AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

GUY MARTIN

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The genesis of this book may be traced back to my experience teaching African political thought over a period of ten years (1993–2003) at various academic institutions (Clark Atlanta University, University of Virginia, and Spelman College). I soon came to realize that the instructor wishing to put together a collection of readings on the subject needed to delve into an extremely broad range of sources and materials widely scattered in many books, articles, and primary sources dealing with African history, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, politics, biography, and literature. This led me to the firm conviction that a single thematic volume that would synthesize the state of knowledge of African political thought was badly needed, hence this textbook, which constitutes—to the best of my knowledge—the first such enterprise.

Many individual and intellectual debts have been incurred in the long and arduous process leading up to the completion of this project. My interest in the subject of African political thought was first aroused when I was a graduate student at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1969–70; I was encouraged by my then advisor, Donal Cruise O'Brien, to embark on a comparative study of the political thought of Kwame Nkrumah and Sékou Touré, which eventually became the subject of my Master's thesis. I pursued this interest while a doctoral student in political science and African studies at Indiana University at Bloomington (1973–76). It was in the late Émile Snyder's seminar on Francophone African literature that I developed a particular interest in the political thought of Frantz Fanon. It is due to Émile's encouragement and advice that a paper on that subject that I wrote for his seminar became my very first article, published by *Ufahamu* in 1974. While at Indiana University, I had the good fortune to attend the dissertation defense of my fellow senior student from Ghana, Emmanuel Hansen. Fortuitously, the topic was "Frantz Fanon's Social and Political Thought" (which was published as a book in 1977 by Ohio State University Press). From then on, Emmanuel and I became friends, and he was instrumental in bringing me (in the mid-1980s) into the African Association of Political Science (AAPS), of which he was a prominent and active member. As a member of the faculty at the University of Nairobi (Kenya), I became increasingly more personally involved in the activities of AAPS—whose executive committee I joined from 1985 to 1990—and also of the Dakar-based Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). As leading Pan-African academic institutional networks, both AAPS and CODESRIA provided ample opportunity to interact regularly with the "best and brightest" on the

continent, notably Dani W. Nabudere, Mahmood Mamdani, Abdoulaye Bathily, Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Emmanuel Hansen, L. Adele Jinadu, and Claude Ake. Over time, I became particularly close to the last three mentioned, and I recall fondly our endless and passionate discussions and debates over the fate of Africa that we had in the conference lobbies and lounges of Addis Ababa, Dakar, and Nairobi. I owe in great part my sustained interest in African political thought to the invaluable intellectual exchange that I had with these three exceptional African scholars, particularly Emmanuel Hansen and Claude Ake, who left us much too soon and to whom this book is dedicated. I should mention here that when Claude declined an offer from the American University (Washington, DC) in the fall semester of 1991 to start his own Centre for Advanced Social Science (CASS) in Port-Harcourt (Nigeria), I (on his recommendation) was offered and took up that position.

This project was initiated at Palgrave Macmillan in 2007 under the expert guidance and advice of an extremely talented editorial team, whom I wish to thank for its constant encouragement and support, and which included first Gabriella Georgiades, then Luba Ostashevsky (editors), and Joanna Mericle (editorial assistant). It eventually fell on Chris Chappell (editor) to take up the challenge of rekindling the flame, reviving my waning energies, and bringing this project to completion. All this Chris accomplished with impeccable professionalism, exceptional competence, and remarkable patience and understanding; for this I am grateful to him. Thanks are also due to Sarah Whalen (assistant editor), who was responsible for steering this project through its final stages.

However, I undoubtedly owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my spouse, friend, intellectual companion, and *alter ego*, Mueni wa Muiu. After having invited me to join her in the pathbreaking *Fundi wa Afrika* project—culminating in a book published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2009—she was a constant and crucial source of encouragement and support, gently (but firmly) prodding me to complete my own project when my energies were waning. It is no exaggeration to state that if it was not for Mueni, this book might never have seen the light of day. For this (and for much, much more), I am deeply and sincerely grateful to her. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for all the remaining errors of fact or interpretation that may be found in this work.

