African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism: The Ethical Leadership Nexus

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Abstract

African Renaissance being a call for a re-birth of the African continent, advocates social cohesion, growth, development, promotion of values and ethics, and the establishment of Africa as a significant player in global affairs. The idea of a renaissance is an acknowledgement of a failure, in part or in whole, to realize Pan-Africanism aspirations of total liberation and unity of people of African descent. The Philosophy and movement of Pan-Africanism evoked a consciousness that questioned oppression and colonial domination. Decades after the actualization of self-determination by many

African states, a united and advanced Africa remains farfetched. The re-birth of Africa is certainly long overdue. Multiple regional and sub-regional integration initiatives are reflections of attempts to achieve African renaissance and pan-Africanism. The obstacle however lies precisely in the leadership character and steps which undermines transformation. This paper argues from a political systems position that at the core of policy conceptualization, formulation and implementation, lies the human element; political actors and bureaucrats. The character and orientation of leaders, being ethical or unethical, invariable influences or gives colouration to policy outcomes. Therefore, the question of leadership in relation to ethics, character, critical thinking and constructive will sufficiently come to the fore in conversations about African renaissance and pan-Africanism. Ethical leadership invariably constitutes the nexus between Africa's current reality and the actualization of lofty aspirations of African renaissance and pan-Africanism.

Keywords: *Africa; Ethical Leadership; Pan-Africanism; Renaissance; Regional Integration; AU.*

Introduction

Pan-Africanism advocates the unity of Africans (Asante, 2014) with the aim of achieving advancement(Adetula, 2016), mobilization (Mazrui, 2001) and total liberation (Gumede, 2014), of people of African descent. African renaissance essentially represents a clarion call and an action plan (Mbeki, 1998), to build "an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics" (Ramaposa, 2017). It also speaks to the transformation of the African Continent for the purpose of achieving a continental re-birth and the actualization of Pan-African dreams. The notion of an African renaissance was first coined by Cheikh Anta Diop (1996). The quest for a renaissance is an acknowledgement of unrealized aspirations, in part or in whole, of pan Africanism. The Pan-Africanism movement which gained momentum in the West Indies and the United States, served as a psychological tool to help exploited blacks survive the inhumanity of slavery and the ill treatment that followed (Chamley, 2008). This doctrine became idealised in Africa in the early 1900's, as it permeated all attempts at achieving liberation and continental unity (2009).

Achieving an African unity was the cardinal consideration in the establishment of the Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1963 (Kasanda, 2016). Although a regional Institution was in place, it failed to significantly bring about the lofty expectations of Pan-Africanism, hence its metamorphosis into the African Union (AU) in 2001 (Davidson, 1992). There are contestations about what tangible value is derivable from changing OAU to AU other than the change in nomenclature and the inclusion of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) whose effectiveness is largely debatable. AU may simply represent the same old wine in a new wine skin (Adetula, 2016), considering the limited success in a quest for a united, peaceful and advanced Africa, alongside a range of challenges which include violent conflicts, poverty, inequality, dependency syndrome, and a fragile position in relation to global socio-economic and political dynamics. This does not totally dismiss regional and sub-regional efforts at achieving the 'African dream'. The 1991 Abuja treaty which laid out a 34 year strategic plan to move Africa to an economic power house through six phases of integration is worthy of mentioning among others. In reshaping Africa, Fantz Fanon warns that a new African identity must not be in relation to external values but rather be in tune with African values and methods[1].

