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**TOWARDS A PURPOSEFUL AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT:  
AN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEW**

*By Kofi Baku*

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**African Studies Center  
Boston University  
270 Bay State Road  
Boston, MA 02215 USA**

## TOWARDS A PURPOSEFUL AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT:

### AN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEW

By Kofi Baku

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the socio-political and economic development of Africa and Africans all over the world dominated the discussions of literate and politically conscious Africans in Africa, North and South America (including the Caribbean Islands), and Europe.<sup>1</sup> In the main their concerns were the attainment of equal political and economic rights for the liberated Africans of North America, the purposeful development of the independent African states and those of the Caribbean islands, and finally the future of the African states still under colonial rule.

In reflecting on these issues, William Esuman-Gwira Sekyi, also known as Kobina Sekyi,<sup>2</sup> addressed himself to the relationship which ought to exist between Africans in Africa and Africans outside Africa. His thoughts found expression in two major articles: "The Future of the Subject Peoples"<sup>3</sup> and "The Parting of the Ways."<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to highlight one of the relatively neglected areas of early African socio-political, economic, and philosophical thought: African reflections on purposeful African development (as opposed to colonialist-induced development programs). This paper will attempt to do so by focusing on some of the writings of a relatively unknown "hero" of Gold Coast nationalism, Kobina Sekyi. It is hoped that such an

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<sup>1</sup> It is necessary at the outset to define "African peoples" as used in this paper. The usage here follows that of Kobina Sekyi (the main focus of this paper). For him the peoples of Africa were not only the black people on the continent of Africa, but also the black peoples of African descent wherever they were found.

<sup>2</sup> Even though Kobina Sekyi has come to enjoy a relative boom in interest in the post-1965 Gold Coast and Ghanaian historical studies, he still remains largely unknown among Gold Coast and Ghana's pantheon of nationalist heroes. He was born on November 1, 1892, in Cape Coast and was educated at Richmond College of West Africa (what is now Mfantsipim School), Cape Coast, the University of London, and the Inns of Court. At the latter two institutions he earned the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts (Philosophy) and a Bachelor of Laws. He was admitted to the membership of both the Inner Temple and the Aristotelean society in 1918. In that same year, he set up a legal practice in Cape Coast (Gold Coast) and participated actively in local and national politics until he died in 1956. During the entire period of his student and public career, he left behind a vast legacy of published and unpublished material which is only now being seriously studied.

<sup>3</sup> This article was published in three parts in the *African Times and Orient Review*, October-December, 1917. (Hereafter, *ATOR*)

<sup>4</sup> This is an unpublished manuscript located in the National Archives of Ghana, Regional Office, Cape Coast, Acc.464/64. (Hereafter, *NAG,CC*).

approach will serve two important purposes. First, it will enable us to scrutinize in some depth some of the texts written during the colonial period concerning African development. Second, it will help to shift our discussion of the subject away from the generally maintained position that African critics of colonialism did not offer alternatives for colonial development.<sup>5</sup>

In August 1918, an editorial article by Duce Mohamed Ali, editor of the *African Times and Orient Review*, lamented the relative backwardness of the African peoples and argued that the only way forward was mobilization by Africans along the lines pursued by Europe and North America.<sup>6</sup> According to Duce Mohamed Ali, the politico-economic and technological superiority of the Western world was overwhelming and prospects of further advance were bright. In order to "catch up," African peoples should copy the science, technology, and civilization of Europe. That indeed, in the view of Duce Mohamed Ali, was the only way to survive in a world in which they had been subjugated.<sup>7</sup>

Located in a wider perspective, Duce Mohamed Ali's concerns agitated the minds of leaders of African-American political and economic thought as well. African-American leaders in the U.S., like their counterparts on the African continent, were preoccupied with discussions about solutions to the "black problem."<sup>8</sup> In the main their concerns revolved around the genuine emancipation of African-Americans — in effect, the attainment of equal political and economic rights. While Booker T. Washington favored the attainment of wealth through competition with white Americans, that is, through hard work, exhibition of resourcefulness, and industry as the means to total upliftment,<sup>9</sup> W.E.B. Dubois and Marcus Garvey proffered other alternatives. DuBois advanced a program that laid

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, M. Wight, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (London, 1946).

