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# **AFRICAN NOTES**

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# AFRICAN NOTES

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## ROBERT JULY ON THE ROLE OF THE HUMANITIES IN AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT:

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Robert July's book, *An African Voice*, proposes a kind of exposition on the crises of independent African states and the role of the humanities in coping with those crises. His method, that of evaluating the different phases of culture as a way of defining identity or concretizing history has raised its own problems. There is, for instance, the wonder on how much of the isolated responses of intellectuals and conferences are able to influence political developments. There is also the problem of whether the development of the humanities can offer a cultural breakthrough.

*An African Voice* is a very perceptive book, though it really does not offer a coherent cultural history of sub-Saharan African. He gives only the illustration of discrete, isolated instances of cultural nationalism and political awakening that emerge with nation building. The risk of such a method is that it accommodates cases of inadequate generalizations and occasionally, fundamental mis-matching of indices.

*An African Voice* is mapped out in four fairly distinct but related segments: the first two chapters deal with the attainment of political independence, the incipient crisis of a new, indigenous machinery of government, the impetus of cultural independence and the attendant crisis of consciousness in former colonial peoples.

Chapters three through six discuss the role of the arts – visual, plastic, theatrical, musical,

dance and literary, as instruments of cultural nationalism; chapters seven to nine, examine the canons of cultural development and cultural identity.

The last segment of the book speculates on the concept of African civilization, personality and technological development.

This review itself adopts a critical, somewhat painstaking graft and intercalation of complementary as well as alternative views on art and history in discussing Robert July's work. This mode also necessitates that we thread systematically through the web of ideas presented in the book. This will enable us to discuss in logical sequence the highlights of the book's enormous purview. In fact what might account for the few weaknesses in July's perceptive analysis largely derives from the cursory, occasionally perfunctory treatment of major issues. This, in turn, is a derivative of the scope, both of context and of ideas, which the text traverses. This is why one thinks that it will be helpful, in the first place, if we follow the sequence of the ideas as discussed through the book.

Colonialism, as an enterprise, had been a precarious paradox, if not an arrant contradiction. It is difficult to accept the morality of Portuguese clerics on a civilizing mission along the coasts of Angola and the Congo who yet baptized captive slaves bound for the Americas. It is also not easy to accept the civilizing mission of Dutch settlers who.



through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, decimated generations of indigenous Zulu herdsmen and croppers. Religious ideology and language, the hallmarks of the new civilization became instrumental to violence and primitive acquisition.

That single paradox is the streak that runs through the lives of clerics and nationalists on the West African Coast as described by Robert July. Even before the Berlin Conference of 1884/5 which partitioned Africa between European powers interested in formal colonial enterprise, some natives have adopted a vigorous christianizing outlook. Names of Abbe P.D. Boilat of Senegal, Samuel Ajayi Crowther of Nigeria, Africanus Horton of Sierra Leone recurred in the process of urging Africans to adopt and assimilate the new way of life. On the other hand, other publicists on the West African Coast were, on principle, intent on breaking the colonial yoke by using the new awareness for the purposes of self-liberation and enlightenment. Edward Blyden of Liberia, S.K.B. Attah Ahuma of the Gold Coast, James Johnson and Majola Agbebi of Nigeria were one for asserting cultural integrity in the face of the new Christendom and Western assimilation. Blyden urged the establishment of indigenous churches, James Johnson baptized children with African names whilst permitting polygamy. Agbebi, one maverick of the lot, encouraged traditional rather than church weddings and lavishly paraded himself in native outfits even during his trips abroad.

These would be seen as a more decisive pattern in later developments. There was a way in which European culture must be made to tolerate and balance with, rather than displace established norms.<sup>2</sup> Of course the impact of an invading power, already possessing leverage in

the superiority of technology and procedure imparted greater complexities on the threshold of independence more than a century later. This was so considering the shades of cultural differences among diverse kiths, clans and kingdoms of Africa even long before the colonial divide.

After colonialism, commentators, have voiced long range doubts over the terms and nature of political independence. At Nigeria's independence, for instance, *Time Magazine* demurred over "a land made up of 250 bickering tribal groups.... With little in common but mutual suspicion and jealousy."<sup>3</sup>

The rule of colonialism was bitter but even more so was post-independence politics. By 1959, Belgian Congo was up in flames as those who took over the reins of power became impatient with one another. The truth of the matter lay in the formation of a new elite which legislated over new imperatives and shared the wealth of the new nation states. The exuberance of freedom gave little room for serious thoughts on the history and destiny of their various countries.

