TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

BY

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Introduction

In nostalgic note, Africans in diaspora and intellectuals who were opportune to study in the west in 17^{th} -18^{th} century realized the malcontent condition of their homeland and started their political agitation towards mobilization and liberation of Africans in Africa and diaspora. Such movements create awareness campaign to Africans and instill the spirit of consciousness, patriotism and pan-Africanism.

At this juncture, some African political philosophers devoted their time to discourse some contending African problems such as "racial discrimination, negritude, colonialism, apartheid. Nationalism, African Independence, African Unity and Democracy etc." with the aimed of providing an amicable solution. Some proponents behind this movement are William E.B. Du Bois, William of Trinidad, Henry Sylvester, Marcus Garvey, Paul Robeson, Malcom X, Edward Blyden, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Leopold Sedar Senghor Nmandi Azikwe, Aminu Kano, Obafemi Awolowo, Patrick Lumumba, Nyerere, Ki-Zerbo and among others.

Indeed, they have advocated so many movements, forum and unions such as "Pan-Africanism movement; back to Africa, negritude, West African Students Union (WASU) called for African Independence towards colonial freedom, African Unity and African Democracy and Socialism etc. as a solutions to discontent African problems". The nationalism struggle is the new platform for political thought in Africa. Nationalism movement divided along the lines of consciousness and patriotism of the nationalist leaders in Africa. Their movement was classified as plaintive/cultural Nationalism; radical nationalism/revolutionary or Marxist nationalist and Pan-Africanism-nationalism. In this regard, Kofi A. Busia, Nnamdi Azikwe or Zik of Africa and Kenneth Kaunda were advocates of Modernization, westernization and capitalism which they are "plaintive nationalism" while Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure, Julius Nyerere were proponents of African socialism with Marxist ideology. Though, Amicar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Franz Fanon of Algeria, Samora Michel and Steve Bioko are radical

nationalist. In this respect, Pan African nationalist are William Du Bois, Paul Robinson, William of Trinidad and Kwame Nkrumah in Anglophone African society. While, Aimee cesaire, Leon-Gontran Damas and Leopold Sedar Senghor are advocates of "Negritude movement" (i.e. cultural nationalism) in francophone African Countries.

Therefore the African Political thought was derived from the ideas, views, theorist and philosophical positions of African Political thinkers, scholars, politicians and philosophers on African problems with the aimed for proffering solutions. Because, wherever there are political problems and activities and people concern themselves with these problems and activities, there is thought. In other words, thought and politics are of the same age in the sense that, where there are political problems which call for political solutions, thought precedes action (Mutiso and Rohio, 1975).

However, it is from the framework of political thinkers in Africa and diaspora Africans that the political thought of Africa would emanated. In fact, they pointed out some African problems aimed at proffering solutions to it within the context of their political ideas on some aspect such as African Personality, African Socialism, Democracy, Unity and independence etc. This chapter dwells to analyze the African political thought to enable the students and researchers in African politics to understand the status of African political thinkers and the relevant of their thought to the development and future of African continent. The chapter contained the brief background of African states, conceptual clarification of African political thought, background and classification of African political thought, Some Prominent scholars and African political thinkers and their contribution (.i.e. Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, William E.B. Du Bois, and Frantz Fanon, Leapord Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah,Julius Nyerere, K.A.Busia, Kenneth Kaunda among others).

Brief Background of African States

African is the second largest continent on the earth, covering 23% of world landmass with 955 million population as at 2008. It has more than 3000 languages spoken in Africa, with Swahili as the most widely spoken language or described as the mother of African language that cover over 50million people in east and some part of central Africa. The Hausa and Yoruba followed with more than 20 million speakers in the west and some part of North African region. While Arab speakers were largely dominated the northern part of Africa. The most notable religious practices in the continent are Islam, Christianity, African traditional religion and some few orthodox Jews in Ethiopia.

The continent contained 54 nation states in 2011 due to the emergence of south Sudan out of Sudan. Indeed, there was 48 countries in the mainland and the six surrounding islands which include Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe in the Atlantic ocean while Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles in Indian ocean(New man et al, 2009). Furthermore, the continent is commonly divided along the lines of the Sahara, the world's largest desert, which cuts vast geographical areas in half of northern part down to the southern region of the continent. Africa consists northern part which encompasses some Arab countries like Algeria, Egypt, Libya, morocco, Sudan and Tunisia. While west African states involved Benin republic, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, chad, Cote d' I Voire, Ghana, guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, sierra Leone, Gambia and Togo. The easternpart of the continent consists Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zanzibar. In fact, the central African region includes, Angola, Central African Republic, democratic republic of Congo and Zambia. While the southern part of the continent involved Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe (new man, et al, 2009).

Africa is the one of the six continents on the globe, others are: Europe, North America, South America, Asia, and Australia. Etymologically, the word Africa was derived from

“ifriqiyya” which was encapsulated from Islamic historical documents by prominent historian among muslim world. On this course, some intellectuals such as Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Dinar, Al-Bakri, and Al-Masudi among others have presented different interpretations on the word “ifriqiyya”. It was interpreted as the “Queen of Heaven” or that it was named after “ifriqos bin Saifi” the King of Yemen. African continent reflect Arab race in the Maghreb-Northern part of the continent which include Egypt, Tunisia, morocco, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Sudan among others.

