

Focus of the Issue:
MENTAL DECOLONIZATION

Research article

**FREEDOM OF THE MIND:
THE *SINE QUA NON* OF SOVEREIGNTY IN AFRICA**

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Abstract. This article examines the phenomenon of first the racially based European colonisation of Africa and second the subsequent effort to decolonise as a continuing undertaking. Colonisation, slavery *in situ*, was poverty creation. It delegitimised and denied sovereignty to Africans, sought to destroy African identity and ability to think and reason, and commoditised everything African. This was done using three instruments of ensuring ‘effective’ occupation in creating colonial states, namely the military, the administrators, and the missionaries.

Decolonisation was part of the African response to colonisation and came in phases as affected by levels of awareness, the times, and the place. Some people did not question, they simply succumbed, adjusted to, and accepted the new order as given. Others accepted the new order because they were defeated, but they continued to raise questions as to why they were defeated, as well as questions about the practice and the claims of the new order. Those who questioned became the anti-colonialists and were responsible for the different phases of decolonising the colonial states. They challenged the racial basis of colonialism but not necessarily the structures of the colonial states. In the midst of the Cold War, this led to efforts to nationalise other aspects of the colonial state, mainly through academic disciplines in order to inject something ‘African’ in each of them. It happened in literature, history, political science, philosophy, and theology, and they made people feel good, but the colonial structures remained, attention turned to challenging other varieties of colonialism. Subsequently, decolonisation became a post-colonial undertaking, a matter of the mind.

Keywords: Africa, Colonisation, Decolonisation, Freedom, Race, Mind, Sovereignty

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In the last roughly one hundred and forty years, Africans went through a period of losing almost everything through conquest by extra-continental forces, mostly Europeans. The symbolic turning point was the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference on the Partition of Africa in which, apart from sharing the Congo basin, they agreed on the rules of grabbing and legitimizing the grabbing of African territories. With agreements in European capitals as the official source of legitimacy, they abrogated African independence and sense of sovereignty by setting up colonial states that were essentially huge slave plantations. It was slavery *in situ*.

INSTRUMENTS OF CONQUEST

The conquest used three instruments in imposing colonial rule: military, administrative, and missionaries. The soldiers, with Maxim guns, mounted military expeditions to force those who resisted into submission. They had largely succeeded by 1914, and different peoples accepted they were under a new foreign control. The administrators followed the soldiers and imposed new laws and governing structures that were strange to Africans. They in the process removed independence, legitimacy, and sovereignty from the Africans and lodged them in Europe. The missionaries mounted cultural destructions of African beliefs, values, and systems as a way of softening the African for proper control and exploitation. Trying to convince Africans that thinking was the coloniser's preserve, they hoped to abolish thinking among the Africans because thinking might lead to challenging the new colonial order.

Various Europeans claimed most of Africa, without regard to the affected people, using three effective instruments. Having agreed in Europe on boundaries, based on perceptions of strategic interests to protect, they turned African land and peoples into foreign property identified simply as British, German, French, Belgian, Italian, or Spanish. Administrators and missionaries tried to condition the colonised to believe that legitimacy was in Europe, that they had no God or values, and that thinking was a preserve of the colonisers. Missionaries emphasised parts of the Bible that called for obedience to colonial authorities. This expectation that what colonialists called 'natives' would accept to stop thinking, floundered—not just in one place but almost everywhere.

The initial failure of the colonial project was due to the African ability to question the philosophies of colonialism. The inability completely to expunge African sense of identities and thinking meant that territorial colonialism was not safe. In colonial times, the questioning came in three phases that showed a gradual understanding of the 'new world' of foreign rule that Africans had found themselves. They *first* accepted the fact of being conquered and losing sovereignty and tried to understand the new system before

challenging it. They noticed and questioned the discrepancies between professed ideals and actual practice and attributed the discrepancies to the men on the ground rather than the masters in the imperial capitals. *Second*, they questioned the racial basis of colonialism, found it to be faulty, and attacked the fault but not colonialism itself. *Third*, they attacked colonialism itself as fraudulent and without basis of existing.