The two mainstays of political rule – the Legislature and the Judiciary were at best aborted half-children or, at the worst, aberrations in formerly established monarchies of African kingdoms. European parliaments recognized a ruling party and one or more opposition parties. Poor Africa knew of cephalous, pyramidal hierarchies of government as among the Yoruba and the Hausa or acephalous, latitudinal polities of community or clan grades as among the Igbo or the Luo. Ancient African nations, largely totalitarian in their modes of governance, have no such thing as 'opposition' in their political register. Opposition meant enmity which engendered



hostility. This was further complicated by the fact that emergent leaders entrenched themselves as monarchs with lavish ostentation and indulgent display of new-fangled wealth. The results were soon to be the replacement of parliamentary politics with military dictatorships. Once the first Coup d'état torpedoed Francis Olympia of Togo in 1965, other states were seen to follow suit.

These have been noted by equally recent studies on African politics and governance. The first of Olusegun Obasanjo's Russel C. Leffingwell lectures discusses, among other things, that:

Nor did those from the metropole occupying senior positions in the years leading to independence throw themselves wholeheartedly into preparing Africans to function efficiently in an essentially foreign administrative context, the top of which they had scarcely been allowed even to glimpse....

Most of the props of colonial subjugation were left in place.<sup>4</sup>

It was therefore little wonder when cracks appeared early in the colonial inheritance of independence states. Even three decades after the first light of political (as opposed to economic) independence glowed on the African continent, speculations are still rife on the suitability of the Westminster or the American System of government.

The Judiciary was not left out of the anarchy. African Legalistic modes operated, especially in civil cases, on the basis of reconciliation rather than strict adjudication. European legalism, to a high degree, operates on

the latter. Africans have always noted that European Legalism, with its penchant for 'petty' evidences, is often tedious and opens itself to abuse by point-seeking solicitors. It is therefore not free from bitterness and bad blood. Hence the Yoruba aphorism:

*A kii ti Kootu u bo ka s'ore*

*That is,*

*Legal contestations often engender bad blood.*

In Robert July's book this is what he aptly describes in the observation of a Cabinet minister:

If a person is acquitted in court that does not mean he is innocent... Should I wait until I am assassinated before I defend myself?<sup>5</sup>

### **The Debate on Culture**

*An African Voice* approaches the issue of a national or continental culture on the basis of activities by movements in the humanities, activities of political leaders, cultural institutions and the intelligentsia.

Robert July discusses the models of Nkrumah, Nyerere, Sekou Toure and Senghor. Other scholars might have added Cabral but July limits his working models to those four. All of these leaders had no formalized tradition of theories to draw upon but on various bits of socialism, African communalism and other humanistic modes of thought. Julius Nyerere expanded on the basis of communal solidarity and the liberal concept of the extended family as his basis for the Ujamaa project.<sup>6</sup> Sekou Toure took a more



decisive step because of the peculiar circumstances of French colonialism. French colonies became assimilated into the culture of Metropolitan France, with the 'independent' states as its outposts. Toure did not see how he could liberate Guinea from colonialism whilst still largely dependent on France. He observes that an African nation cannot know fulfilment unless she consolidates on her own indigenous qualities. Sedar Senghor of Senegal, because of his maturity into French elitism, realized the need for a theoretical base and conceptualization of the African to enable him achieve intellectual freedom. With Aime Cesaire, the Martiniquan intellectual, Senghor proclaimed the concept of 'Blackism' otherwise known as the Negritude movement. Alioune Diop founded a major journal, *Présence Africaine* in 1947 to project the image of the new concept and create a sustained impact for the movement.

*Présence Africaine* did, in the heydays of its impetus, created a forum for black expression in Africa and in the new world. The attempt of the humanities to define the basis of colonial independence was first pushed in 1956 when *Présence Africaine* sponsored a Congress of black writers and artists in France. As it later turned out, the Congress scored only a slim success because the basis of any political unification is not fundamentally dependent on colour. The only point on which delegates could agree at the congress was that they have been, at one time or the other, subjugated peoples.