Conceptual Clarification on African Political Thought

According to oxford dictionary thought means a person’s mind and all the ideas that they have in it when they are thinking. In this respect, Mahajan (1988) pointed out that “political thought generally concerned with political philosophy”. The literature of political thought was derived from philosophers which are in best position to present the matter philosophically to the universe.

Political thought is a discipline which is concerned with thought, theories and values which influence public policy and also determines political behavior. Essentially, it is concerned with thought, theories and values which shaped the politics of a state.

In other word, some scholars contend that political though refers to the deliberations treaties, agreement and philosophical presentations, by the philosophers on a phenomenon towards expressing their status either positive or negative on subject matters.

Political thought is basically the thought of philosophers on political life of mankind in order to find out the amicable solutions to the debilitated problem of the universe. It may be the problem of governance, justice equity, transparency and affairs of the state, continent or empire.

Meanwhile, African Political thought reflect the views, ideas and thought of African system-builders, political thinkers and philosophers on African political problems (i.e racial discrimination, exploitation, colonization, negritude and absence of freedom and independence) with the aimed at offering proper solution. African political thought refers to the original ideas, values, and blueprints for a better Africa that inform African political systems and institutions from ancient period (Kush, sixth century BCE) to the present (Martin, 2012:1). He further argued that African political thought dwells on political theories and ideologies developed by various African scholars and the statesmen, as enunciated in their speeches, autobiographies, writings, and policy statements, the main focus here being on the ideas rather than on the individual (Martins, 2012).

Background and Classification of African Political Thought

African political thought was divided into three classes: (1) ancient political thought (2) modern political thought and (3) contemporary political thought. These thought was emanated from ancient thinkers and political leaders in Africa down to the contemporary thinkers. The ancient thinkers which include notable scholars and African leaders such as Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Batuta, Mansa Musa and Bn Fodio among others have become the pioneers and founding fathers for African political thought.

Initially, the background of African political thought began with political ideologies of African political thinkers since before the advent of colonial intervention. This refer to the ancient era whereby the geographical entity of Africa was based on empires, kingdoms and regions with their traditional political system as enshrined in their customs, creed and culture. This was described as golden age of African historiographical era, this involved the struggle of African ancient scholars such as Ibn Khaldun, Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio, Mansa Kansa Musa of Mali Leo africanus among others as well as the proto nationalist like Samora Toure of Medinkan Empire, King Attahiru of Sokoto, Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itshekeri and Kosoko of Lagos etc. these were among the personalities used their intellectual wisdom to integrate African political and socio-religious affairs.

Indeed, this era refers to the governance of ancient kingdoms and empires (such as Egypt, Kush/Nubia, Axum, Ghana, Mali Songhai, and Kanem Bornu), and was developed by scholars like Ibn Khaldun, Al-Bekri, Ibn Battuta, Uthman Ibn Fodio, Mansa Kansa Musa of Mali and Leo Africanus, and it is associated with indigenous Africa Political system and institutions (Martin, 2012).

Modern African Political thought emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's and was developed by African scholars and political stakeholders such as James Africanus Horton, Edward Blyden, Leopord Sedar Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, among others. The backbone of modern African Political thought is from cultural nationalism, negritude and pan Africanism which was emanated from great African Political thinkers such as William Du Bois and Marcus Garvey down to the other African Political thinkers of 1940s, 50s, 60s, and 70s. (.i.e. Kwame Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Ki-zerbo, Busia, Zik, Awolowo Nyerere and Nelson Mandela etc.).

Indeed, it was from their intellectual polemics and political thinking that gave birth to "African political thought". 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 Basil Davidson, African nationalism is a desire for personal emancipation and the search for equality, rights, self-respect, and full participation in the society. It is continuous effort to rescue African from perceived inferiority as a result of colonialism.

More so, the contemporary African political thought emerged within the realm of intellectual contribution and consciousness of African scholars to the patriotic state of the continent. The contribution of Cheikh Anta Diop, Walter Rodney, Ali Mazrui, Victor Dike, Samir Amin, Professor PLO. Lumumba, Abdulkareem Bangura among others. These scholars fight for the development of African political system in post-colonial era down to the contemporary African position through their intellectual discourse and

academic contribution in the field of knowledge. Indeed, the African Triple Heritage and African Video documentary by Professor Ali Al-Amin Mazrui sponsored by British Broadcasting Corporation BBC in 1986 has really disseminates knowledge and educate the world on colonial predicaments and post-colonial position of African continents within the context of history, political economy, socio-cultural relations with other world among others. Cheikh Anta Diop was described as the founding father of Afrocenticity that emphasized on Nilotic origin of global civilization (Mazrui, 2010).

Subsequently, the role of Kenyan former Director of Anti-Corruption crusade, African nationalist and also a Professor of Law, P.L.O. Lumumba who engage in liberating Africans on contemporary challenges such as bad governance, corruption, underdevelopment and maladministration across the continent. Furthermore, the giant intellectual contributions and awareness campaign of Professor Samir Amin, Ali Mazrui, Abdul Kareem Bangura, Umar Johnson, Affiong L.Affiong among others would be taken into consideration.