Concerns about ethics in leadership have been expressed in relation to the state of affairs in Africa where despite enormous resources African leaders – individually and as a collective - fail to provide the kind of leadership required for the much needed positive change. Ethical leadership entails being trustworthy, innovative (Mayanja, 2014), inspirational, transformational and critical in thinking (Van Zyl, 2014). Ethical leadership is a connecting bridge between Africa's harsh reality and her aspirations for advancement. Apparently, a developed, united and globally competitive Africa is yet to fully emerge, although a myriad of factors account for this. Besides a colonial history, inherited fragile states and the global capitalist mechanisms (Asante, 2014), other underlining factors which include 'ethical leadership deficit' have played a fundamental role in limiting the actualization of Africa's renaissance and pan-African ideals. Ethical leadership deficit represents a critical concern and a barrier to

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[1] See Frantz Fanon 2004: 55, for more on the role of African agency.

the actualization of the 'African dream'; It compromises internal processes, truncates transformational aspirations and exudes disappointing outcomes. The African story suggests that things need to be approached differently (Asante, 2014), in recognition of the interlinks of challenges and potentials in the continent (Asuelime, Yaro, & Suzane, 2014), if laudable outcomes are expected.

This paper seeks to provide a better understanding of, as Ali Mazrui captions it, the 'African condition'[2], while putting her history, present and future in perspective, against a back drop of pan-Africanism aspirations. It identifies the role of ethical leadership practices in bringing about an advanced Africa. From a systemic position, it argues that at the core of policy conceptualization, formulation and implementation lies the human element; political actors and bureaucrats. The character and orientation of leadership, being ethical or unethical, therefore influences or gives colouration to outcomes of policy, programs and projections. Therefore, the question of leadership in relation to ethics, character, constructive will, and vision comes to the fore in conversations about African renaissance and pan-Africanism.

This qualitative contribution is laid out in themes, enabling effective thematic discussions. It examines ethics, the paucity of it in the African political leadership clime and the concomitant ramifications. Following after, is a brief historical narrative of Africa's 'unique' experiences. Additionally, it examines pan-Africanism and African renaissance. An attempt is also made to situate ethical leadership as a catalyst within the context of African renaissance, development, effective mobilization, solidarity and indeed the actualization of unity among African states and peoples. It ends with a conclusion and suggested recommendation.

Ethics and Ethical Leadership

The term 'ethics' is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, meaning 'character' or 'custom' and the derivative phrase *ta ethika*, which great philosophers like Plato and Aristotle used to describe their studies of Greek values and ideals (Solomon, 2005 as cited in Mayanja, 2014).

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[2] See Mazrui 2010 on details about the African condition

Mayanja argues that "ethics studies what is right or wrong, justice, fairness, virtues, duties and obligations. For the leader to be ethical, it is implied that he or she is moral, accountable, fair and does not manipulate or abuse people for personal advantage. Such ethics is found in one's heart, worldview and value system (Mayanja, 2014).

Ethics seeks to answer questions of human morality by examining concepts such as good and evil, right and wrong, virtue and vice, justice and crime, therefore, ethical conducts constitute knowing and doing the right things (HGS, 2015). Van Zyl (2014) posits that the fundamental challenge of ethics lies in the determining of what is 'right', as   Individuals, cultures, and religions have different interpretations for what is considered right (Van Zyl, 2014). Ethics involves critical thinking, it covers the gray areas which the law may not explicitly cover, it is about acting and taking decision which includes obeying the law. Similarly, ethical behaviours and ethical leadership were the bedrocks of ancient Greek philosophy and most major world religions.

Daft defines leadership as "An influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes and outcomes that reflect their shared purposes" (Daft, 2011). Leaders play a critical role in creating, sustaining, and influencing acceptable ethical culture, through their behaviour and through the programs and activities they endorse and support, as well as those they ignore and condemn. Ethical leaders must undertake behaviours that support an ethical environment (Fox, 2010; Van Zyl, 2014). Ethical leadership is therefore an influence relationship between leaders and followers, where the leader portrays moral considerations, critical thinking, visionariness, right actions and the capacity to sustain of an environment for justice and equity (Daft, 2011). Van Zyl argues further that a crucial quality of an Ethical Leader is 'integrity', which stimulates a sense of trustworthiness and helps followers to embrace the vision of the leader. The character and integrity of the leader provides the basis for personal characteristics that shapes a leader's ethical belief, values, behaviour, and decisions (Van Zyl, 2014). Ellen Fox, posits that a healthy ethical environment and culture improves morale, enhances productivity and improve efficiency in individuals, organizations, institutions and societies. Conversely, when ethical concerns are not sufficiently addressed, it results in moral distress, frustration, and lack of commitment among followers (Fox, 2010).

