that can apply to other forms of expansion and many forms of government.⁴ But the pertinent question is; has Africa or black race won the fight against racism, colonialism and imperialism? The answer is no, because the Western world are still using it to dehumanize African. Despite how unpopular West Africa was to Europe and how rapidly it consumed British visitors, but the question is, why did they keep coming back? After Britain made it illegal for its citizens to engage in slave trading in 1808, British businesses engaged in the trade had to turn to other ventures to make money. As Europe industrialized and became less dependence on human and slave labour, and more reliant on machinery for production, West Africa offered a natural supply of goods that Britain and other European countries needed. Fortunately for Britain and other European countries and unfortunately for Africa, the raw material that Britain required to sustain its industrial revolution was found in the river Niger area. There were an increase in demand for oil to lubricate industrial machinery and, as hygiene standards in European during the first half of the 19th century were appealing, soap became essential to health survival.⁵ The plentiful supply of palm oil from along the lower River Niger let the British to refer to the area as the oil river area. Little did they know that beneath their feet lay another type of oil and some other

raw materials whose value far exceed that of palm oil, and that would bring unimaginable level of wealth a century later.

Africa was never an empty continent and Britain could not extract natural resources from African countries without the assistance of the inhabitants. Excitement about the economic opportunities that lay on African soil led many European companies, British, French and German set up trading stations in Africa's shore from where they traded with local chiefs and shipped produce to Europe. The mistake Africa made was that she did not use the period of her independence to strengthen itself but instead used it to institutionalize corruption, tribalism and religious sentiment which later paved way for extreme corruption and imperialism. In history, African continent have struggled and have passed through a lot against a comprehensive system of domination imposed on her by the white. For many decades now before and after independence, the blacks have experienced this system of domination most acutely.⁶ Like some of the third world countries in the same page with her, Africa still found itself at the bottom of economic ladder, without any political will power or control. This economic and political oppression was compounded by a legal system of neo-colonialism and imperialism that denied Africa independent freedom, the kind the Western world and advanced countries are enjoying today.

The purpose of this paper is not to blame the western world out-rightly on the underdevelopment and present economic backwardness Africa is experiencing today. But instead to suggest what Africa should do in other to come out of this mess. It is worthy of noting that African leaders and the institution have contributed to this economic and political oppression Africa is passing through today. What gave rise to Africa assuming this role of raw material producer is traced to colonialism, corruption, neo-colonialism and imperialism. A colonized people or individuals are usually forced to follow the culture and tradition of the colonialists. Most colonized individuals do not know whether to follow their own culture or the culture of the colonizer. This is what is happening to Africa today. It is either that African leaders and the institution does not know which way to follow or that they know but has preferred to follow the imperialist at the expense of Africa's original vision. Or could it be that what Pieter Willem Botha declared in 1988 is playing out in African continent. He reiterated that black people cannot rule themselves because they don't have the brain and mental capacity to govern a society. "Give them guns; they will steal all government money. Give them independence and democracy, they will use it to promote tribalism, ethnicity, bigotry, hatred, killings, and wars."⁷ Until Africa and its leaders do something different to change the present status of African political and economic system, then the notion of Pieter Willem Botha still remain a living proof that African people cannot rule themselves ideologically without the interference of the Western World. It is not that some rational intellectuals are not pushing to change this narrative but the issue is that some of these intellectuals are been seen as opposition or coupist. Some indigenous and Western leaders will always label them traitors who want to spoil their game in their attempts to liberate Africa. Unlike the masses and majority, intellectuals still have a taste for rationality and still have interest in facts. Their critical habit of mind makes them resistant to the kind of propaganda that works so well on the majority.⁸ it is at the point of tribalism, division, sentiment, indiscipline and corruption that Africa as a continent is yet to liberate itself.

LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA BEFORE COLONIALISM

Much of human history has always been becloud with battle for survival against human oppression. These can be categorized into political, racial, religious and economic oppressions. The agents responsible for these oppressions are imagined human enemies. More often than not, the term “development” is used in an exclusive economic sense; the justification being that the type of economy is in itself an index of other social features.⁹ A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with their environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature on the extent to which they put that understanding in practice by devising tools and on the manner in which works are organized.¹⁰ One of the components of modern underdevelopment is that of exploitation of one country by another. All the countries named underdeveloped in the world today are exploited by some other developed countries. And the development with which the world is now pre-occupied with is a product of capitalists, imperialists and colonialists exploitation. African countries were gradually developing independently until there were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalists power.¹¹ Egypt was capable of producing wealth in abundance because of mastery of many scientific natural laws and their invention of technology, to irrigate, grow food, and extract raw materials from the sub-soil. In the word of Casely-Hayford, before the British came in contact with our people, our people were a developed people, having our own institutions, and idea of government¹², but I would rather state that before the British came in relation to Africa, Africa was developing, having its institutions and own ideas of government. As it is well known, Africa has had prolonged and extensive contact with Europe, and one has to bear in mind that contact between different societies changes their respective rates of development and narratives. Lord Macaulay has this to say on account of Africa:

I have travelled across the length and breadth of Africa and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief, such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and therefore, I proposed that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Africans think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than theirs, they will lose their selfesteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation¹³

Such anticipation is part of the proof to show that British and Western world never mean well for Africa. What they have planned from the beginning was to make Africa her slave forever and raw material producer for itself everlasting. An even bigger problem is that the people of Africa and other parts of the colonized world have gone through cultural and psychological crisis and have accepted at least partially the European version of living.