Some Prominent African Political Thinkers and Their Contributions

This section stressed the role played by some prominent African personality who contributed immensely to the development of African political thought in safeguarding the image of the entire continent from the clutches of colonial dominance, apartheid and alienation. This involved the brief history of African political thinkers such as Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, and Williams Du-Bous,Franz fanon Leopard Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Nmandi Azikwe, and Awolowo was discussed and highlights their political contribution. Then the chapter discussed pan-Africanism, African unity and socialism in Africa.

EDWARD BLYDEN (1832-1912)

His full name is Edward Wilmot Blyden and he was born in Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands in 1832. In 1850 he sought admission to a United States College of theology but he was rejected because he was black. Horrified by racial discrimination in America which culminated him to inspired Pan Africanism and African Unity. Blyden attended High School in Monrovia, Liberia from (1862-1871). Indeed, within such period he became editor "Liberia Herald Newspaper" and "Sierra Leonean Negro Newspaper". Then later he became a college Professor at Liberia. He was described as the best black intellectual of 19th century. He extremely fought for safeguarding the image of entire Africans and black race. He was described as a great politician, writer, and diplomat. Indeed, he was one of the significant player on afro-Caribbean intellectuals in nineteenth century and the key thinkers in the development of Pan-Africanism (Martins, 2012). Blyden eventually returned to the Liberia to hold various post on academics and diplomatic responsibility. He finally returned to the Sierra Leone 1884, and involved in Muslim education and journalist activities until his death in 1912.

EDWARD BLYDEN'S POLITICAL THOUGHT ON AFRICAN CONTINENT

The political thought of Blyden centered on protecting, safeguarding and uplifting the image of Black race (i.e. Negritude). His message was that black as individuals and a race have a history of major achievements; that African customs and institutions represented the black soul and should not be lightly discarded; and the black race has distinctive talents and a special contribution to make to world civilization.

He also advocate progressive African nation with cultural integrity and a sense of pan-African mission is the only way to maintained black respect and dignity in the globe. He first promoted in vain the large-scale repatriation of African Americans to Liberia in the hope that it could it fit this role.

His major contribution is to foster cooperation, unity and a sense of community among all English-speaking West Africans. Blyden, tried to improve communication between

West African Christians and Muslims. His emphasis on African unity and in diversity in order to develop synergy within complex divergent African society so as to consolidate unity among Africans for African development.

He pointed out "pan Africanism" to Africans for future African political development as well as condemned European Colonial rule of Africa as dangerous, mainly because of the damage that white cultural arrogance could do to African culture.

MARCUS GARVEY

Historically, Marcus was born in Jamaica to the family of Garvey in Saint Ann's Bay. He left school at the age of 14 to serve as a printer's apprentice. A few years later, he took a job at a printing company in Kingston, where in 1907 he led printer's strike for higher wages or salary increment. Garvey traveled later to South America and Central America. He returned to Jamaica in 1914 and established the "Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities League. In 1916 Garvey moved to United States and based at New York City. There he incorporated the UNIA and established a weekly Newspaper (i.e. the Negro World) for public enlightenment to the black race".

GARVEY'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

The central theme of Marcus Garvey political thought to Africa is characterized on patriotism nationalism and consciousness to Africans in Africa and in diaspora. Basically, Garvey founded the universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 to promote the improvement of living conditions for Africans and people of African descent in North and South America, the Caribbean, and Europe. According to Garvey as presented in his speech in 1921.

"We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) are raising the cry of 'Africa of the Africans'-those at home and those abroad. There are 400 million Africans in the world who have Negro blood coursing through their

veins. And we believe that the time has come to unite these 400 million people for the one common purpose of bettering their condition".

Meanwhile, Garvey called all black Americans to be proud of their race and preached their return to Africa, their ancestral homeland. At this juncture, he founded the Black Star line in 1919 to provide steamship transportation and the Negro Factories Corporation to encourage black economic independence. Indeed, it was through such legacy, he instill a spirit of economic independence to Africans in diaspora as well as at Africa. In the same vein, Marcus Garvey contributed immensely to the growth of the "black nationalist movement" in United States and beyond. Through such fora he called for African unity and redemption among working-class blacks. In this regard, he promote black pride, political and economic emancipation for blacks everywhere, and repatriation of blacks to Africa. He established a movement known as "Back to Africa".

It was Garvey's political ideology motivate the African Students who study in London in the late 1920's to form the West African Student Union (WASU) which later aid youth African Nationalist for African independence from colonialism. Indeed, some of the active members and profounder of WASU are Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Aminu Kano and Tafawa Balewa in Nigeria, Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyetta of Kenya etc. it was through (WASU) project most of Africans were liberated against colonial plunder and called for freedom and independence.

James Africanus B. Horton (1835-83)

His full name is James Africanus Beale Horton and was born in Sierra Leone in 1835, He attended Fourah Bay Institute and later he proceeded to the University of Edinburgh to study Medicine in 1859. He then joined the military medical service and posted him to Gold Cost (present Ghana). Horton is an eloquent physician, great scientist, historian, writer and pan-africanist (Martins, 2012).