Contemporary research on leadership, have shifted from a focus on ethical behaviour as a component of broader leadership styles, toward ethical leadership as a more distinct leadership style (Treviño, Brown, & Hartman, 2003). Ethical leadership calls for deeper scholarly attention, as its relevance and capacity for overreaching influence cannot be overemphasized. Although many leadership literatures are focused on the domain of business and management, it has become crucial to conduct more inquiries into leadership through the lenses of politics and governance, or perhaps a multidisciplinary approach to interrogating the question of leadership, and indeed ethical leadership.

Aspects of Africa's Historical Uniqueness

A retrospective look into the African story provides revelations into her peculiarity. The African narrative is dotted with themes on; Indigenous African civilization, slave trade, pan- Africanism, colonialism and apartheid, independence and decolonisation, neo-colonial imperialist subjugation, a seeming curse of an 'ineffective leadership syndrome' since independence, and indeed a call for renaissance admits a neoliberal world order.

The balkanization process of Africa was formalized in the infamous 1884-5 Berlin conference (Adebajo, 2010). The conference at least in principle laid ground rules for the colonization, and partitioning of Africa among the colonial powers, to minimize friction and outbreak of conflict between rival colonial influences (Craven, 2015). Lines of demarcation were drawn without African participants (Mazuri, 1986), without regard for indigenous ethnic cleavages or cultural peculiarities. The exploitation of Africa became legalized (Walter, 1972), diverse groups and people who were once ethnically distinct, were suddenly forced into taking common political identities, by reason of the nation-state creations (Rouke, 2003). It silenced native resistance through the subordination of their claims to sovereignty, providing in the process, an effective ideology of colonial rule. It was a conference that re-shaped the destiny of the African peoples and continues to have far-reaching effect on the politics of modern day Africa (Anghie, 2004).

Africa stands a victim of historical denial which allowed for colonialism, and supported the superiority perception of the

European style of government after independence. Davidson argues that, before the wave of colonialism in the late 1800's, Indigenous kingdoms were well on their way to evolving into models of nation-states. The Ashanti Kingdom in today's Ghana for instance, was clearly on its way to becoming a nation-state, having all the characteristics of western European nation-state (Davidson, 1992). Davidson further argues that Africa was stripped of her tradition by the rude colonial invasion. Africans were taught to be civilized by 'no longer being Africans', although the same time, they could not be Europeans either. What Africans inherited was more of `a crisis of social disintegration' and a legacy of 'confused identity' (Davidson, 1992). Further complicating the state of confusion was varied the approach to colonialism by the colonialist, for instance, the French colonial outlook was a system of assimilation meanwhile the British engaged the indirect rule system. This gave birth to divergent socio-political orientations in Africa, and differences in how relationships between the colonized and the colonizers were forged.

After independence was achieved, indigenous leadership structures were considered unsuitable to govern the new nation-states. Western educated elites emerged and gained prominence over traditional leaders. These new leaders were soon faced with an inherited system, of which they knew little of its dynamics. Then inherited colonial administrative structure which was largely meant to manage subjugation, extraction and haulage of resources was certainly not sufficient for the purpose of achieving good governance (Falola, 2007) . Many lacked the educational and technical know-how to manage the systems they had inherited, the strong currents of cold war politics and the quest to modernize against a backdrop of imperial influences did not help matters either (Asante, 2014). Self determination came along with its baggage such as military coup-d'états and internal violent conflicts.