By fifteenth century, Africans everywhere has arrived at a considerable understanding of the total ecology-of the soils, climate, animals, plants and their multiple interrelationships. The practical application of this lay the need to trap animals, to build houses, to make utensils, to find medicines, and above all to devise systems of agriculture. Certainly, it was when African societies became linked with other social systems outside the continent on the basis of trade that little attention was paid to agriculture.’’¹⁴ One way of judging the level of economic development in Africa five centuries ago was through the quality of products. It was through North-Africa that Europeans became familiar with a superior brand of red leather from Africa which was termed “Morrocan leather.” Yet, Africa had even better offer in the form of cotton clothe which was widely manufactured before the coming of the Europeans. Under the patronage of Fatimid dynasty, science flourished and industry reached a new level in Egypt.¹⁵ New industries were introduced: paper-making, sugar-refining and distillation of gasoline. European anthropologists who had studied African societies did so from a prejudiced and racist perspective. Heart of Darkness by Joseph Conrad, for instance, was one of the most read novels around the time of its publication in 1899. The writer of the novel described Africa as a “wild, dark; and uncivilized continent. Not only was Conrad view about Africa a misrepresentation and insult on Africa, but also a humiliation to African people. It was through the insights of “Things Fall Apart” that the world became more appreciative of Africa and its people and at the same time the truth surrounding the stereotypical ideas that once existed about Africa began to appear in a much clearer light.¹⁶

AFRICA AS A RAW MATERIAL PRODUCER TO DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Africa continent remaining poor and underdeveloped till today is her choice and the West should not be blamed out-rightly for that even though somehow they contributed to it. If Africa is no longer comfortable with her condition let her do something about it? The act of turning Africa into a sacrificial raw material producer lamb was a calculated plan, but the West couldn’t have carried this activity out without the help and compliance of some selfish Africans, i.e. some leaders and some people within the African community. Every colonial administration in any colonized country work hand in hand with the leaders and cabals to carry out a number of oppressions as follows: (a) To protect national interests against competition from other capitalists and, (b) To guarantee optimum conditions under which private companies could exploit African countries. The Europeans and some developed countries saw how Africa is in natural resources and so channeled its business of extractions of natural resource that can be found in African soil, and by this activity Africa’s wealth is taken across border for penny or for free from the imperialist masters. From pre-colonial era till date, the Western strategy to exploit Africa is assisted by African leaders, cabals and some amongst the institution. Allowing such practice over time was what breeds corruption which later led to raw material extractions and exploitation in Africa.

In 1946, Harry F. Oppenheimer reiterated; the consolidated mines that sales of diamonds during the war generated about 300 million American dollars for Great Britain.¹⁷ It was on this very issue of currency that the colonial government did the most manipulations to ensure that Africa’s wealth was stashed away in the coffer of the metropolitan state. Through this, they were able to establish an intricate financial network which served the common end of enriching Europe at Africa’s expense. Europe’s power of domination increased with imperialism, because it gave her

control over production within each nation under her domination. On the matter concerning comparative economics, the relevant fact is that the slight difference when the Portuguese sailed to West Africa in 1444 was a huge gap by the time European robber statesmen sat down in Berlin 440 years later to decide who should steal which parts of Africa. It was such gap that provided both the necessity and the opportunity for Europe to move into imperialist invasion; to colonize and further exploit Africa. European monopoly and firms operated by constantly fighting to gain control over raw materials, markets and means of communications. That means the European capitalists were forced by the internal logic of their competitive system to seek abroad in less developed countries opportunities to control raw material supplies, to find markets, and to find profitable fields of investment. Imperialism is essentially an economic ideology but it does not necessarily lead to direct political control. Europeans made a grab for whatever they thought spelt profits in Africa, and they even consciously acquired many areas not for immediate exploitation but with an eye for the future.

As has been observed, Britain's fundamental interest in Sub-Sahara Africa has nothing to do with the good of the people, and because of that nothing has changed; including the democracy that we claimed to have inherited from them. The interest that did exist was borne by a small caucus of British politicians, civil servants and businessmen, and it was purely imperialistic. The policy was aimed at the maintenance of law and order, the raising of taxes to pay for the administration of the colony, the stimulation of the production of raw materials for British industry and the establishment of a consumer market to purchase manufactured goods from British Industry. This method of oppression and domination is what African leaders have adopted to further oppress and add to the existing injury. Various attempts made by freedom fighters who are tired of such conditions has been discouraged and termed "treason", because such agitations can easily hinder their business transactions. That was why Biafra's desire for partition from Nigeria failed squarely¹⁸, because they wouldn't want a tribe who are more organized to end decades of economic slavery they have established already.