Horton's Political ideology

Horton developed the concept of African civilization, national development, freedom and independence in his work *West African Centuries and Peoples* in 1868. To him, Africa is opened to western society and should develop along European lines, utilizing western education, science and technology for a substantial degree of African self-reliance and independence from Europe. He advocates that the principle of racial equality rested on the ability of all races to absorb and utilize with equal facility the greatest achievements that civilized communities had been able to produce through the ages. He declared that his aim was to develop a "true political science" for West African society and prove the capacity of the African for possessing a real political government and national independence. He was among the early modern African political thinkers who boldly campaign for self-government for the West African colonies and champion the cause of what referred as "African nationality" his ideas influenced the institutionalization of "fanti-confederation". He challenge the idea of Africans are back warded as pointed out by Europe which he provided that the former Sierra Leoneans slaves have made a significant contribution towards progress and development (Martins, 2012). More so, most of the European industrial development was achieved through African slaves in producing them raw materials and agricultural produce via plantation and cultivation for the purpose of European development in one way and African under development in other lane (Rodney, 1974).

JOSEPH E. C. HAYFORD (1866-1930)

His full name is Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford was born in September, 1866 in Cape Coast, Ghana from prominent coastal elite family with European ancestry. He was educated at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone and further his studies to university of Cambridge which he study economics and law. This background make him to become legal practitioner, writer, politician and pan-Africanist. He played a significant role on dispute over colonial government in attempt to control land of the colonies. He served as appointed legislative member of the Gold Coast legislative Council (GCLC) from 1916-1925 and later he was elected as the member of GCLC from 1927 until his death in 1930.

JOSEPH E. C. HAYFORD CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

His political philosophy was built from the famous work and ideology of James Africanus Horton and Edward Blyden. Casely Hayford advocates the development of a regional "West African Nationality" that encourage "race emancipation" and emphatically emphasis that Africa was the "cradle of civilization". As pan-Africanist he was the founder of and pioneer of "National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) as the pan-African organization in African continent. Through NCBWA, he create togetherness and unity among West African nationalist. Under this umbrella, he organize nationalist from Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone for the sake of West African nationalism movement. This effort, accelerate him to become a vice president and later a president of NCBWA respectively.

He advocated the mobilization of people of African descent throughout the globe so as to modernize African society and retaining its character. He called on the creation of West African University to become Centre of academic excellence for the students of West African region and Africans in diaspora. Accordingly, the university shall base on African or Africanized curriculum in order to promote African culture and overcome eurocentricism typical colonial rule (Martins, 2012). His proposal for a Gold Coast University and was instrumental in the establishment of Achimota College in1927. Hanford's ideas of West African nationalism had a major influence on African students' in Britain and were the guiding principle for the West African student union (WASU) established in London in 1925 as well as Kwame Nkrumah's West African national secretariat created in 1940s. Hayford is also an architect of constitutional political reforms within the framework of brutish colonialism and British Empire. Accordingly, western education and African traditions and cultural values could be combined to advocate reforms of the colonial system rather than self-determination or independence.

WILLIAM E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963)

His full name is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born in Barrington, Massachusetts. A descendant of African American, French and Dutch ancestors, he demonstrated his intellectual gifts at an early age. He graduated from high school at age of 16 and only black in his graduating class. He sponsored himself to college of education later won the scholarship to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he excelled and saw for the first time the plight of southern blacks.

Du Bois received his bachelor's degree from Fisk in 1888, and won a scholarship to attend Harvard University which he did another fresh Degree, then Master Degree and Doctoral Degree in 1895. Indeed, he was the first black to receive that Degree from Harvard. His research is on historical and sociological conditions of black Americans that would make him the most influential black intellectual of his time, later he became a professor of economic and history at 'Atlanta University'.

DU BOIS POLITICAL THOUGHT

He championed the "black Nationalism" through criticizing Washington's strategy of accommodation and compromise with whites in both politics and education. He perceived such strategy as denial to black citizenship rights. He Challenge Washington's leadership through "Niagara Movement". He called for equality of economic resources, and educational opportunity for blacks, and end to segregation and the prohibition of discrimination in courts, public facilities and trade unions.

He contributed immensely to the formation of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A group of black and white intellectuals who dedicated to improving the conditions for blacks in United States.

He advocated "Pan Africanism Movement". Accordingly, pan Africanism is the philosophy that African people share common bonds and objectives and that advocates unity to achieve these objectives". He convened first pan African congress in Paris 1919.

The bottom-line of the conference is to consider the plight of Africans and people of African descent (i.e. provision of education for Africans and the need for greater African participation in the Affairs of the colonies).

He advocated and proposed, the Encyclopedia Africana, a comprehensive encyclopedia of the culture and history of African people. The pan-Africanism movement of Du Bois motivated civil right activist in US to spread the movement within America and beyond Malcolm X was among the important figure on that angle.

