

**COVENANT UNIVERSITY
NIGERIA**

*TUTORIAL KIT
OMEGA SEMESTER*

**PROGRAMME: POLITICAL
SCIENCE**

COURSE: POS 222

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POS 222: INTRODUCTION TO AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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QUESTIONS

- 1. “Development must take the people not as they ought to be but as they are and try to find how the people can move forward by their own efforts in accordance with their own values”. – Claude Ake.
Discuss.**
- 2. Discuss the concept of African socialism**
- 3. Discuss the possibly limitations of pre-colonial political thought**
- 4. “For every single entrepreneur who succeeds or survives, there are probably more than a thousand or ten thousands that have gone completely under, never to rise again”. – Obafemi Awolowo.**
- 5. While we destroy the enemy, their agents and the things that serve their interests, we have to build for ourselves, to ensure the satisfaction of the needs of our people, to train able men and women, constantly to raise standards of living in our land”.
– Amilcar Cabral.**
- 6. Critically discuss Awos’ ideological alternative to capitalism.**
- 7. Critically evaluate Fanon’s idea of colonialism and revolution.**
- 8. Compare the contrast the concept of socialism in Awolowo and Nyerere’s socialism**
- 9. Discuss the idea of African Socialism in Nyerere’s political idea.**
- 10. Critically evaluate Nkrumah’s idea of African socialism**
- 11. Discuss the characteristics of Zik’s Neo-welfarism**
- 12. Discuss the idea of freedom and development in Mandela’s Political Thought**
- 13. Discuss the different types of nationalism**
- 14. Discuss the plausibility and implausibility of Kwasi Wiredu’s Consensus Democracy**
- 15. What is African Political thought?**

- 16. Critically interrogate the textual of post-colonial leadership in Africa as discussed by both Fanon and Cabral**
- 17. Outline the stages of Traditional African Political thought.**
- 18. Discuss the factors that inhibit the development of the African continent.**
- 19. Discuss the elements of African traditional political society**
- 20. Discuss the concept of Negritude in Senghor's political idea.**

MODEL ANSWERS IN ALTERNATE SEQUENCE (ODD NUMBERS)

- 1. Development must take the people not as they ought to be but as they are and try to find how the people can move forward by their own efforts in accordance with their own values". – Claude Ake.**

Discuss.

23 Marks

Ake on Development

It is obvious in Ake's political thought that development should be primarily grounded in the people. The people should not only be the means of development, they should also be the drivers of development. The existence of the State is only meaningful if it can mobilize and galvanize the people towards development. Development is not a project but a process. Development is the process by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realize higher levels of civilization in accordance with their own choice and values.

This simply implies that development should not be pursued as programmes and projects but a process that empowers the people to create and recreate themselves in pursuit of (higher developed society (better life). It becomes clear, in Ake's thought, that development is not to be externally induced without recourse to the choices and the values of the people for whom development is pursued. The people are the defining object of development according to the above quote from Ake. The question of creating and creating higher levels of civilization has its locus in the material conditions of the people, though spans beyond it also. In other words, Ake's understanding of development as a quest for higher levels of civilization goes beyond material wealth to accommodate other areas of human existence.

In his own words, by creating and recreating his economic and other material conditions man also creates his culture, history and civilization. Most importantly he also creates his consciousness, for even consciousness is essentially an effect of the “environment”.

The above postulation of Ake reveals his Marxian bias. Marx postulates that the economic belongs to the substructure of the human society that determines the other activities in the superstructure. The economy is the substructure while politics, law, religion, culture among others form the superstructure. In the same vein, Ake seems to believe that the economy determines the consciousness of man. Thus, if development which he conceives as having an improvement in the material condition of the people is to be pursued the people must be the driver of development.

In Ake’s assessment, the African States have not succeeded in understanding the development process. According to him, all the talk about development and partnership in development does not really reflect a consensus on what is or how it might be realized. Below the surface appearance of common concerns is a cacophony of voices talking different languages swaying policies here and there and filling them without contradictions.

Various voices of different scholars and political petit bourgeoisie who are privileged inheritors of the colonial State in Africa engaged in discourse on development without a univocal agreement on what development is and how to achieve it. Consequently, according to Ake, “the ordinary person who is the *raison d’être* of development remain silent, so that in the end, nobody really speaks for development and it never comes alive in practice” (Ake, 1985: 1212). This point in Ake’s political thought is provocatively argued that development is only worth discussing when it arises from the people who must benefit from its reality. It makes little sense, according to Ake, to engage in development planning without resort to the people as the means and the end of development. The sense of self-reliance as a viable scheme of generating development is conspicuously argued in Ake’s political thought. According to Ake, fraternizing with international foreign development agencies lacks the capacity to bring about development because the process is pursued without a slight belief in the possibility of the people being agents of true development.

Economic Growth Vis-À-Vis Development

Ake is fully aware of the failure of the trickle-down theory to spread the benefits of economic growth to the people. The overall assumption is that economic growth will definitely lead to development. However, Ake argues that “development is not economic growth even though economic growth in large measure determines possibility” (Ake, 1996a: 125). It has been established that beyond economic growth, there is the necessity of an equitable distribution of social goods to the benefit of the people in the society.

Self-Reliance as a Strategy for Development

Claude Ake is convinced that self-reliance on the part of Africa, by implication the Third World countries, is a viable strategy for spawning development. Over reliance on foreign aids and international development agencies is inimical to African development. Self-reliance in Ake’s political thought does not just denote ideological brawl with the imperialist countries but more of responsibility taking for personal endogenously induced development. Africans should be the controller of their own development.