According to Forsyth, "British leadership wished to see a single and unified Nigeria so long as this was practically feasible, is not blameworthy; but what happened was that in its total determination to see a single economic units no matter that the cost in suffering to the people of the country, through the grossest interference in the internal politics of that country, British government chose to ally itself not with the people or their aspirations..."¹⁹

This is what most African leaders and citizens have pretended over as if all is well, when all is not well. Even though they have noticed these flaws as the possible reason why there is poverty and endemic corruption, yet African countries have produced incompetent and blind leaders over the years and that is why the trend has continued as if it is true that Black people cannot rule themselves.²⁰ We need to pause at this point to ask some pertinent questions. Thirty four years after this bombshell was dropped, we have not been able to prove Pieter Willem Botha wrong? What has African leaders and institution done to change this narrative? What strategy has Africa set up in order to prove to the world that the game of the West and some developed countries on imperialism is now well understood; and that as a continent, has decided to employ different approach to be independent and as well develop Africa and strengthen its economy?

The day Africa starts processing its raw materials to a finished product and exporting them to other continents and is able to sustain it, only then we can boldly say that Africa's development process has commenced. It is an irony for one of the greatest nation in Africa as Nigeria that gained independence in 1960 to still export crude oil for refining and import it back into the country again for sales, distributions and consumption and Nigerian government still talk about fuel subsidy and subsidy removal. The reason why this condition has continued is because those who have govern some of the African countries either as head of state or president failed as leaders. Over the years Africans have allowed tribal sentiment, hatred, hypocrisy, religious sentiment, greed and lust for power to divide us as a people. Africa must wake up and say enough is enough against the backdrop of allowing those with questionable character from accessing leadership positions. Those that have leadership qualities, integrity with good moral conduct and are not tribalists should be allowed to access leadership positions. That some people came from the most hated tribe should not be the reason why such opportunity would not be accessible to them. Africa can only develop when a separation is made between the looters and the hard working Africans who love Africa and want it to achieve total freedom. If this is not done the next generation of youths will embrace politic with the mindset that looting and corruption is lucrative. Integrity, transparency and fighting corruption must be part of the culture to be treasured as fundamental African values.

A CONTINENT ENDOWED WITH NATURAL RESOURCES

According to United Nations, Africa is the home of about 30 percent of the world's mineral reserves, twelve percent of the world's oil and eight percent of the world's natural gas reserves. Nearly half the world's gold and one-third of all mineral resources are in Africa. Beneath the surface of Africa lies a wealth of mineral resources of enormous values. In 2019, the continent of Africa supplied almost one billion tons of raw materials worth \$406bn; the developed countries are the usual buyers.²¹

Libya holds Africa's largest (and the worlds ninth largest) proven oil reserves and Africa's fifth largest gas reserves. Most government revenues are derived from the sales of crude oil. Lack of transparency and accountability mechanisms in the management of oil reserves and revenues and so on continue to provide government officials with substantial opportunities for rent-seeking activities.²²

Kenya's livelihood relies upon natural resources and the travel industry. However, excessive use of natural resources have begun to strip them of the fulfillment of their daily needs.²³

Zimbabwe has abundant natural resources including diamond, gold, coal, iron.²⁴ But poorly formed policies, corruption has led to various political and economic problems.

Niger Republic is the second world's poorest countries, though a nation overflowing in natural resources. Corruption and economic mismanagement have constantly undermined Niger economic development. Natural resources in Niger include uranium, iron ore, tin etc. Exports of natural resources consistently accounts for 40% of exports.²⁵

Ghana: Gold, diamond, bauxites, manganese, fish, timber, rubber, salt, limestone, hydro-power, petroleum, silver, clay and so on are the natural resources that can be found in Ghana.²⁶

Cameroon has been suffering from weak governance to another. The country is endowed with natural resources, including oil and gas, mineral ores, and agricultural products such as coffee, cotton, cocoa, maize and cassava.

Liberia is rich in natural resources such as iron ore, coffee, cocoa etc. But poverty is widespread; while exports are dominated by raw commodities. United States and countries of European Union are among the principal markets for exports. Asian countries, South Korea, China, and Japan are among the largest suppliers of imports.²⁷

DR Congo has abundance of natural wealth, including a multitude of mineral resources such as diamond, gold, copper, tin ore, coffee etc. Bad governance and related issues have led to insecurity and poverty, which have created the conditions for cycle of violence.²⁸

Chad Republic principal mineral resources are natron, cotton, live cattle, meat and fish are also exported. Even with all this natural wealth, Chad relies heavily on foreign financial assistance. Their main imports are machinery and equipment, food products and textiles, most of which came from European Union and United States.²⁹

Benin Republic's economy is dependent on agriculture and gold mineralization has been identified which has drawn some amount of interest from foreign investors.³⁰

Mali mineral resources are extensive but Mali has remained relatively underdeveloped. The ministry of mine estimates that Mali has 800 of gold deposits, two million tons of iron ore, five thousand tons of uranium, twenty million tons of manganese, four million tons of lithium and ten million tons of limestone, kaolin and salt.³¹

Nigeria: There are over forty mineral resources in Nigeria including oil and gas, limestone, marble, gypsum, lithium, silver, granite, gold, gemstones, bentonite, iron ore and so on. Crude oil is by far the most important mineral enormously available in the country.³² Nelson Mandela once said that the world will never respect Africa until Nigeria earned that respect. The black people of the world are looking up to Nigeria to be a source of pride and confidence.