Ethiopianism, Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism

Once enslaved African-American clerics spoke greatly of the Ethiopian ancient civilisation, Ethiopia being the biblical name for the continent of Africa, Quotes like 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God' fast became commonly quoted in the United States. Little did these preachers know that their doctrines from the pulpit would

inspire a great wave of black consciousness movement. Among such church leaders was Bishop Richard Allen of Philadelphia who looked to Ethiopia for salvation, he was born into slavery in 1760 and co-founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Chamley, 2008; Duncan, 2015), These movements gained momentum at a time when black people were developing a strong sense of self-worth (black consciousness) and self-reliance. It produced a solidarity that laid a foundation for Ethiopianism and a critical spirit. It stimulated the courage to question the status quo (racist structure) and to act differently. Ethiopianists proudly assert and celebrate classical Africa's advanced but largely unacknowledged civilisations, which they believe had influenced other classical civilisations, including the Greece. They insist that Africa will rise again, with the help of its scattered Diasporas like the Jews have done for Israel (Davidson, 1992; Duncan, 2015). In addition, Chamley argues that "Pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism, La Negritude, Black Power, Black Arts Movement and Afro-centrism are just some of the revolutionary cultural, spiritual and political, offshoots of the Ethiopianist philosophy."(Chamley, 2008).

The concept of pan-Africanism which refers to the unity of all continental Africa and the Africans in Diaspora was originally conceived by Henry Sylvester-Williams, who held the first pan-African conference in London 1900, some accounts credit this idea to Edward Wilmot Blyden, (Snider, 2012), although Gumede (2016) identifies Ras Makonnen of Ethiopia as the fore bearer of the pan-African movement. Pan-Africanism gained steam in the USA and West Indies among intellectuals of African descent, indigenous Americans and American black slaves. It served as a psychological tool to help exploited blacks survive the inhumanity of slavery and the ill treatment that followed (Chamley, 2008). This doctrine soon became the stimulant for the quest for a united Africa, it envisioned African unity as the prerequisite ingredient for economic, social and political development. Pan-Africanism birthed great minds like Marcus Garvie and WEB Du Bois. (Davidson, 1992; Duncan, 2015).

On African nationalism, African nationalism represents a quest for self-determination and also the transformation of the African identity. African nationalism entails the political activities and ideological orientations which seek to enhance the dignity, rights and position of Africans as opposed to images of white intrusion and

conquest. It began in the 1870s and nationalist political organisations began to form in the 1890s. Rather than Africans seeing themselves as Zulu, Swahili, Khoxa, etc., the African nationalism notion prescribes that Africans should view themselves as Africans first, having a broader Africanist view and not a narrow ethnic view of themselves (Duncan, 2015; Snider, 2012)

Regional Integration and Pan Africanism

African unity was a central driver in the Pan African movement. When states in Africa achieved independence, the concomitant quest for continental unity necessitated the formation of OAU in 1963. The Nkrumah group pushed for a close unity while the Nyerere group agitated for a loose unity. The final product of compromise was the OAU. It created an artificial unity based on harmonisation, coordination and cooperation. It was definitely not the united Africa which the pan- African movement envisioned (Shaw, 2009). The OAU represented a symbol of African brotherhood. It was an effective institution for Africa's decolonisation and for the restoration of her dignity. It provided a vision for the continent and a forum for regional debates. It promoted sovereign equality among African states, projected legitimacy to the international community and reflected a solid moral authority (Davidson, 1992; Venter, 1994).

The darling new regional institution was to face a real threat from the character of some leaders of component member states, who lacked both the ethical qualities and political will to execute; as trivial as the OAU emblem, the competition for its design took about 5 years to be finalised (Shaw, 2009). Shaw argues further that the OAU was merely an association of states who primarily sought to survive, and were too weak to sustain the over-ambitious goals, the trans-African highway for instance forever remained unachievable. Africa experienced economic down times, in the era of the OAU the increased external debts crisis and its failure to contribute meaningfully to the critical initiatives were significant shortfalls which translated into economic limitations ''...the OAU failed to contribute to the north-south dialogue, the general agreements on tariffs and trade organizations and the new international economic order''(Shaw, 2009). The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) initiative was

viewed with suspicion by OAU. Above all the OAU lacked the know-how and the financial resources to play projected roles in the Region.