Acronyms

AAPC	All-African Peoples' Conference
AAPS	African Association of Political Science
AEF	*Afrique Équatoriale Française* (French Equatorial Africa)
AFRIGOV	African Centre for Democratic Governance
AHSG	Assembly of Heads of States and Government
ANL	*Armée de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Army) [Algeria]
AOF	*Afrique Occidentale Française* (French West Africa)
AU	African Union
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement [South Africa]
BCP	Black Community Programs [South Africa]
BPC	Black People's Convention [South Africa]
CASS	Centre for Advanced Social Science
CCM	*Chama Cha Mapinduzi* [Tanzania]
CDRs	*Comités de Défense de la Révolution* (Revolutionary Defense Committees) [Burkina Faso]
CNR	*Conseil National de la Révolution* (National Revolutionary Council) [Burkina Faso]
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CPP	Convention People's Party [Ghana]
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FAS	Federation of African States
FLN	*Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front) [Algeria]
FRELIMO	*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique)
GPC	General People's Congress [Libya]
MNC	*Mouvement National Congolais* (Congolese National Movement) [DRC]
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCAM	*Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache* (Common African and Malagasy Union)
ONRA	*Office National de la Réforme Agraire* (National Office for Agrarian Reform) [Algeria]

PAIGC   *Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*
               (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau
               and Cape Verde)
PDG   *Parti Démocratique de Guinée* (Democratic Party of
               Guinea)
RDA   *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (African
               Democratic Union)
RENAMO   Mozambique National Resistance Movement
SASO   South African Students' Organization [South Africa]
UAS   Union of African States
UNIA   Universal Negro Improvement Association
US-RDA   *Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*
               (Sudanese Union-African Democratic Union) [Mali]
WASU   West African Students' Union

Contents

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AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT

For my part, the deeper I enter into the cultures and the political circles, the surer I am that the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology.

—Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 186

As a distinct field of study, African political thought is a relatively new discipline. It was only in the late 1960s that it emerged as different and distinct from other—notably Western—systems of thought. The pioneering works in the field—now outdated and mostly out-of-print—focused essentially on various aspects of African nationalism and African socialism.[1] To say (as Boele van Hensbroek does) that "the history of African political ideas is a neglected field of study"[2] is a major understatement. Based on my personal experience and that of many of my colleagues, I can confidently state that the instructor wishing to put together a collection of readings on the subject needs to delve into an extremely broad range of sources and materials widely scattered in many books, articles, and primary sources dealing with African history, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, politics, biography, and literature. As arguably the very first attempt to synthesize African political thought into one single thematic volume, the present textbook is designed to address this concern and fill this gap in the literature.

In essence, African political thought refers to the original ideas, values, and blueprints for a better Africa that inform African political systems and institutions from the ancient period (Kush, sixth century BCE) to the present. African political thought also refers to political theories and ideologies developed by various African scholars and statesmen, as enunciated in their speeches, autobiographies, writings, and policy statements, the main focus here being on the *ideas* rather than on the individuals. Political thought usually precedes and informs political action; the latter, in turn, influences political thought. Political theory and political practice are thus inextricably linked. In other words, African political thought provides practical solutions to political, economic, social, and cultural problems, and it varies according

to historical circumstances and a constantly changing African and world political environment.

To be efficient, an ideology must reach large numbers of people by means of slogans and catchwords. It must publicize and popularize concepts and ideals that have to be comprehended and assimilated in the shortest possible time by ordinary citizens. The impact of ideology will depend greatly on the form, frequency, and intimacy of the communication between the leader who formulates this ideology and the popular masses to whom it is directed. Henry Bretton defines the ideological function of political leadership as follows: "The ideological function of political leadership is primarily to formulate and articulate guidelines for political and social behavior and to translate them into concrete plans and goals for state and society. To be reasonably effective, to release popular energies and direct them toward specific social objectives, the ideas must be manageable in practice, must be articulate, consistent, and socially relevant, and must be perceived by the opinion and action of leaders throughout the state in approximately the sense intended."[3] A major distinction must be made here between indigenous and modern African political thought. The former was developed during the so-called golden age of African history[4] and refers to the governance of ancient kingdoms and empires (such as Egypt, Kush/Nubia, Axum, Ghana, Mali, Songhay, and Kanem-Bornu), but it was also developed by such scholars as Ibn Khaldûn, Al Bekri, Ibn Battuta, and Leo Africanus, and it is associated with indigenous African political systems and institutions. Modern African political thought emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was developed by African scholars such as James Africanus Horton, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and Kwame Nkrumah.