Britain at point of granting independence to any country they colonized always enter into agreement with a particular tribe that have the same oligarchy system that suit the type of leadership that works for them. They believed that through this particular tribe they can still have control over that country. That is why the West cannot speak practically against the magnitude of corruption and abuse of power that are going on in Africa. The political and economic struggle Africa is experiencing today is because power is still in the hand of the oppressor and those who are being oppressed are lamenting yet total freedom is not granted. That is the position of Africa today. We have leaders who are short sighted and corrupt who don't think well nor plan for the future. They only think about the moment.

THE CLAIM OF WESTERN WORLD AS THE INVENTOR OF IDEOLOGIES

Overtime the accusation that the Western world claims to be inventor of ideologies began to make headlines. There was an assumption that the third world countries mainly Africa countries lack ideology to drive the politics, policies and economy of the world. This claim is yet to be proven yet, though there is element of truth in it since there can't be smoke without fire. Every thinking being has the ability to new inventions and no nation or continent can claim monopoly of ideologies. The fact is that imperialist activities and transactions are still ongoing in Africa. And the reason why it is still been carried out is because Africans permitted it. But the

aforementioned activity can be stopped if Africans starts thinking differently; if not the Western world would not stop the imperialist activity in Africa without a big fight. Hence if they do, the living standard in the West and in some developed countries that depends on Africa's raw materials for survival will fall. The West knew that Africa is fundamental to global prosperity to the advanced countries. Then the question of what was the fundamental purpose of colonialism, racism, neocolonialism and post-colonialism at the first place ensued? Why has Africa being frustrated politically and economically? Is it not for Africa to remain slave to the West and to the developed countries? The fact that they brought western education, Christianity, Islam, civilization and technology to Africa, but have they really allowed Africa as continent to ideologically function without their threats and dictates? Before their very eyes the democracy in Africa is collapsing yet they prefer Africa to be in ruin so that the developed countries can benefit in Africa's misery and bad governance. The elections of 25th February, 2023 in Nigeria for instance is a good example where there was a rape of democracy and the Western leaders could still send delegates to attend inauguration of someone who stole people's mandate. An election marred with frauds, impunity, killings, falsification of results and manipulations. The West is like a gadfly that feeds and depends on Africa's wealth and raw materials for survival and for sustainable development. How come most African countries that have crude oil but do not have functional refineries, but the Western countries that do not have crude oil may have up to ten functional refineries? What an irony? The truth is that majority of government officials in Africa want the condition to remain so that they can continue to milk the country dry. The implication of this is that for these African countries to process their crude, they have to export their raw materials for refining to any of the western countries that have functional refineries. After refining the crude oil and converting it to fuel, gas, diesel etc. they are imported back into the same country where it was exported from. Simple arithmetic can easily educate us that what happens in this exporting, processing and importing dialectics is that the African countries that are involve in this kind of business are developing the western countries at the expense of Africa.

Imperialism has been the strategy the West is uses and Africa is targeted because of her endowment in natural resources. They wished African countries continue producing corrupt, blind and visionless leaders which may serve as lubricant in promoting their business of extraction of raw materials and exploitation. It is the wish of the West that Africa does not breakaway from this chain of political and economic slavery. That is why they would always block any attempt to automatically stop this activity. This paper establishes that the imperialist activity and bad governance are the two factors that have slowed down development in Africa. Whether it is Europe, USA, China or any of the developed countries, it has always been the same. The West has encouraged corruption, packaged and repackaged it to look appealing to some myopic

African leaders from the apex to the lowest level. Because the West desperately need these raw materials and would need to get them cheaper or can even snatch them and take them away by force. The anticipation of the Western towards imperialism is that Africa should not escape serving as raw material producer slave. The economic structures they are promoting gears toward making every institution accept that Africa must be left the way it is. What Africa can do to gain total economic and political freedom is what the West has been fighting. It started with colonization and today it has generated to digital imperialism. One thing the western academia had continued to do was to encourage African leaders and the weak institution to continue doing

what they are doing. But will go at the back to blame Africa that it is her fault that she is poor. So there is need for Africa to fight for her economic freedom and reclaim it.

In the past, the West had through Japan, Korea and Taiwan sucked raw materials from Africa and driving the price. As these countries were industrializing, the living standard and growth in Africa were falling and is still falling. After colonization ended, the West made imperialism an alternative to colonialism. One of the schemes they set up was aid. They started offering aids to African countries to keep repressive regimes in power. The hypocrisy about transparency and democracy are all propaganda. They go to country to country offering loans through IMF, World Bank, European Union etc. for poverty alleviation and palliatives claiming that they are cushioning the effect of something that might not be in existence. This is the economic strategy the west has been using to manipulate Africa. To them, this is all about economic warfare.

But how soon can Africa learn from history? Nations of Africa were weak, and because of that were colonized. Fortunately Africa survived the oppressive colonization period. By combination of factors Africa gained independence and survived. The problem was that the period Africa gained her independence, she did not leverage on that advantage to strengthen and make herself stronger. And now the former colonial lords are trying to come back to start from where they left the continent because they still have unfinished business in Africa. That has been the misery of Africa.

PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION WILL ENHANCE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

It was ideas, discipline and vision that changed the cause of things in Singapore. The country grappled with the problem of unemployment for a long period of time like as been witnessed in some African countries, but through the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew development was achieved. It happened when Singapore decided to industrialize. Yew was convinced that his people must never have an aid-dependent mentality. To Yew, accepting aids from some of the developed countries are traps that may pave way for economic and political exploitation; but this is what most of African countries leaders have embraced. For Africa to succeed, it must depend on itself. Assistance should provide Africa with jobs through industries and not to make Africa dependent on perpetual injection of aids from developed countries. To Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore cannot live by the begging bowl, even without any natural resources for multinational corporations to explore. But it had hard-working people, good basic infrastructure, and a good government that determined to be honest and competent.³³ There is need for Africa to study how Singapore was able to shave off corruption? Singapore system was well explained by Yew as follows: there was good intelligence and solid backing from the top officials for anti-corruption investigation and prosecution. But this is what African countries as a whole have not been able to implement. For Africa to win the battle over corruption; it must go for the best brain and the culture of discipline, integrity, hard-work, accountability, trust and transparency must be established. Then for productivity, the older officials would be slowly ease out and would be replaced with the younger ones. This selection must be by merit, with those who are found worthy and are willing to

maintain high moral standard. Yew maintained that unless the top leaders were beyond reproach, and higher echelons cleaned up before the lower, moving in the right direction would be a waste of time.³⁴

There is a growing concern among development planners, who warned that unless African continent diversifies the range of products it produces and exports, it will further be marginalized in the global economy. Building or rebuilding industries across the developing nations is really a major challenge. Countries that have successfully shifted from producing raw materials into manufacturing have done so in stages. They started by moving into the processing of primary commodities, a process known as vertical diversification. Some African countries, for instance, are now exporting leather instead of just hides, textiles in place of cotton, or paper, plywood or furniture instead of logs. Ivory Coast now a major fish-and wood processing country, has managed to do this. So has Senegal which also shifted from simply selling raw fish into processing and packing its produce. Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa, but it soon discovered diamond and its economy has been one of the continent's fastest growing. In 1997 South Africa launched a major industrialized drive, partly based on value added industries in the cattle sector such as meat and hide processing and production of cattle and chicken feed. The country is also promoting small but rapidly growing industrial sector in textiles, motor-vehicle assembly, electronics and garments and jewelry. Although South Africa has managed to build up SubSahara Africa's most sophisticated industrial sector, the executives there are also concerned about the economy's continuing resilience on mining. We cannot solely depend on the extractions and selling of raw materials and forget about the fact, of the resources Africa have.³⁵

WHAT AFRICA MUST DO

Many underdeveloped countries in Africa, even though underdevelopment is not absence of development, and elsewhere are becoming more underdeveloped in comparison either with the world's great powers,³⁶ because their exploitation by metropolises is being intensified in a new version. The level of poverty in Africa is very high due to bad governance, abuse of power, absence of the rule of law, poor polices, endemic corruption and imperialism. The professionals, technicians, high-level administrators and skilled workers migrate to the developed countries because there are better opportunities, good salary structure and a system that is working over there. It has been noted that the key problem of many underdeveloped countries is administration. In order to understand the present economic condition of Africa, one need to know why it is that Africa has realized so little of its natural potentials, and one also needs to know why so much of its wealth goes to non-Africans who resides for the most part outside of the continent.³⁷ The problem is that Africa has not yet come anywhere close to converting most of its natural wealth to a finish product; and that most of its natural wealth produced is not being retained within Africa for the benefit of Africa. To tell the truth, the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from bottom up. The extraordinary importance of this change is that it is willed, called for, and demanded for. In every age, among the people, truth is the property of the national cause. A man who is in the thick of the fight in an urgent matter need to decide on the means and tactics to employ; that is to say, how to conduct and organize the movement. If this coherence is not present there is only a blind will toward freedom, with the terribly reactionary risk which it entails.³⁸

Leadership failure and weak institution are the reasons why Africa is still not yet developed. The truth is that before Africa can be liberated, the mindset of Africans leaders and institution on politics, economy and development must change. If we are still thinking with such mentality as give it to me now and forget about tomorrow, then Africa is not yet ready to do something different. Historically, African continent have struggled and have passed through a lot against a comprehensive system of domination imposed on her. But all hope is not lost. There is still hope for Africa to pursue, to recover and overtake both in economic and political sphere. But it is when Africa is willing to do something different from what it has been doing that it can achieve sustainable development. Of course fighting corruption is dangerous as rightly put by Ngozi Okongko-Iwala. When you fight corruption definitely you must touch the pockets of those who are stealing public funds and converting them to their own private belongings. And when this is done, they will not keep quiet, definitely they must fight back.³⁹ But if Africa really want to do away with anything called corruption it is important to note that there is every tendency that those fighting against corruption will be intimidated, pushed to the wall or might be killed in the process. It is something they should expect unless they are not well prepared for the battle from the very beginning. And when it arises, there is no need to give up but to stay on and fight on. That is the only way the battle against corruption, neocolonialism and imperialism can be won.