The OAU had to grapple with issues of conflict and peace building and the strong currents of cold war politics (Asante, 2014)). The exit of the colonial powers created a lacuna which resulted in border and intra-state conflicts. The OAU having a non-interference clause in its charter was significantly overwhelmed as her conflict resolution initiatives were limited; Egypt and Libya armed conflict of 1977, Nyerere's invasion of Uganda in 1979, the annexation of Eritrea by Ethiopia in 1962 and the Rwanda genocide of 1994 attest to the weaknesses of the OAU and her limited conflict management capability (Adejemo, 2001; Davidson, 1992) The cold war politics of ideological conflict was a great concern to the newly liberated region; being torn between two strong ideological forces, African states took a nonaligned policy posture in response.

Further evidence of the failures of the OAU include audit reports which revealed misuse of funds and in some cases shortage of funds, these were fundamentally operational limitations for the OAU, as member countries struggled to sustain their contributions. At its demise, the total debt of the OAU was 36 million US Dollars, its secretariat was constantly practicing budgetary cuts, was characterised by retrogressive management system. The secretariat was arguably a mere employment agency. With the assembly being the only decision making body, which seemed to serve the interest of the heads of state and decisions were by great majority support. Many attending leaders in summits were products of coup d'états, qualities of ethical leadership was very farfetched from such stock of leaders(Adejemo, 2001; Shaw, 2009).

The AU came into existence in 26 may, 2001 in recognition of the limitations and failures of the OAU. It sought to address the weaknesses of the OAU. Such strides included; The adoption of the responsibility to protect R2P principle, which supports interventions in times of protracted conflicts, however the non-interference clause still stands in the AU's article 4h therefore representing contradictions and requiring conditions for application, The AU leans closer towards the Nkrumah's idea of the African union, platforms like the Pan African Parliament and ECOSOC have ensured citizens participation in the regional building process. The Peace Security Council is also strengthening factor, non-democratic regimes are not to be

recognised in the current AU dispensation, a two third majority as against the OAU's consensus majority is now required for interventions, initiatives as the NAPEP and APRM have also created a chance for greater partnership and cross evaluation among member states.

Today's Africa certainly stands bankrupt of the ideals and projections of the "African dream". The need to re-asses and reinvigorate the African consciousness has become more than ever relevant. The call for a Renaissance serves this purpose.

An African renaissance

Cheikh Anta Diop an African Historian and Anthropologist first wrote about the concept of an African Renaissance, which essentially represents a clarion call and an action plan to reinvent Africa and position her in her pride of place (Mbeki, 1998). An African renaissance represents the recognition of failures in part or in whole to achieve the Pan-Africanism and African nationalism dreams, thereby desiring to bridge the gaps (Makalela and Sistrunk 2002). It therefore implies that a renaissance is a very crucial call for actualizing unmet dreams and aspirations of the African peoples.

However, Thambo Mbakhi of South Africa is very popular for his eloquent articulation of the construct of an African renaissance as follows:

> The call for Africa's renewal, for an African Renaissance is a call to rebellion. We must rebel against the tyrants and the dictators, those who seek to corrupt our societies and steal the wealth that belongs to the people. ... We must rebel against the ordinary criminals who murder, rape and rob, and conduct war against poverty, ignorance and the backwardness of the children of Africa. ... The time has come that we call a halt to the seemingly socially approved deification of the acquisition of material wealth and the abuse of state power to impoverish the people and deny our Continent the possibility to achieve sustainable economic development. Africa cannot renew herself where its upper echelons are a mere parasite on the rest of society, enjoying as self-endowed mandate to use their political power and define the uses of such power such that its exercise ensures that our Continent reproduces itself as the periphery of the world economy, poor, underdeveloped and incapable of development (Mbeki, 1998).