There were two contrasting meetings in London in 1900, one representing imperialist interests, which founded the Royal African Society and started to publish *African Affairs*¹, and the other organised by black elite, mostly in the diaspora, trying to counter negative narratives about Africa and themselves. In that latter meeting, W.E.B. DuBois distinguished himself by asserting that the problem of the 20th century would be one of the ‘color line’ between white interpreters keeping the blacks down and the blacks struggling to free themselves from white oppression. DuBois was a man of ideas and became a major player in promoting Pan-Africanism as a force to rally peoples of African background to resist racially based oppression [Eze 2013a; Munene 2012; Okon, Ojajorotu 2018]. There was also Marcus Garvey, who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, UNIA, and published *The Negro World*, which was read across the colonial world and advocated Africa for Africans and Africans in diaspora returning to Africa². The colonisers banned *The Negro World*, but by then various colonised elites had already received and accepted its message. Among them was Harry Thuku in colonial Kenya, who made a habit of questioning the contradictions between colonial claims of benevolence and the reality of colonial brutality. In addition, Thuku contradicted colonial Governor Edward Northey and wrote accusatory letters to London about colonial misdeeds [Edgerton 1989; Maxon 1993; Munene 1996; Munene 2012].

While the early challenge to colonialism stressed the inconsistency of policy claims and practice, this shifted to questioning the very philosophy of colonial benevolence and racially based white superiority. When in the 1930s, the League of Nations and the big white powers proved their incapacity to protect Ethiopia against Benito Mussolini’s aggression, this spurred the spirit of Pan-Africanism, with the emphasis being on the destruction of the myth of white superiority. George Padmore, who had helped Jomo Kenyatta to attend the University of the Toilers in Moscow³, abandoned his communist beliefs in order to stress Pan-Africanism [Padmore 1957; Filatova 1999; Djagalov 2020]. Young Francis Kwame Nkrumah, 26, passed through London in October 1935 on his

¹ The journal was established in 1901 by the Royal African Society as the *Journal of the African Society*. In 1936 it was renamed to the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, and since 1944 it has been called *African Affairs*. It is published by Oxford University Press: <https://academic.oup.com/afraf> (accessed: 20.09.2024)

² M. Garvey founded and published *Negro World* (1918–1933). It was initially published as a monthly magazine with a larger circulation than other African American publications. After colonial rulers banned its sale and even ownership in their territories, distribution in African countries was done through black sailors who smuggled copies of the magazine. The same publishers then began to produce a weekly newspaper of the same name, which was distributed worldwide to UNIA offices in more than forty countries. Its circulation reached 200,000 copies.

³ The Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) was a Comintern educational institution that operated in Moscow from 1921 to 1938. Students were divided into two large groups: 1) students from the USSR, who were trained as party and administrative workers for the national republics of the USSR; 2) foreign students, who were trained to fight for the establishment of communism in their countries.

way to Lincoln University of Pennsylvania, and his ‘nationalism surged to the fore’ [Biney 2007]. Kenyatta embarked on writing *Facing Mount Kenya* [Kenyatta 1938], an intellectual attack on claims of racially based colonial benevolence, poking holes in the colonial logic because it did not make sense. At the same time, Leopold Sedar Senghor launched the *Négritude* Movement, asserting that blacks were just as good as the whites [Senghor 1964].

The move from claiming racial equality to declaring colonialism to be fraudulent was mostly a post-World War II phenomenon. With participants in the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester having vowed to destroy imperialism and colonialism using any means possible, one of the means possible was the intellectual destruction of the Greek basis of European global dominance. Aime Césaire, in *Discourse on Colonialism* [Césaire 1950], dismissed colonialism as fraud, and George James, in his *Stolen Legacy* [James 1954], showed Greek philosophers to be intellectual thieves, having stolen from Egypt. There was effort, so argued Cheikh Anta Diop in *African Origins of Civilisation: Myth or Reality* [Diop 1974]⁴, to relocate ancient Egypt into a mental Europe, thereby enabling Europeans to claim that Egyptian achievements were European. This deliberate distortion of history could be traced to the European Renaissance period in the 15th century with the attempt to create new identities of white superiority by forcing collective amnesia and harping to Athens and Rome as Europe’s glorious past [Munene 2023].

