Democracy in Africa: Theoretical models Towards Indigenous Governance

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Abstract

Several attempts have tried to estimate and document the character of liberal democracy and its impact on the condition of states in Africa. One lesson from the past research is the justification of the positive impact of this model of governance in Africa not minding the fact that it has proven incapable of transforming the African state. In this paper, we attempt to reassess this impact in contrast with indigenous theoretical models that conform with African peculiarities to governance prior to the introduction of western democracy in the light of the continuous subjugation of Africa in various forms. Employing a fixed effect approach and documentary evidence found in the works of indigenous Political thought in the works of outstanding African theorists and leaders, our finding shows that western democracy has proven incapable of transforming Africa. It shows further that African theorists and leaders have steadily advocated a sharp return to Africa's profound democratic governance models prior to the introduction of western democracy. This according to the study, has the capacity to sustain Africa and make it relevant in the comity of nations. This advocacy and its application would lay to rest the claim that Africa had no governance models and democratic principles that can sustain its continuous existence before and after western invasion.

Key Words: Africa, Liberal democracy, governance models, political institutions, indigenous theorists, political thought.

Introduction

The concepts of democracy and human rights are the products of western history. They derive from the value placed on the idea of the individual (as opposed to the person) which precolonial societies did not share and which was introduced into Africa in the wake of colonial rule (Bayart 1986:8). The main argument that dominated Europe and western scholarship in general even before 1900 that propelled the invasion of Africa including the partitioning of Africa is that Africa had no politics and model of governance, Bayart, 1986, Martin, 2001). Where it exists, it was considered archaic and incapable of raising a people that fits into the challenges of a changing world

driven mainly by the west (Rostow, 1916, Pye, 1921). Hence, its people needed to be governed by a more advanced and politically conscious people.

The argument is strengthened by the perception that Africa exists as the dark region of the world and its people are the most primitive, wretched and backward race on earth to whom they owe the task of civilizing. Well, this argument is not far removed from the general notion of Western Liberal Ideology that has a central goal of continuous subjugation of Africa in various forms. It must be noted that ideologies are not just formed for the purposes of intellectual exercise; otherwise it would be a substance good for the trash bin. Western ideologies are largely the launch pad for western imperialism and the best way to conquer a race is to bring them under ideological subjugation. This explains why Claude Ake and Daniel Offiong challenged the entire gamut of western scholarship in Africa as the summation of western imperialism brought down to Africa via the vehicle of governance model (Ake, 1981, Offiong, 2001). Thus, political education became the direct manifestation of this ideological construct. From the foregoing, two germane questions that this papers seeks to address readily comes to mind: what is the general perception of Western Democracy that provided the justification for the initial invasion of Africa and its unending subjugation in other forms; why has the imposed Liberal Democratic model proven incapable of transforming the African state since it became the model for African governance? The proper dissecting of these issues through effective interrogation of different indigenous governance models that existed in notable African states prior to the adoption of western liberal democracy, would lay to rest the claim that Africa had no governance models and democratic principles that can sustain its continuous existence prior to western invasion. By the same token, it would become obvious why Liberal Democracy has proven incapable of transforming African state in the light of post western indigenous thought on African governance. The above is essential in view of Africa's continuous search for governance models that will properly fit into its political and environmental peculiarities in the match toward a more united and globally relevant Africa.

Review of Related Literature

Nuggets of democracy in indigenous governance models prior to liberal democracy

The book by Guy Martins entitled: African Political Thought (2001), begins with a critical analysis of the political ideology of indigenous African Political systems and institutions from antiquity to the nineteenth century. The author like Walter Rodney (1982) begins with a claim that highly advanced civilization and governance models had existed throughout the African continent even before the advent of the Christian era which was basically the vehicle for the exportation of mainstream western liberal ideology to Africa and other parts of the world.