Africa needs to build synergy and to become more united. Then identify who are her arch enemies, the cause of her predicament and those who are opposing good governance in its territory. The fact is that any day Africa does something different, the living standards in Africans will rise while those in some developed countries of the Western world and beyond who have benefited from African misery will fall. Because of this the West is ready to let go without a big fight. And to prove to European nations that its strategies and tricks are now well understood. Africa's natural wealth has not served its population as supposed because certain key institutions has remained weak and a few aristocrat ruling elites has hijacked power and have being cooperating and dancing to the tune of the imperialists lords. Of course economy of a nation can fall due to weak economic management, and such has thrived in Africa over the years without economic progression. Because of its size and economic endowment, Africa matters to Africa and the world at large. This is why good political and economic policies and good governance is necessary and that is the more reason why the world must pay attention to what is happening in Africa and lend its voice and support to ensure that Africa moves onto the right developmental path. What we need in Africa today is an institution of men and women who will shun wrongs and stand up for the right wherever they are. A group of people who will resolve within themselves to start seeing that certain things are wrong, whether they're never caught up with and that some things are right, whether nobody sees someone doing them or not.⁴⁰

RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

Presently some Western countries have pretended as if they care about what are happening in African continent especially in respect to coups that took place in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger Republic and Gabon; including the outcome of 25th February, 2024 election in Nigeria that saw Bola Ahmed Tinubu to power. Election that was marred with unquantifiable impunity and fraud, coupled with the Presidential Electoral Petition Tribunal (PEPT) ruling on 6th September, 2023 affirming that the election was free and fair. A rape of democracy was witnessed, yet some people

still belief that democracy as regime has the ability to save Africa from abuse of power and corruption. We are still waiting to see that happen. All we have seen is Europe's constant effort to package and repackage democracy rooted in western ideology and presenting it to Africa. Democratic dispensation in Africa so far has produced corrupt and incompetent leaders who before the end of their tenure left the continent poorer than they met it. It is no longer news that United States, France, United Kingdom, Britain and Europe are the imperialist nations that benefit from Africa's misery. So Africa should know that the help she needs now cannot come from the aforementioned nations. There is need for Africans to think outside the box and look inward so as to build a framework that can work for Africa and for sustainable development. If the type of democracy the West offered to us is not working, then let it be modified and let socialism or communism be integrated into it to suite the type of democracy that can work for Africa. Then the institutions should continue to demand for more freedom until it achieves strong institution so that the excesses of the government in power can be checked.

The recent coups in Africa by the military succeeded because the concerned Africans are tired of western oppressions and sham promises. Some concerned Africans are now ready to go with any advanced country or superpower country that has something better to offer because she really wants to escape from the chain of slavery she has been subjected to. That is why the institutions of Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Gabon are in support of the military power seizure in their countries; where the democratically elected presidents were ousted. Instead of mourning, they entered the street celebrating coups and raising Russian flags and chanting "down with France" and so on. The reason is because the exploitation of raw materials by the imperialist France, United States, Britain, and so on had brought extreme poverty and underdevelopment upon their lands. In the midst of abuse of power and extreme imperialism going on in Niger and so on, America and France leadership have made effort so as to reinstate the ousted presidents trying to use ECOWA and its chairman, Ahmed Bola Tinubu as the principal mercenaries. It is on record that France is heavily dependent on the uranium in Niger. One third of French homes and ivory power are powered by uranium that comes from Niger. Meanwhile in Niger, eighty percent of Niger's homes don't have constant electricity. France needs Niger's uranium so much, yet Niger is the second poorest country in the world. It means that French have been robbing Nigerian people point black, exploiting their raw materials and offering them penny in return. From all these dramas that are playing out, one thing is certain; African institutions are sick and tired of being robbed. The citizens are choosing to be independent, trying to break out from the chain of colonialism and imperialism. Some African countries now run to Russia for safety because they are no longer comfortable with the deceit and hypocrisy of Americans, France and Europe. In time of crisis what they do is to stage their military base pretending they came to restore order. But on the long run, their main interest is on the earthen wealth of that nation. That was how Syria, Iraq and Libya were all demonized. Africa should wake up and reject every offer that is not to its benefit coming from the West. During Buhari's administration some looted funds stocked in foreign accounts by Abacha administration were returned. But we need to ask a question. In which account and country were the stolen money stored? Yes, the stolen money was returned, but it was returned when its value had already depreciated. As they were planning how to return the money, corrupt administration was planning on how they will embezzle it so that it will not be properly utilized to either infrastructural or human development.

African continent should know that it is not all that glitters are gold. Although democracy would have been the better option for Africa but the way those at the corridor of power is abusing it is now making the people belief that it is the worst of all as stated by Plato. Africa may pretend to be operating democratic government, but the truth is that liberal democracy are yet to find its feet in African continent practically. Liberal democracy may have emerged as a system of government over the past few years as held by Francis Fukuyama, but it is in the Western world that it is still working and not in Africa. We still believe that what will liberate and develop Africa is within Africa. If African continent must move forward, Africa must practically be liberated from Western imperialism and impositions. Africa must come out from being a consumption continent to become a production continent. Good governance and Industrialization will push Africa forward to achieving this goal. Africa supplying its raw materials with the already developed countries would not develop Africa; instead it will continue to impoverish Africa. Therefore, such activity must be discouraged.

