**A STUDY OF ISSUES AFRICAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT.**

The debate of socialism in Africa

The question of violence in contemporary social thought in Africa.

The relationship between this and revolution as factors in social change.

The challenge of democracy in Africa.

The relationship between science, technology and development

The works of some significant African social thinkers like:

Julius Nyerere

Kwame Nkrumah

Amicar Cabral

Frantz Fanon.

**OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AFRICAN THOUGHT VOL2.**

**POLITICS TODAY IN AFRICA:**

* Africa is a culturally and religious diverse, politically complex region of 54 countries. during the late 1980s and early 1990s, many African countries went through a process of democratization despite an array of apparently unpropitious structurally characteristics.
* However, despite the undoubted diversity one would expect from such a large number of countries, most African state shared characteristics that made the like hood of democratization, much less democratic consolidation, seen remote (Nigeria is a case in point now)
* The impetus for democratic reforms was a combination of domestic and international factors -linked to the regions endemic economic and political problem. At this time, best by economic problem and growing societal strife, Africa seemed to be in a political and developmental crisis. As Leonardo Villallon put it, African countries seemed somehow to have gone wrong since independence (p.3). fundamental social and political reforms of state structures and institutions were widely deemed necessary to correct things.
* Earlier, most African countries had decolonized in the 1960’s after decades of colonial rule. Although styles of European differed from country to country, they were invariably rooted in authoritarian system of government.
* Unlike in India, for example, there were few serious attempts in Africa to develop political system prior to independence that would be conducive to postcolonial democratization. This was because, unlike India, Africa was not thought by colonial rulers to be politically ready for self-rule.
* But after World War II, the weakness of most of the region’s colonial power (including Britain, France and Belgium) led them to exit their African possessions much more quickly than they had originally planned.
* Beginning in the mid-1950’s, Sudan (1956) and Ghana (1957) were the first African countries to decolonize, after seeking inaugurate political system via multi-party elections. But in nearly all cases these systems, with few indigenous roots, lasted only a few years before various kinds of authoritarian governments, typically personal, military or one-party dictatorship took over. Under their rule, citizens were routinely denied many political rights. And civil liberties.
* The result was that by the 1970’s few African governments had robust democratic credentials. Because of the absence of democratically accountable institutions, there was a lack of democratically appropriate institutional heritage of political competitors to build an after transitions.
* In short few African countries managed tom developed pro-democracy political citizens at the time of democratic transitions in the 1990’s
* Many resent analyses of African politics have pointed to fundamental divisions between state and society in many countries of the region, although many African states do not manage to attain a comprehensive penetration of society.
* The state inability to penetrate society fully is said to demonstrate weakness or softness. Many, if not most African citizens, observers generally concur, are disaffected and disillusioned by the falsity of developmental promises and by the arbitrariness of modes of rule
* They take their revenge in **Jean-Francis Bayart’s** terminology, on the state in a number of ways. In many cases, distrust of the state extends to suspicion regarding the desirability or usefulness of formal. i.e. state directed political institutions per se.
* As a result, independent political parties, when they exist, are frequently shunned or ignored, tax collection is evaded, and state-run development programs are ridiculed.
* This is not to claim that many ordinary Africans do not seek to use the state and its resources when opportunities present itself. It is merely to note that the African state, for the most part, functions without the support and trust of a significant proportion of its citizens.
* Many African instead appear to put their trust in different forms of authority, not least in an array of religious and ethnic agencies.
* **Robert Mc Namara**, a onetime president of the world bank, observed in the 1990’s that a consequence of years of political authoritarianism in Africa was that the region’s countries face problems of governance far more severe that those of other regions (Harsch p. 24).
* This is despite apparently significant changes at this time to many countries’ formal architecture and institutions of political regions- especially new, democratically oriented constitutions. Instead, it is the political continuities inherent in African political, straddling both authoritarian and democratic eras, that are notable. These include:

1. Presidentialism: involving the systematic concentration of political power in the hands of one individual leader.
2. Widespread clientelism: that is, a system of personal favors and patronage in return for loyalty and support between patrons and clients, and
3. Use of state resources for political legitimization.