According to Martins (2001) and Rodney (1982), African political institutions were based on kingship and lineage system sanctioned by founding myth in all African societies. Thus, it is believed that religion, culture social relations were not separable from political life in sacred and secular spheres. Thus, political organization was governed by rules and procedures not formally documented but known and respected by all. Pritchard and Fortes (1947) observed that these highly developed systems existed in Africa in such city conglomerates as Zulu, Ngwato, Bemba, Banyankole, Kede, Bantu-Kavirondo, Tallensi and Nuer. It is thus possible to find in a single linguistic cultural area or system, political systems which vary but which corresponded with, and connected a complex chain of cultural, social and political formations over the years. Political systems that existed in Africa were two fold- those with formal government, characterized by central authority, administrative machinery, judicial institutions and the features of modern government (in short a government) and those without any centralized government (Pritchard and Forte,1947). While it is only reasonable to agree with the foregoing, it suffices to note that the political system they adopted corresponded with their cultural, social and political peculiarities and served the very essence of its adoption. Thus, its governance model had some identifiable features chief is the fact that Kings were regarded as the epic of state power. This follows that political power was not amorphous neither nor a cephalous. Power within the state was not left for all to wield. Though sovereignty rested in the people, kings enjoyed the right to exercise it on behalf of the people. As such, they could not make laws on their own without the consent and approval of the council (Martins, 2001:3).

Conversely, Pritzard and Forte (1947) noted that the most significant characteristics the centralized, pyramidal, state-like forms of government and the segmentary political systems in Africa is the use of organized force in governance. The principal sanction of a ruler is the prerogatives, and of the authority exercised by his subordinate chiefs in the use of organized force. This may enable an African king to rule oppressively for a time if he is inclined to do so but a good ruler uses the armed forces under his control in the public interest as an accepted instrument of government—that is for the defense of the society or any section of it against a common enemy, and as a coercive sanction to ensure respect for the constitution The king and his delegates and advisers use organized force with the consent of his subject to keep going a political system which the later take for granted as the foundation for social and political order. Thus, the indigenous African Democratic Model had a functional council that give approval to state policies and decisions and disapproved when it is considered inimical to societal growth and development. This perhaps, was an approximation and at best the rudiments of the role of contemporary liberal executive council.

Aside the council, indigenous political system in Africa prior to the adoption of western liberal democracy adopted democratic principles such as checks and balances. It is believed, that this single principle saves the modern state from imminent dictatorial tendencies and arbitrariness as it did in the past. Though the king is the power concentrate, yet the exercise of his powers is tamed by clearly established boundaries. Majority rule where even commoners were free to express their opinions in public gathering was entrenched (Martins, 2001). It is often argued that the idea of popular rule has its roots in ancient Greek city state. But suffice to say, that Africa had long entrenched this principle in its system of governance before the introduction of liberal democracy. Principle of organized succession devoid of ethnic and family competition and rivalry which helped to eliminate the unfit from the corridors of power was also in place. The kinship system that established the set of relationships linking the individual to other persons and to particular social units through the transient, bilateral family and the segmentary system of permanent, unilateral descent which linked corporate units with political functions were in place. Political office carries no economic privileges, though the possession of greater than

average wealth may be a criterion of the qualities or status required (Nnabugwu, 2003; Pritchard and Forte, 1947,).

Today, the issue of political succession in Africa has caused the near collapse of the political structure of many African countries where liberal democracy hold sway. As it appears, liberal democracy makes political power attractive and those who bid for it, are often bent on doing the unimaginable to clinch it. The weak nature of most neocolonial state in Africa is further amplified by unfit leaders who are mere extension and manifestation of the intricate interest of their foreign collaborator (Ake, 1981, Nnoli, 1986). In the traditional African political governance model, a connection was often necessary between the past, the present and the future. Hence, chiefs mediated between the past, the present and the future and their legitimacy and authority was ancestral. As it is with modern liberal democratic system where the elected (Chairman, Governor, President or Legislator is free to choose members of his executive Council), so the chief had the same right and privilege to appoint from the royal lineage members of his cabinet and they constituted the inner Council.

Accordingly, Martin (2001) notes that the pre-colonial African society operated a decentralized political system where each clan was allowed to manage its own affairs. This ensured balance between the Central authority and the Regional Governments in decision making. Thus, rulers of such nations as Yoruba, Hausa/ Fulani ruled only as long as they complied with customs and the will of the people. This made leaders accountable to the people they ruled. This implies that the indigenous democratic system in Africa had transparency and accountability as its corner piece. There was also elaborate system of checks and balance.