FRANTZ FANON

Frantz Fanon was born in Martinique (a French overseas territory in the Caribbean) on July 20, 1925, he grew up as a Martiniquais. He went on to metropolitan France first as a soldier in World War II then as a medical student at the University of Lyon. Finally he moved to Algeria and Tunisia, working as a psychiatrist at the Blidajoinville Hospital and later as a propagandists for Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) in Tunis during the bloody war of independence against the French (1954-62). In 1959, Fanon was briefly a diplomat representing the FLN in Ghana. He died of Leukemia in a suburban Washington, D.C, and hospital on (December 6, 1961) at the age of 31, barely seven month before the formal independence of Algeria (i.e. 3rd July, 1962).

FANON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT ON AFRICA

Fanon eloquently calls for a new and original African political thought. According to him the African Political thought should be developed outside of Europe's beaten tracks. "We today can do everything so long as well do not imitate Europe, so long as we are not obsessed by the desire to catch up with Europe ….. Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction… if we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the solution elsewhere than in Europe …. We must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man".

The central theme of his political thought centered on the fact that any liberation movement (or government) should have a specific doctrine, clearly defined goals and objectives, and some kind of blueprint: things must be explained to (the people); the people see where they are going, and how they are to get there ….. A program is necessary for a government which really wants to free the people politically and socially …. In fact, there must be an idea of man and of the future of humanity.

Fanon opined that the great danger that threatens the African cultural heritage and political system is due to the absence of ideology. His populist approach implies a particular conception of democracy: "the national government if it wants to be national ought to govern by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts" Fanon's populist conception of democracy is based on three basic elements; accountability, decentralization, and political education.

According to Fanon, the single party in post-colonial Africa has become an instrument of power, privilege, coercion and personal advancement in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. To him, the ideal political party should be "an instrument in the hands of the people", it should also be "the direct expression of the masses… the energetic spokesman and the incorruptible defender of the masses and an organism through which the people exercise their authority and express their will".

Fanon pointed that the concept of neo-colonialism is linked with that of "false decolonization". False decolonization is a process whereby political power is transferred from the colonial authorities in the metropolis to the national bourgeoisie in the former colonies, while economic power remains firmly entrenched in the former colonists. Thus political and juridical independence-or flag independence does not necessarily lead to economic independence. To him, a true decolonization is a state whereby African countries achieve economic independence through a process of autonomous self-centered

and self-reliant development, which come within the framework of regional or sub regional groupings.

According to Fanon, African Unity can only be achieved through a bottom up people-driven process, and under the leadership of people which is contrary to the interest of bourgeoisie. He also called on "independent African States" as well to establish a "United states of Africa". Indeed, they share the same idea with Kwame Nkrumah.

He advocate that, in order popular democracy and development to entrench in Africa, the African People, leaders and scholars should stop blindly following the west, imitating the western culture, tradition, ideas and institution they must think "outside the box" and above all, they must be bold and innovative and develop their own ideas, concepts and institutions based on African culture, values and traditions.

LEOPOLD SENGHOR

Leopold Sedar Senghor was born a member of the sere ethnic group in small town of Joal located at French colony of Senegal (in French West Africa). He attended catholic mission school and remained a devoted Christian throughout his life. After attending high school in Dakar, Senghor won a scholarship to study in Paris, France where in 1935 he became the first African to receive the garage (doctorate) degree. He was recognized as an internationally respected poet, philosophy, and theoretician. He led the movement for Senegal independence and was elected as the first president of Senegal which served his country for six consecutive tenures (i.e. 1960-1981).

SENGHOR'S POLITICAL MISSION ON AFRICA

Senghor advocate and developed the concept of "negritude" refer it to distinctive culture shared, he believed by Africans and all members of the African diaspora (people of African ancestry around the world). He believed that all these people should be proud of their negritude, develop it, express it, and offer it to the world as universal human

heritage. Indeed, he was described as the “father negritude”. He was recognized by french as the “authentic voice of Africa” the defender of “negritude”.

He joined the French socialist party at initial stage later in 1948 resigned from the party and established a new Senegal-based party “the bloc Democratique senegalais” (Senegal Democratic Bloc), which he believed could better represent the interest of his African constituents.

He rejected basic Marxist ideas of socialism/communism which was a product of western political system and advocate unique “African form of socialism”. He believed that Africa could adopt socialist planning and technology, build on its own community based principles, and create an African socialism in keeping with African strengths and traditions.

He predicates the greater political autonomy for French-speaking West Africa as a whole. He also struggle to fight independence to all French West Africa federation, believing that disunity would weaken all the individual African territories economically and politically. But, the colonial masters granted them independence individually and dissolved the federation.

Finally, he was contributed to African socialism, pan Africanism and African unity which he strongly participate in establishing OAU.