* Intimately connected to each of these three aspects of African political life is the concept of personalistic rule. A regime is characterized by personalistic rule when the national leader possesses a monopoly over patronage and uses this power to strengthen and perpetuate his or her rule.
* When the national leader possesses a monopoly over patronage and uses this power to strengthen and perpetuate his or her rule.
* During the authoritarian era in Africa, the task was facilitated but the fact that few of the region countries had political rules or institutions that were strong enough to check their power. This might seem paradoxical, especially when we note that, during the first three decades of African independence there was a strong focus on what was known as state led development, with three generic types of extant political regime Afro-Marxist (E.g. Benin, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique), African Socialist (e.g. mutt), Tanzania, Guinea and Capitalist (e.g. Kenya, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire)
* Although, these regimes differed in their proclaimed ideological orientations, they highlighted the importance of a strong state that was deemed necessary by natural leaders to spearhead the postcolonial drive for natural unity and economic development.
* African leaders invariably argued that strong rules under their aegis was necessary to prevent their countries from violently disintegrating under the combined Weight of ethnic, religious and or regional pressures. To forestall such an outcome, leader alleged if it was generally necessary to tightly control the political environment and in particular the development of political society.
* Consequently, open political competition and multi partyism were anathema because national leaders claimed that, if allowed, such political arrangements would serve unacceptably to emphasises ethnic and or religious cleavage and thus, were hazardous to the political, social and developmental health of postcolonial African countries.
* It is often the case that when multi-Partyism is allowed in Africa, political parties will carry their electoral appeals in ethnic or religious terms, if constitutionally allowed to do so.
* The consequences are that majority rule is often fraught with political hazard because it can lead to domination by powerful ethnic or religious groups to the detriment of others. Recent examples include electoral outcome in Malawi, Cote d’Ivoire, Congo Brazzille and Kenya where according to Letitia Lawson, voting patterns since 1990 have followed ethno-regional boundaries to a remarkable degree (PP.13-14)
* This reflects the fact that, historically, political violence in Africa has often been organised around tribal, ethnic, national or religious themes.
* Therefore, in most cases, it is exceedingly difficult for government to develop a strong sense of national identity among their diverse people. Often extant religious and ethnic divisions help fuel rulers’ paternalistic tendencies because the rulers must satisfy ethnic or religious supporters when in power to ensure their own position.
* The summary, both open political participation and the institutionalization of democracy have been extremely difficult due to the widespread existence of significant ethnic and or religious divisions in most African countries.
* Concern about religious and ethnic fragmentation were central component of the strong state argument articulated by African rulers such as Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) and Samora Macheal (Mozambique). When such rulers seemed capable of improving their countries political and economic situation without conventionally democratizing their argument tended to be accepted.
* However, authoritarian attempt at developmental authoritarianism eventually failed across the demands for political changes in the late 1990s.
* In summary, politicized ethnicity and politicized religion were constructed in country after country in Africa. Yet this outcome was rarely the result of primordial bonds among co-ethnic ancient -hatreds.

