

IMAGINING THE POST-COLONIAL NATION-STATE IN KOFI ANYIDHOHO'S WORK

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Abstract: The aim of a committed art consists in denouncing in order to improve society. This view is said to guide African literature portrayed generally as a committed one. Therefore, as a committed writer, Anyidoho's career as poet and scholar is committed to the welfare of his contemporaries and the African people in general. He has made a name as cultural activist and a committed artist involved in the total liberation of the Black / African people. Poetry provided Anyidoho indeed material to substantiate the general mourning occasioned by the darkness of "the suns of independences" as well as the process of the establishment of the Nation-State from its early days till now. In fact, the blinding euphoria of independence in which so much was expected with so little realized, brought about general protest to which Anyidoho offered himself has one of the most vigorous spokesman. This paper focus on the poet's portrayal of the imagined African communities at the eve of independences with the building of the Nation-State.

Keywords: post-colonial, Nation-State, independence, neo-colonialism, post-colonial theory.

LA CONCEPTION DE L'ETAT-NATION DANS L'AFRIQUE POSTCOLONIALE DANS L'ŒUVRE DE KOFI ANYIDHOHO

Résumé : Un art engagé vise à dénoncer en vue d'améliorer la société. S'inscrivant dans cette perspective, la littérature Africaine est définie de façon générale comme une littérature engagée. Assumant pleinement son engagement pour la cause Africaine, toute la carrière poétique et intellectuelle de Kofi Anyidoho matérialise sa quête pour le bien-être de ses contemporains et du peuple Africain dans son ensemble. Il s'est forgé une réputation en tant qu'un farouche défenseur de la culture africaine engagé à la libération totale du peuple noir / africain. En effet, la poésie est un canal qui a permis à Anyidoho d'exprimer le désarroi général occasionné par l'aspect lugubre "des soleils de l'indépendance" ainsi que le difficile processus de la formation de l'état-nation dans l'Afrique postcoloniale dans son ensemble. A travers sa poésie engagée, le poète Ghanéen s'est fait le portevoix de la masse Africaine face à la désillusion occasionnée par l'échec de l'élite Africaine après les indépendances. S'appuyant sur la théorie postcoloniale cet article met exergue la conception de l'état nation selon Kofi Anyidoho dans une Afrique dominée par l'ombre de l'ancien colonisateur.

Mots-clés : postcoloniale, état-nation, indépendance, néocolonialisme, la théorie postcoloniale

Introduction

Kofi Anyidoho (1985; 1993) is a name which appears vivid among the younger generation of modern African poetry. His poetry recaptures the chronicle of western imperialism upon the black race from past to present with the ultimate purpose to improve the lot of his people. This history of subjugation to which the Ghanaian poet

has committed his entire poetry is summed on in three terms: slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is a history of continual enslavement and exploitation perpetrated by western imperial forces upon Africans and people of African descent in the diaspora. The attainment of self-determination during the 60s and 70s in Africa has brought about great expectations on the former colonial subjects. The great euphoria dominating the era is due to the fact that independences have paved the way for the establishment of the Nation-States in various former French, English, Portuguese or even Spanish colonial territories. This means for the African masses the possibility to reap their dream for freedom, economic expansion and cultural accomplishment. However considering the policy of "divide and rule" (Ahluwalia, 1999, p.11) that dominates western hegemonic expression in Africa during and after colonization, it seems obvious that the construction of the nation-state in post-colonial Africa will be a quite difficult adventure. As a nation is according to Benedict Anderson (1991, p.6) an "imagined community", the establishment of such a community in the midst of a quite antagonistic environment raises many concerns. Some of the questions evoking this endeavor includes the following: How to form a nation-state from such various and heterogeneous peoples gathered in the same geographical space? And what values should it embody? These are the questions to which Anyidoho's poetry provides poignant answers. Through his poetic imagination, this modern Ewe poet seems to propose a redefinition of African nations appropriating African traditional ethics. The effectiveness of the poet's ambition lies on the people capacity to erase the impact of the continent's difficult colonial legacy. Commenting on the building of the ideal nation, Renan (1947, p.892) argues that, "l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de chose en commun". On this regard, a nation rests essentially upon the shared common heritage through culture and religious beliefs that define a people. However for the sake of perpetrating their imperial hegemony, the partition of African colonial territories was disrespectful of this principle of nation building. If the nation is mainly defined by shared cultural, historical and religious values, the State requires a strong political foundation. But neither the French direct rule nor the English indirect rule has spared any of the indigenous political systems. Ahluwalia (1999, p.61) argues that even "the Asante State which was perhaps the most 'developed' in Africa, was easily dismantled without regard to the traditional mode of power". Consequently, the establishment of the nation-state at the eve of independence resulted into failure. For Aké (1996, p.6), it is because "colonial rule left most Africa a legacy of intense and lawless political competition amidst an ideological void". This legacy was to impact considerably the early days of the new States. Embedded in the post-colonial theory, this paper examines the imagined Nation-State as presented and hoped by Anyidoho (1985; 1993) in his poetry.