Although Mbeki's call for a renaissance has been criticised in some quarters; to be a mere political campaign slogan, and to be reliant on neo-liberal economic principles, the intentions of a clarion call for a renaissance are undeniably brilliant and timely (Makalela and Sistrunk 2002). The concerns of an African renaissance include re-positioning Africa as a major regional political player, fostering social cohesion, entrenching the tenets of inclusive democracy, economic growth and stability and more. This work argues that central to the actualization of a renaissance in the ethical leadership factor, it is the nexus between aspirations and tangible positive outcomes.

Ethical Leadership and the African Renaissance

Ethical leadership entails moral considerations, acting right and critical thinking. It consolidates on the tenets of transformational leadership, *ubuntu*, justice and equity. Ethical leadership becomes a foundation for good governance, a sure route for Africa's re-birth. This being said, ethical leadership, when practiced, will allow for the actualization of an African renaissance, and consequently the actualization of the ideals of pan-Africanism.

To contemplate an African renaissance is to fashion a new African Image, a determination to take charge of our collective destiny (Gumede, 2016), a call for a kind of leadership that prioritizes moral considerations, critical thinking and acting right. Ethical leadership which encapsulates the aforementioned characteristics, when practiced, will be instrumental to the re-birth of Africa. An African renaissance therefore goes beyond excellent rhetoric or justification of a philosophy, it requires commitment to duty and a strong will to bring about a transformed Africa. The centrality of ethics in leadership cannot be over emphasized. It is an ingredient that guarantees an enabling environment for unity, fairness, good governance, transparency, economic growth and development.

In discussing the relationship between ethical leadership and a successful renaissance in Africa, this paper employ the political systems framework, as propounded by David Easton as a tool for analysis. Easton (1965) provided a relationship dimension to understanding how units of political systems operate. The input-output flow analysis provides a simplified outlay of political

interactions. The framework's major thrust is thus; interactions and changes in the environment generate inputs, demands and supports for political actions to be taken. The political system receives and processes these competing demands, and outputs in form of decisions or policies are made, in response to environmental demands. In addition, these outputs interact with the environment and the feedbacks which constitute new sets of inputs, demands and supports are generated. This process continues in an on-going continuous process (Easton, 1965).

With a view of constructing a sustainable pathway for the African project, this work further argues that leaders at different levels exert tremendous influence within political systems, therefore the leaders' ethical orientation rubs-off on policy blueprints, bureaucratic processes, decisions and execution. The reception of feedback on policy and programs from the society- environment- is also dependent on the character and orientation of actors who operate the policy making machineries. The quality of ethical practice in systems or institutions invariable creates a perception within the system its self and the larger society, thereby stimulating either trust and loyalty, or distrust and resentment if in deficit. Ethical leadership is therefore central to effective political systems, within the context of stability and growth. It is the very live wire of good governance, sustainable development and a requirement for Africa's transformation.

Where ethical leadership is not practiced, it will become safe to assert that such a clime suffers from 'ethical leadership bankruptcy'. The extent of ethical leadership bankruptcy varies from state to state and from sector to sector. It can be gauged by the quality of policy programs and decisions, the effectives of execution, and the sensitivity to the pulse of societal reactions. These elements put together reflect the degree of ethical leadership that is practised. The failures of OAU and now the AU, the unending wars in the DRC, the service delivery failure/protests in South Africa, the unbelievable unemployment rate in Zimbabwe, The protracted conflicts in the DRC, and the insurgency challenge in Chad basin all have underpinnings of ethical leadership bankruptcy. These dimensions of unappealing scenarios are in different ways related to the nature of leadership and their roles in the resultant deteriorating conditions.