<sup>6</sup> Editorial Notes, *ATOR*, August, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> For a study of Duce Mohamed Ali's thought and political practice, see, Ian Duffield, "Duce Mohamed Ali and the Development of Pan-Africanism, 1866-1945" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971); and "Pan-Africanism: Rational and Irrational," *Journal of African History*, 18,4 (1977), 602-607. According to Duffield, Duce Mohamed Ali spent about forty years from childhood in Britain and therefore was totally anglicized, but Africa was of symbolic importance for him. He is said not to have advocated a consistent theory, but rather thrived on polemics, at once castigating Africans for blindly copying European and North American models and urging them to repeat their historical experiences. It is also believed that as a result of his long stay in Britain he forgot Arabic, the language he originally spoke, and did not learn any other African language. He did not, therefore, have the intimate knowledge of any particular African society as Sekyi had, for example, and therefore, could theorize on African development vis-a-vis European and North American models. See *Political Theory and Ideology in African Society: Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 27 & 28 February, 1970*, 83-84.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, August Meier, Elliot Rudwick, and Francis L. Broderick, eds., *Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis, 1978).

<sup>9</sup> Booker T. Washington, "The Atlanta Exposition Address, September, 1895," reproduced in Meier and others, eds., *Protest Thought*, 5-7.

considerable emphasis on academic achievement. Consequently he advocated a "talented tenth theory," which stipulated that adequate educational opportunities should be made available to a smaller group of talented African-Americans who would use their abilities to lead their brethren as a whole to political and economic freedom. Garvey's emancipation programs were best captured by the "Africa for Africans at home and abroad" slogan of his Universal Negro Improvement Association. He focused on various socio-economic and political programs, including international conventions, pan-African commerce, and an African colonization scheme.<sup>10</sup> Sekyi's thoughts on the future of the African peoples, therefore, took into account the debate as it raged in Africa and in Europe, and developments in the new world.

Sekyi reacted to the editorial comment cited above by writing an article rejecting Duce Mohamed Ali's prescription outright and giving a foretaste of his views on the future of the African peoples.<sup>11</sup> In rejecting Duce Mohamed Ali's views, Sekyi argued a case based on three important premises that he claimed had escaped the consideration of Ali and, indeed, all those who thought like him. First, Sekyi argued that every society (considered in the wider context of race) was different and unique. Consequently there were grave dangers in trying to force the development of different societies along the same lines. Second, the civilizations of Europe and North America, according to Sekyi, were built and maintained on aggression, and there would be an inevitable clash if the African world also adopted the same line of development. Finally, for Sekyi, the civilizations of Europe and North America were in any case decayed and, therefore, not worth emulating.<sup>12</sup>

Sekyi's views have to be studied in the wider context of his ideas on the nature and development of societies. These ideas were given their clearest articulation in his articles entitled "The Essentials of Race Manhood,"<sup>13</sup> and "Morality and Nature,"<sup>14</sup> and his 1918 University of London M.A. thesis entitled "The Relationship Between the Individual and the State Considered in the Light of Its Bearing on the Conception of Duty."

Sekyi's thought revolved around one major theme: evolution. Interestingly enough he did not reject evolutionary theory per se. He, however, rejected Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest and the social implications of Darwin's theory. Sekyi accepted the fact that society (which he called "social organism"), like all living beings, developed best if it evolved slowly within its own geographical and institutional environment. In other words, a society developed best if it reacted and adapted properly to the stimulus it received

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, E.D. Cronon, *Black Mose*, (Madison, 1962), and Tony Martin, *Race First* (Greenwood, 1976).

<sup>11</sup> Sekyi, "The Future of Subject Peoples."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *ATGCM*, December 1914, p.26.