With the intellectual foundations of colonialism being put into serious question, there still remained the actual political decolonisation to remove the racial basis of territorial colonialism, which manifested itself in three interconnected ways. These were intensified political agitation, armed resistance to racial colonialism, and compromised *neo-colonial* arrangements. While intensified political agitation against colonialism was visible mainly in the Gold Coast, which became Ghana, the Mau Mau War in Kenya against the British⁵ and the Algerian War against the French⁶ symbolised the fruits of armed struggle and stimulated territorial decolonisation. Given that anti-colonialism was mostly anti-racism with little questioning of the colonial state structure, the third way of decolonisation was relatively easy. It simply removed ‘race’ as the official controlling factor, thereby giving advantage to colonial masters to ‘advise’ the appointed leaders of the newly minted states in *neo-colonial* arrangements. Those new states became *client states* answerable to *master states*, mostly members of the Conceptual West comprising mainly former

⁴ This issue of the Journal of the Institute for African Studies contains an article on the spiritual heritage of Cheikh Anta Diop by L.M. Sadovskaya (*Editor’s Note*).

⁵ The Mau-Mau Rebellion was a protracted conflict that took place in colonial Kenya between 1952 and 1960. The purpose of the uprising by local peoples (mainly Kikuyu, but also Embu and Meru) was to have their political and economic demands granted and the land reform program revised. The rebellion was Britain’s bloodiest conflict since World War II, and it is also a prime example of the genocide of the Kikuyu people by the British authorities.

⁶ The Algerian War (1954–1960) was a military conflict between the French colonial administration in Algeria and armed rebels who advocated Algeria’s independence from France. Despite the actual military defeat of Algerian independence fighters, due to a number of political and economic reasons, the conflict ended with their victory—the recognition of Algeria’s independence by France.

colonial powers and the United States, as well as countries that culturally and geopolitically identify with the West even if they are in the East.

CLIENT STATES AND NYAPARA

There were two types of post-colonial realities that emerged with ‘independence’ and are in constant struggle as Africans try finding their space in the world arena. These are, first, the phenomenon of *neo-colonialism*, in which symbiotic relationships developed between the rulers of the new states, as *client states*, and rulers in the *master states*. Rulers in *client states* were *nyapara*⁷, or overseers and protectors of the local interests of the *master states*. In return, rulers in the *master states* ensured the survival of their proxy rulers in the *client states*. When the proxies lost their usefulness, rulers in *master states* just dumped *neo-colonialism* as a mode of control and adopted *post-modern colonialism* that does not need individuals, but operates at a structural level. The second phenomenon involved serious attempts at breaking from the colonial past in different ways. It initially proved difficult at the political level and involved assorted continuity of ‘decolonisation’ beyond the rejection of racism and external territorial rule [Eze 2013b]. It was mostly intellectual and often involved battling forces beyond the *client state*, whether *neo-colonial*, *post-modern colonial*, or globalisation.

There were three ways in which former colonial states became *neo-colonial* entities. **First**, the new rulers believed in the colonial structures and did not want to disturb a working capitalistic system. All they had wanted was to remove the racial tag and to occupy positions previously held by the *Mzungu*⁸, white rulers in Africa, and to indulge in the *Mzungu* luxuries. This inclination made them vulnerable to assorted inducements to continue serving the master states in *neo-colonial* ways. As in the case of Kenya, there was also fear of the damage that the departing colonialists could inflict on the new state, which was struggling to prove it was not bandit-prone.

Second, *neo-colonialism* was imposed from above by force when the likely new leaders showed an inclination to ‘independence’ that was beyond what the *master states* wanted to grant. This was the case in Congo, where Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba started talking of using Congolese natural wealth to benefit people by dealing with any country based on Congo’s interests. Being at the height of the Cold War, the *master states* simply overthrew Lumumba and imposed Joseph Mobutu as Congo’s new ruler [Okon, Ojatorotu 2018].

Third, especially in French colonies, *neo-colonial* arrangements were pre-determined before independence as rewards to ‘good’ colonial subjects to continue serving their colonial ‘home’ in France as presidents and ministers of the new *client state*. These willingly signed ‘the colonial pacts,’ giving everything to France, and in return, France

⁷ *Nyapara* (Swahili): an overseer, foreman, senior caravanner. In this article, the word is used in a figurative sense, therefore put in quotation marks.