This meant that the leader must take the advice of two principal bodies representing the aristocratic class and the commoners respectively but when agreement is not reached, the village assembly is summoned. Women also played a key role on African political system and institutions. Various institutions were created for the peaceful resolution of conflicts with emphasis on the principles of customs, tradition, fairness and promotion of social harmony. Implied in the foregoing, is the obvious fact that indigenous democratic system and institution in Africa had all the embellishment of the liberal democracy including the functional arms of government long before it was introduced in Africa (Ghaddaffi, 2005; Nnabugwu, 2003,).

Why Governance Models are attributed to West

Governance models are offshoot of political thoughts. These thoughts are either classical, medieval, modern or contemporary (Nnabugwu, 2013). Classical thoughts upon which early liberal European Democratic Models were constructed have been erroneously attributed to the west and the Greeks in particular. As Mbah (2006:2) noted, these models referred to as classical thoughts consist of tangential diverse thoughts developed in ancient period especially from Greeks to Roman thinkers that reflect the social realities and praxis of the time.

In his thesis on the Ethio-Egyptian Origin of Classical Political thought: A study in dialectics, Nnabugwu (2011), argued that ascribing democratic models to Greeks or the West is an error and at best a historical blunder. Traditionally, classical thoughts are attributed to such great minds like Plato, Aristotle and Socrates but the knowledge and systems advocated by these great minds were not from the gods or empty blue sky. As Nnabugwu rightly observed, these thinkers of Greek extraction have previously and at various times had intellectual contacts with ancient Egyptian Mystery School headed by the Mystery Priests. This was the foremost educational arrangement to teach the rudiments of political ideas and governance models in Africa. The ideas from this school were obviously exported to other lands by those that were taught in the school. This school would not have existed to teach others the governance model it taught, were it not first enshrined in the practices of the political system of its land.

As Busia (1967), Rodney (1982), Nnabugwu (2011) rightly claimed, Egypt no doubt, was the cradle of organized human life, critical thinking and organic political practice. Even the idea of herioglyphic writing and political institutions were traceable to the ancient Ethiopian. Logically therefore, it means that democratic political practices and values had its roots in Africa. Existing facts as pointed out by Nnabugwu (2011) clearly demonstrate this position. According to him: (a) Foremost philosopher priests were state maintained and this was a boost to the evolution of democratic institutions (b) Most of what Plato discussed in his classification of society were based on or inferred from all he gathered from the mystery school. (c) Egypt created the first centralized empire in the world and developed highly profound mathematical and political models that kept it away from foreign subjugation. (d) The works of a foremost Islamic cleric Ibn Khaldun who is

regarded as the proponent of the cyclic theory of politics and the father of the social sciences, history and political realism further substantiate this position. His works essentially provided the transition from classical theory to modern theory. Khaldun rejects the notion that contemporary civilization was better than what Africa had in the past. For him, it was simply the decay of the power of political structures and organizations caused by long years of colonialism.

Generally, African people had organized system of governance which was based on African institutions. It was based on kingship and lineage system sanctioned by founding myth in all African societies. Africa also used her religion to ensure compliance with laid down rules for orderliness and societal progress. As such, African religion was not separated from social and political life in sacred and secular spheres. This mixture was also adopted by the Europeans in the governance of Africa in the French Policy of Association and Britain's indirect rule system. Thus, African political pattern provided the administrative mechanism and launch pad that was used by the Europeans.

African political organization was facilitated by rules and procedures. This was the case in selected African empires. These rules were not formally documented but were well known and respected by all. Thus, the democratic principles of 'respect for rule of law' and established laws of the land was not alien to Africans at all. Whether or not these rules were popular was inconsequential. Rules were to align with what was acceptable to the people so that even kings could not make these rules on their own without the consent and approval of the council. This again, helped to lay to rest the tendencies for autocratic rule in Africa contrary to what characterized European rule in Africa today. The claim among early western scholars that Africa had no politics was very malicious. Ancient African politics had all the paraphernalia of modern political system and practices. In fact, given the incidence of foremost civilization, it is not out of place to claim that politics has its roots in Africa. Though documentary evidence tends to play away this fact of history because perhaps there were no scholarly works to authenticate this like Ejembi 1983 cited in Nnabugwu (2013: 116) rightly posited. Earliest democratic principles which provided the clues needed by Europeans in the administration of African states were fully operational in Africa. For example, obedience to laws and orders, respect for hierarchy, checks and balances; majority rule where even commoners were free to express their opinion in public

gathering, principle of organized succession devoid of ethnic and family competition and rivalry which helped to eliminate the unfit from the corridors of power were all in place.