The ethical leadership construct draws virtue from the ubuntu concept. In an interview, in 2006, Nelson Mandela, a symbol of

tolerance and humanity shared his feelings on what ubuntu meant to him. He described ubuntu as a way of life, unselfishness, sharing, helping, caring, trusting and community. It embodies the concept of fairness, unity and an open society (Mandela, 2006). The ethical leadership construct also consolidates on the tenets of transformational leadership which is critical for change management. There are four factors fundamental characteristics of transformational leadership, also known as the 'four I's' of transformational leadership; idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration (Daudu, 2014).

Ethical leaders can become more effective when they combine the transformational leadership four I's. John, H., et al. (2012) further describes these factors thus;

- *Idealized influence* describes leaders who are exemplary role models for associates. Leaders with idealized influence can be trusted and respected by associates to make good decisions for the organization.
- *Inspirational motivation* describes leaders who motivate associates to commit to the vision of the organization. leaders with inspirational motivation encourage team spirit, which helps teams to reach goals of growth and productivity
- *Intellectual Stimulation* describes leaders who encourage innovation and creativity through challenging the normal beliefs or views of a group. leaders with intellectual stimulation promote critical thinking and problem solving to make the group better.
- *Individual consideration* describes leaders who act as coaches and advisors to the associates. leaders with individual consideration encourage associates to attain set goals.

Ethical leadership also subscribes to the tenets of justice and equity. The principles of equity consists of reaching the most marginalized and deprived members of the populations, ensuring the human rights of the most deprived and fostering growth and social cohesion. Justice is interpreted as fairness in many quarters, it recommends shifting the philosophy of distribution to the greater society instead of to elitist individuals. It covers rights and liberties where individuals are entitled to the maximum amount of liberties; to vote and run for office, freedom of speech and assembly, liberty of conscience,

freedom of personal property and freedom from arbitrary arrest to the extent that it is good for the society as a whole. Ethical leaders must create the right environment which supports ethical practices, and a system that has the capacity to dispense rewards and punishments as a way of cultivating positive change (Equity for Children, 2013), resulting in an African renaissance.

A fundamental question that comes to mind at this point would relate to expectations when ethical leadership is practiced. The answer is simple; good governance, efficient implementation of visions and programs, development, narrowed inequality gaps, reduced poverty and a transformed Africa which tilts towards the dreams of an African renaissance and pan Africanism. A re-birth of Africa by practicing ethical leadership is long overdue. Africa has fallen behind in many ways due to poor governance that is occasioned by un-ethical leadership. In a comparative sense, Asia on the other hand, has surged ahead. Singapore for example which moved from self-determination in 1965 to being a first world today country is a compelling testimony. Ghana was wealthier than South Korea in 1960, but today that is not the case, South Korea has evolved into an industrialised state (Botha, 2009), governance meshed with effective ethical leadership is the fundamental variable which makes this possible.

The conversation on growth and development in Africa has gained a lot of attention in recent times even though the much desired growth has remained elusive in many ways (Gumede, 2016). Concerns about the strength and integrity of institutions have also been expressed, as well as the quality of leaders in the continent, especially when policies do not reflect the aspirations of pan-Africanism and African renaissance. The character and orientation of leaders definitely shape and colour policies and the commitment towards implementation.

Many questions come to mind in contemplations about the leadership cum re-birth narrative of Africa; why would leaders plunder the common wealth of a people in the interest of self and cronies? Why would leaders become insensitive to the poverty and suffering of their fellow country men and women? Why would leaders endorse extractive deals and programs that impoverish their nations and institutions? Why do many African countries still need visas to visit each other? Can pan-Africanism and African renaissance ever be achieved?

The levels of ethical leadership bankruptcy among some African leaders show very embarrassing and in some cases frightening dimensions, plunging the continent deeper into the levels of disrepair and drifting afar from a renaissance. The idea of ethical leadership, considering what it represents in its entirety, when practiced, will enable the advancement of the African continent and improving the prospects of transformation and unity.