<sup>14</sup> This was originally a lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of King's College, University of London, on January 19th, 1915, and subsequently published in *ATGCM*, 11 and 25 February, 1915, 55, 63.

from its environment. It similarly retarded its development if it rejected its environmental stimulus and adopted alien institutions.<sup>15</sup> This basic lesson in social development, according to Sekyi, was either not known to European colonizers or was simply ignored. In more than one passage he articulated his views about the organic nature of society and its gradual mode of evolution and development. It was in this light that he rejected colonialist-induced development programs in Africa and suggestions that African-induced development must follow European and North American lines. According to him

we have to bear in mind that societies or social groups must exist in some form or the other before other societies discover them. This presupposes that the discovered peoples must have begun to develop in some way and along certain lines. This development is natural, and, at the time of the discovery, any effort to direct it violently might break the moral back-bone of the people. . . . Nature always takes her own time over things: she may be aided or persuaded; but seldom will she produce good results when forced. At each stage of development, graduation is the order of the day: step by step must we mount Nature's ladder, lest we fail to reach a rung too far ahead, lose our balance thereby, and break limbs, possibly necks. This is more than a passing analogy.<sup>16</sup>

For Sekyi, the choice for African development is clear: any program of change must follow Africa's own path of development:

Let each social group develop along the lines marked out for them by their unwesternised and therefore undemoralised ancestors, accepting from the west only such institutions as can be adapted to, and not such as cannot but alter their national life.<sup>17</sup>

Sekyi's rejection of the then-fashionable Darwinian theory of natural selection and survival of the fittest was significant in several respects. First, it represented a frontal attack on the dominant theory of his age and second, it led to his positing a contrary relationship between nature and society. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Darwin's theory had become accepted in academic and political circles as providing the most appropriate methods for studying the arts and social sciences.<sup>18</sup> Thus in the years in which

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Sekyi, "The Essentials of Race Manhood," 26. (Emphasis in the original).

<sup>17</sup> Sekyi, "The Future of Subject Peoples," 110.

<sup>18</sup> Abrams and Collini have ably shown that at the turn of the 19th century sociology and philosophy were taught and studied together in English universities. Professor Hobhouse, whose arguments Sekyi criticized in his lecture "Morality and Nature," was thought to have conceived of sociology as including philosophy. See P. Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1918* (Chicago, 1968); S. Collini, "Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philosophical Idealism and Political Argument in Britain, 1880-1918," *Past and Present*, 72, (1976), 86-111, "Sociology and Idealism in Britain, 1880-1920," *Archives*

Sekyi was a student in London almost all the humane disciplines in Britain were influenced by one form or another of Darwin's theory. As Richard Hofstadter and John Burrow have ably shown, the theory provided both a welcome escape from methodological inadequacies for the social sciences and engaged the attention of most sociologists for the rest of the century.<sup>19</sup> The social derivative of Darwin's specific contribution to evolutionary theory, the concept of natural selection and the survival of the fittest (generally known as "social Darwinism"), had inter-connected racial and political dimensions that Sekyi rejected. Racially it meant that the non-white/non-European races, which were subjugated during the period of colonialism, were doomed to that fate anyway. Politically, it meant that European aggression in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in pursuit of overseas territories was justified by the course of natural development.

For Sekyi this trend of reasoning is the result of two scholastic failures in Western intellectual tradition: the failure of Western philosophical thought to define the exact relationship between society and nature, and the confusion in Western scholarship of civilization with progress (consisting purely of material, scientific, and technological advancement).<sup>20</sup> According to Sekyi, "civilization" connotes a certain level of cultural and political attainment that guaranteed peace and security for a society. The level of cultural and political attainment might vary in different societies, depending on their stage in the evolutionary process, with the implication that no two civilizations might be the same. The confusion Sekyi detected arose out of the fact that certain physical and institutional structures of Western societies had been taken to represent the totality of civilization. And as a result, Western civilization had been deemed to be universally applicable.<sup>21</sup>

Sekyi then argued that as a result of these confusions in Western scholarship, Western society had, first, accepted the development of a political social state which was out of tune with the natural evolutionary process. Second, it had created such artificial states in the form of colonial states outside its borders as well. Third, colonial states had slavishly adopted the decadent ways of their conquerors, and, finally, Western society had accepted a philosophy that justified aggression. Since these could not be acceptable ends for a society, a new moral code was necessary. It had to be one that fell in line with

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*Europeennes de Sociologie*, xix, (1978), 3-50; *Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914* (Cambridge, 1979).