Chiefs mediated between the past, the present and the future and their legitimacy and authority was ancestral while other leaders were appointed from the royal lineage and they constituted the inner or privy council. Aside their personal endowment, the wealth of the kingdom was held in trust for the people. Thus, the symbol of office, authority and unity was held sacred by the people. Attempts by the people to desecrate it was not tolerated; even an attempt by the white to defile it was also violently resisted. This explains the bloody war between the Ashante and the British in Ghana as reported by Colin Turnbull cited in Martin (2012:14).

It is needless stating the fact that the pre-colonial African society operated a decentralized political system where each clan was allowed to manage its own affairs. This means that even at the most microscopic level of governance, African societies were organized and their politics thrived in tan dem with this structures and institutions. This ensured balance between the central authority and the regional governments in decision making. Thus, rulers ruled only as long as they complied with customs and the will of the people. This implies that the rudiments of fixed tenure of office appeared. Thus, he can be abandoned, or even become a victim of ritual killing; a practice which was common among the Jukun, Yoruba, Shilluk and some parts of Senegal. The emirate system which obtained in the Northern part of Nigeria manifested in diversity of forms corresponding with the nature and peculiarity of the part of Africa where it was practiced (Igwe, 2000:134). From the foregoing, the democratic principles of impeachment and recall had their footing in African politics in the ancient past. Whether or not these corresponded with the western brand was absolutely unnecessary.

For us, the potency of a tool or system is its ability to do what it purports to do; the brand and colouration notwithstanding. This made leaders accountable to the people they ruled and feared the people they ruled. As historian puts it, contemporary African political system is now being crippled by the system bequeathed to it by the Europeans. The bourgeois class in post-colonial states now jettison and trample the system and institutions that they operate without fear of the people since they themselves appear stronger than the institutions they operate. Thus, the people now fear the ruling class instead of the

ruling class becoming afraid of the people. This is the bane of corruption in Africa and the very systemic malady bequeathed to Africa by the Europeans.

Again, the political systems in such African city conglomerates as Zulu, Ngwato, Bemba, Banyankole, Kede, Bantu-Kavirondo, Tallensi and Nuer, Yoruba land, Jukuns, Asante, Benin, Tiv presented elaborate system of checks and balances which mandated the leader to take the advice of two principal bodies representing the aristocratic class and the commoners respectively but when agreement is not reached, the village assembly is summoned (Rodney, 1982). This ensured that ultimate political power returned to the people. Women also played a key role in African societies and political system and institutions. Thus, we posit that attributing universal adult suffrage to western democratic is faulty. The suffrage system has been part and parcel of African political process. Politics in Africa enshrined in its system's well-organized process and institutions for the peaceful resolution of conflicts with emphasis on the principles of customs, tradition, fairness and promotion of self-reliance and realization has always characterized indigenous democratic rule in Africa. Implicit in the foregoing is the conclusion that Africa adopted a form of politics that was suited for its native conditions.

European Ideas of Governance in Africa and its Failures

As noted, the invasion of Africa and the overthrow of her political institutions by Europeans was not a product of historical accident. Their action was for them a necessity rooted on the argument that Africa was a dark continent occupied by primitive and backward people to whom the west owed the duty of civilization. Accordingly, most of these African societies were conquered or forced to submit to European rule from fear of invasion. They would not acquiesce in it if the threat of force were withdrawn (Pritzard & Forte, 1947). This fact determined the contents, context, method and style of administration they adopted and the part now played in the political life of most independent states in Africa. Consequently, the real motive of the imperial colonial project was disguised and justified under humanitarian principles and the benefits of western civilization to Africans. The ideas of France and that of Britain were essentially similar. While France claimed the superiority of its values over the rest of the world and adopted Assimilation and Association to govern its colonies, Britain was essentially interested in

economic expansion thus adopted indirect rule system as a policy designed to stabilize and consolidate the new political order, with the native paramount ruler in this as a tool for eliminating the friction it is liable to give rise to.. All these were aimed at bringing the 'blessings' of European civilization to the rest of the world especially those at the dark regions.