There is need for Africa to strive to rebuild its domestic industries so as to go into full time industrialization, production and processing of its raw materials by itself such as crude oil, gold, coal, granite and so on and export them to foreign countries as a finished product. If Africa can achieve this, it will create enabling market environment for competition and relation between Africa and other continents of the world. It will boost the value of its currencies and its economic standard will rise. Africa should see refining of crude oil outside African; exporting and importing it back to Africa as grave offence punishable. Such activity should be banned. Africa should not accept the ideology that if it stops supplying raw materials to the West and some of the developed countries it would not developed. That is false. What the world is looking at in this twenty-first century is what difference can nations make in bringing solution to world's problems and not the other way round. Africa can become one today. Everyone have a role to play; government, the church and the institutions. Keeping quiet and doing nothing cannot liberate or develop Africa. Africa must shun every indirect dictates and influences that comes from the West and some developed countries. Hegel's contention that "truth is the whole" leads to a philosophical paradigm of rational coherence. His analysis of the dialectical process, in spite of its shortcoming helps us to see that growth comes through struggle. Is either that Africa struggle and clear his head off from Western imperialism or be silent and wait for the second missionary journey of colonization. If Britain, United States, United Kingdom, France, China and so on wants crude oil from Africa, they should come to Africa and build refineries; then Africa can supply them with crude oil. If they want cocoa, steel, rubber and so on; they should come to Africa and build industries and Africa will supply them with raw materials for productions. The point we're making is that those raw materials should be refined and processed in Africa, then if they like, they can take it to their own countries for consumption as finished products. In so doing more Africans will be gainfully employed and unemployment rate will reduce drastically. It will foster development and Africa's economy will be strengthened and the rate of imperialist activities in African will reduced to the barest minimum.

ENDNOTE

1. Chinua Achebe (1962) *Things Fall Apart*: African Writers Series (Heinemann Publishers LTD, England) P.141.
2. Max Siollun. (2021), *What Britain Did To Nigeria: A Short History of Conquest and Rule* (C. Hurst & Co. Publishers LTD), P.5.
3. Ibid. P.43.
4. en.m.wikipedia.org/.
5. Max Siollun. Pp45-46.
6. Thomas Siebold, Martin Luther King Jr.: *People who made History* (Green haven Press, USA, 2000), P.37.
7. PIETER Willem Botha, South Africa, 1988.
8. Gumisai Mutume (October, 2004), *Africa Strives to rebuild its domestic industries; Economic Diversification to guard against unfavourable Commodity Prices*.
9. Walter Rodney (1972), *How the Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Panaf Publishing, Inc, Abuja Nigeria), p.2
10. Ibid. p.3.
11. Ibid. p.16.
12. J.E. Casely-Hayford (1922), African (Gold Coast) Nationalist (as quoted in Walter Rodney's book, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, P.36).
13. Rodney. P. 47 & 57.
14. Lame Maatla Kenalemang, *Things Fall Apart: An Analysis of Pre and Post Colonial Igbo Society*, Karlstads University, 11 January, 2013
15. Harry F. Oppeneimer as quoted ' *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa by Walter Rodney*, P.206.
16. Frederick Forsyth (1977), *The Making of African Legends: The Biafra Story*, Penguin: New York, p. 156.
17. Forsyth, P. 158.
18. PIETER Botha, 1988.
19. Aljazeera.com,news/2018/2/20/mapping-africa-natural-resources.
20. State.gov/reports/2022-investment-climate-statements/Libya/.
21. State.gov/reports/2022-investment-climate-statements/Libya/.
22. Kenya's Natural Resources: facts about Kenya's abundant natural resources by Kidadl team on 22 November, 2021.
23. Azomining.com/Article.apex?ArticleID=90.
24. En-wikipedia.org/wiki/oil_and_mining_industry_of_Niger.
25. My health basics.site/list-of-natural-resources-in Ghana.
26. Heritage.org/index/country/Liberia & Britannica.com/place/Liberia/finance.
27. Britanica.com/place/Chad/independence.
28. Azomining.com/Article.aspx?/ArticleID=131.
29. <https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/mali-mining>
30. Schooldrillers.com/Minerals-resources-in-Nigeria-21.

31. Lee Kuan Yew (2011), *From third World to First: Singapore and the Asian Economic Boom*, (Harper Business Publishers: New York), p. 58.
32. Ibid, pp. 534-535.
33. Gumisai Mutume (October, 2004), *Africa Strives to rebuild its domestic industries; Economic Diversification to guard against unfavourable Commodity Prices*.
34. Rodney, pp.16,
35. Ibid. p.24.
36. Frantz Fanon (1963), *The Wretched of The Earth: The Handbook for the Black Revolution* "Translated to English by Constance Farrington Weidenfeld (New York: Grove Publishers), pp 1-7
37. Ngozi Okonji-Iweala (2018), *Fighting Corruption is Dangerous: The story behind the Headlines*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, P.xvii
38. Clayborne carson (2000), *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King Jr.*, (IPM, Inc, in Association with ABACUS: London), pp.32-