<sup>19</sup> R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1965); and J. W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society: A study in Victorian Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1966), 20. Burrow, for example, notes that leading sociologists like Walter Bagehot, Benjamin Kidd, and Leslie all saw Darwin's theory as setting "the dividing line between the old and new sociological theory," and Kidd especially who when "contributing the article on sociology to the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1911 devoted more than half the space to Darwin." Burrow, *Evolution and Society*, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Sekyi, "Morality and Nature."

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

nature.<sup>22</sup> Clearly then, in the view of Sekyi, man had perverted the course of natural development in his haste to develop.<sup>23</sup>

For Sekyi there were important lessons in these conclusions for Africa in its pursuit of development. The first of these was that several decades of colonial rule had not brought any benefits to Africa or, indeed, to Africans wherever they were found. Colonialism, instead, either destroyed or was destroying "everything that was dear to the African."<sup>24</sup> The reason for this was not difficult to find. European nations, by virtue of their dominant position in colonial Africa, controlled all exploitable African resources. Europe, rather than Africa then became the beneficiary of the exploitation of African resources. Thus, while Europe developed, Africa stagnated. For Sekyi it was clear that African interests were, therefore, not compatible with those of Europe and North America. The second lesson, a follow-up to the first, was that African historical experiences had to be taken into account in the formulation of appropriate developmental strategies. Thus, sounding a call similar to the present-day emphasis on pan-African and south-south cooperation, Sekyi declared that any purposeful African development must revolve around total African cooperation on all fronts. There was therefore a need for effective, even if qualified, all-African economic cooperation.

It was in the light of this that Sekyi welcomed the political and economic activities of Marcus Garvey as "the necessary *spade work* . . . towards the erection, in the not very remote future of abiding edifice of racial collaboration."<sup>25</sup> It was obvious, according to Sekyi, that as a result of the failure of colonial governments to develop Africa in any meaningful way, African development could only be undertaken by Africans. And for this reason he expressed his concern about the disagreements in the African leadership in North America. For him, Garvey represented a blend of the various ideas that had been advocated and must therefore be supported. Sekyi's words in this regard are revealing:

I think Garveyism is the only possible step in the United States towards the harmonious blending of the ideas of Booker Washington, the apparent materialist, with those of DuBois, the apparent idealist, into a real solution of, or a solidly progressive effort to solve, the question, if not of race, at

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<sup>22</sup> To use Sekyi's own words, "Man can never be moral without conforming strictly to Nature." Sekyi, "Morality and Nature."

<sup>23</sup> Ideologically, Sekyi's views mark him out as a conservative of the Burkean tradition; philosophically, his views fall in line with those of the German idealists and romanticists who rejected the enlightenment philosophy of the eighteenth century.

<sup>24</sup> Sekyi, "Education with Particular Reference to a West African University," National Archives of Ghana, Regional Office, Cape Coast, Acc.325/64. (Hereafter, NAG,CC)

<sup>25</sup> Sekyi, "The Parting of the Ways," 24 (emphasis in the original).

any rate of colour, in its operations against social and political enfranchisement in America.<sup>26</sup>

Specifically, Sekyi believed that purposeful African development should begin with functional education, inter-colonial visits, mutual co-operation and the development of small-scale industries. Sekyi was convinced that missionary-controlled colonial education did not prepare the African adequately to serve his society; instead he merely served the interests of colonialism. The Western-educated African was thus alienated from his own society, and articulated Eurocentric ideals of development.<sup>27</sup> It is not surprising that Sekyi chose purposeful education as his starting point. His own experience had sufficiently demonstrated the need for the right education especially in a child's formative years. It took his racial and social isolation in England for him to realize how much he had misunderstood Africa.