The 1956 Congress had highlighted various dormant issues. The American delegation led by John Davis could not make much of what Cesaire's Negritude stood for because the experiences of Blacks in the United States were

different; they being essentially groomed in the traditions of the West. To Richard Wright, the supreme extolment of African culture which Negritude practices seems a sad atavism.

The matter was much complicated by the fact that such international working class organizations as the communist party or certain Marxist groups have always used Blacks for their own selfish ends. Though outside the scope of Robert July's book, we would like to draw the attention of readers to some other articulations on the same subject. These are by George Padmore, C.L.R. James, J.E. Wiredu and O.A. Ladimeji.<sup>7</sup> The far reaching discussions in the writings of these authors will steer our essay from its course but are well worth considering by enthusiasts and students of African Culture.

In spite of the lack of cohesion in that Congress on African and Black affairs, its success was not entirely nil. It managed to affirm, among other things, such points that in matters of political imperatives, race or colour is of secondary concern. In other words an international congress that united one race along colour lines against members of the working classes in other races became a thorny issue. In fact, this almost put some of the brilliant delegates into a personal dilemma. How, for instance, could Aimé Césaire, the poet of Negritude have accounted for his membership of the largely white French communist Party and then an all-black international congress?

This paradox has always been in the historical development of political movements. Black people who joined working class organizations because of their internationalist outlook soon found out that they encountered racial discrimination at one stage or another. This, as C.L.R. James pointed out, is one of the



reasons George Padmore quitted the Communist International in 1935.<sup>8</sup> A more incisive treatment of this concept is found in Ladimeji's article cited above. This, for colonial peoples, represented a crisis of ideology. Nevertheless, one of the successes of *Présence Africaine* and the Congress of 1956 was that it drew greater attention to this problem.

There were other successes of the Congress: it affirmed that the colonial experience, even among the black races of Africa, were variegated. That cultural experiences invariably differ between an American Black and a Ghanaian Black just emerging from independence. A major agreement among delegates was that cultural liberation and independence were mutually interdependent.

Perhaps the major failure of the congress was not unique in the circumstances. W.E.B. Du Bois had held four such international congress between 1918 and 1929. He meant to tell the World what Black peoples in the world needed at that time. Those congresses, in spite of the novelty behind them, were of marginal success. The reason, opined James, was that they didn't seek full economic and social control of their resources and their lives. That is, there is a distinction between political independence and full economic control.<sup>9</sup> *The Présence Africaine* congress did not take this fact into consideration.

The second major section of Robert July's book which enunciated the role of the various arts – visual, dance, drama, literary – seems to be the least focused of all the divisions. The reason for this is not far-fetched. It is difficult to discuss within the scope of a few chapters the ramifications of artistic development in West Africa during the first sixty years of the present century. The best the author could do in the

circumstances is to mention the activities of groups and individuals and their contributions to nationalism and nation building through the arts. It perhaps would have been better if one or two definite movements were treated in detail in their social contexts. Nevertheless, the eclectic style adopted by July reveals the variety and scope of the various cultural endeavours of the period. Though no one sphere of the humanistic disciplines got an in-depth examination, the boundaries of all the disciplines in July's experience was truly encyclopaedic.

Drawing from the conclusions of the Congress of 1956, *An African Voice* also affirms that cultural growth and political independence were mutually dependent. The views of Western art critics at Independence was that African art had become an anachronism in the context and that African art (particularly sculptural) forms would atrophy and die.

Prominent among such views were those of William Fagg who believes that African art is essentially a tribal art, bearing no relation to the tradition of the modern world.<sup>10</sup> This view is by now flawed since those artistic traditions are not only virile but have been sources of inspiration for Western artists as well.

In Robert July's words:

Nevertheless a requiem for traditional African culture is premature, if not **misdirected**. Traditional society, village life, its customs, its arts – all these are changing, but **dead they are not, nor even dying**. More properly they may be described as evolving under **pressure** from new circumstances, a condition that all



arts must achieve to escape atrophy and an end to life (p.49).

What was generally misconceived about African art during the colonial era, and which Robert July puts right in his book, is the effect of the confusion between civilization and progress.