⁸ *Mzungu* (Swahili): literally “wanderer,” a term common in sub-Saharan Africa to describe a white person, especially a wealthy or English-speaking person. In this article, the word is used in a figurative sense, therefore put in quotation marks.

protected them against their own people [Chitondo, Chanda, Mpolomoka 2023; Okon, Ojajorotu 2018].

The newly independent states had to contend with two challenging post-colonial phenomena: creating nations out of colonial states and finding geopolitical positions in a highly divided global order labelled the Cold War. The two phenomena defining the future of Africa clashed as early as April 1957, when Prime Minister Nkrumah of barely one-month-old independent Ghana visited Ivory Coast⁹ and called for African colonies to declare independence. Felix Houphouey-Boigny, then a minister in the French government, disagreed, saying he preferred building a 'Franco-African Community'¹⁰ and then invited Nkrumah to compare notes in ten years on who was doing well¹¹. Although Boigny became president of Ivory Coast in 1960, as part of the 'Franco-African Community', the two never met because Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 [Prosperetti 2018]. By then, military coups or attempted coups were becoming normal in newly independent African states as ways of keeping them in line and not to deviate from allotted positions as *client states* [Grey 1990; Thiong'o 2004; Okon, Ojajorotu 2018].

Away from coups, there was a lot of 'nationalistic' talk about decolonising the professions and uncovering the suppressed 'African' input that was both fresh and entertaining. Universities, such as Ibadan in Nigeria and Makerere in Uganda, arose to generate and disseminate new knowledge that was African-friendly. In literature, Nigerian writers like Chinua Achebe with his *Things Fall Apart* [Achebe 1958] and Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreters* [Soyinka 1965] pricked African minds by analysing the emerging post-colonial societies. In Eastern Africa, Ngugi wa Thiong'o wrote English in Gikuyu ways, while Okot p'Bitek's poems were refreshingly candid [Munene 2006].

Political scientist Ali Mazrui, especially groomed to lead political science at Makerere University, initially defended the West against socialistic attacks. He unsuccessfully tried baiting Nkrumah into an intellectual debate by calling Nkrumah a 'Leninist-Tsar' but succeeded in goading Julius Nyerere into denying that he was an 'intellectual cannibal' [West 2018, Munene 2018]. A historian at the University of Dar es Salaam, Walter Rodney, dimmed Mazrui's star at a Makerere debate, after which Mazrui started gravitating towards Rodney's anti-imperialist side. Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* [Rodney 1972] was intellectually shattering in destroying myths of colonialism as an agent of development in Africa.

Other historians, such as Bethwell Ogot, who wrote *History of the Southern Luo* [Ogot 1967], and Jacob Ajayi, who edited *A Thousand Years of West African History* [Ajayi, Espie 1969], made names digging up the African past to counter Euro-arguments that Africans had

⁹ Since 1985, the country has been called Côte d'Ivoire.

¹⁰ Refers to an entity called the French Community, created by France with the participation of Africans. For more details, see: Houphouët-Boigny F. Afrique et communauté franco-africaine. *Le monde diplomatique*. 1958. № 11. https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1958/11/HOUPHOUET_BOIGNY/22803#:~:text=La%20Constitution%20du%205%20octobre,g%C3%A9rer%20d%C3%A9mocratiqument%20leurs%20propres%20affaires (accessed: 20.09.2024)

¹¹ Wambu O. Africa's client states. *New African*. 01.06.2018. <https://newafricanmagazine.com/20912/> (accessed: 20.09.2024)

no history. Anglican priest John Mbiti, struggling to argue the case for African religions and philosophy, wrote *African Religions and Philosophy* and gained notoriety by asserting that 'African people are notoriously religious' as opposed to being 'Godless' [Mbiti 1969].

The nationalistic intellectual excitement of the 1960s and early 1970s appeared to dissipate in the mid-1970s and virtually disappear in the 1980s as countries fell into new world realignments called globalisation. There were two forces behind those realignments. *First*, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) used oil as a war tool by imposing an oil embargo, cutting supplies, and hiking prices. It disrupted world economies, and African countries were adversely affected. Emerging initially as a structural force of the non-Western world, it was later skilfully neutralized by the West and came to serve the West. In 1976, the OPEC started flexing its financial muscles by channelling funds to the IMF for lending to poor countries, many of them in Africa.