The feasibility of development, according to Ake, is premised on the credence of self-reliance as an indispensable and inevitable tool of development. Self-reliance should pervade all levels of human existence in Africa in order to indoctrinate the people into its viable importance.

Democracy as a Prerequisite for Development

For Ake, African development will continue to be a phantasm until democracy is imbibed and incorporated into the Africa socio eco-political ambiance. He captures the African dilemma as having more of political undertone as against an argument in favour of economic crisis in Africa. For him, the economic crisis in Africa is a mere upshot of the political features of the Africa States. The political landscape of Africa States is a product of Western colonialism. The present crisis in Africa is the inherited crisis of the colonial legacy.

3. Discuss the possibly limitations of pre-colonial political thought

- a. The absence of identifiable political thinkers
- b. The absence of documented political ideas
- c. Inseparability of religious obligation from political obligation
- d. Lack of the culture of writing
- e. Reliance on oral tradition as a means of transmitting ideas
- f. uncritical disposition to ideas and political authority

5. Revolution in Cabral

To effectively decolonize and develop Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Cabral was convinced that revolution, in the form of Guerrilla Warfare, was the only method that could be used given Portugal's refusal of dialogue and peaceful termination of its domination in the Portuguese African States. This was due to the aggressive nature of Portuguese colonialists; and history testifies to the success of Cabral's leadership. Cabral stood out, as the central figure, in the Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde's revolutionary expedition.

The success of any revolution is tied around the presence of a vibrant leader who is able to appeal to the minds of the masses and organize the revolution to ensure successful transition from one social system to another. Chabal re-echoes the central place of Cabral's political leadership as the foundation of modern Guinea in his book, *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and the People's War*.

The historical revolution in Guinea-Bissau is credited to Cabral's leadership skill, military strategies and diplomatic acumen. The possibility of the success of the colonial war in Guinea-Bissau is in doubt without the presence and the indispensable input of Amilcar Lopel Cabral.

Cabral's drive for mobilizing the masses against the oppressive colonial master was informed by the condition the people were subjected to.

For him, the existence of Portugal in Africa has brought no good to its colonies. The Africans were not just subjected to hard labour, they were also brutalized and killed in the process.

Cabral also clearly identified who the enemy was. For him, the battle is not against the citizens of Portugal but rather against all the forces that oppress the people. The struggle is against imperialist capitalist countries who take advantage of other countries to enhance their own economic benefit in world economy system.

The African colonies were subjected to oppressive exploitation by the ruling class in Portugal and not the masses in Portugal. This ruling class itself was not independent because it was subject to the activities of the ruling class of other superior nations. The purpose of foreign domination was the need for raw materials for their production and then market for their finished products. According to Cabral, Portugal was a middleman between most of the colonialist capitalist States even though most of them have their own colonies in Africa. Portugal, given its economic and political backwardness, could only play a second fiddle to the capitalist States.

For Cabral, the national struggle or revolution is only a means to an end. Revolution is a means to a better living condition for those who are being oppressed by a superior power. Therefore, if

a better living condition is to be fostered for the people, then all the obstacles to such must be confronted and subdued by the revolutionary army. Cabral underscores the fact that greedy indigenes may undermine the purpose of the revolution if not subdued just as the external factors must be subdued.

Thus, Cabral argued that the elites who might want to constitute a stumbling block to the revolution and the development of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde must also be subdued by the revolutionary force. The foreign nation was not just the target of the revolutionary force but any people whether indigenes or not must be subdued.

For him also, development is the goal of the revolution in Guinea. This was well articulated in his several speeches that the struggle was not meant to just oust the repressive Portuguese colonial government but rather to develop the colonized.

Therefore, the idea of development precedes revolution in Cabral's political thought. He actually demonstrates the primacy of development as the cause of the revolution by concentrating on developing the liberated areas in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Obviously, Cabral perceived the nexus between development and revolution in his political thought.

The colonial war in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, as far as Cabral was concerned, was to see to the total elimination of foreign domination and thereby pave way for the development of the people and the society at large.

While pursuing the peoples' progress (*which he sometimes referred to as development or happiness*), he resolved to the use of violence (revolution) since the Portuguese colonialist refused to disengage from its colonies peacefully.

While the revolution was still going on, Cabral formulated series of policies, theories used in developing the liberated areas. However, Cabral did not believe that a general treatise on revolution would be applicable everywhere all over the world. For him, there are several peculiarities in different countries that make general principles on revolution questionable. However, there are certain elements of the strategies of revolution that could be copied.

Cabral acknowledged the role Che Guevara's book on guerilla warfare played in serving as the ground theory of revolutionary struggle during the colonial war in Guinea. But he goes on to argue that "nobody commits the error, in general, of blindly applying the experience of others to his own country. To determine the tactics for the struggle in our country, we had to take into account the geographical, historical, economic, and social conditions of our own country, both in

Guinea and Cabo Verde” (Cabral, 1972: 138). Thus, it becomes clear that Cabral believed that revolutionary struggle has to be carried out considering some realities surrounding the country. From this personal experience, Cabral did not pretend to provide a ground theory on revolution but only described the revolutionary activities in Guinea and Cape Verde. However, several lessons could be derived from Cabral’s communiqué and writings to the Party members.

The three phases in the revolutionary struggle

According to Cabral, “the central perspective for our struggle is the development and intensification of our fight on its three fundamental levels: political action, armed action and national reconstruction

These are the three phases of the revolutionary struggle in Guinea. It is important to note that Cabral did not argue that all forms of revolution have to go through these phases because he never saw himself as writing a treatise on revolution. However, other countries can learn from the experience of the colonized people of Guinea and Cape Verde.