The debate has been on for a long while in philosophical discourse by African scholars and has endured still. Though we cannot attempt to do a full treatise on this notion in a review of this kind, there is room for fair clarification. The self-effacing Ghanaian philosopher and writer, Kobina Sekyi once argued that such a view of culture stems from the school of thought following "Darwin inspired unilinear theories of social development, they confused civilization with "progress" and the latter with culture, and that what they exalted as hallmarks of civilization were merely refinements of the superficial and the artificial."<sup>11</sup>

*An African Voice* documents, with clear elan, the innovative contributions of Oku Ampofo and the Akwapim School of art (Ghana); the Osogbo school (Nigeria); the experimental theatre of Efua Sutherland, the musical prodigy of Ephraim Amu, scholastic heights of Kwabena Nketia as well as the dance events of Albert Opoku. All these are climaxed by a description of the developments at the Ibadan School of Drama and the outstanding efforts of its notable maestro: Wole Soyinka, Demas Nwoko, Duro Ladipo, Kola Ogunmola and Amos Tutuola; as well as the folk operas of Hubert Ogunde. A chasmic nag however is that even though Robert July's account of African art forms covers from the Dance ensemble of Keita Fodeba in Guinea to the Poto Poto art and dance events in the Congo, it remains a dispirited survey. There is no graphic

or structural scheme against which a formalized study, historical or artistic development can be balanced. The section on art, which is the core of the book's preoccupation thus takes the form of an ethnological data.

The literary perspective on African Literature leads July to discuss three of Africa's major writers: Sembene Onsmame, Yambo Ouologuem and Ayi Kwei Armah. In various degrees, these three authors have adopted aspects of African history in their narratives. All of these three authors except Yambo Ouologuem believe that the best of Africa's authentic cultures must be reshaped in the light of modern political developments. The subject of Sembene's *God's Bits of wood*<sup>12</sup> is the Dakar-Niger rail strike of October 1947 – March 1948. Sembene's vision lays down the pattern that the development of industrial and labour relations must take in independent African states. Yambo Ouologuem's novel, *Bound to Violence*<sup>13</sup> is a particularly pessimistic account of Africa's long history of abuse and exploitation and the dim reflection on the future. In Kwei Armah's *The Healers*<sup>14</sup>, the British occupation of Kumasi in 1874 becomes an archetypal event around which he relays his story. He concludes with a vision of the world whereby a select group, the equivalent of a literati would employ their skill to redeem the nation. These will be the true healers.

In the third section of the book, it rings loud and clear that genuine political and economic independence necessarily entails cultural independence as well. A people who do not know their history cannot hope to grapple adequately with their future. A.B.C. Sibthorpe who published his *History of Sierra Leone* in 1868 notes that it is a people's history which enshrines their immortality. In like vein, C.C.



Reindorf published *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* in 1889. These were crowned with Samuel Johnson's *The History of the Yorubas* in 1921.

The historical reconstruction and the bush fires of nationalism were later to spread to the new citadels that emerged after the Second World War at Ibadan and at Legon. The growing awareness that African nations must articulate a history to assert that they also have their own civilization became pre-eminent in scholastic circles. The Senegalese scholar, Cheikh Anta Diop launched into a monumental inter-disciplinary study of African history and civilization to establish a thesis. This being that far from what European scholars and anthropologists have peddled, Africa had an established history, in fact Africa was the original home of Mankind, and of civilization. He pointed out that much of African thought had been transmitted through the Mediterranean in ancient times to the early Greeks. This, Diop affirmed, formed the bedrock of ancient Greek civilization. By implication, that means that Africa (Ancient Egypt) was one of the sources of European civilization. Diop, an Egyptologist by training, supported his facts with vigorous claims from ancient history and the sciences. Whether, of course, these claims were true is another matter but we can only say that his works represent a serious attempt at historical (re)construction for Africa.

In Nigeria, the early institutionalized attempts to establish the systematic study of Nigerian history was initiated by K.O. Dike. Dike, soon after the world war completed a doctoral Dissertation for London University on the commercial activities around the Niger River Delta in the nineteenth century. When Dike arrived in Ibadan he found that the history

curriculum of the University contained virtually nothing on African history. The little that there was did not go beyond Harry Johnston's *Colonization of Africa*. The expatriate stronghold in Ibadan did not consider the use of oral tradition and oral history as a valid source of academic instruction and research. Dike thereby set about conducting, as well as encouraging, a systematic research and documentation of African History and culture.

Kenneth Dike prevailed upon the Nigerian government to establish a national archive to serve as the repository of historical records. Within the University, he continued to encourage promising scholars. He instituted the *Ibadan University Series* whereby the Longman Publishing House published the doctoral theses of his new proteges who were returning from abroad. Among these were J.F.A. Ajayi and J.C. Anene. Dike's experimentation at the history department was more than successful, so at a later stage he planned a grander event. He now founded a University based Institute of African Studies to carry out co-ordinated research. The role of the Institute was to go into the field to collect, store and interpret raw data as well as process oral materials in history and in folklore. These materials were to be preserved in written form to make them more permanent. As Dike himself remarked in 1965 "The European scholar..... tended to equate written documents with history and to take the absence of documents to mean the absence of events worthy of historical study." It is actually this trait that is responsible for the skepticism of some European scholars on the matter of African History. Hence, Dike believed in building a written civilization out of African history which had hitherto been orally preserved.



The Institute of African Studies was envisioned to become an autonomous centre where continuous and sustained research of an interdisciplinary nature was to be carried into learning and education in an African context. In other words, it provides a unified forum for all the faculties to critically shape indigenous and acquired skills in such a way as to help the African find his/her way in the modern world. Nkrumah had established an African Studies Institute at Legon as a teaching and research centre with the sole purpose of Africanizing the curriculum. That was a great success with the classic achievements of Ephraim Amu, the musicologist, and others like Kwabena Nketia and Albert Opoku. With the benefit of hindsight, it is not unlikely that Nkrumah and Dike had adapted the intelligence of Professor Roland Oliver who, in the 1950s, started a series of interdisciplinary conferences at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. In this scheme, linguists, social anthropologists, archaeologists as well as historians were brought together to discuss aspects of methodology in the field of African history and African Studies.

Until the colonial ascendancy, the approach of Africans to the study of culture or history was oral and extra-documentary as in recitations and performances. It is therefore intellectually rewarding that African scholars, in documenting sources, have turned towards linguistic, anthropological, archaeological as well as astronomic data. The study of African culture thus goes beyond speculative exercises and helps to point the road to the future. The foregoing, however, does not complete the matters of research and study without precipitating serious methodological issues. In this respect, the experiences of Alan Ogôt as a

student of London University was a notable event:

As anticipated by the skeptics, by Oliver and by Ogôt himself, problems of methodology soon emerged. At London Ogôt had busied himself with background reading, but his main concern was to formulate techniques, including linguistics study, that would serve to translate the raw materials of oral evidence into historical texts susceptible to orthodox historical criticism. At this time Ogôt had only sketchy knowledge of Vansina's work, a fortunate omission as it turned out, because Vansina's techniques proved to be ill-suited to the types of societies under Ogôt's investigation (p. 149).

It is my view that the formation and set-up of the Institute of African Studies at Ibadan was largely due to the fact that Dike himself realized how formidable the problems might be in trying to Africanize the History department as well as the humanities faculty at Ibadan. The Institute of African studies thus became the innovative grounds for rapport between the disciplines in the humanities and the sciences. It also coordinated the contextualisation of the disciplines in an African environment. It is clear from Robert July's book that Kenneth Dike, Jan Vansina, Roland Oliver and Alan Ogôt all believed that an inter-disciplinary approach to the study and reconstruction of African history was a practical *Sine qua non* in establishing university courses, as well as verifying raw, oral data from the field.



But is the theory and philosophy of African history and culture not impeded by the diversity of its peoples and histories? We note, for instance, the methodological obstacle that Ogot himself confronted in his documentation of oral history among the Luo of Southern Kenya. Jan Vansina had established a methodology in his study of oral tradition and history in Belgian Congo and Rwanda. Those societies were predicated on a pyramidal form of social hierarchy whereby the elementary power-base lies with local headships; then regional chiefdoms; and, at the pinnacle, sovereign kings. It was therefore easy to regulate dates by a linear pattern of calculation, extrapolating the tenure of King's and chieftains, correlating events with the memory of personalities etc. Among the Luo and other Nilotic peoples, however, the societies record tradition and events by clan ties, age-grade institutions and ceremonies. The study methodology for the history of such acephalous societies would therefore prefer a horizontal, speculative model of date or time reckoning. Their idea of history seems to be far more ritualized and compressed in time than those of hierarchic societies where it is far easier to put dates together.

We can almost infer that such differing concepts of methodology are invaluable background aid for studies on Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo societies in Nigeria. Traditional Hausa and Yoruba societies are composed of centralized communities, Igbo society is acephalous, conferring status only by the award of titles. The linear, 'stringed' rendition of Yoruba history are largely due to the fact that dates are derived from the hierarchical nature of their societies.

Robert July's book emphasizes, as in the voice of modern philosophers from Africa, that

there is the need for an authentic African voice in the modern world. His limitation on this matter, however, is in supposing that the way forward lies in foreign conferences held about Africa. This paper has a contrary view. The conferences, since 1956, held in Paris or in Beilagio can contribute to theories on African development, but the real take off must be in Africa itself. The Institution of African Studies abroad, though necessary, can at best serve as surrogate midwives in Africa's search for a new birth.

*An African Voice* unequivocally highlights the roles of the humanities in Africa's development and the enormous responsibilities of the various Institutes of African studies in the universities. It analyses that those responsibilities have been under-estimated and undermined by the universities themselves. The Institutes have, therefore, not been able to provide the leverage to host and coordinate the projects on African Studies and development. This is why Africanist conferences are held more in Europe and America than in Africa itself.

*An African Voice* does not make concrete recommendations on what the way forward is for Africa; its thesis rests on salvaging the ideals of the two worlds (Western and African), and matching them out. This has no precedent but it seems the only alternative for the betterment of diffused worlds. It seems so even with the thinking of the Philosopher, J.E. Wiredu:

There are at least two important advantages in looking at development in this way. The first is that it becomes possible to see the movement towards modernisation in African not as



essentially a process in which Africans are unthinkingly jettisoning their own heritage of thought in the pursuit of Western ways of life, but rather as one in which Africans in common with all other peoples seek to attain a specifically human destiny – a thought that should assuage the qualms of those among thoughtful Africans who are wont to see modernisation as a foreign invasion.

For as he further points out,

In my opinion, the mark of modernization is destined to lead to the universalization of philosophy everywhere in the world<sup>15</sup>

This seems a perfectly desirable goal but its method of attainment is still largely a subject of speculation.

The Fourth (and concluding) section of the book catalogues aspects of racist scientific research of Levy-Bruhl, Simon Biesheuvel, J.C. Carothers and others like him which have since come to nothing. He highlights, through the Bellagio conference of 1980, the important contributions to the on-going debate on culture. His notable observations include the works and statements by Demas Nwoko, Denis Austin, Kofi Awoonor, Ali Mazrui and others. The conclusions of the conference affirmed what other such conferences have recommended. This being that African culture can be revitalized by reformulating it for the modern world. One significant model for this was seen as the art and architectural designs of Demas Nwoko. This could be done without excluding

Western Culture where it is profitable to do so, particularly in the areas of Science and Technology. This concluding thesis almost echoes what Edmund Leach observes on the mutual exchange between culture and its makers and observers:

culture communicates; the complex inter-connectedness of cultural events conveys information to those who participate in those events.<sup>16</sup>

We can safely conclude that in the last decade, or so, *An African Voice* is among the most prominent documents seeking to put an African cultural and political agenda in perspective. It may well be that it would be one of the authoritative voices on the future of African humanistic studies in the next millenium.

#### Notes and References:

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5. Robert July, p. 16.
6. Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford UP, 1968).
7. (a) C.L.R. James, "Towards the Seventh: The Pan African Congress – Past, Present and Future." *Ch'Indaba*, 2, edited by Wole Soyinka, July/December 1976. Pp. 9-16. Also in C.L.R. James. *At The Rendezvous of Victory* selected writings. (London: Allison and Busby Ltd., 1984). Pp. 236-250.  
(b) George Padmore, *Pan Africanism or Communism?* (London: Dobson, 1956).  
(c) J.E. Wiredu, "How Not to Compare African Traditional Thought with Western thought," in *Ch'Indaba*, 2, edited by Wole Soyinka, July/December 1976, pp. 4-8.  
(d) O. A. Ladimeji, "Nationalism, Alienation and the Crisis of Ideology," *Transition* 46, October/December, 1974, pp. 38-43
8. In C.L.R. James, *Ch'Indaba*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13.
10. See William Fagg, et. al., *Yoruba Sculpture of West Africa* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 34.
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16. Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), p. 2.