KWAME NKRUMAH

His full name was Francis Nwia Kofi Kwame Nkrumah was born on 21st September, 1909 in Nkorful Nzima region, in southwestern Gold coast. He attended catholic missionary school, then proceeded to Achimota College in Accra which he obtained a teacher certificate in 1930. He taught at several catholic elementary schools. In 1935, he attend Lincoln University in Pennsylvania to earned B.A (Degree in Economic and

Sociology) then he proceed to earned another B.A (Degree) in theology at Lincoln theological seminary in 1942 and Master Degree M.A in education and philosophy from university Pennsylvania. He also attend London School Economic and Political Science to study economics and Law. There he became active and vice president of West African Students' Union (WASU). Nkrumah attended fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, October, 15-19, 1945, acting as co-treasurer with (George Pad more). This also an opportunity to him to meet with African American and African nationalist leaders such as William Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Peter Abrahams, (South Africa), Obafemi Awolowo (Nigeria) H. K Banda (Malawi), and Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya). Following the congress Nkrumah was one of the founder and General-Secretary of West African National Secretariat aimed at "United West African Independence" (Nkrumah, 1959; Assensoh, 2009).

In 1947, Nkrumah left Britain and return to Gold Coast "United Gold Coast Convention" (UGCC). He was detain in 1948 later he establish Convention People's Party (CPP) which he demanded "full self-government then he was detained by colonial government after declaration of state of emergency after his release in 1951 he became a leader and prime minister from 1952. His CPP won majority seat in the General elections (1951, 1954 and 1956 while he fight for independence of Ghana 1957, 6 March. He became a first president of Ghana and was re-elected in 1965. He was over thrown by military in (1966) which led him to go to exile in Guinea where Sekou Toure made him honorary co-president. He died in 1972 in Romania due to throat cancer. His remains returned to Ghana for burial.

NKRUMAH'S POLITICAL THOUGHT ON AFRICA

He advocate and chaired pan-Africanism movement in Africa which he outlined in "Africa must unite, immediate political and economic integration in the form of a "united states of Africa" consisting of African common market, African monetary union, African military high command and continent-wide union government. It was such assertion

paved the way for establishment of organization of Africa unity in 25th May, 1963 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Nkrumah was among the profounder of the organization.

Nkrumah became a passionate advocate of the African personality" embodied in the slogan "Africa for the Africans" earlier popularized by Edward Wilmot Blyden. He viewed political independence as a pre requisite for economic independence. He vehemently rejected the neo-colonial association between African and Europe. He called for sovereignty, freedom and African independence. To him political independence is meaningless without using it to acquire both political and economic independence (Nkrumah, 1962).

He also champion to call for African Unity. According to him, unless Africa is politically united under an All-African union government, there can be no solution to our political and economic problems" adding, "we are Africans first and last, and as Africans our best interests can only be served by uniting within an African community". Indeed, he was described as radical pan-Africanist leader and advocate for Africa Unity (Nkrumah, 1970).

The essential political philosophy centered on "consciences" or "Nkrumanism" may best be characterized as "African socialism"-socialism adapted to African indigenous culture and society seen as essentially classless, communal and egalitarian. It is basically, socialism adapted to suit the conditions and circumstances of Africa.

The African traditional social system is basically communalistic, i.e. Socialist-a society in which the welfare of the individual is bound up with the welfare of all the people in the community (Nkrumah, 1970).

On colonialism and imperialism Nkrumah (1962) quantified that there was three fundamental doctrines in philosophical analysis of imperialism:

i. Doctrine of exploitation
ii. Doctrine of trusteeship or partnership

iii. Doctrine of assimilation

Kofi A.BUSIA (1914-1978)

Kofi Abrefa Busia was a scholar, nationalist and a politician in Ghana. He obtained his doctorate degree from Oxford University. The titled of his PhD Dissertation is "the position of the chief in the modern political system of Ashanti" which was published in 1951. He was appointed as the first professor of African studies at university of Ghana Legon in 1949. He joined politics in 1951 and elected as a member of the legislative council, later he became the head of the congress. He was among United Party chieftain an opposition to Convention Peoples Party (CPP) of Kwame Nkrumah. He challenge the Nkrumah's repressive towards opposition, which led Busia to go to exile in Europe to become a professor of sociology at university of Netherland. Later he transfer to university of Leiden and then he move to Institute of Social Studies at Hague. He was acknowledge as the outstanding world renowned African intellectual (Martins, 2012).

He returned to Ghana after overthrown of Nkrumah to serve as National Liberation Council under General Joseph Ankrah, the military junta and head of state. He was elected to the parliament in 1969 and became a Prime Minister in the new civilian government. He was overthrown by General Ignatius Acheampong in 1972 while on visit to UK and he remain there and get back to Oxford University as a professor and live peacefully until his death.

BUSIA'S POLITICAL IDEAS

According to Busia all colonial government are authoritarian in nature. He challenge all colonial administration and described them as authoritarian government. To him, colonial government exists in its own right by the virtue of conquest or power, its superiority entitles it to demand obedience which is not derived from the will or interest of the colonial subject its rule (Busia, 1962).He furter challenge the colonial powers as totalitarian that would allowed a political system and institutions of newly independent

states with adoption of one party system and strong executive and weak opposition. To crown it all, the new nations of African states have inherited a legacy of authoritarian political structures from their former colonial masters. To Busia, the principle of liberal democracy (i.e. freedom of speech, rule of law, human rights and civil liberties etc.) all these principles of parliamentary government are universal and they can be institutionalized in any culture (Martins, 2012).