Political Phase

In order to effectively carry out the revolution, Cabral holds that there is a need to mobilize the people by awakening their political consciousness to realize the political condition surrounding their existence. According to him, the people should be mobilized politically first. In other words, meetings should be held with the deliberate intention of raising the political awareness of the people. And beyond that Cabral also holds that Political work should be carried out among the army and the guerilla forces so as to aid their understanding that the colonial war was first and foremost for a complete liberation of the colonies from repressive governance of Portuguese colonialist.

Cabral emphasizes the fact that the struggle was fundamentally political so as to continually redirect the focus of the people, the army and the guerilla forces from mere combat to that of gaining political freedom. The struggle was political independence first before they could begin to reconstruct the colony to fit into the structure of a modern African State they wanted.

In order to successful carry out political awareness, an ideologically prepared ‘party core’ was created whose responsibility was to recruit political workers. The political workers were sent to the interior villages to mobilize the villagers politically first before launching into the next phase which is the armed action.

Amilcar Cabral tutored the recruited members on political matters first before they were sent out for military training and then to the field as guerilla. Antonio Bana went on to say that the process of political mobilization is much harder compared to the armed struggle itself.

Cabral stated it clearly to the people during the political training that the goal of the PAIGC is true independence of the people and their land from foreign domination. This was one of the recurring Statements in the political training. The purpose and the benefits of self-governance were well discussed to aid the commitment of the people and to ensure that the struggle did not end up being a mere terrorist activity.

Cabral commands them to ensure they enlighten some Africans who did not understand the political implications of their alliance with the army of the colonizers. This political persuasion was to enable them to see the benefits of removing power from Portuguese colonialist whose main objective was to exploit the people. The political work, according to Cabral must be carried out at all levels. He wrote to the leaders to “constantly improve and develop political work among the popular masses and the armed forces, and preserve at all costs our national unity”. Cabral laid emphasis on the political dimension of the struggle.

7. African Colonial Situation

Fanon conceives colonialism as a detrimental force against African development. The colonialist hid under the guise of religion and civilization mission, but for Fanon, colonialism was a tool of exploitation of the colonized. Not only did colonialism affect the socio-economic and political situations of the African people, it also dealt a great blow against the psyche of the colonized due to the propagation of White supremacy. **The black man and woman of the African societies suffered psychological depression due to colonialism. Beyond psychological suppression of the ego of the African people, colonialism also led to cultural devaluation with the policy of direct colonialism (policy of assimilation) in so many colonies across the continent.** The experience of the African people as noted by Basil Davidson was “only evil and evil continually”.

Fanon makes an allusion to the relationship that rises from the contact between the West and the colonized people of the African societies. What comes out of this contact is a colonial situation in which the numerically inferior alien race becomes the sociologically superior race. And according to Jinadu, this dominant or sociologically superior position is due to the alien race’s

access to, and monopoly of, socioeconomic and political sources of power. From this standpoint of monopoly, the numerically few aliens began the process of suppression of the psyche, exploitation of the economic and the natural resources, cultural devaluation of the colonized people. The alien race relied on its military prowess and financial buoyancy to further its own course at the expense of the living material condition of the colonized people.

For Fanon therefore, colonialism had no good intention for the colonized. Its primary existence is to further improve the superiority complex of the colonizer. For him, colonial rule dwelt on the superiority of the values and institutions of the Western world over the colonized. Thus, the process of assimilation and imitation of the cultures of the West began in earnest, sometimes subtly, some other times more direct. Reflecting on this process of assimilation and imitation, Fanon argues that “white civilization and European culture have forced an existential deviation on the Negro”.

In his book, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon devotes his attention to the dilemma of Blacks adopting the nature and culture of the Whites. A black man or woman rejects his or her own cultural heritage due to the psychological effect of colonialism and begins to assume, pretend and behave either overtly or covertly which they deem as more superior. Of all the scholars on the colonialism in Africa, Fanon, given his background as a Psychiatrist, expatiated on the Psychological effect of colonialism. Due to the propagation of the superiority of European values and institutions, Africans began to reject their cultural heritages, values and indigenous institutions.

Perhaps, we need to pause a little to reflect on Fanon’s engagement with colonialism and its effect on post-independent African states. First, it is worthy of note that our present system of government in Africa has no link with our culture and out traditional institutions unlike China’s adoption of Western system of government with four arms of government instead of the conventional three. The fourth arm is derived from the traditional system. Second, certain provisions are made for us to imitate the West such as toning of our black skin to look White. Peradventure, Michael Jackson comes to your mind and several men and women who shamelessly deny their colour by trying to look White. Third, the hair of an African woman portrays the picture of a White woman from, possibly, New Orleans or New Delhi.

All these boil down to one thing, colonialism and the propagation of Western (racial) supremacy have eaten deep into the psyche of the African people, leaving us with nothing except inferiority

complex. Today, we are faced with cultural imperialism propagated through Hollywood and Bollywood.

The implication of the above is that Fanon reasons that colonialism was never about civilization mission and the propagation of Christianity. It was about the imperialist countries asserting their supremacy in the international political market. Out of this battle came out two sets of race – **the dominating race and the dominated race; the oppressing race and the oppressed race**. The oppressing race has put some mechanism in place to continue dominate the other race.

He further argues that the economic was extremely important at the level of the colonies. Fanon argues again that the social psychology of colonialism is the alienation or depersonalization of the colonizers. **Colonialism did not aim at mere socio-economic and political exploitation; it also aimed at psycho-cultural exploitation.**

Colonialism focuses on exploiting the natural resources of the people and exports them for the development of the metropolitan countries. It concentrates on the region where the natural resources are found, developing the sectors to the detriment of the other sectors of the economy. For instances, colonialism in Nigeria focused on the oil sector to the detriment of the agriculture, manufacturing etc. sectors. This led to the total abandonment of the other sectors by the national bourgeoisies who took over power at independence (especially the military period).

Colonialism divides the African people. According to Fanon, what follows is the resurrection of inter-tribal hatred as the region where the resources are extracted would begin to clamour for total control of their resources being that they suffer the consequences of the exploration.

With empirical analysis, he argues that “the nationals of these regions look upon the others with hatred, and find in them envy and covetousness, and homicidal impulses. Old rivalries which were there before colonialism, old inter-racial hatred come to the surface. The Bulubas refuse to feed the Luluas; Katanga forms itself into a state and Albert Kalondji gets himself crowned king of South Kasai” (Fanon, 1967: 128).

FANON ON VIOLENCE

Fanon holds that there are three types of violence namely **physical violence, psychological violence and regenerative violence**. According to him, violence is a structural characteristic of colonialism. Colonialism employed the first two to disempower the local people in order to install their hegemony in Africa. That claim possibly reminds us of the paradox of the gun and the Bible in the hands of the colonialists. Instead of bringing peace to the people, colonialism, for Fanon interrupted the process of social change and political transformation in Africa. The first kind of violence was employed to physically mutilate the people who attempted to resist foreign domination. All across Africa, the resistance against foreign domination was met with violent responses from the colonialists.

On the scale of merely transacting business with Africans, the European merchants were even violent in their approach. Basil Davidson underscores this when he wrote that: “Thrusting African merchants along the western seaboard, men such as King JaJa of Opobo, who now soared to commercial power on the export of palm oil, began to induce the rise of a capital-owning and – investing group that might have hope, given time, of becoming a middle class of nation builders in the European sense of the term. But they were not given time...they were soon found intolerable. JaJa and his kind were all attacked, expropriated, exiled, or otherwise done away with as the European dispossession continued.

The summary that could be drawn from this is that European contact with Africa even in terms of trade employed violence as a structural tool of compelling obedience.

Therefore, one is not perturbed reading Fanon’s claim that “colonialism...is violence in its natural state”. According to him, “...the foreigner coming from another country imposed his rule by means of guns and machines”. With this, Fanon implies that violence was a necessary force or tool in installing and maintaining colonialism. The history of colonialism across the African states reinforces Fanon’s claim. What follows from this violent suppression of the colonized people is social injustice. In order to consistently re-invent and re-assert its supremacy, the colonialists engaged in dehumanizing, demoralizing and destructive activities in the colonies using anti-human policies and strategies.

The second phase of the violence is psychological violence which entailed the process of brain watching, deceiving, westernizing and Europeanizing the colonized. It is a process of cultural imperialism targeted at inflicting psychological injury on the colonized so as make them loose

touch with their personal identity, having developed low self-esteem, and begin to adopt the social-cultural lifestyle of the colonizer.

Colonialism led to the collapse of the ego of the colonized. There is a reduction of the self-esteem of the African people. Thus, what follows is the attempt to imitate and adopt European values. According to Adele Jinadu, the colonized subject, victim of psychological violence inflicted by the colonizer, apes the language and social mannerisms of the colonizer; he or she wears “white mask”. Fanon further argues that **“In the man of colour there is a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence”**. This was not just a colonial situation. In post-colonial African states, most ex-colonizers are still wearing the “white mask” resulting from the psychological violence.

The last phase of violence is another form of physical violence or what he also refers to as **regenerative violence**. If violence is a structural necessity of colonialism, the colonized must respond to colonialism with violence. **This form of violence, Fanon referred to as regenerative violence. This kind of violence leads to restructuring in the social, economic, political, cultural and the internal personality of the colonized people. It produces a new society and a new human being.**

That the colonized could violently confront the colonizer released the former from its internal enslavement and disenchantment. Thus, Fanon refers to violence as a necessary impetus in restoring the dignity and the self-respect of the colonized. According to him, violence is thus a process of purification and regeneration of the identity of the African people. He therefore endorses violence because it serves as an impetus to reconstructing the future of the colonized people. Regenerative violence implies the emergence and acquisition of a new social and political consciousness among the people as a result of the violent confrontation between the colonizer and the colonized.

According to Fanon, the violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history is his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters.

He holds that “violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and

gives the key to them”. For him, violence was necessary for a viable freedom. Freedom does not have to be given; it has to be taken. In that sense, the oppressed has to enact his humanity by claiming what rightfully belong to him by force. This is one of the ways of redeeming his image and gaining the respect of the oppressor. Freedom by force is endorsed by Fanon.

REVOLUTION AND ITS AGENTS

Fanon further opines that party leadership and organization are central to organized violence. **This begins with party leadership’s ability to mobilize the masses as force of revolution. He argues that the peasantry is the revolutionary force while the proletariat is not reliable given its fraternity with the colonizer. “It is clear that in the colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. The starving peasant, outside the class system, is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays”**. The peasants have to be mobilized and educated by the ideological leaders so as to be able to serve as the real revolutionary force they are. It is the responsibility of the leaders to provide a vanguard party that will serve as the platform for violent response to colonialism. The violent struggle (revolution) is the only means of redressing the social injustice of the colonialism.

9. Ujamaa: Nyerere African socialism

Along with a host of African leaders in the immediate post- independence era such as Tom Mboya and Leopold Senghor, Nyerere espoused the idea of African socialism, one that is founded on the concept of Ujamaa. The term Ujamaa is a Swahili coinage which does not have a precise English equivalent. Faced with such a difficult term, the translator was forced to adopt a closest rendition and settled for “familyhood”. Thus the term Ujamaa is now generally thought to mean familyhood. “It essentially conveys a strong sense of communal spirit, belonging together and mutual responsibility”, a network of beliefs which promotes “the ethos of sharing and cooperation”.

According to Nyerere, it was Ujamaa principles and practices which provide the foundation for African socialism. Unlike Marxist-Leninist’s thinking which portrays socialism as the ultimate

outcome of an inevitable class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, African socialism derives from an attitude of the mind which ensured that people cared about each other's welfare. Elaborating on the centrality of the egalitarian "attitude of mind" or disposition as a defining feature of socialism, particularly in Africa, Nyerere observes that In the individual as well as in the society, it is the attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist. It has nothing to do with the possession and non-possession of wealth. Destitute people can be potential capitalist-exploiters of fellow human beings. A millionaire can equally well be a socialist; he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the service of his fellow men. But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist. So is the man who would if he could!

In the above quotation Nyerere implicitly distances the Ujamaa-based African societies from the Marxist Leninist form of socialism and capitalism. In a similar passage he makes the distinction between African socialism and other form socio-economic arrangements very clear. Through the practice of Ujamaa, Africans are naturally socialists thus he argues that Africans cannot be converted to socialism, an attitude of mind that was entrenched in traditional African societies. But what are the basic principles that defines Ujamaa and by extension African socialism? Nyerere addresses the question in his various articles, particularly in *Ujamaa- the Basis of African Socialism* and *Socialism and Rural Development*. In what follows we will focus on these principles and practices.

The first fundamental principle that informs traditional African societies is the feeling of recognition and mutual respect. By this, Nyerere meant the extension of the familial affection and recognition to others, who are not members of one's immediate family, a disposition that engenders mutual respect and encourages hospitality. The principle of mutual respect demands

that each member of the society recognize the place and the rights of others members, even when this rights varies according to sex and age, there is basic minimum level of respect to which each individual is entitled.

The second principle underpinning social relations in traditional African societies is the communal ownership of the major means of production. The aim of this principle is to ensure that exploitation is reduced to the barest minimum, mitigate inequality and guarantee the welfare of less privileged.

Nyerere concedes that inequality was present in traditional Africa, but he was quickly to add that such inequalities were tempered by social responsibilities and therefore “could not become gross and offensive to the social equality which was the basis of communal life”.

Transposing this feature of traditional Ujamaa society to modern Tanzania, Nyerere, In *The Arusha declaration* made clear that the major means of production that must be owned and controlled by peasants. These include land, forest, minerals, water, oil, electricity, news media, fertilizer, textile, motor-car industries etc. with particular reference to land Nyerere berates the manner in which European capitalism has transformed the former into a marketable commodity.

The third essential organizing principle of African traditional society was the fact that everyone had an obligation to work. Accordingly, one of proud achievement of the traditional Africa society was that every individual save little children, the sick and the aged, was productively engaged and each contributed to the creation of societal wealth, which was the shared in a manner that guaranteed the welfare of all. The term “worker” Nyerere explains, should not be construed as implying that there were employers on the one hand and employees on the other. The existence of such categories would have suggested that there were classes in Nyerere’s idyllic society, a claim that he explicitly denies* Instead, Nyerere employed the phrase “everyone was a

worker” to make the point that there were no loiterers or idlers since everyone was involved in the collective process of producing wealth for society.

According to Nyerere, the obligation to work was an ethos imbibed by across the length and breadth of traditional African societies so that in spite of great hospitality which characterized relations in these societies, every healthy adult was involved in some work and no one was exempted. To drive home this point, he cites the Swahili saying: “*Mgeni siku mbili siku ya tatu mpe jembe*”. Literally “treat your guest as a guest two days: on the third give him a hoe”. In actual fact, Nyerere, further explains that the guest is like to demand for hoe even before his host gives him one, for the guest knew what the society expect of him, and “would have been ashamed to remain idle much longer” (1968:5).

Although critics generally accused Nyerere of painting a romanticized picture of the African past, he was keenly aware of the inadequacies of his traditional system. He concedes that quite apart from personal failures to live up to the ideals of the African socialist system, there were two other factors that prevented the traditional society from reaching its potential. The first was gender inequality. Nyerere bemoans the fact that while there was a widespread acceptance of human equality women occupy inferior position. Women, he asserts, contribute more than their share fair of work in the fields and still suffer inequalities. For Nyerere this gender discrimination is clearly inconsistent with the socialist conception of the universal equality. He concludes that for Tanzania to make progress, “it is essential that our women live in terms of full equality with fellow citizens who are men”.

The second limitation of traditional african society that Nyerere, pointed out is poverty, a condition occasioned by a low level development. He admitted that the tradition system made possible an attractive degree of economic equality but only at a low level which could be raised.

He identified two factors responsible for widespread poverty, namely ignorance and subsistence scale of the cooperation. Both of these can be corrected while retaining the principles of mutual respect, communal production and work by all (Ibid:109).

In highlighting some of the shortcoming of the traditional system Nyerere, in the words of Nadubere (2006:195) began to ‘graduate from the traditional world African family to modern neocolonialism’ he was convinced that the principles of the African traditional society discussed above provide the social basis for economic development and higher standard of living “if modern knowledge and modern techniques are used”. In a speech titled *After Arusha Declaration*, which indeed was a presidential address to the TANU national conference in 1967, Nyerere again reiterate the need to for the Tanzanian society to synthesis the traditional and the modern in the bid to achieve development.

Nyerere, like many nationalists of his day was quite aware of the negative socioeconomic, psychological and cultural impact of colonization. The principles of traditional living which centered on mutual respect, communal ownership and obligation to work has been largely eroded by the introduction of capitalism which made exploitation and domination of the vulnerable possible as well as encourage cut throat completion and the private possession of the basic means of production, especially land. With the arrival of colonialists came capitalism and all its ills which negated the emphasis of traditional societies on welfare and distributive justice. Given his conviction on the moral superiority of the African value system, Nyerere advocates a return to the African way of life. To actualize this objective in a modern African society like Tanzania, he identifies a number of practical steps that must be taken.

First, Nyerere emphasise the importance of political education in building a modern socialist state that is founded on traditional African values. He notes that with the imposition of capitalist

in Tanzania, the socialist attitude of the mind has been relegated to the background just as capitalist attitudes has taken over. Thus, the first step that must to re-educate the masses in order to regain their former socialist attitude of mind. For Nyerere an educational system designed to inculcate the principles of Ujamaa socialism becomes particularly crucial because the colonial intruders did not only erode traditional ethos by imposing capitalism but they also deliberately introduced a educational curriculum whose aim was to inculcate the values of the colonial society

If the aim of colonial education was calculated to foster the values of a colonial society, divided as it were into the classes of the exploiter and the exploited, Ujamaa education must be fashioned to encourage the inculcation of the values of traditional African living.

The second practical step towards reclaiming the African way of life is the implementation of the policy cooperative living. In line with the socialist practice that encourages people to cooperatively produce goods required by society and collectively own such goods, Nyerere introduced the idea of Ujamaa agriculture or what Okolo(1993) describes as the “ villagisation programme” . Ujamaa agriculture, Nyerere explain, would be a cooperative system of production whereby “most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. These cooperative units would be organized into village communities where Tanzanians would live together, farm together, market together; and undertake the provision of local services and small local requirements of their respective communities. The return from the produce of the farm and from all other cooperative ventures would then be “shared according to the work done and to the needs of members...”(Ibid:126).

To actualize the system of cooperative production Nyerere’s government encouraged from their traditional homes to the government-created Ujamaa villages. Each of these villages had a

manager who was chosen from among the community to coordinate the allocation and implementation of tasks. Apart from the manager there would be a “governing committee” to take executives decision that relates to the running of their respective communes.

With a successful programme of reeducation and the institution of the cooperative, communal schemes of production, Nyerere hopes to build a modern, socialist and prosperous Tanzania. His strategy was to encourage rural development through the mordenisation of agriculture. This way, the rural areas could be transformed into self-reliant communities, providing most of their needs with little or no external intervention. By returning to the system of cooperative production of the African past and egalitarian distribution of the proceeds of the joint venture, Nyerere wanted to create a society where capitalist exploitation would be completely eliminated and where acquisitive individualism would be a rare phenomenon. In short, Nyerere blueprint was a modernized welfarist society, a dream he pursued with an unrelenting vigour throughout his years as the president of Tanzania.

Critical Comments on Nyerere’s Ujaama

Like all philosophers who had dared to put their thought in print, Nyerere Ujaama has been the subject of several severe criticisms. We will here examine three significant ones. First, Nyerere has been accused of romanticising the traditional African society. Critics contend that his depiction of the traditional African communities as classless and egalitarian is inaccurate. Okeregbe(2012: 61) for instance, contends that Nyerere description of the African traditional as “perfect and paradisial” is nothing but an exaggeration. For him, traditional Africa was largely semi-feudal in socio-economic organization.

Indeed, it may be true that traditional Africa was not a classless society but it was clear that the disparity between the rich and the poor was not as wide as it is the case in contemporary

capitalist societies. More importantly, the charge that Nyerere romanticises the African past is not quite correct. As highlighted above, Nyerere recognised the limitations of the traditional African society, ie, the presence of gender inequality and the prevalence of poverty. Thus, it appears that while Nyerere projects the positive aspect of traditional African society, he was not oblivious of its shortcomings.

A second criticism of Ujamaa focuses the metaphysical assumption about the nature of man that underpins Nyerere's political philosophy. According to this critique Nyerere holds an overly optimistic conception of the nature of man in thinking that Tanzanians, particularly the privileged elite will give up their special advantages and agree to willingly come under a system of communal ownership of the means of production and property. On this reading, Hobbes was right when argues that man by nature is acquisitive, selfish and egotistic. Hence the tendency towards selfishness and acquisitiveness is found in Africa just as in other parts of the world.

The third criticism of Ujamaa is particularly directed at practice rather the theoretical infrastructure of Ujamaa. According to this criticism Ujamaa failed to realize it objective of creating a society in which development is "people-driven". Instead, under Ujamaa "development" came to mean the delivery of social services by the state. Consequently, the major agent of change was the state and not the people as envisaged by Nyerere's philosophy. This is why Ujamaa has been described by some commentators as state socialism.

11. Characteristics of Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism: These include private ownership of property by citizens, the existence of private enterprise but with reinforcement by state participation. In order to stimulate individual initiative, profit making will be encouraged. Despite the above, exploitation of man by man will be withstood and discouraged. He says that state will be at the forefront of fighting hunger, infirmities, ignorance and lack among the citizens. This can be

interpreted to mean that it is the responsibility of the state to provide free education, free health care as well as fair distribution of basic and essential commodities.

Like the Welfarist State, Neo-Welfarism offers free social services that include hospital treatment, supply of drugs, x-ray examination, physiotherapy treatment as it concerns health care. But Zik says the supply of dentures, optics and other surgical appliances would be paid for by the recipients. In order to ease treatment, he says physicians and paramedics shall be available for consultation. The Neo-Welfarist State also promises adequate shelter for its citizens.

As regards education Neo-Welfarism promise free education, though it shall not be the sole responsibility of the government. Here, the private sector is allowed to participate by way of their being allowed to having schools also. Furthermore, voluntary agencies and charitable organizations as well as interested individuals also qualify to own schools. Types of education allowed in the Neo-Welfarist State include Religious education as it aids in inculcating moral values, vocational education would assist citizens in the acquisition of skill(s). This is in order to help man to earn a living. Another type is continued education which implies that education is life long, hence one can learn, unlearn and relearn. In order to control the educational sector however, the Government would set guidelines and regulations that would guide the establishment of all categories of schools.

Neo-Welfarism promises to cater for the employment of citizens, rehabilitation of the physically challenged, care for the impoverished and destitute in the society. This type of society Omoregbe describes as the evolution of “an abundant society, organized on the basis of the economy of abundance”. This one can term as the opposite of the affluent society that is organized on an economy of scarcity.

The Neo-welfarist Government according to Zik shall comprise of four (4) arms:

1. The Electorate,
2. The Legislative,
3. The Executive,
4. The Judiciary.

The Electorate is mandated to determine the constituent of the legislative, while the legislative is to enact laws as well as monitor the activities of the Executive. The latter has the mandate to execute all laws enacted to the benefit of the citizens (all and sundry). As for the judiciary, its duty is to review the activities of the legislative and executive arms from time to time. The

Judiciary is also to ensure that citizens comply with the fundamental laws of the land which is the constitution. To check the judiciary however, the Legislative and Executive arms are empowered to either approve or reject the appointment or dismissal of the members of the former.

Pertaining to foreign policy, the Neo-welfarist state is to pay attention to the following- Nigeria must not take sides with any country in decision taking. This Zik calls pragmatic neutrality; she must always maintain a neutral stand where there are contrary views or positions. Furthermore, Nigeria should maintain neighborliness. By this, he means that Nigeria must extend an arm of fellowship to her neighbors as long as the latter are friendly. This he refers to as positive reciprocity. As a Neo-welfarist state, Nigeria must search for world peace as well as zonal or continental cooperation. She should seek international interaction based on fair play, legal equality of everyone that is involved and work towards the attainment and achievement of mutual respect.

In the Neo-welfarist state, her armed and security forces shall include an Army, a Navy, an Air force, Prisons services, Service corps, a Militia, an Intelligence Agency, a Fire service and a Legion. To qualify as a member of any of these bodies, the person must be highly educated, well-equipped and well-disciplined, Zik says. In Zik's Neo-welfarist state, the Government shall be subject to correction where laws are found to be at variance with the welfare of the citizens. This is because he insists that laws must be made to evolve positive consequences on the citizens and where they do not, these should be discarded. In this way, he says even the Government cannot be above the law. Laws in the Neo-welfarist state include: The right to life, the right to human dignity, the right to personal freedom, the right to privacy, the right to education, the right to own private property, the right to fair trial, freedom of expression, freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and freedom of the press.

He further says in the instance whereby a citizen's private property is required by the Government for the purpose of a defined public purpose, adequate compensation must be paid to the affected citizen. For Zik, natural law should be the ruling factor in deciding a case, while every citizen should be given fair hearing before he is condemned, reprimanded or punish. In a situation where a citizen cannot afford to engage the services of legal personnel, the state should make one available. This is to ascertain that the citizen is professionally represented. Zik is concerned that the "due process of law is followed.

In order to avoid undue influence Zik's Neo-welfarist state disallows anyone that is involved in a given case to be a part of the judiciary that would look into it. This he says is to maintain transparency and honesty in the judging of such a case. He further says all cases should be attended to in the public, implying that clandestine sitting over cases is not to be tolerated. In order to avoid delayed justice, the Neo-welfarist state insists that all cases must be charged to court within a month of its occurrence or it shall be null and void. The instance of backdating of laws is forbidden in the Neo-welfarist state and except in the times of emergencies detention of a person without his consent is also condemned. When such a detention is made, it must be proved that the detainee is a risk to the state as well as to other citizens. (i.e. he is a security risk).

The political thought of Azikiwe sees traditional Nigerian Government as democratic in view of their customary laws and sanctions that are arrived at by a consensus and agreement of the majority of the citizens- if not all. He also sees the view of the minority being considered which he says is preferable to the one-party system of socialism which is dictatorship personified. He however proffers further that the ancestral Nigerian system of Government is socialistic as it recognizes the minority members of the society and goes ahead to protect their interest. The traditional Nigerian system he says prescribes to common ownership of the land, although private enterprise is also encouraged. This Zik refers to as "The genesis of a socialist society in structure but capitalist in content".

13. Types of Nationalism

Liberal Nationalism

Liberal nationalism is the classic form of European nationalism. Originating from the French Revolution of 1789, it embodies the values of democracy and self-government. Like all forms of nationalism, liberal nationalism is premised on the basic assumption that humanity is naturally divided into different nations, each with a distinct identity. Thus, nations are genuine communities and not artificial creation of political elites. The distinctive character of liberal

nationalism, however, is that it links the idea of nations to the notion of popular sovereignty derived from Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This fusion was particularly strategic in the 19th century Europe because it forms the ideological basis on which the nationalist fought against the oppression of the multi-national empires of that era. Central then, to this form of nationalism, is the principle of self-determination. Liberal nationalism does not privilege the interest of one nation over another. Instead, it proclaims that all nations have a right to freedom and self determination, based on the assumption that all nations are equal.