Kellerman explains why leaders may become terrible, bad or unethical, arguing that leaders like other people have bad sides which may become dominant for many reasons; in a society were corruption is tolerated, leaders are likely to steal public resources, whereas in a society where corruption is not tolerated, leaders are less likely to perform badly. Similarly, the influence of followers and close allies also impact on the way leaders conduct themselves, followers in many ways may be responsible for enticing a good leader into acing unethically. Finally the trait of greed in a leader can account for his/her being unethical, where he wants more – power, money, pleasure- at all cost (Kellerman, 2004). Samarach (2004) holds the opinion that leaders fail because of their inherent incompetence, and insufficient restrains to prevent abuse of office.

What does the future hold?

Contemplations on the future of the continent call for a deeper reflections on ethics in leadership in relation to our collective aspirations. Many have queried to know for instance, whose interest the 'Africa rising' narrative is. Fears of 're-colonization' have been expressed on in the face of foreign economic penetration and dominance. The aggressive entry of china into the region is a case in point. Many have argued that the economic growth in many African countries is consequent on the stimulus from foreign loans, and hence a false growth narrative.

A new Africa which seeks to re-construct her image and narrative cannot ignore the global socio-political and economic dynamics of the new world order (Gumede, 2014; Mqolomba, 2016). Africa's needs to position itself rightly as a strategic geo-political power house cannot be achieved if institutions are allowed to weaken or when education is not redesigned to address regional peculiarities. Neither is there a

bright future for Africa if nothing is done to reconstruct our image, fully restore our dignity.

Recommendations

- Africa needs to re-engineer its self from being essentially branded only a safari destination, Educational systems need to expand the scope of ethics and leadership to various disciples so as to prepare every educated individual for the real world, as well as shape curriculums to be responsive to the needs peculiarity of the continent

- People centric policies need to be at the center stage of state systems, where outputs are carefully tailored to meet the needs of the citizens and not for elitist self-aggrandizement,

- Feedbacks form the common citizens need a renewed sense on reception and effective transmission to the decision making mechanism if accurate programs are to be advanced.

- Ethical leadership tenets must be cultivated within the governance structures and public institutions, in order for things to change. That is the variable which guarantees stability and growth.

- African political leaders need to internalize and demonstrate virtues such as transparency and discipline, and critical thinking. They need to embrace initiatives like the APRM which encourages good governance, respect for the rule of law, political stability and accountability.

- Member states in the region should be supported to comply with genuine progressive initiatives, is some progress and some lag behind, it shall create an overall drawback effect for the region at large

- Leaders must create the right environment which supports ethical practices, and a system that has the capacity to dispense rewards for good conduct and punishments for unethical conducts, as a way of cultivating positive change.

- The African Agency is required. Africans need to look inwards to interrogate policies, programs and challenges rather than rely on external assistance.

- The cultivation of ethical leadership principles must be promoted, which is akin to the emergence of a new breed of thought leaders, who are critical thinkers, innovative, confident and responsive to the needs of humanity.

Conclusion

The political philosophy and movements of pan-Africanism and African renaissance have shaped socio-political an economic relations within and outside the region of Africa. The need for unity among people of African descent has gained wide acceptance, as a way of enhancing solidarity as well as mobilizing resources that are required to improve the African image and prospects. The colonial history of the African people, the imperialist global dynamics as well as internal ethical leadership challenges play major limiting roles in the actualization of an advanced Africa that is prosperous, united and a strategic global player.

Ethics in leadership is crucial component which ensures a favourable environment for functional institutions, people based policies, and sensitivity to the yearnings and aspirations of the led. It is an ingredient that is required for an African renaissance ad the actualization of pan-Africanism; a strong sense of unity, an identity which is reflective of the best of Africa, an Africa which is beyond ethnic fragmentations, an Africa that is free from oppression, inequality and subjugation, and an Africa that competes favourable in the global space. Ethical leadership is therefore the nexus between Africa's current reality and the actualization of lofty collective aspirations, in the interest every person of African ancestry.

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