1. Diagnosis of the post-colonial nation- state

1.1 A difficult colonial history and its legacy

After slavery, colonization represents one of the most dehumanizing imperial systems which has enslaved one more time the Black race. Aimé Césaire (1955, p.41) agrees that, colonization and proletariat constitute the major problems generated by European civilization. To achieve his goal, the colonizer adopted many strategies. They pretended to be guided by good will to help the indigenous population to overcome poverty and illiteracy, but also to extend the kingdom of God. However beyond this philanthropic pretention was hidden the need to provide the European industries with raw materials following the industrial revolution. Colonization

therefore served as a powerful tool to achieve this end. On the way, Christianity served as a powerful weapon to mentally submit the indigenous population. The African traditional religion has therefore been forsaken to the detriment of Christianity. And from now on, as Awoonor painfully remarked:

The drink offering had dried up.
The cola-nut is shriveled
The yam feast has been eaten by mice

G. Moore and U. Beier (1998, p.94)

In addition to this religious alienation, was to follow the cultural alienation. The Black man was experiencing a sort of cultural hybridity toward which he seems to not find really his way. To agree with the poet, he was “Caught / between the anvil and the hammer / In the forging house of a new life.” Awoonor sees indeed the Black man as the iron in the hand of the “white smith” confronted to two opposed cultures. At the end of this process of assimilation, the black man finds himself in a serious dilemma. The matter is that he has already lost his own culture but is unable to adopt entirely the western culture. Anyidoho’s personae shows here his discontent protesting that:

We no longer can wait for the Second
of YOUR Christ
nor for the Judgment Day appointed
By your God
Chukwu has grown impatient with the unlimited
patience of Jehovah, and can no longer
await the pleasure of Jesus

K. Anyidoho (1993, p.60).

This is a protest aiming at denouncing the negative impact of the Christian religion on the erasure of African traditional achievement, mainly religion and culture. In the establishment of colonial policies, Christianity served to alienate mentally and culturally the indigenous populations in order to enable the colonizer to establish his preponderance. Conscious of their evil doing, Anyidoho denounces the hypocrisy of the missionaries. He comments accordingly that:

They perch upon the parapets, these renegade son of our soil,
hurling profanities at the pedlars of decency
pouring vulgarity into the council of chambers of the moralist:
you cover your rotten sores with borrowed
velvet robes, coat your diseased teeth with
stolen gold, and walk our corridors with
the Bible on your tongue, selling the gospel
for your weekly collection of silver