Busia identified the major problem of political organization in Africa as a shift in emphasis from ethnic groups based on kingship to the nation state. He observed that the colonial powers left western democratic ideas in Africa but the intractable challenge is how to integrate divergent ethnic tribes into a modern nation within democratic framework. He also identified some institutions to strengthening democratic government in Africa such as party system, organized opposition, freedomof speech and press, adherence to the rule of law, and autonomous judiciary. To him, if African states can applied and observed the above principles, it would led them to institutionalize moral language of democracy.

JULIUS NYERERE

His full name is Julius Kambarage Nyerere 'baba Ya Taifa' ("father of the Nation"). Born in 1922 in Butaima North western Tanganyika, a son of chief Nyerere Burite the Wazanaki, Julius Nyerere obtained a teacher's certificate from Makarere college (Kampala, Uganda) and, from 1946-49 taught at catholic college in Tabora. He then went further to study at United Kingdom he graduate with M.A in history and economics from university of Edinburg. He established Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) as first Nationalist political party in Tanzania towards improving the living condition of African people" later transcends to called for self-government. He successfully attained the independence of his country in 9th December, 1961 which he became the first prime minister later he became a president which he was re-elected for multiple terms. Indeed,

he spend (25 years) as the president of Tanzania later he resigned in 1984. He was one of the most influential African intellectual, and most respected leaders in Africa as well as trusted African leader and a great teacher (Mwalimu). He died of leukemia in London Hospital, 14th October, 1999 (Microsoft Encarta, 2009).

NYERERE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

He was among the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. His advocate unity to African countries would led them to attained political independence and to gain relevance in world politics.

The concept of Ujamaa-a specific type of African socialism different and distinct from both capitalism and socialism-is the core of the Nyerere's political thought. Ujamaa-or family hood is our socialism which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man. To him, the government would mobilize all the resource of the country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease. The state must have effective control over the principal means of production and "it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation. In fact, his socialism view differ significantly from those of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Moddibo Keita of Mali, because they follow Marxist Leninist scientific socialism while his own is based on "African traditional socialism"(Nyerere, 1968).

He vehemently rejects the capitalism and capitalist notion on individual land ownership, which he argues, is diametrically opposed to African indigenous traditions whereby land customarily belongs to the community, whose leader may allow people to use it on a "need to" basis. To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community.

In 1967 he called for "Arusha Declaration" which he pointed out the blueprint of Tanzania as well he outlines a strategy of development based on self-reliance and aimed at satisfying the basic needs of the majority of Tanzanian people (Nyerere, 1968).

He committed to the total liberation of Africans and offer sanctuary to the members of African National Congress (ANC), people of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Uganda. He sent military troops to destabilize the dictatorial regime of Idi Amin of Uganda and replaced him with former president Milton Obote. This made him to became "peace builder" in Africa and engage actively in various "peace and conflict resolution initiatives in Africa (Particularly in Burundi).

He was a strong supporter of indigenous African culture, Nyerere promoted the used of Swahili language under his leadership Tanzania became the only country on the continent with native African official language. He also translated the works of Shakespeare into Swahili.

NNAMDI AZIKWE (1904-96)

Nnamdi Azikwe was born in Zungeru, the son of an Igbo clerk, Azikwe was educated in Nigeria and United States. In 1937 he founded a newspaper chain (i.e. West African pilot) and also established a political party in 1946 (i.e. National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons). He became a premier in Eastern Region (1954-59), later he became Governor General and later the president. Following the first military Coup of 1966 he became elder statesman. In 1979 he contest for presidential aspirant in second republic which he failed to secured the seat of presidency.

ZIK'S CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN POLITICIAN THOUGHT

He was the pioneer among Nigerian students at United States of America in bringing the idea of West African Students Union (WASU) towards liberating African students on Pan-Africanism and nationalism in order to free Africans from colonial plunder.
Zik's nationalism was pan-African and pan-Nigerian which consolidate him to establish a truly national press (i.e. West African Pilot Newspaper), which make him to start four provincial dailies at Ibadan, Onitsha, Port Harcourt and Kano.

He advocate national Youth Movement (NYM) which paved the way for unification of tribes of Nigeria through the encouragement of better understanding and cooperation to the end of creating a common ideal so that national consciousness could be developed and the common ideal realized.

He was active supporter for the establishment of "Organization of African Unity" (OAU). And also encourage African unity and total liberation to the black Africans.

In his mission for African Renascence he argued that "New Africa is not a movement". But the New Africa is a state of society where the mind is brought into harmony with matter. And when such cooperation exists the old order (where matter is master of the mind) will have passed away. It is therefore a psychological concept which is deeply rooted in a material environment.

OBAFEMI AWOLOWO (1909-87)

He was born in Ikenne, the son of a farmer, Awolowo was trained as a lawyer. He involved in politics in the 1940s and organized the Action Group (AG) in 1951. He was a premier of Western Nigeria from 1954-1959, when he became opposition leader in the Federal House of Representatives. An unyielding advocate of federalism, he was arrested in 1962 for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government. Later he was free by General Yakubu Gowon and appointed him as Federal Commissioner for finance (1976-71) he resigned in protest over postponement of civilian rule. He contest for presidential aspirant in 1979 and failed. While he died in 1987.