**AFRICAN SOCIALISM**

* This refers to a variety of approaches to social, political, economic, and cultural development in the newly independent African countries of the 1950s and 1960s.
* **Leopold Sedar Senghor** was probably the person who coined the term in the late 1940s as a political application of the philosophy of Negritude that he and Aline Cesaire had been elaborating on since the 1930s. It reflected Senghor’s wish to adapt the ideals of non-communist French Socialism to the realities of late-colonial Africa.
* A major influence came from the more rigorously scientific socialism of certain Anglophone Pan-Africanists, notably WEB, Dubois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah. The latter, who led Ghana to independence in 1957, would be the first exponent of African Socialism to exercise sovereign political power.
* Although Nkrumah and other African leaders might sometimes have praised Soviet Communism, they were more influenced, before and after taking power, by the philosophy of the radical wing of the British Labor Party as it had emerged following World War II.
* For most of the African countries achieving independence by constitutional means in the 1950s and 1960s, African socialism embodied ideologies of nationalism and independence and policies of governance and economic development.
* For principle, but not usually in practice, African socialism condemned the colonial economy, dominated as if had been by the trading and natural resource extraction companies of the former metropoles, in Favor of state direction, if not ownership of the means of production so as to accelerate diversity and democratize economic development
* If called for economic planning and national integration directed by a single party headed by a charismatic leader, revalorization of the national culture (usually within the parameters of the language and much of the culture of the former metropole) and societal organization based on pre-colonial traditional norms.
* Although early African socialism exhibited a strong commitment to Pan-Africanism since its partisans had achieved the independence of the former colonies that they had ruled, they neglected Pan-Africanism in favour of retaining and strengthening their power in their respective nation-states
* Blaming the lack of economic development of their countries on the capitalist orientation of the former colonial powers, many leaders concluded that the model of rapid indigenous economic development exemplified by the Soviet Union and China was something to be admired and imitated
* Yet while praising the achievements of the developing socialist countries and recognizing the relevance of the Marxist/Leninist critique of European capitalism. Most of these leaders claimed that the key aspects of this critique were class differentiation and class struggle characteristic of Europe that had never been present in precolonial African societies.
* For them, the principal struggle had been winning independence. The next struggle would be directed at constructing new socio-economic institutions based on a rediscovered traditional communitarianism (more mystical, it turned out than real)
* Institutions evolving from the matrix were to be free of any exploitation of man by man or domination by any particular entrepreneurial or propertied class. If followed that no foreign economic or political hegemony would be tolerated and that African countries should be non-aligned in the Cold War.
* Given the ideologically induced perception that African societies at independence united 19th century. European societies were economically undifferentiated, they would not need a vanguard party or a dictatorship of the proletariat
* Rather, a single mass party, to which every citizen might (or must) belong, headed by a charismatic leader who would rule by consensus would become the organizing institution for the whole society
* The reality of power, however, gave rise in most cases to a directing group within each mass single party that assumed the role of a vanguard party.
* Different national applications of African socialism emphasized different priorities of socioeconomic development
* **Nkrumah** and his Convention People’s Party (CPP) emphasized industrialization in Ghana based on large-scale development projects, particularly the Akosombo dam and electricity generation project, not only Was it expected to spawn a major aluminium mining and refining complex but, through its surplus-generating capacity, would provide cheap energy for a variety of industrial development projects throughout Ghana
* Unfortunately, the original British and American donors and investors failed to fund that part of the project, which might have led to an industrial take-off in Ghana. The few parastatal projects that did get underway failed due to a lack of efficiency or markets for their products.
* Of the different sort was the Ujama (communitarian) rural socialism of Julius Nyerere’s Tanganyika/ Tanzania. Key to Ujama (Swahili –family hood) was the resettlement of the mostly rural Tanzanian population into economically viable socialist villages that would be both self-supporting and able to produce an agricultural surplus for the nation.
* Given the poverty of Tanzania and its overwhelming dependence on agriculture, President Nyerere was convinced that only Ujama could lift Tanzania out of poverty while preventing domination by wealthy managerial elites.
* The Ujama project, however, was resisted by much of the population and from an economic point of view was a failure.
* Several of the first African leaders to achieve independence for their countries attempted to impose socialist regimes of a more rigorous scientific type. These included Sekou Toure of Guinea in 1958 and Modibo Keita of Mali in 1960.
* A late set of leaders, particularly those of the former Portuguese territories that achieved independence in the 1970s following protracted independence wars and much assistance from the developed socialist countries and Cuba, attempted to do the same as did also the Marxist Dreg regime that seized Ethiopia in 1974.
* Aside from the inefficiencies of most of the attempts and socialist and mixed enterprises in the newly independent African countries, almost none of them was able to escape from the inherited economic structure of the colonial past, particularly dependence on extractive industries and commodity exports. They suffered from falling world commodity prices (except for oil) in the 1970s and 1980s
* In most cases, the bureaucratic and or military elites of African countries eventually gained control of their respective governments, usually with the assistance of multinational capitalism.
* Those elites who enriched themselves while bankrupting their country were forced to undergo the humiliation and pain of structural adjustment policies (SAP) imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and Western leaders as a condition for receiving debt relief and further economic assistance.
* It became more after the 1990s, when the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as well as the growing capitalist orientation of Chinese communism, any possibility of assistance from the other bloc evaporated.
* The result had been the domination of African political economies and societies by a capitalist centre or core, the persuasive intrusiveness of which African Socialism did not anticipate and could not thwart.