K. Anyidoho (1993, p.35).

This satire portrays the poet’s conscious awareness on the real identity of the missionaries. In fact, hiding their real motivation being “gold” and “silver”, they dash to the propagation of the gospel. It appears therefore obvious that, as a powerful

colonial tool, Christianity contributed through alienation to successfully open the way to capitalistic exploitation in Africa. It comes as a necessity to question the meaning of independence if religiously and culturally, Africa should reflect the western world. The scene at the political and economic level presents the same disaster. Given the colonial legacy, the first African governments after independence were faced with a multitude of urgent political problems. It was mainly the functioning of western political systems, namely democracy and communism. Through his poem "Old De Boy Kodzo" (K. Anyidoho, 1993, p.60), Anyidoho's persona satirically portrays the difficult conditions faced by post-colonial leaders to adapt these systems to the African political environment. The problem is that they had a vague notion of their functioning. In the poem, the poet personae ironically recommend his friend "Old De Boy" to "go ask Professor Kessedovo Hassan" the meaning of "Kominizimu" and "Demoklashi". As a result of this difficult adaptation, the political scene has been transformed into a fierce battlefield in which the race for power constitutes politicians' only preoccupation. The impact of colonization upon post-colonial Africa is of noticeable relevance. Colonization brought about scars which still poisoning the African political arena. Anyidoho works therefore portray his attempt to recapture this difficult colonial history and its legacy. The different steps are skillfully structured as portrays below by the poet:

They came with a Bouquet of CobWebs / Sang obscene songs / Over our Sacred images / Their huge nostril still clogged / With dust and steamy breath (...) / They were sent to persuade us all / Against our very selves / So we in our delusion / Would deny our own follies / Spending season pretending to divinity / After these actions, the dehumanization followed. As / But our human flesh stuck to our bones / Like sweat on dirt of goose pimples / Till our souls stood naked and humbled / Before our noble passions that move us still / Even among our many blunders

K. Anyidoho (1993, p.82)

Likewise, Friday Okon agreed that the present plight Africans are undergoing gives partly its existence to colonization and its legacy. He commented in this line that:

Colonial politics transformed the largely independent African ethnic groups and welded them into large geopolitical units irrespective of compatibility, historical or cultural ties. The new states became largely independent by 1960. However, the "new democratic" political system of governance imposed by the departing colonial powers was handed over in a hurry to the new African political elite; so, these new leaders did not have enough time to get acquainted with its workings. In view of the foregoing, what resulted after independence in the states across the continent was a farce: political thuggery, tribal genocide, corruption, civil wars, coups, and political assassinations.

F. Okon (2013, p.94)

As we come to see, the post-colonial disenchantment is the effective consequence of the inhuman colonial policies inflicted by the colonizer to the colonized populations. To remediate to this situation, Anyidoho proposes a feed back to traditional roots. For him, in these traditional roots lies the real identity of African

people which should propel their future emergence. That is the reason why, he tells his compatriots to “not forget the back without which there is no front” (K. Anyidoho, p.58). In fact, it is by dropping to their tradition that the African can draw values to solve the present plight.

1.2 Impact of Neo-colonialism on the Nation-State

Neo-colonialism can be seen as another form of colonialism through which the former colonizer implicitly continues to exercise his political domination and economic exploitation upon the former colonized territories. It is the imperial policy substituting the oppressive colonial system. Nkrumah (1968, pp.ix-xi) comments that,

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subjected to it is in theory, independent and has all the outward trapping of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside (...) Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.

Neo-colonialism appears therefore to be “the worst form of imperialism” post-colonial Africa had to face in the Nation- State building. This time the imperial influence is perpetrated by the indigenous leaders against their own population. Like Nkrumah, Anyidoho sees neo-colonialism as the worst form of imperialism the world has ever known. So for him, it is lamentable that the colonial struggle vanish so early in such a way to resurface under neo-colonialism. Accordingly, he metaphorically comments that “the thing I chased exchanged his feet for wings” (K. Anyidoho, 1993, p.15). This “thing” obviously colonial imperialism, after being led astray from the African soil marked by independence, extraordinarily succeeded in changing its “feet” for “wings”, likely neo-colonialism. Through this imagery, we are informed about the disastrous effects of neo-colonialism through which the imperial policies are practiced this time by the African elite for the interest of their western masters. To agree with Egudu (1978), “Black imperialism” appears to be the worst form of imperialism comparatively to its “White” and “Yellow” counterparts. In Africa, since the attainment of independences, we assist helplessly to the increasing of the deterioration of the socio-political landscape. This situation impacted considerably life standards which remain the lowest in the world. The two third of the third-world countries are to be found in the continent. As the consequence of the negative impact of neo-colonialism, any attempt of development in Africa resulted in a failure with sometimes the assassination of the nationalist leaders. Some typical examples are Patrice Lumumba from Congo and Thomas Sankara from Burkina Faso. That is the reason why Nkrumah (1968, p.1) views Africa as “a paradox that illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism”. If in Africa neo-colonialism is so deep rooted and perpetrating such disastrous consequences, it is partly explainable by the form of independence African countries attained. Independence more generally should be the fruit of a hardship struggle on behalf of a given subjected people. However, in Africa, in most of the cases, independence has been negotiated and freely granted. It has been purposely done by the colonizer with the perspective of keeping tight links with the former colonies so