Second, the US Cold War geopolitical losses forced Washington to reassess its foreign policy. The foreign policy reassessment led to the abandonment of *neo-colonialism* and the dumping of *nyapara* leaders as a mode of control in favour of 'international organisations,' NGOs, and Civil Society. The effect of the IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs was felt across African societies. Their purpose, so argued Issa Shivji, was to render African states incapable of providing essential services to their people [Shivji 2000]. Even Ali Mazrui annoyed the *master states*, in his *Triple Heritage* television series, by hitting at the colonial past and continuities in colonialist controls [Mazrui 1986].

The IMF and World Bank incapacitating project negatively affected African universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Funding for knowledge production slid, access to university education as a public good declined, and previous intellectual engagements by lecturers through seminars became secondary to pecuniary pursuits. At the same time, leaders/*nyapara* in the client states, such as Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, made independent thinking illegal and worked hard to divide the intellectuals into two camps reminiscent of the Mau Mau War in colonial Kenya. *First* were the favoured *intellectual guards*, ensuring that *intellectual Mau Maus* went for what Moi said was 're-education,' often in jail or detention buildings [Chege 1996; Moi 1986]. *Second* were those who continued thinking, despite the ban on thinking, the *Intellectual Mau Maus*, who continued to question the prevalence of colonial mentality and attitude in public affairs. With the ability to question the remnants of colonial cleavages withering, if not completely disappearing, the initial colonial project of creating poverty in the mind appeared to have succeeded, especially as those in governance were surrendering, or being subservient, to external whims. They willingly played proxy, facilitated, and even took part in the looting of their countries and called it development.

GENERATION Z DECOLONIZATION

The inherent contradiction of leaders facilitating the looting of their countries and then calling it development irked particularly the 21st century youth. Termed Millennials

and Generation Z, the children of the 21st century, raised in relative comfort and freedom, knew nothing or little of the hardships of the colonial or immediate postcolonial times. Whereas some thinkers, like Ngugi wa Thiong'o, talked of decolonisation as cultural liberation stressing language decolonisation¹², what remained was to link the colonised mind in power in various countries to continuing material poverty. The youth, having developed critical thinking capacity, made the linkage, which pointed to prevailing mental subservience to Euro-thinking as being responsible for increasing poverty. They linked domestic and global looters to the increasing poverty of both mental and material type. They decided to act and were practical in going for the real source of their national problems, the *Master States* and the institutions they control [Gibbs 2024; Etoghho, Eben, Dalton 2022]¹³.

The increasing Millennial and Gen Z uprisings in the Sahel region of Africa and in Eastern Africa are thus aspects of the new decolonisation effort. There seem to be attempts to revert to the ideals that were associated with Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara, Murtala Mohammed, Amical Cabral, and even Muamar Qaddafi. They start with the clarity of the mind, realising that the issue is not the *nyapara* called president in their country since he is simply a tool. They zero in on the relationship with the *master state*, the detrimental deals that the *nyapara* signs, and re-examine the 'colonial pacts,' especially in former French colonies. Finding the colonial pacts to be invalid as to their reality, they acted by removing the *nyapara/president* before turning to the *master states*. Sankara of Burkina Faso in West Africa, for instance, became a symbol of African *anti-postmodern-colonialism*, as his ideals and dreams to "invent the future" appear to reverberate in Ibrahim Traore's policies against foreign dominance [Harsch 2013; Harsch 2023]. The *master states* and their *nyapara/presidents* misunderstood the actions, which they condemned as *coups*, only to be overtaken by the realities of revolutions of decolonising the minds being put into geopolitical practice in hitherto compliant *client states* [Gibbs 2024]¹⁴.

The movement to decolonise both the mind and the geopolitical entities is an effort to reclaim the African sense of sovereignty that colonialism had taken away. Given that the success of the colonial project was largely in convincing the colonised Africans that they had no past, no identity, no sovereignty, and therefore no legitimacy, decolonisation was essentially to reverse the attitude that the African mind had been conditioned to. This was to be in phases, and the first was to raise high-level awareness of the self and of the reality of colonialism. This led to initial racially based anti-colonialism, which, while it stressed rejecting the racial dimension of the colonial state, did not reject the structures of

¹² Ngugi wa Thiong'o was at the forefront of promoting African languages, especially his Gikuyu language, as a way of decolonizing the mind and fighting imperialism [Thiong'o 1986; Thiong'o 2004].