AWOLOWO'S CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

He was active member of pan-Africanism movement which proposed African independence and African Unity. He was privilege to attend pan-African congress meeting at Manchester, United Kingdom in 1945.

He championed the federalism movement in Nigeria and became active nationalist to call for Nigerian independence as well as African independence.

To him the British Empire was consider as symbolic of oppression tyranny, and the ruthless exploitation of the masses by the privileged and powerful few. Indeed, he was too critical on African freedom and independence from colonial domination.

KENNETH D. KAUNDA

His full name is Kenneth David Kaunda, he was born in 1924 at Lubwa from the family of David Kaunda the first African missionary in Nyasaland in 1904. Kenneth was educated at mission schools in northern Rhodesia- Zambia and later completed teacher training. In 1953, he became secretary general of the newly created African national congress (ANC). His political activism caused him to be imprisoned by the British colonial authorities in 1959. After his detention, he broke away from ANC and formed a new party, the United National Independent Party (UNIP). Aftermath of the independence of Zambia in 1962, he joined a coalition government. Later Kaunda became the first President of Zambia and serve for the period of 27 years. Until in 1991 when UNIP lost general election, then Kaunda retired to private life and the opponent leader Fredrick Chiluba took over the presidency of Zambia (Martins, 2012).

KAUNDA POLITICAL THOUGHT

Kenneth thought was early influenced by Mahatma Gandhi who illuminated him the personality and teaching of Jesus Christ. One of his guiding principles was the Christian

precept of “do to others as you would them do to you”. He was also influenced by the ideas of Kwame Nkrumah which he acknowledged him as the father of African nationalism. He was a passionate and relentless advocate of non-violence in general and non-violent positive action. The non-violence is the ultimate weapon ….I was determined to combine Ghandis policy of non-violence with Nkrumah’s positive action.

Accordingly, we would use non-violence means and positive action in order to attain self-government. He contend that “humanism” that humanitarian, non-racialist attitude that precipitates him to advocate “African humanism”. This is a Christian concept of man. To him, we are humanitarian and have no time for the color of person white and black should live and work together. Not white against black and black against white…..we have based our policy on humanitarian principles.

He believed in equal treatment to the humanities, as contained in American independence declaration. He asserted the declaration in verbatim that “we believe that all men are created equal and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among them, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He defined democracy as the way President Abraham Lincoln defined. Kaunda has vehemently rejected capitalism and advocated popular democracy politically as well as state capitalism economically. Though he failed to elaborate on that concept and admitted that this is how he found capitalism (Martins, 2012).

PAN AFRICANISM MOVEMENT

According to Microsoft Encarta Premium (2009) pan-Africanism is the philosophy that is based on the belief that African people share common bonds and objectives and that advocate unity to achieve these objectives. It has been applied to all black African people

and people of black African descent; to all people on the African continent, including non-black people or to all states on the continent.

Pan-Africanism is an ideal and movement designed to regroup and mobilize Africans in Africa and the diaspora against racial discrimination, foreign domination and oppression, and economic exploitation. Thus pan-Africanism has three different dimensions; cultural, political and economic. Culturally, it aims at reclaiming Africa's heritage, culture and traditions. (i.e. Negritude movement). Politically, pan-Africanism is linked to African nationalist struggle for independence. Economically, is linked to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and globalization that is western strategies of "divide and rule" that resulted in the balkanization of Africa (Chip man, 1989 quoted from martin, 2012:57).

The proponent behind cultural pan Africanism movement were Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X and Nyerere etc while, in Political Pan African movement are W.E.B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, H. K Banda of Malawi, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, Zik of Africa, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria etc. while those who struggle for economic independence are Franz Fanon, Amicar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Nkrumah of Ghana, Steve Biko of South Africa to mention a few.

AFRICAN UNITY

The agitation for African Unity was traced its background from the early nationalist and Pan African movement. Such unity would enable Africans to integrate and unite under single entity in order to achieve its freedom, independence and Sovereign power in international fora. The proponents behind African unity are Wilmot Blyden, W.E.B Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, Amiri Baraka, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sekou Toure, Modibbo Keita of Mali, Julius Nyerere, Zik of Africa and Joseph Ki-Zerbo of

Burkina Faso down to Mu'amar Gaddafi of Libya etc there movement led to the establishment of organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25th may, 1963. Though it nomenclature was change to suit the contemporary organization in international arena as well as to become stronger within international community (i.e. from Organization of African Unity to "African Union" A.U) on 26th May, 2001. Such change was masterminded by contemporary pan African Nationalist (i.e. Muamar Gaddafi of Libya, Abdulaye Wade of Senegal and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa).

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

This was the system supposed to govern African society because it was described from the cultural life of Africans as pointed by Nyerere. Socialism would enable Africans to develop their means of production i.e. Manufacture, industries and agriculture etc. for the welfare and betterment of Africans by their respective states. The brain behind these movement are Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, Moddibo Keita of Mali and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Muamar Qaddafi of Libya.

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