that to continue perpetuating its influence upon them. Egudu (1978, p. 83) rightly observed that “this situation is the result of the nature of independence African countries have attained. What Africa has achieved is theoretical independence, which left her still in the hands of the imperialists. This is a condition of neocolonialism”. Thus, as the consequence of their ignorance and cowardliness, independent African nations are suffering, since their independence, a crucial political instability caused by unlimited coups d'état, civil wars and conspiracies. The worst is that, due to the influence of neo-colonial policies, these countries still are entirely dependent to the former colonizer for the provision of any needs. Behind this financial and technological assistance is hidden the ex-colonizer's ambition for capital exploitation. It is in this effect that, the personae in Lenrie Peterse's poem “In the Beginning”, regretfully question:

But excuse me, Sir:
We're free
Why we have to beg?
L. Peterse (1967, p.80)

In addition to that, the economic and political systems inherited from colonization are still prevailing in post-colonial era. This is in reality, fragile and weak systems which cannot enable a sustainable development. The economy is in fact, mainly focused on the agriculture of exportation and the exploitation of natural resources as pre-established by the colonial system. So the former colonial imperialist became the first commercial partner as well as the first investor. This situation obviously opens the way to neo-colonialism, as it puts the former colonizer in an influential position. “History & Blindness” is a poem portraying Anyidoho's lament toward the endless mutilation of African people. He comments:

Once we snatched our heads / from jaws of the Polar Bear (...) / And now with our own hands / we offer our hearts for safe-keeping / to the panther prowling round / the outskirts of our lives / reclining under ancestral communal trees / laying ambush in that midday snooze / in which even dreams / take on density of fear. / Let us not deceive ourselves / believing the future is / but a photocopy of the past. / If the wisdom of the elders / were proof against disasters / Their hopes would not have lost / heirlooms in the noonday / spark that set the ablaze.

K. Anyidoho (1993, p.84)

The “Polar Bear” symbolizes here the White colonizer. For the poet, it is deplorable that, the Africans, after having escaped from the torture of the colonizer, “now with our own hands”, willingly, “we offer our heart for safe-keeping / to the panther prowling round the outskirts of our lives”. The “panther” is here the symbol of the African elite; or more specifically the military government in the Ghanaian case to which the poet makes allusion. In fact, a curious fact was that, at the eve of independence, the African elite paid allegiance to the former colonizer who likely became the first investor as well as the first commercial partner. By the same token, they were to agree on military agreement, materialized by the establishment of multitude of military bases in these countries. Ever since, the disastrous neo-colonial

machine is at work, preventing thus the unfolding of independence dreams. For Anyidoho, by granting their confidence to such elite, people should “not deceive” that “the future is but the photocopy of the past”. Therefore, to be able to overcome the present plight, the poet proposes a reaction against the neo-colonial system incarnated by “the panther” unless the “future” will resemble “the past”. For if the “elders” fought efficiently “their hopes would not have lost / heirlooms in the noonday”. The failure of post-independent African Nation-State building, as we come to see, may also be explained by the negative influence of neo-colonialism. In fact, the so early reappearance of the colonizer did not enable the African leaders to set economic and political systems fitting the African environment. Also, the imposition of the western system of governance, in addition to the interference of the colonizer to control both the African politics and economy constitutes some clues explaining the post-independent chaos and preventing the establishment of the Nation-State.