As Robert cited by Martin (2001) rightly noted, France and England became increasingly involved in West Africa during the 19th century. Each brought its own ideas, prejudices, national beliefs, religious convictions, philosophic systems, political institutions, economic experiences and other viewpoints distilled from centuries of antecedent activities in Europe. All of these had their profound influence on Africa but not to say that they were superior to the existing system or that they came to be planted in a land where none ever existed.

Accordingly, Martins (2001), noted that France prides itself as the home of particularly rich culture and democratic principles especially of 'Liberte', 'Egalite' and 'Fraternite' and saddled with the sacred task of spreading or sharing them with Africans via association or assimilation which were the main doctrines that dominated the French belief and practice. Assimilation requires Africans to be incorporated into French culture thus becoming French people by adoption. This is the height of colonial disregard for the long entrenched African model of democratic governance, culture and practices. The adoption of association requires the recognition of Africa's culture and institutions. It came with the task of establishing protectorate over Africans as they did in such places as Morocco and Tunisia. We must also note at this point that none of these notions was practiced in its absolute form though they, by and large found their ways into the main fabrics of the life of Africa even after the end of European rule in Africa.

Since Britain was much more interested in colonial expansion and maximization of profit through capitalism rather than the civilizing mission of France, it adopted a model that corresponded with these objectives. This intent led to the adoption of indirect rule system. Other subservient justifications included the fact that: it corresponded with indigenous system on ground, that would not be repudiated as experienced in the East; it served shortage of funds and personnel. This rule system draws from the understanding that Africans and Europeans were very different people in all regard and that the institutions

for governance most suited for them were the ones evolved by themselves. This is the major weakness of Liberal Democratic system in Africa and our point of departure in this discourse. Lord Lugard who conceived this idea believed in the transformation of traditional institutions and practices to modern systems if given the time and opportunity; a feat he could not achieve given the number of years colonial rule lasted in Africa. Politically, since it was an entrenched way of life from antiquity, it was practically a hard nut to crack for the Europeans.

Ake argues that, the states in Africa and the political model they operate were imposed from without. They were institutions engrafted from the core to the periphery hence, they hold no development prospects for Africa. Thus, the development agenda in Africa today was also the product of expatriates who thought that the idea of development was implicitly a matter of being western. This results in a weak African elite and failure of the development project in Africa. Thus, African development must be people driven and must be based on popular development strategy, self- reliance and self-realization. By this, Ake reveals the source of Africa's social, economic and political crisis and propose the broad outline that would lead her out of this condition.

Methodology

The findings of this research is based on data from a wide collection of indigenous political thought contained in the works of outstanding African theorists and leaders. As it is with most secondary research works, the study employs library materials, internet sources, journals and books on governance for the generation of relevant data. The generated data were subjected to analytic and textual analysis through examining the critical issues that have come to assume importance. In view of the foregoing, we set out two interrelated propositions to guide the study. Accordingly, we hypothesize, first, that western liberal democratic model has proven incapable of transforming the African state because it ignores the peculiarity of the African population. Secondly, that against the backdrop of the foregoing, that a sharp return to Africa's profound democratic governance models that existed in selected states in Africa prior to the introduction of western democracy has the capacity to sustain Africa and make it relevant in the comity of nations. Accordingly, the paper posits that there are sufficient theoretical efforts and advocacy on the return of

Africa to its indigenous models of governance. Let us first explore and discuss the Nuggets of democracy in indigenous governance models prior to liberal democracy.

Finding and Discussions

Theoretical Models of Governance for Africa: The Debate

Africa appears to be a test ground for foreign ideologies. During the 19th century, the Dutch, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Britain, and France had, during the colonial period experimented their political and economic ideologies based on the key objectives that drove the invasion of Africa. Britain and France took the lead in this respect. Britain for instance, was essentially interested in economic expansion thus adopted indirect rule system while France was interested in cultural adulation and extrapolation (Mahajan, 2008:272). Accordingly, the works of classical scholars tilted towards the justification of this political expedition which led to the introduction of political liberalism requiring the administration of states like a business venture thereby limiting the function of the state to maintenance of law and order while giving way to the exportation of indigenous resources to the metropolis with their internal collaborators as justification tools (Ake, 1982, Mahajan, 2008).