-
- i Asaju, K. "Democratic Governance, Federal Character Principles and National Development in Nigeria." *Review of Public Administration and Management* 4, no. 8 (2015), p. 172
- ii Ibid, p.173
- iii Freedom House. *Freedom in the world 2020: The annual survey of political rights and civil liberties*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2021, n.d
- iv IIAG (Ibrahim Index of African Governance). "Governance report 2020." Accessed January 9, 2024, <https://iiag.online/data>.
- v Campbell, J., & Quinn, N. (2021, May 24). What's happening to democracy in Africa? Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/article/whats-happening-democracy-africa>
- vi Leena Koni Hoffmann, & John Wallace, "Democracy in Nigeria." Chatham House. 29 June 2022, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/06/democracy-nigeria>
- vii Pew Research Center. (2020, December 10). 3. Democratic satisfaction. Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/10/14/democratic-satisfaction/>
- viii Kovic, M., Caspar, C., & Rauchfleisch, A. "Motivated Cognition, Conspiratorial Epistemology, and Bullshit: A Model of Post-factual Political Discourse." SocArXiv, 11 Jan. 2019. Web. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/bnv2m>
- ix Thomas Christiano. *The constitution of equality: democratic authority and its limits*. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, 1.A publ. in paperback edition, 2010. OCLC: 695924611.
- x Goodin, R. E., & Spiekermann, K. *The Epistemic Function of Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2018, p. 290.
- xi Ibid, p. 290
- xii Kovic, M., Caspar, C., & Rauchfleisch, A. "Motivated Cognition, Conspiratorial Epistemology, and Bullshit: A Model of Post-factual Political Discourse." p. 9
- xiii Ibid, n.p

- xiv Toole, B. (2022). Objectivity in feminist epistemology. *Philosophy Compass*, 17(11), e12885. <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12885>
- xv Sankey, H. (2021). Realism and the Epistemic Objectivity of Science. *KRITERION – Journal of Philosophy*, 35(1), 5-20. <https://doi.org/10.1515/krt-2021-0002>
- xxvi Sankey, H. (2020), Epistemic Objectivity and the Virtues, *Filozofia Nauki (The Philosophy of Science)*, vol. 28(3) [111]: 5-23 DOI: 10.14394/filnau.2020.0013
- xvii *Ibid*, p. 10
- xxviii Haslanger, S. (2017). Objectivity, Epistemic Objectification, and Oppression. In I. Kidd, J. Medina, & G. Pohlhaus, Jr (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Epistemic Injustice* (pp.279–290). Routledge.
- xix Sankey, H. (2021). Realism and the Epistemic Objectivity of Science, p. 2
- xx *Ibid*, n.p
- xxi Vicki C Jackson, ‘Knowledge Institutions in Constitutional Democracies: of Objectivity and Decentralization’, Harvard Law Review Blog
- xxii Dahl, R. A. (1989). *Democracy and its critics*. Yale University Press.
- xxiii Estlund, D. (2003). Why not epistocracy? In E. L. Cudd & R. O. Andreasen (Eds.), *Feminist theory: A philosophical anthology* (pp. 417-433). Wiley-Blackwell.
- xxiv Smith, B C. (1985), *Decentralization: The Territorial Dimension of the State*, London: George Allen
- xxv Mawhood, P. (1983), *Local Government in the Third World*, Chichester: John Wiley
- xxvi Vicki C Jackson, ‘Knowledge Institutions in Constitutional Democracies: of Objectivity and Decentralization’, Harvard Law Review Blog (Blog Post), 29 August 2019 <https://blog.harvardlawreview.org/knowledgeinstitutions-in-constitutional-democracies-ofobjectivity-and-decentralization/>, n.p
- xxvii Vicki C Jackson, (2019), ‘Knowledge Institutions in Constitutional Democracies: of

Objectivity and Decentralization', Harvard Law Review Blog (Blog Post), 29 August 2019

<https://blog.harvardlawreview.org/knowledgeinstitutions-in-constitutional-democracies-of-objectivity-and-decentralization/>, n.p

^{xxviii} Vicki C Jackson, (2019), 'Knowledge Institutions in Constitutional Democracies: of

Objectivity and Decentralization', Harvard Law Review Blog (Blog Post), 29 August 2019

<https://blog.harvardlawreview.org/knowledgeinstitutions-in-constitutional-democracies-of-objectivity-and-decentralization/>

^{xxix} Ibid, n.p ^{xxx} Ibid, n.p ^{xxxi} Ibid, n.p

^{xxxii} Heinz Klug, (2019) 'Transformative Constitutions and the Role of Integrity Institutions in Tempering Power' 67(3) Buffalo Law Review 701

^{xxxiii} Paul Kildea, (2020), 'The Constitutional Role of Electoral Management Bodies: The Case of the Australian Electoral Commission' 48(4) Federal Law Review XXX.

^{xxxiv} Bruce Ackerman, (2000) 'The New Separation of Powers' 113(3) Harvard Law Review 633

^{xxxv} Mark Tushnet et al, (2018) Comparative Constitutional Law (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2nd

ed, ch 5.

^{xxxvi} Liora Lazarus, (2020), Constitutional Scholars as Constitutional Actors, Federal Law Review XX(X), DOI: 10.1177/0067205X20955056, 1–14