2. The requirements of the ideal nation-state

2.1 Restoration of Black identity

Being a canon of expression, poetry has contributed significantly to portray the historical circumstances of the endless mutilation of the Black race generation. The Black race has suffered in the course of history many prejudices. This has been first manifested through more than five hundred years of slavery policies. Then comes the traumatic colonial experience manifested by the material and psychological exploitation of the Black world which have left indelible scars affecting the present day life in Africa and elsewhere. Fanon has successfully exploited the psychological impact of colonialism in the chapter “The Fact of Blackness” of his book *Black Skin, White Mask* (1970). In fact, as the result of the negative impact of colonialism through the policy of alienation, Black posterity is considered “second class citizen” in the western milieu. This is the consequence of the complex of inferiority the colonial policy has generated on them. As illustration, he argued that:

I have known- and unfortunately, I still know- people born in Dahomey or the Congo who pretend to be natives of the Antilles; I have known, and I still know Antilles Negroes who are annoyed when they are suspected of being Senegalese. This is because the Antilles Negroes is more “civilized” than the African, that is, he is closer to the White man.

F. Fanon (1970, pp.25-6)

The psychological domination can be considered to have impacted the present neo-colonial reality in Africa, as portrayed by Fanon (In the chapter in question, he warned about the danger to replace White colonial bourgeoisie with a Black African post-colonial bourgeoisie. Besides, demonstrating the relativity between the expressiveness of poetry in Africa and historical facts, Bangbose (2013, p.34) sustains that “Modern African poetry maintains an intrinsic tie between text and context, because there is a strong link between African history and African life”. In line with this, Anyidoho projected his poetic experience to the predicament of Black people. He claims therefore his poetic imagination with the issues of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism chaining the Black man’s history. His poetry can be apprehended as being a process of rehabilitation of the Black man’s identity. By bringing slavery, colonialism

and neo-colonialism in the same platform, Anyidoho intends to situate their implication on the present delay the continent is accusing. From this stand point, the present plight can be perceived as the immediate consequence of the westerners' desire to satisfy their selfish interest of wealth. This gruesome practice is what explains his lament in the poem *DessertStorm*". He comments:

And here I am today,
Still holding on
The Queen Bee's labours
Forever lost to way ward
Dreams of MoonChildren.
K. Anyidoho 1993, p.63

This comment highlights the expression of the poet's regret to the unfruitful efforts of black people because of the West's influences. By dropping in the pre-independence era, Anyidoho successfully recaptured the traumatic realities that have characterized the history of the Black race. In so doing, he has demonstrated the consequences of practice such as slavery and colonialism in post-independent Africa. His poems can therefore be considered as bearing a revolutionary vision committed to the restoration of the identity of the Black race.

2.2 *The reconciliation of the African with his past*

Modern African literature represents an important platform conveying traditional African cultural expressiveness. In fact writing is a transitional state linking the society to fiction. The writer is therefore perceived as a carrier of social cultural heritage of a given society. For the literary work constitutes a kind of mirror reflecting the society. That is why Ngugi (1993, p.15) views culture as the essence of society, as it "gives that society its self-image as it sorts itself out in the economic and political fields". The battle for the cultural assertion of African people in modern African poetry started since the early *négritude* phase to involve contemporary modern African poetry. This *négritude*¹ phase concerned mainly the assertion of the Black identity in the cultural and philosophical sphere. However, the post-independence disenchantment in the late 1970's has brought about a new poetic orientation in Africa. This "Alter-Native Tradition"² in African poetry as it was referred to, reechoed the '*négritude*' use of indigenous African aesthetics. But, in addition to that, a focus is put to the poet's commitment to socio-political realities. In this line, Anyidoho's works can be said to offer a platform of the expression of African culture. In fact, his poems are informed by a noticeable influence of the Ewe tradition. Going through his poems, we come to a sort of reconciliation between the past (African tradition) and the present (modern realities). The new realities concern the westernization of African society. The historical context that shapes the cultural standpoint of Anyidoho's work can be apprehended at two levels- the context of his message and the form of its expression. By committing his poetic imagination to the issues of slavery, colonialism and neo-

¹ *Négritude* is a movement born in the 1930s aiming at asserting the African identity culturally. Its leading figures are Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor.