¹³ See: French H. The End of Françafrique? Festering resentment of French neocolonialism is motivating a backlash against Paris across West Africa. *Foreign Policy*. 26.02.2024. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/02/26/france-sahel-mali-niger-francafrique-burkina-faso/> (accessed: 20.09.2024); Melly P. Why France faces so much anger in West Africa. *BBC*. 5.12.2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-59517501> (accessed: 20.09.2024)

¹⁴ Ibid.

the colonial state. Still, the anti-racial decolonisation required mind agility to organise Pan-Africanism, to challenge the inconsistencies between the ideals and practice of colonialism, to discredit claims to racial superiority, and to dismiss colonialism as fraud. The second phase entailed questioning the colonial structures themselves in the emerging *neo-colonial master-state* and *client-state* dependency relationship. The dependency, however, was one of mutual protection of perceived interests, in which the *nyapara* protected the corporate and related interests of the *master-states*, while *master-states* protected individual leaders from possible uprising by their own people.

The grumblings about neo-colonialism were undercut in the third phase of decolonisation, which had to contend with globalisation and *post-modern colonialism*, where the actual controllers tended to hide behind international organisations, which they manipulate, that are more powerful than individual small countries. The challenge to the decolonisers, therefore, is to confront three powerful entities. These are the master-states struggling to maintain their hegemonic supremacy, the international organisations and forces that de-border countries with impunity, such as terrorist organisations, cyberspace entities, giant media, and financial institutions, and the emerging power competitors for geopolitical visibility and influence, such as Turkey, the United Arab Emirate, Brazil, and India. In addition, geopolitical realignment challenges US hegemonic tendencies, calls for multi-polarity in world affairs, and has led to such world groupings as the BRICS.

* * *

In this phase, therefore, decolonisation is a matter of the mind—the questioning mind. It is to know and to reject new ways to control African thinking and the new attempts to continue denying legitimacy and sense of sovereignty to Africans. The capacity to know and reject calls for revamped education on critical thinking so as to question what appears to be ‘given’. Although the Gen Zs appear to show the way and to raise levels of awareness, they tackle only a fraction of the mindset that needs decolonisation. It is to tackle both the proxy presidents in African *client states* on one side and the instruments that the *master state* uses to exert control on the other. It all starts in the mind before it can percolate to materials and territories.

Decolonisation is thus a continuing struggle of the mind between *intellectual home guards*, serving the *master-states* on one side and the *intellectual Mau Maus* on the other.

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СВОБОДА РАЗУМА: SINE QUA NON СУВЕРЕНИТЕТА В АФРИКЕ

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Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается феномен расовой колонизации Африки европейцами и последующих продолжительных усилий по деколонизации Африканского континента. Колонизация породила бедность. Она лишила африканцев прав и суверенитета, она стремилась уничтожить их идентичность и способность мыслить и рассуждать по-своему, она превратила все африканское в товар. Для обеспечения «эффективной» оккупации при создании колониальных государств использовались три вида инструментов: военный, административный и миссионерский.

Некоторые жители покоренных территорий не задавались вопросами, они попросту приспособивались и принимали новый порядок как данность. Другие были вынуждены принять новый порядок, потому что не имели средств противиться ему, но при этом они продолжали размышлять о причинах своего поражения, а также о методах и целях нового порядка. Многие из тех, кто сомневался и ставил вопросы, стали антиколониалистами, возглавившими различные этапы деколонизации колониальных государств. Они оспаривали расовую основу колониализма, но не всегда – созданные колонизаторами государственные структуры.

В разгар «холодной войны» это привело к попыткам придать национальный характер некоторым аспектам колониального государства, в основном через академические дисциплины, чтобы привнести в каждую из них что-то «африканское». Подобное происходило в истории, политологии, философии и теологии, а также в литературе. Это вернуло колониальным народам некоторую уверенность в себе, но колониальные

структуры по-прежнему сохранялись. Такое положение привело к тому, что деколонизация стала задачей постколониального периода, вопросом свободы разума.

Ключевые слова: Африка, колонизация, деколонизация, свобода, раса, разум, суверенитет

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