By the end of the nineteenth century, two development alternatives were opened to Africa. First, was the complete rejection of modernization, second, was the acceptance of modernization that is grounded on African culture and traditions. As such, the character of most African state as amplified by the theory of post-colonial state became entrenched. Ever since, African theorists have at various points and fora diagnosed the problem with Africa's development and its system of governance and have advanced some models worth considering. We shall at this juncture attempt to highlight these theoretical models of selected theorists. These ideals are categorized for purposes of ease and appreciation:

A. **African Theories on Westernization, Modernization and Liberal Democracy: From African Nationalism to Humanism**

Objective: This covers the political ideas of African theorists advocating westernization, modernism and Liberal Democracy in Africa. They include:

Name of theorist	Year	Summary of Theory
Edward Wilmot Blyden	1835-1883	He believed that Africa had a unique tradition that was in no way inferior to that of the whites. What Africa needs is to create the unique African personality and the unity of African people necessary to fight external subjugation.
James Africanus Beale Horton	1866-1930	He campaigned for Africa development along European lines using western education, science and technology. He openly campaigned for self- government by West African states pointing to the various progress made by African slaves in Sierra Leone and other non-African states especially the formation of the successful Fanti Confederation of various Gold Coast ethnic groups in 1866.
Joseph E. Casely Hayford	1866-1930	He advocated for a regional West Africa that necessarily maintained the African nature and content. This led to the establishment of the National Congress of British West Africa made up of nationals from West African states. He advocated the reform of the colonial system rather than self- determination or independence.
Kofi Abrefa Busia	1914-1978	He believed that most African states are authoritarian with weak opposition which is a colonial heritage of the imperialist. According to him, western democratic principles are universal and can be institutionalized in any culture including Africa but this has remained elusive in Africa because of the inability to integrate different tribes into a modern democratic nation.
Kenneth D. Kaunda	1924-2021	His political ideology was hinged on non-violence and humanitarianism which was mainly influenced by the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mahatma Ghandi and Kwame Nkrumah.

B. **African theories on Socialist-Populism**

Objective: These African theorists advocate Socialist orientation but do not out rightly stress or reject Marxism. The theorists return the essence and force of governance to the people. The major strands of the socialist- populist orientation include: **a.** Radical nationalism

b. Radical mood

c. Anticaptialism

d. Populism and exaltation of the peasantry

e. Adherence to a moderate form of socialism and a rejection of orthodox Marxism (Young in Martins, 2001). These theorists include:

Name of theorist	Year	Summary of theory
Patrice, Emery Lumumba	1925-1961	He advocated broad popular movement and unity based on pluralism. He believed that African exploits must be jealously preserved and developed by borrowing what is good from western civilization and rejecting what is bad and unsuitable for Africa. This amalgam of African and European civilization will give Africa a new form of civilization corresponding to African peculiarities and realities.
Ahmed Ben Bella	1916-2012	He believes in the adoption of one and only party of progress as was done in Algeria. This would be rooted in a mixture of Marxist and socialist ideology.
		Bella believed in South-South cooperation and this helped in the formation of the Organization of African Unity.
Amilcar Cabral	1924-1973	He claims that Africa needs a revolution to become globally relevant and that nobody has ever had a successful revolution without a revolution theory rooted in the local historical experience of the people. This revolution was to be rooted in violence since that was the very nature of colonial rule in Africa. This would create the new man and new society polished by the socialist path to development. With this, Cabral justified a home grown ideology on how the African state would be governed.

| Samora M. Machel | 19331986 | He advocated an inclusive people based nationalism representing the working people. To him, power belongs to the people. It has been won by the people and must be exercised by them. Thus, those who exercise it are the servants of the people. He emphasized the primacy of politics and noted that it is politics that must guide government action….with a self-reliant development strategy and industrialization based on agriculture. |

C. African Theories on Socialist-Populism, 11

Objective: In spite of the socialist rhetoric and orientation, theorists/ statesmen in this category used the socialist ideology as instrument of control/coercion