² The Alternative Tradition in modern African poetry refers to the change in vision and stylistic devices in the poetry realm advocated by the younger generation with Niyi Osundare as pioneer figure.

colonialism in the Black race history, Anyidoho intends to depict the deeds responsible of the continent's present failure. It is a depiction aiming at awaking the collective consciousness in Africa on the historical facts responsible of the continent's present backwardness in the world. The depiction in the 'halo'³ style portrays the poet's intension to bring correction. In fact, it is only by pointing out the real causes of post-independence failure that we can find solutions to improve life conditions and build the ideal Nation-State in Africa. That account for Anyidoho's assertion that he intends to "rebuild our laughter / with echoes of the past" (K. Anyidoho, p.87). The conciliation between traditional oral poetry and western aesthetics can be perceived as a symbol of cultural reconciliation. That is why Anyidoho recalls the Africans to "not forget the back without which there is no front" (K. Anyidoho, p.58). This view account for the successful mixture of African traditional oral poetry to western modern devices that portrays his works.

2.3 *The struggle for economic freedom*

Anyidoho's protest against the post-independence failure in Africa embodies his will to promote a real economic freedom in the continent, an evident token of a real State. In fact, this is a continent which after half a century of self-determination remains the poorest of the world. A deep analysis on the state of African countries economies, before and after independence led us to notice the influence of the western world to which it is closely associated. Colonialism, to agree with Aimé Césaire, is neither a philanthropic enterprise nor the desire to extend God's kingdom; but is nothing but Europe's quest for new economic opportunities. In the same line Alemazung (2010, p.63) emphasized that "the effect of colonialism begins with the economic interest that the West defended in their seizure of foreign territories for the exploitation of its natural resources". As depicted in Anyidoho's collections, the implication of the West to the economic apathy portraying the African continent today can be double located: first through colonialism, and then through neo-colonialism. As further above explained, the capitalistic exploitation of both natural and human resources is what has characterized colonial policy. Africa constituted and continues to be an exhaustible mine for the West's supply in natural resources. This economic quest is what has given birth to neo-colonialism in post-independence era. In fact, aware of the economic opportunities offering the ex-colonies, the colonizer remained influential even in post-colonial era in Africa. According to Alemazung,

Leading colonizing countries like France and Belgium did not want their oversea colonies to be left out of consideration in any European Community, because of the economic advantages that they provided the colonizers with (...) After independence, the colonial masters continued what they called development politics for the ex-colonies on their intention to secure the control of resources, the economy and politics.

Alemazung (2010, p.70)

³ *Halo* is a Ewe term referring to what is commonly known as abuse poetry in African communities. It is a style prevailing in Anyidoho and Awoonor's poetry.

It is this economic environment that Anyidoho intends to throw light on in his collections. By sarcastically denouncing the past and present interest-motivated presence of the West in Africa, Anyidoho envisages a real economic freedom for the continent. In fact, it is important to note that, more than fifty years determining this mutual economic partnership between Africa and the ex-colonizers, did not enable the continent to embrace the way of development. Anyidoho considers such a collaboration as ironical; as behind the pretention of the Western world to contribute for the continent's development is hidden their real motivation to find opportunities for the exploitation of resources. Thus, from his view, as long as the African collective consciousness will remain asleep on the negative impact of the West, the continent will remain poorer than ever. He comments accordingly in the poem "Long Distance Runner" that:

We know there is an agony in waiting for the long distance
runner
who breaks the finisher's line for the judges to declare he
jumped the starter's gun stepped upon some other
runner's toes three him off balance and off the race
And what is race, Cousin, without the rules
without the other runners?