**VIOLENCE AND COUNTER VIOLENCE IN AFRICAN COLONIZED (21/3/20223). TSENAY SEREQUEBERHAN’S “THE HERMENEUTICS OF AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY----pp55f**

* Given the violence of African encounters with Europe through which the Dark Continent was introduced into the modern world, the question of violence should have central importance for the discourse of contemporary African thought.
* And yet, to date, African philosophers have not properly dealt with or even engaged the question. To my knowledge, the only texts in Anglophone Africa that directly addressed this issue are (1) a short paper by Kwasi Wiredu titled “The Question of Violence in Contemporary African Political Thought (1986) and (2) a slender booklet by Henry Odera Oruka titled Punishment and Terrorism in Africa (1976).
* These two works/texts are rather formalistic tracts that do not engage, let alone properly explore the question of violence in the context of the historicity from which it arises.

**JULIUS NYERERE**

**24th APRIL, 2023**

* Julius kambarage mwalimu (teacher) Nyerere (1922-1999)
* **Julius Nyerere (1922-1999)** was born on the village of butiama, in northwestern tanzaniaonapil13, 1922, joined the ancestors on October 14, 1999.
* Is Julius Nyere devoted his life to the struggles against all forms of tyranny and dedicated his life to the struggle for new human values. He was president of Tanzania from its independence in 1961, until the voluntarily stepped down in 1985.
* His decision to steps down demonstrated that political leadership was not the personal possession of any individual. In many capitals that he served in his 77 years, he was always an inspiration for those struggling for justice, peace, and transformation.
* His vision for ujamaa (African socialism) and of an original African contribution to humanity touched humans everywhere. He provided moral leadership on a continent where many thought o filling their pockets and bank account instead of serving their people.
* Although he was a Christian, he identified with the Islamic followers in his society and he was opposed to all forms of religious intolerance.
* Educational background, he was educated in the butiama village community between 1922-1929. He learned the values of sharing and cooperation that later inspired his philosophical understanding of ujamaa.
* He attended primary school in his village and understood the importance of the relationship between the school and the community. However, because at the absence of secondary schools in his region in the period of British colonialism he attended secondary school at Tabora high school for boys in central Tanganyika.
* After completing his studies in tabor is he was briefly a secondary school teacher before he proceeded of Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. Later he proceeded to Edinburgh, Scotland, to pursue postgraduate studies.
* While studying in Scotland, he was exposed to the Fabian movement and the Fabian socialists and United Kingdom. The idea of socialism and cooperation became an important component of his philosophical outlook.
* After studying in Scotland, he returned to Tanganyika to take up a position as a teacher at a high school near Dar es Salaam. If was this period of teaching that earned him the name mwalima, which means teacher in the Kiswahili language.
* As an educator, Julius Nyerere was very clear that the political culture of a society must be aligned to the popular culture of the people, to this end, Kiswahili, the language of the nationalist movement, became the national, language of Tanzania very soon after independence.
* Tanganyika (and later Tanzania) became one of the few African countries to legislate the use of the language of the people as the primary language of national business, the decision to make Kiswahili the language of business, commerce, and government of Tanzania ensured that the people of the country were drawn into the decision-making process. The stability of Tanzania is in large part due to cohesion and unity fostered by the language policies to the nationalist.
* Mwalimu Nyerere was exposed to the nationalist movement through the activists from Dar es Salaam who was in the trade union movement. After he became involved with the nationalists, he became a member of the Tanganyika African association (TAA). This was the small movement of educated Africans who had opposed the British colonial mandate.
* After his involvement with the trade union leaders and at the height of the British atrocities against the Kenya land and freedom army in Kenya, the Tanzania nationalists formed the Tanganyika African national union (TANU).
* If was during the ant colonial formed of the era of bandana that Julius Nyerere emerged as one of the foremost spokespersons for African freedom and dignify.
* Nyerere and African liberation. The Tanganyika African national union (TANU) emerged in Tanzania as a dominant force in the struggle for independence in African, Nyerere, as the leader of this party, travelled throughout the region of east Africa and mobilized support for the independence of Kenya & Uganda.
* He was pan-Africans who believed that the independence of Kenya should be supported in 1960 Nyerere and TANU offered to delay Tanganyika’s independence if this would help to achieve the creation of an east African federation of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda.
* British brutality and the incarceration of 1.5 million Kenyans in this period have been documented in a recent book by Caroline