Theorists	Year	Summary of theory
Kwame Nkrumah	1909-1972	He emphasized true african socialism that is scientific and abiding. Its principles include; common ownership production means, planned method of production by the state based on agriculture, political power in the hands of the people, application of scientific methods in all spheres of thought and production and non-violent means of pursuing state interest.
Modibo Keita. Modibo Keita.	1915-1977	He believed in the modification of socialism to suite the African context. As such, one party state was preferred and highest decision making body (in Mali) should be the executive arm of the party-The National Political Bureau
Ahmed Sekou Toure	1922-1984	He downplayed the role of ideology in constructing a new society. To him, rather than dissipate energy on ideology and model of governance, whatever ideology and model they are, should serve as a tool to mobilize the mass of Africans towards economic and political emancipation and development with the primacy of politics over other realms.
Julius Kambarage Nyeyere	1922-1999	Like other African theorists, he opted for modified socialism built around one party state as amplified by the formation of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCm) in 1967. The family hood principle (Ujamaa) was to serve as its guiding principle. Thus, it was neither capitalism nor socialism but a peculiar way of life and governance for the African state that was sure to return it to how it was governed before contact with external

		imperialistic forces of the west.

D. African Theories on Populist-Socialism

Objective: Statesmen and theoreticians reviewed here genuinely sought to improve the living condition of their people by attempting to implement- unsuccessfully though or with mixed results, policies that could lead to political, cultural and economic transformation.

Theorists	Year	Summary of theory
Frantz Fanon	1925-1961	Frantz Fanon scientifically diagnosed the problem with liberal democratic model in Africa. He notes that the main danger that threaten African states is the absence of ideology. To Fanon, the existence of national culture, national life and cultural innovation is only conceivable in a country that is totally liberated from all forms of colonial domination imposed through liberal democracy. Thus, Africa's development will ultimately be bottom up and people-driven. He emphasized a complete breaking away from European and western values to the creation of indigenous ideas, culture, institutions and practices based on the peculiarities of African values and way of life.
Thomas Sankara	19491987	Thomas Sankara believes that there is no politics without ideology and that the salvation and development of Burkina Faso and Africa at large lies in the total break with worn out models with which all kinds of quacks have tried to force on
		Africa… the people are the main actors and should be the main beneficiary of the revolution in Africa based on their peculiar experiences and history. He believes in unity and building a free and

Name of Theorist	Year	Summary of Theory
		prosperous society by taking power from the national bourgeois allied with imperialistic forces and giving same to the people that make up the popular class.
Muammar Qaddafi	1942-2011	Qaddafi changed the country's western model constitution and introduced a set of laws based on the Third Universal Theory contained in his green book. This theory was to serve as a viable alternative to western liberal democracy, capitalism and Marxism. He denounced representative democracy and condemned capitalism. He presented direct democracy instead; a model that was similar to what obtained in Africa before liberal democracy. He advocated the existence of an African modelled Union that lives out the African contents. He took some practical steps to ensure the unity of African states liking the grand scheme of linking African rivers, road networks and oil refineries as well as the return to the Gold Standard as the international medium of exchange and specifically the adoption of Libya's currency as the currency for Africa states.
Bantu Stephen Biko	1946-1977	He evolved the concept of 'Black Consciousness' as a synthesis of the political philosophy of the three main Black Nationalist movements in South Africa and liberation from white domination. It dealt with rebuilding and reconditioning the minds of Africans to demand what was rightfully theirs. Biko believes that Africa needs to recreate itself for a new identity and pride and the simultaneous rejection of the white establishment of those as negative and primitive. He saw the present Africa and its western democratic model as mere extension of Europe into Africa.

E. African Theories on Pan Africanism and African Unity

Objective: This covers African Political ideas before and during the struggle for independence and unity of African states

Name of Theorist	Year	Summary of Theory
Cheikh Anta Diop	1923-1986	He advocated the adoption of a single official African Language and warned against the dangers of Americanization.

Theorists	Year	Summary of theory
MarcLouis Ropivia		Proposed a bi-state nuclei or a federative dyad where two states that share common historical antecedents would form a nucleus which eventually would lead to a federal state in Africa. Thus, six of the dyad was recommended.
Makau Wa Mutua		Recommended the collapsing of the present 55 African states into 15 viable federations on the basis of historical commonness
Arthur Gakwandi		He proposed a seven state arrangement arguing that the current weak stance of Africa in world politics is political rather than economic hence the need to change its political framework to achieve dynamic, confident and coherent politics before economic goals can be pursued.
Daniel Osabu Kle		Believed in the Pan Africanism dream of Nkrumah materializable in the form of United States of Africa. He adds that an African High Command and Youth Organization should be formed to support the drive.
Godfrey Mwakikagile		He felt the solution to African problem is in the formation of an African Confederation or African Federal Government that will begin with economic integration and later transcend to eventual political union strong enough to compete favourably with other continents in the world
Pelle D. Danabo	1973-	Danabo pulled together the key elements of earlier theorists and conclude that an African democracy rooted in African values and traditions hold the key because what is common to all African states and capable of binding them together is their collective history of suffering and affliction in the modern world. To him, African states were governed in this way prior to the introduction of liberal democracy
Mueni Wa Muiu	1969-	She argued that a new viable and modern African state based on five political entities should be built. This must be based on functional remnant of indigenous African political systems, values, traditions, culture and institutions.