K. Anyidoho (1993, p.43)

These verses depict the western ostrich policy; that of giving by the right hand and lifting by the left one. It is ridiculous indeed to talk about equality and development whereas Africa is being private from its resources. And for Anyidoho, as long as this economic exploitation will last, the "harvest" of independence dreams, including economic prosperity, will remain a lost issue. That is the reason why the continent needs a real economic freedom.

2.4 Promoting collective sharing

Anyidoho's protest in these collections unveils his desire to improve life conditions in Africa hitherto deteriorated by poverty. Though the poems portray his desire to free African countries economies from western influences, it most importantly aims at promoting an equal sharing of the countries resources. In fact, colonialism has had a negative impact upon the socio-economic organization of African societies. The hitherto communalistic society has been transformed willingly into capitalistic society to satisfy imperial ends. According to Egudu:

The peace and harmony resulting from the socialist nature of African traditional society has, however, been upset by colonialism which introduced into Africa a capitalistic attitude that makes one aspire to possession of personal wealth for the purpose for dominating.

Egudu (1978, p.128)

This state of things explains the growth of social ills such as corruption, mismanagement, ethnicity and nepotism in modern African society. These flails contributed in preventing any development perspectives in the continent. This chaos

is the meeting of two phenomena. The first is concerned with the ex-colonizer's manifested desire to perpetuate the capitalistic exploitation in the ex-colonies, whereas the second is concerned with the African leader's selfish and greedy thirst for wealth and power. The latter explains in its turn, the birth of corruption in African societies. It is this issue that the poet ironically depicted in the poem "Old De Boy Kodzo". The personae, indeed angrily question:

Why you no collet all dees useless kalabule peoplo
 And trow dem too for bola? O Gods why you let all
 Dees nyamanyama peoplo halahala ma people lak so?

K. Anyidoho (1985, p.33)

These rhetorical questions portray the manifestation of the personae's anger in front of the prevailing corruption among the elite. In fact, the two words, "kalabule" and "corn" can be considered to shed light on the notion of economy, and mainly, the corruption of the African leaders. By pointing out the economic factors responsible of the failure of African countries independences, Anyidoho is planning for a change which will be beneficial for the empowerment of these economies. For he admits that, "The children of the Earth / must live to taste the many joys of Earth" (K. Anyidoho, 1993, p.28). This view sheds light on his vision of the restoration of African economy so that the wealth can be profitable to all the social layers of the society. That will only be possible if the African Elite learn to privilege the common interest to the detriment of their personal and selfish interests. These collections can therefore be considered, in the light of what has been said, to embody Anyidoho's recommendation to African leaders for good leadership so that to favor the economic emergence of African nations.

Conclusion

This paper has aimed to unveil Anyidoho's portrayal of the post-colonial Nation-State. This hyphenated term "Nation-State" locks up two key terms: Nation and State. Though a slight difference can be noticed between the two notions, the hyphenated term here displays a clear connection between these terms. In fact, a State requires a strong Nation spirit whereas a strong Nation spirit among a given people is likely to lead to the creation of a State. It is therefore difficult to imagine a State without a Nation spirit and vice versa. Considering the post-colonial context, the establishment of the Nation-State has been a rather difficult activity. Thus rethinking the post-colonial African Nation-State, Anyidoho diagnosed many reasons explaining this difficult enterprise. The poet sees indeed colonial legacy and neo-colonialism as the major restraints to the post-colonial Nation-State establishment. Also, for him the regaining of the lost identity by post-colonial subjects, dropping in their past constitutes preliminaries for the establishment of the Nation-State. This is because culture, religious beliefs and tradition constitute key elements for a Nation. Likewise, the establishment of the ideal Nation-State as imagined by Anyidoho needs to be free from the morass of economic apathy resulted from imperial exploitation, corruption and mismanagement.

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