Conservative Nationalism

Modern nationalism as we have indicated began in the form of liberal variant, but towards the mid-19th century, conservative politicians who initially saw nationalism as a subversive creed, began to discern the link between conservatism and nationalism. Conservatives, for instance, saw in nationalism the potential for being a bulwark against the danger of socialist revolution.

Concerned less with the principle of universal self-determination and more with the promise of social cohesion and public order, conservative nationalism fanned the sentiment of national patriotism as a way of defending values and institutions which have been endorsed by history. As it is to be expected, conservative nationalism tends to develop within states with a strong sense of nationhood rather than ones that are in the process of nation-building.

Expansionist Nationalism

Expansionist nationalism is so called because of its militaristic, aggressive and illiberal character. Usually motivated by intense nationalist fervour and belief in the superiority of one ethnic group over another, it has on several occasions led to the violation of the principle of self determination. The "scramble for Africa" in the late 19th century which led to colonial conquest of most part of the continent by European powers could be seen as an outgrowth of expansionist

nationalism. And to a large extent, the two world wars of the 20th century were provoked by the expansionist ambitions of power drunk nationalist leaders.

Anti-colonial Nationalism

Africa and various parts of the third world have spawned various forms of nationalism but the common thread that runs through these "nationalisms" is that they have been motivated by a struggle against colonial rule. Arguably African nationalism, at least in present shape, could not be traced to pre-colonial terms. At that time what existed were empires and chiefdoms which typically structured in such a way that a dominant group subjugates a number of vassals from which the former extracts negotiated or forced obeisance. Modern African nationalism must, therefore, be traced to imperialism which forced disparate ethnic groups together under a common administrative umbrella known as states. It was this common experience of colonial domination and oppression that helped to forge a sense of nationhood and the desire for national liberation amongst the African peoples. Hence Heywood (1998:175) declares that while nationalism may have been born in Europe, it was imperialism that transformed it into a worldwide phenomenon. Robert Rotberg(1966:37) points to the colonial origin of African nationalism when he says:

Without the partition and subsequent colonial rule of tropical Africa by the powers of Europe, there might have been no African nationalism. Were it not so often denied, there would be little point in stating the obvious-that the colonial powers alone created the bases of the present nations of independent Africa by arbitrarily dividing the continent into administrative entities and imposing thereupon imported legal, linguistic, and cultural concepts.

Unlike European nationalism which grew out several years of the coexistence between ethnic and cultural groups, African nationalism sprang spontaneously from a strong anticolonial

impulse which momentarily united the continent's multinational states against foreign domination. Hence, like classical European nationalism, a strong component of anti-colonial nationalism is a commitment to national self-determination. In their quest for the realization of independence, African nationalist movements ironically confronted European powers with doctrines and principles which were originally developed in Europe. Thus, as the colonies engaged in struggles to emancipate themselves from colonial domination, from Asia to Africa there was a wave of independence which changed the world's political geography as European colonial empires crumbled one after another.

Anti-colonial nationalism no doubt shares certain features with classical nationalism. But it is distinctive in the sense that for third-world nations, the quest for political independence was inextricably linked to a desire for economic development. As a result many anti-colonial movements combined their nationalism with the socialist doctrines. This attraction to socialist ideas on the part of African nationalism is explained by the fact that socialist's emphasis on the values of community and cooperation resonates with Africans who also subscribe to such values. More importantly, African nationalist found in Marxism an explanation of the form of economic exploitation which imperialism represented and saw in it the theoretical platform on the basis of which colonial rule could be challenged. Lenin for instance, had argued in his book, *Imperialism, the highest stage of Capitalism* that imperialism is essentially the manifestation of the profit drive which resulted in the quest for "investment opportunity cheap labour, raw materials and secure markets" on the part of capitalist countries (Heywood, 1998:177). This Marxist understanding of the economic nature of imperialism provided a strong impetus for nationalist movements to define their struggle not just as quest for independence statehood but also as revolution aimed at eliminating exploitation and oppression.

Interestingly a network of factors promoted the rise of African nationalism. These include, to highlight a few, unfair colonial economic policies, the rise of educated Africans trained in European universities, the proclamation of the self-determination principle by President Woodrow Wilson, and the involvement of Africans in the Second World War which shattered the myth of “white invincibility”.

15. Why do we study African Political thought?

African Political Thought can be described as a system of thought that depicts the political ideologies of Africans especially the early nationalists, scholars and contemporary intelligentsia.

The following defines the reasons the study of African Political Thought is important:

1. It helps us to understand the political thought of the early nationalists
2. It helps us to evaluate the historical foundation of African societies.
3. It helps to analyze the ideological beliefs of the founding fathers of the African states.

17. Outline the stages of Traditional African Political thought.

- i. Traditional Stage: The African traditional political society was dominated by the forces of religion, taboos and uninvestigated belief system.
- ii. Colonial Stage: Colonialism was a point where the western world invaded the African territories for so-called mission of civilizing the Africans that were said to be barbaric and primitive. At the stage African traditional beliefs system were jettisoned and replaced with the colonial political ideologies.
- iii. Modernity: This is the post-colonial period which is the period of scientific and technological advancement. It is also the period of globalization, cross-cultural and socio-political economic relationship.

19. Discuss the elements of African traditional political society

- i. Origin and nature of the state
- ii. Divinity and power
- iii. The limit of man
- iv. Political Obligations

v. Rule of Law.