F. Africanist Economic-Populism

Objective: This reviews African theorists with values for a new, free and self-reliant Africa based on a popular type of democracy and development. Most of these theorists had no direct access to the corridors of power. They include:

Theorists	Year	Summary of theory

Daniel Tetteh Osabu Kle	1942 -	He noted that only a democracy that is compatible with the African cultural environment can work to develop Africa. As such, African leaders must work hard to modify and adapt indigenous African political systems and institutions to fit the circumstances of modern political life. This he called 'jaku' democracy.
Claude Ake	1939 - 1996	Ake openly challenged the nature and contents of western Social Science scholarship brazenly bequeathed to Africa. His paradigm shift was Africanism. The idea of representative democracy rooted in liberal democracy to him, repudiates the very core of the traditional meaning of democracy. He argued that the political conditions in Africa are the greatest impediments to its development. Ake argued that the states in Africa and the political model they operate were imposed from without. They were institutions engrafted from the core to the periphery hence hold no development prospects for Africa..
Godfrey Nwakikagile	1949	His major interest was on post- colonial African history, politics and economy. From the statist approach, he argued that African states in spite of formal independence, still retains the essential features of colonialism carefully entrenched in the western governance model they operate. This and many other problems of Africa calls for a practical solution along federal lines. This federal union will begin from economic integration and would follow the stipulations recommended by him to ultimately become a political union
Mueni wa Mui		In her work titled 'Fundi wa Africa': a new paradigm of the African state, Muiu argued that the post- colonial state has been structured in such a manner that dependence on the west and underdevelopment is inevitable. The way out of this problem was articulated in sixteen points anchored on the federation of African states that would be divided into five super states with headquarters at Napata. Each would be ruled with the basic democratic principles Africa operated before contacts with mainstream western democratic model.

Conclusions

The claim among early western scholars that Africa was a dark continent with no civilized model of governance was an ideological construct targeted at subjugating Africa in all forms. Put in a different light, the claim implicitly suggests that Africa had no organized way of ruling its population; where it exists, it was considered archaic and incapable of raising a people that fits into the challenges of a changing world driven mainly by the west. Hence, its people needed to be governed by a more advanced and politically conscious people. This ideological position also affected the earliest definition of politics by liberal theorists that completely ignored the nature of production and consumption in Africa and the nature of governance that was long entrenched in Africa prior to 1900. A survey of the literature clearly indicates that this was a blatant deviation from the truth. Africanist ideology on African model of governance with particular focus on Western Democracy and Development in Africa has shown that the Liberal Democratic brand imported into Africa decades past has proven incapable of transforming Africa hence the call on Africa to discard it and all other forms of dependence since the solution to Africa's governance and development impasse lies within. Thus, African theorists like Khaldun, Blyden, Nkrumah, Toure, Keitta, Nyerere, Biko, Osabu Kle, Ake, Fanon, Sankara, Machel, Gaddaffi etc had a common deep abiding faith in the power of African Democratic Governance Model to radically and durably transform African societies in a way that would satisfy the basic economic, political and social needs of their people. Ake argues that the states in Africa and their dysfunctional governance model were imposed from without. As institutions engrafted from the core to the periphery, they hold no development prospects for Africa. As such, African leaders must work hard to modify and adapt indigenous African political systems and institutions to fit the circumstances of modern political life. Unfortunately, most of these African theorists especially those who saw scientifically, that Africa's political salvation lies in her return to its own indigenous model of governance because of its historical antecedents never lived long to see their dream come through. This notwithstanding, the theoretical foundations they laid that only a democracy that is compatible with the African cultural environment can work to develop Africa surges blithely forward.

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