In the African context, Thomas Hodgkin uses the term *nationalist* broadly to refer to individuals, organizations, or groups who called on Africans to assert their rights and fight against European colonialism. According to Basil Davidson, African nationalism is a desire for personal emancipation—a search for equality, rights, self-respect, and full participation in the society. It is a continuous effort to rescue Africans from perceived inferiority as a result of colonialism.[5] Thus African nationalism is a broad and inclusive ideology within which more narrowly defined ideologies—namely, African socialism, African populism, and African Marxism (or Afro-Marxism)—are subsumed. African nationalism takes various forms. Some of the African nationalists—such as K. A. Busia, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Kenneth Kaunda—were advocates of modernization, westernization, and capitalism. Others—such as Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sékou Touré, and Julius Nyerere—believed in a distinctly African brand of socialism that fused indigenous African values and traditions with elements of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and gave prominence to the state in the economy in their quest for political, economic, social, and cultural transformation. Still other African nationalists who fall under the label of "African populists"—such as Thomas Sankara, Muammar Qaddafi, and Steve Biko—while agreeing with the basic tenets of African socialism, focus strictly on transforming their polity, economies, and societies for the benefit

of their people and (contrary to the African socialists) are doers (i.e., action-oriented) rather than theorists. Note that while African socialism and African populism are primarily focused on the domestic political level, they also have an international (or foreign policy) dimension that links them to the ideology of Pan-Africanism and the policy goal of African unity, which essentially aim at the political, economic, and cultural union of Africans in Africa and Africans in the diaspora.

All the modern African authors/activists/statesmen surveyed in this book exhibit a number of common characteristics. First, they were both political thinkers and political statesmen/activists, linking theory and practice, as all major philosopher-kings have been throughout history. Second, they were all, to various degrees, influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Third, they were all truly dedicated to the welfare and well-being of their countries and people. As such, they were all dedicated African nationalists. Last, most of them died young. Some—like Frantz Fanon—died as a result of a fatal disease; others—such as Steve Biko, Amilcar Cabral, Samora Machel, Eduardo Mondlane, Patrice Lumumba, and Thomas Sankara—were brutally murdered by agents of the Western powers.

Note that each of these ideologies can be broken down into various tendencies. Thus there are moderate and radical forms of African nationalism and African socialism. As a result of the demise of the Marxist-Leninist and socialist ideologies in the post–Cold War era, African countries and leaders have, beginning in 1990, progressively (and officially) abandoned these ideologies, while others—like Libya's Muammar Qaddafi and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe—continued to implement African-populist policies (such as the land reform in Zimbabwe). In this period of political transition and turmoil, as well as ideological uncertainty—prematurely described as the "End of History" by Francis Fukuyama—African leaders are sorely in need of a new ideology that would guide the political, economic, social, and cultural development of their countries and people. In this regard, they would be well advised to get inspiration and guidance from African scholars who have developed original ideas for a new, free, and self-reliant Africa, most notably Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Claude Ake, and Mueni wa Muiu.

Besides the fact that this textbook is, to the best of our knowledge, the very first attempt to synthesize African political thought into one single thematic volume, what else makes it unique and original? For one thing, it is the first book in which indigenous African political ideas and values (from Antiquity to the nineteenth century) are examined in detail alongside modern African political ideas (from the nineteenth century to the present). Furthermore, it is—again, to the best of our knowledge—also the very first time that the emergence of Islamic values and ideas on governance between the second and eighth centuries in North, West, and Eastern Africa are studied in relation to indigenous African values and ideas on governance. Finally, contrary to existing works on the subject, this textbook focuses primarily on the *ideas* and the common themes that bind them, rather than on the *individuals*—whether scholars, activists, statesmen, or leaders—themselves.