Elkins: imperial reckoning: the lentoid story of Britain’s gulag in Kenya.

* Julius Nyerere, was one of the more important individuals to emerge from the movement of trade unionists, political activists, and freedom, fighters who had formed the pan –African movement for east and central Africa (PAFMECA), established in 1958.
* The organization changed its name and constitution in 1962 to accommodate newly independent countries outside of eastern Africa. The new name was PAFMECSA (the pan African freedom movement for east central and southern African). If was this organization of all the states and people of eastern and southern African.
* PAFMECA/ PAFMECSA coordinated support for freedom fighters in all the territories and used a series of inferences to exchange information and to network for the liberation of Africa. This network became the nucleus of the liberation committee of the organization of African unity (OAU).
* The OAU was formed in May 1963, the next year; the OAU liberation committee opened its office in Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania.
* There was disagreement between Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah on the question of continental African unity or regional unity, Nkrumah was of the view that continental unity was more important.
* Tanzanian independence and African liberation Tanganyika became an independent state on December 9, 1961. As the leader of the political party (TANU) that won the elections in 1961, Julius Nyerere became its first prime minister. He resigned his position after 6weeks in order to devote his time of building the party from the grassroots level. Friary was more important than his position in postcolonial government.
* Tanganyika became a republic in 1962 and Nyerere became the first president. He remained president of Tanzania until 1985, when he stepped down voluntarily.
* Nyerere was very aware of the oppressive conditions that existed in the island of Zanzibar in January 1964; the sultanate of Zanzibar was over thrown by AFRO-SHIRAZI party. The revolution radicalized and Zanzibar merged to become Tanzania, with Nyerere as president and the head of the Zanzibar government. The leader of AFRO-SHIRAZI party, ABEOD AMANI KARUME became vice president.
* ABDUL RAHMAN MOHAMMED BABU had been one of the radical leaders of the Zanzibar revolution and members of the Umea party became prominent leaders in the union. If was the radicalization f the domestic politics as well as the violence of the colonial powers such as Portugal, Rhodesia and south Africa that proposed Nyerere and Tanzania into the forefront of African liberation struggle.
* In 1867 Nyerere proclaimed the new direction of the Tanzanian politics in the ARUSH declaration, which powerfully and simply expressed one of the deepest truths of the colonial experience in Africa: we have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited great deal, and we have been disregarded a great deal!
* The ARUSHA declaration was a forceful document that articulated 3 core principles: education for self-reliance, (2) ujamaa and African socialism, and (3) the dignity of the human being.
* The document stated simply that (1) all human beings are equal, and (2) every individual has a right to dignity and respect.
* These ideas inspire the Tanzanian people to make great sacrifices in support of the independence of the peoples of eastern and southern African.
* During the COLD WAR, Tanzania was a relatively poor county but, but because of the moral authority of Julius Nyerere, Tanzania was one of the most important members of the organization of African unity (OAU).
* The independence of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the defeat of the great debt to the leadership of Nyerere give sacrifices of Tanzanian people, if was this same spirit that he supported the struggle for a new mode of politics in the Congo, he was opposed to African dictators and was one of the very few African leaders to speak out against the genocide of Burundi in 1972.
* Because of his lack of tolerance for African dictators and his support for the peoples of Uganda against the dictatorship of Idi Amin (1971-19791), Tanzania fought a war with the government of Idi Amin in 1978-9179.
* The military intervention in Uganda in 1978 defined the sterile position of the OAU of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. Nyerere’s action demonstrated that killing of Africans in any part of Africa or any part of the world should be of concern to all human beings, especially African leaders.
* Analysis of ujamaa: Mwalimu Nyerere was a revolutionary leader of the 20th century who opposed capitalists with favours. His opposition to the World Bank.