Sekyi felt there was considerable misinformation about Africa, which the African himself and especially the African-American had internalized. It is clear that Sekyi gained an insight into African-American thinking on Africa by keeping in touch with Marcus Garvey and by reading some of his declarations on Africa.<sup>28</sup> "It is therefore necessary, in fact, vital," he declared, "to our future development as a race, that we should *now* inaugurate a period of systematic observation of our brethren not only in America but also elsewhere abroad."<sup>29</sup> And this process must be mutual. Africa, Sekyi rightly asserted, had been "maligned and misrepresented,"<sup>30</sup> to Africans outside Africa. Indeed the only accessible knowledge of Africa was through the lenses of the European writers "who have themselves yet to understand Africa and Africans."<sup>31</sup> As a consequence of this, the African-American had been "americanised" in ideals and values, and this would hinder rather than help in the political and economic development of African and Africans.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 38.

<sup>27</sup> In an interesting passage Sekyi stated his views in these words: "the intensions of the pioneer missionaries were doubtless good; the intensions of pioneer African traders may have been good; but that for which they prepared the way cannot be called good. Missionaries and traders have worked in concert to establish 'education,' that is, education improperly so-called, and thus they in the end almost succeeded in breaking up the social life of the people among whom they moved: the former destroyed the ultimate religious sanctions which regulated their civil life, and the latter opened up new vistas and afforded new examples of duplicity and cunning. . . . "education" flourished.. but the native point of view was ceasing to be." Sekyi, "Education in British West Africa," *ATOR*, July, 1917, 33.

<sup>28</sup> See the objectives of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, quoted in August Meier and others, eds., *Protest Thought*, 104-105.

<sup>29</sup> Sekyi, "The Parting of the Ways," 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 23.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*.

It is also as a result of this that Sekyi called for an exchange program of "inter-colonial visits," especially for the youth while still at school, in order to bridge the gulf that separated Africans in Africa and our "deafricanised brethren outside Africa."<sup>33</sup> Moreover, such a program would be advantageous to the separated kinsmen. They would have the "opportunity, while their prejudices were forming, of testing those prejudices in a natural manner."<sup>34</sup> In the same vein Sekyi suggested that professionals who could afford it should also visit other colonies "for the purpose of observing forms of industrial and commercial organisations" that existed there.<sup>35</sup> He also advocated intermarriage among Africans in and outside Africa, but "it should be regulated after the fashion of our wise ancestors."<sup>36</sup>

Sekyi was realistic enough to accept that the modern world was built on the advances made in science and technology and Africa's subjugation was in part the result of the misapplication of the benefits bestowed by scientific and technological progress. He believed, however, that with the right orientation Africans were also capable of scientific, industrial, and technological advancement. He saw both scientific education and co-operation as the touchstones of such advancement, the results of which would not only liberate the African peoples, but would also set them on the way to contributing uniquely to the progress of the world. In this regard, therefore, Sekyi accepted the training of Africans to qualify as "civil, mining, and mechanical engineers, surveyors, scientific agriculturalists, boiler makers and other efficient mechanics."<sup>37</sup> For Sekyi the training in these fields must not only be directed at specific African needs, but those who qualify in these professional subjects must not be encouraged to imbibe the "perverted state of minds and aspirations of those who learn the science, arts, and crafts of Europe."<sup>38</sup> The example of Japan held a tremendous appeal for him: "*Japan's success and uniqueness among the nations is based on her japanisation of European ideals not on her europeanisation of Japanese ideals.*"<sup>39</sup>

Sounding a call remarkably similar to the now fashionable emphasis on pan-African and South-South co-operation, Sekyi declared that,

if we set to work in the proper spirit and in the proper manner we can effect a great improvement in our industrial or economic development which will necessarily lead to such recognition of our legitimate status . . . and to the

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Sekyi, "The Future of Subject Peoples," 94.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Sekyi, "The Parting of the Ways," 33. (Emphasis in the original).

recovery of our lost ideals and commerce a new era of rapid and natural progress.<sup>40</sup>

Sekyi characteristically denied the appropriation of leadership roles in any scheme of cooperation by Africans outside Africa. Mutual cooperation and healthy exchange of ideas and knowledge were to be the key operational guidelines. For, whereas some Africans outside Africa had acquired some industrial and scientific training, they had lost touch with the ancient "institutions and traditions" of Africa, a possession of which only Africans in Africa could still boast.<sup>41</sup> Thus forty-five long years before Julius Nyerere and some forty years after Edward Blyden, Sekyi insistently and passionately made a clarion call to African peoples. He exhorted them to start small-scale industries for the purpose of manufacturing their most basic needs. With the assistance and expert knowledge of "our brethren abroad," Sekyi hoped this venture would at once release the creative potential in Africans as well as launch them toward the acquisition of the requisite skills and knowledge for giant scientific and industrial breakthroughs. The overall result of this industrial enterprise was linked with Sekyi's grand scheme and ambition, the overthrow of colonialism. Consequently, he declared:

from that quarter (the attainment of scientific and technological knowledge) will come the help that we need to render us in the mechanical side full enough with our traditions to face England, when she shall become too arrogant to be considered our guardian to remonstrate with her to abandon her dog-in-manger policy which has reduced us to our present condition of ineptitude in many aspects.<sup>42</sup>

For Sekyi politics permeated every facet of life.

## Conclusion

Given the theme of this year's African Studies Association conference ("Africa: Development and Ethics"), reading Sekyi assumes special significance. With the benefit of being strategically located in the 1990s (the closing decade of the twentieth century) and looking back from this vantage position on the overall development of African countries since the days of Sekyi and even beyond, one is strongly compelled to applaud his foresight. In these days of general concern about the "African condition"<sup>43</sup> and the emergence of a new crop of developmental strategists who believe that African development could only be effected when concrete African realities and situations are taken

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 37-38.

<sup>43</sup> This phrase is borrowed from the title of A.A. Mazrui's *The African Condition, A Political Diagnosis, The Reith Lectures* (London, 1980).

into account, Sekyi's views become all the more relevant. His emphasis on purposeful education is a fact that has come to be recognized, albeit belatedly, all the world over. The massive production of non-technical, white collar scholars has arguably adversely affected the development of African countries. For after all, the formal nature of received education and its predominant emphasis on meeting the needs of government and public bureaucracy, which invariably have wider international perspectives, has meant that little relation is established between the course of study and the society of the recipient.<sup>44</sup> In the face of increasing competition between the nations of the world, then, Africa has lagged behind. That education should, therefore, be "society-oriented" can hardly be over-emphasised. Second, his call for effective co-operation among Africans wherever they were found, his suggestion that Africa must only accept from the West ideas that can enhance its development, and his call for the adoption of small-scale, rural-based industries as the basis of purposeful African development are facts we can no longer ignore. Sekyi's admonition in this respect is one that must guide us as we enter into the twenty-first century:

Let us not induce ourselves to think and believe that the only way to "survive" Europe's aggression is by organising on European (including American) lines, for that must involve conflict with Europe, and in time we must become like Europe, ever creating new wants to supply an insatiable desire for conquest, and bound to end by consuming all that has been acquired by such conquest in universal holocaust kindled by the demon of Greed. If we are to formulate any real sound and practicable scheme for our future, let us set before us, and try to understand, the ideal of *living* as men, and not seek the compromise of *surviving* as persecuted persons.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Notice K.A. Busia's frank admission that his formal Western education at Mfantsipim School, Cape Coast, and Oxford, alienated him from his own Gold Coast/Ghanaian society of which he knew much less than he knew of Europe. See Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London and Dar es Salaam, 1972), 270, who quotes the revealing passage from Busia.

<sup>45</sup> Sekyi, "The Future of the Subject Peoples," 78 (emphasis in the original).