A word of caution is necessary here to point out what is *not* covered in this book. First of all, African Marxist (or Afro-Marxist) regimes fall outside the purview of this book because they do not derive from an original ideology; they merely implement—or, sometimes, pretend to implement—Marxist-Leninist ideology and public policy in an African political context. Besides, such regimes have been the object of exhaustive study by a number of authors, most notably David and Marina Ottaway, Edmond Keller and Donald Rothchild, and Crawford Young, but also in the "Marxist Regimes Series" edited by Bogdan Szajkowski.[6] Second, *Négritude* and its advocates and critics do not figure in this book. *Négritude* is a cultural movement reasserting African culture, values, and traditions as part of the common heritage of mankind. This ideology emerged in Paris (France) in the 1930s among the African and Caribbean elites and was enunciated by such authors as Aimé Césaire (Martinique), Léon-Gontran Damas (French Guyana), and Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal), the latter becoming president of his country from 1960 to 1980. Over the years, *Négritude* has become a distinct subfield in the area of Francophone African cultural studies and literary criticism, and it has given rise to a vast body of work. The acknowledged doyen of this school is Francis Abiola Irele, author of many books on the subject.[7] By the same token, Léopold Senghor's specific brand of "African Socialism" is not covered in this book, as it has been abundantly dealt with elsewhere.[8] Finally, constraints of space forced us to, unfortunately, exclude a number of African scholars/activists/leaders worthy of study. These include Blaise Diagne, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Alexander Crummel, Herbert Macaulay, and John Mensah Sarbah among the early West African nationalists; Nnamdi Azikiwe, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Félix Houghouët-Boigny, Nelson Mandela, Tom Mboya, and Jacques Rabemananjara among the advocates of liberal democracy; Eduardo Mondlane, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Agostinho Neto, Oginga Odinga, and Robert Sobukwe among the socialist-populists; Robert Mugabe and John Jerry Rawlings among the populist-socialists; and Pathë Diagne, Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, and Walter Rodney among the Africanist-populists.

As we have noted previously, African political thought varies according to historical circumstances and a constantly changing African and world political environment. It is therefore important to note in this regard that various African political ideologies are associated with specific historical periods and time frames. Thus Pan-Africanism first emerged in the United States of America and the Caribbean in the 1920s with such intellectual/activist leaders as W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, C. L. R. James, George Padmore, and Marcus Garvey. It was only with the Manchester Pan-African Congress of October 1945 that the Pan-African movement moved to Africa under the leadership of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Similarly, the *Négritude* movement emerged in Paris in the 1930s among a French-speaking intellectual elite led by Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Damas, and Léopold Sédar Senghor. In the same way, the period from 1945 to 1960 may be viewed as the heyday of African nationalism, just as the decade from 1960 to 1970 is when African socialism came to full

bloom. The following decade (1970 to 1980) is when Marxist regimes flourished throughout Africa (Angola, Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, and Somalia), while the early 1990s saw the demise of these regimes. The populist-socialists fall into three different categories. The first includes those intellectuals/activists who remained at the level of ideas, with limited or no policy experience at all (Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko). The second includes those leaders who were in power for only a few years and thus were unable to see their policies bear fruit: Thomas Sankara (1983–87) and J. Jerry Rawlings (1979–82).[9] The third group includes those statesmen who were in power for the longest time: Muammar Qaddafi (1969–2011) and Robert Mugabe (1980 to present). Finally, while there were early Africanist-populists (such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, and Anton M. Lembede), the majority of the scholars associated with this school of thought—such as Claude Ake, Daniel Osabu-Kle, and Mueni wa Muiu—came to prominence in the early twenty-first century.

Chapter 1 is a broad survey of the ideas and values that shaped indigenous African political systems and institutions, from Antiquity to the tenth century. Section 1 deals with the conceptualization of political power: namely, the confusion between the secular and the sacred; the communal nature of property rights; the system of checks and balances and the limits on the use and abuse of political power by the rulers (chiefs, kings, and emperors) in the form of various advisory bodies (inner or privy council and council of elders) and village assemblies; the institutionalization of succession and the transfer of power; and the rules of war and the methods of conflict resolution. Section 2 focuses on the conceptualization of democracy in terms of individual and collective rights, the rule of decision making by consensus, the role of age sets, gender relations and the role of women in politics, indigenous concepts of justice and the law, relations between the rulers and the ruled, and village assemblies acting as the ultimate political authority. The particular focus of this chapter is on the earliest state formations in Africa—namely, Egypt, Kush/Nubia, Ghana, and Mali—though occasional reference is made to some later state formations such as Asante (Ghana).

Chapter 2 continues the survey of the ideas and values that shaped indigenous African political systems and institutions initiated in Chapter 1, with particular focus on the progressive emergence of Islamic values and ideas on governance, as well as the process of mutual cross-fertilization of such values and ideas with indigenous African values and ideas on governance between the second and eighth centuries in North Africa and the coastal city-states of Eastern Africa.

Section 2 of Chapter 2 is an overview of the conception of the state embodied in the concept of 'asabîyah, referring to the rise and fall of political systems and institutions outlined by the medieval North African scholar and statesman Ibn Khaldûn (1332–1406) in his *magnum opus* titled *The Muqqadimah* (1377). Section 3 examines how Islamic values and ideas on governance influenced indigenous African values and ideas on power and governance in various Islamic theocratic states that emerged in the Western

Sudan in the nineteenth century: namely, the theocratic state of the Futa Jalon (1725–76); Usman dan Fodio's Sokoto Caliphate (1808–37); the Fulani kingdom of Sheiku Ahmadu and his successors (1818–62); and the Segu Tuklor Empire of al-Haj 'Umar Tall (1852–93).

In Chapter 3, the ideas of the African advocates of modernization, westernization, and liberal democracy are examined. The first section is an overview of the image of Africa and Africans constructed by Europeans from the sixteenth century onward, informed by the theory of "Social Darwinism." The chapter then focuses specifically on the French colonial policies of assimilation and association, as well as on the British colonial policy of "Indirect Rule." The chapter also examines the rise of economic and political liberalism in nineteenth century Europe as a background for the rise of "Humanitarianism." The next section focuses on a small Western-educated intellectual elite that tried to reconcile Western systems of thought with African culture, values, and traditions, or Western liberalism with African democracy: Edward W. Blyden, James Africanus Horton, and Joseph Casely Hayford. The last section of Chapter 3 examines the ideas of two prominent African advocates of liberal democracy: an academic and one-time prime minister (1969–72), Kofi Busia of Ghana, and the "Father of Zambian Nationalism" and president of Zambia for 27 years (1964–91), Kenneth Kaunda.

Chapter 4 is a survey of Pan-Africanism as a political and cultural ideal and movement eventually leading to African unity. The chapter first shows how the Pan-Africanist leaders' dream for immediate political and economic integration in the form of a "United States of Africa" was deferred in favor of a gradualist-functionalist approach, embodied in the creation of a weak and ineffective Organization of African Unity (OAU) on May 25, 1963, in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). The chapter then analyzes the reasons for the failure of the Pan-Africanist leaders' dream of unity, among which inter-African rivalries and the divide-and-rule strategies of the major Western powers figure prominently. The chapter shows that the successor organization to the OAU, the African Union, created in May 2001, is bound to know the same fate as the OAU because it is modeled on the European Union and thus not homegrown. The chapter then surveys past and current proposals for a revision of the map of Africa and a reconfiguration of the African states put forward by various authors such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Marc-Louis Ropivia, Makau wa Mutua, Arthur Gakwandi, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Daniel Osabu-Kle, Godfrey Mwakikagile, Pelle Danabo, and Mueni wa Muiu. The chapter concludes with a brief study of Mueni wa Muiu's proposal for a reconfiguration of Africa into five subregional states, the Federation of African States (FAS). It is argued that only with the advent of FAS will Africa's "Dream of Unity" finally become a reality.

Chapter 5 is a survey of the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the socialist-populist ideology from a distinctly socialist perspective. The statesmen affiliated with this ideology either were not in

power at all (Cabral and Mondlane) or else ruled for only a short period of time (Ben Bella, Lumumba, Machel, and Neto). Furthermore, these leaders may be characterized as "democrats" in the sense that they were unable or unwilling to exercise authoritarian rule, they encouraged a form of participatory democracy, and they truly had the best interest of their people at heart. Three of the countries surveyed (Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique) achieved independence as a result of an armed struggle. This group includes Patrice Lumumba (Congo), Ahmed Ben Bella (Algeria), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), Agostinho Neto (Angola), and Samora Machel and Eduardo Mondlane (Mozanbique). For the reasons explained previously, the chapter shall focus exclusively on Lumumba, Ben Bella, Cabral, and Machel.

Chapter 6 continues the survey—started in Chapter 5—of the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the socialist-populist ideology from a distinctly socialist perspective. This chapter, however, focuses on the statesmen (and regimes) who, in spite of the socialist rhetoric, have used the socialist-populist ideology (to various degrees) as an instrument of control and coercion, sometimes even as an instrument of terror (as in the case of Sékou Touré). These political systems are characterized by relatively authoritarian (sometimes totalitarian) regimes, a top-down system of administration, as well as state control over the economy. Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Ahmed Sékou Touré (Guinea), Modibo Kéïta (Mali), and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) all fall in this category. The chapter begins with a study of the "Father of African Nationalism," Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who conceived his own philosophy and ideology for decolonization, which he called "Consciencism." The chapter then surveys the political ideas and policies of two key proponents of "African Socialism" in Francophone Africa: Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea and Modibo Kéïta of Mali. The chapter concludes with a survey of the political ideology and policies of another prominent advocate of "African Socialism," Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania.

Chapter 7 is an overview of the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the populist-socialist ideology from a distinctly populist perspective, from the early 1960s to the present. The intellectuals/statesmen reviewed in this chapter were both theoreticians and practitioners who genuinely sought to improve the condition of their people by attempting to implement policies of political, economic, social, and cultural transformation. Sections 1 and 4 deal with those scholar-activists who remained essentially at the level of ideas, with very limited or no policy experience at all: Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko. In section 2, we shall focus on the case of one intellectual/statesman who, because of particular historical circumstances, was in power for a limited period of time and thus was unable to see his policies of political and socioeconomic transformation bear fruit: Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso). The third section of this chapter shall examine one populist leader who (until his elimination

by NATO forces) had been in power for a very long time (42 years): Muammar Qaddafi of Libya.

Chapter 8 reviews the ideas and values for a new, free, and self-reliant Africa put forth by African academics who have the best interest of the people at heart and thus advocate a popular type of democracy and development. However, unlike the populist-socialist scholars, these Africanist-populist scholars refuse to operate within the parameters of Western ideologies—whether of the socialist, Marxist-Leninist, or liberal-democratic persuasion—and call on Africans to get rid of their economic, technological, and cultural dependency syndrome. These scholars are also convinced that the solution to African problems lie within Africans themselves. Thus they refuse to remain passive victims of a perceived or preordained fate and call on all Africans to become the initiators and agents of their own development, with the ultimate goal of creating a "new African." It is interesting to note that all these individuals are first and foremost academics, deal strictly with ideas, and have not been directly involved in politics (although the majority are political scientists).[10] Some of the most prominent Africanist-populist scholars include Senegalese scientist Cheikh Anta Diop (1923–86); Burkinabè historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo (1922–2006); Nigerian political scientist Claude Ake (1939–96); Ghanaian political scientist Daniel T. Osabu-Kle; Tanzanian scholar-journalist Godfrey Mwakikagile; and Kenyan political scientist Mueni wa Muiu. Note that all these scholars are dedicated Pan-Africanists and many would shun the reference to their nationality, preferring to be simply called "Africans." For the reasons stated previously, the chapter will focus exclusively on the last four scholars mentioned: namely, Osabu-Kle, Ake, Mwakikagile, and Muiu.

The conclusion will summarize the concepts and ideas presented in Chapters 1 through 8. First, the ideas and values that shaped indigenous African political systems and institutions, from Antiquity to the late nineteenth century are examined. Particular attention is given to the conceptualization of political power and democracy; the development of Islamic concepts of governance between the second and eighth centuries in North and Eastern Africa; Ibn Khaldun's conception of the state as embodied in the concept of *'asabiyah*; and indigenous values and ideas on power and governance in various state formations of West, Central, and Southern Africa between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Second, the ideas for modernization and westernization of the early West African nationalists of the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries are reviewed. Third, we undertake a survey of Pan-Africanism as an ideal and instrument of foreign policy, from North America in the early twentieth century. Fourth, the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the socialist-populist ideology during the early years of independence—particularly from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s—are examined. Fifth, the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the populist-socialist ideology from a populist perspective, from the 1960s to the present, are reviewed. Lastly, we undertake an overview of the more recent ideas for a new, free, and self-reliant Africa, with particular attention

to the interconnectedness of the concepts of development and democracy in contemporary Africa. These ideas and concepts are put forth primarily by contemporary African academics—the Africanist-populists, who are convinced that the solution to African problems lie within African themselves—who advocate a popular type of democracy and development and call for the advent of a "new African."