**4/3/2024**

* Both pre- and post-independence struggles of the black African can easily be characterized as a quest for freedom. That is, to say that the driving force behind African social and political history is the effort to achieve freedom.
* The observance of April 15th annually as African Freedom Day by African union formerly O.A.U. member states, for example, shows the consciousness of freedom in contemporary African politics.
* But in spite of popular cries and yearning for freedom in African context is often elusive to many.
* If freedom largely characterizes African struggles, what precisely is its meaning in Africa? Thia is the core of our enquiry in African social political thought!!!
* It is a reflection on freedom as the prime value among black Africans particularly in their political and social struggles.
* Now, more than ever, it is supremely important for the African to understand clearly the character of his struggle, what he is fighting for or against in his political aims and ideals if he hopes to achieve a healthy, stable and self-reliant society.
* Many expressions such as imperialism, neo-colonialism, liberation, colonialism etc. are very much in vogue in African politics and very little understood.
* One of the clear objectives of ours here is to make the notion of African freedom less elusive, abstract and less distant for the increasingly politically aware African masses. But we must first of all investigate the general meaning of freedom.

**MEANING OF FREEDOM**

* As a concept, freedom is not easy to define even though it has always been a prime value among men and women and constitute a watch word among revolutionaries all over the world.
* There is perhaps no other political idea with as much impact in practical action. In the words of Mortimer Adler, it Has been the battle cry of revolutionist and counter revolutionist, mor refor4mers and reactionaries of authoritarians and anarchists of utopists and men who fear all forms of enthusiasm.
* Although the exact meaning of freedom is elusive and most academic in many philosophy books, yet for the common black African definitely for revolutionaries, reformers, etc. it is neither abstract nor academic.
* It is pursued within a situation and for concrete causes. Its meaning often coincides with effective action such that human beings regard themselves as free according to Hannah Arendt, as long as they act, neither before nor after, for to be free and to act are the same ([Past and Future. 1997. P. 153).
* Consequently, the clearest path to the generalization of freedom particularly in social and political thought, is the practical, not the theoretical, for in all practical and especially in political matters, we hold human freedom to be self-evident and it is upon this axiomatic assumption that laws are laid down in human communities, that decisions are taken, that judgements are passed.
* One can say that the *raison d’etre* of politics, the rationale of world history, for that matter is freedom. This freedom is primarily exercised through action such that thee progress of world history, in the Hegelian analysis because none other than the progress of consciousness of freedom.
* This freedom in action presupposes and is distinguished from inner freedom or the state or being free positively conceived as freedom from some obstruction of the will or desire, mostly in terms of passions, bodily appetites or passionate attachment to sensuous object. This is the *liberium arbitrium* or the freedom of choice which posits questions about the very nature or condition or the choice itself, whether it is or not predetermined by some other motives or passion, or something else.
* What we are concerned about here goes a step further to effective choice. It translates itself to action, as John Dewey put, in accord with desire. One is not prevented (freedom from) by law or some other external authority from actually doing something which one is physically able to do.
* In this socio-political sense, as Professor R.F.A. Hoernce put it having the power to do something means social permission to do what on the psychophysical plane one can do, having no power to do something means prohibited by social authority from doing something which in the psycho-physical sense, one can do in private as in public life, for individuals.

**COMPLETE FREEDOM FOR THE AFRICAN**.

* Freedom from and freedom to- is in short, his ability to define himself or herself and actualize himself /herself without obstacles from without and within his environment. In this sense the African is independent, a master of himself and his world. He proves his mastery and domination of his environment in his

1. Economic
2. Cultural
3. Political
4. Technological
5. Psychological
6. Social

**FACES OF AFRICAN FREEDOM**

The foregoing are the major horizons of freedom for the modern African and should be the object of our inquiry in African social and political thought.

Political freedom: