## COMPATIBLE CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

THE KEY TO DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

## DANIEL T. OSABU-KLE



broadview press

## **CONTENTS**

## Preface / 9

One: Introduction: Variants of Democratic Practice / 13

Compatible Cultural Democracy as a Practice / 26

The Elite Framework / 29

Two: The Great Transplantation / 37

The Colonial Treaties / 38

The Conference of Berlin: Conspiracy and the White

Man's Burden / 40

The Transplantation of Indirect Rule / 44

How Indirect Rule Undermined the Indigenous System / 46

The Transplanted Colonial Education System / 48
The Nature of the Colonial Infrastructure / 50

Three: The Post-Independence Problem / 53

Freedom and the African Nation / 54

The Attempt at Structural Transformation / 56

Tension between National and Global Concerns / 57

Proposed Integrative Strategies / 60

The Necessity for Appropriate Political Preconditions / 63
Reasons for the Absence of the Necessary Preconditions / 64

The Internalist and Externalist Explanations / 67

The Democracy Debate / 72

Four: Typical African Political Systems / 79

The Ovimbunda Political System / 81

The Zulu Political System / 82

The Ashanti Political Organization / 85
The Ga Political Organization / 88

The Common Habermasian Character / 95

Five: Towards the Modification of African Political Culture / 97

The Inappropriateness of an Alien Political Culture / 98

Modifying and Adapting the Indigenous Political Systems / 99

Modifying Indigenous Democracy, Nation-Building, and State-Building / 100

Reviving and Empowering Compatible Indigenous Structures / 105

Modifying the Education System / 106 Recognition of Cultural Dynamics / 107

The Modified System and Social Choice / 108

The Characteristics of the Modified System / 110

Six: Ghana: Tactical Action, Socialism, and the Military / 115

The Ghanaian Elite, Partisan Politics, and Development / 116 How Partisan Politics Undermined Coalition-Building / 121 The Preventive Detention Act and Transplantation of

Alien Socialism / 123

Military Rule as a Transplantation of Alien Ideology / 128

The Post-Colonial Experience / 128

Seven: Nigeria: Oil, Coups, and Ethnic War / 137

The Colonial Legacy and Partisan Politics in Ethnic Garb / 138

The Advent of Military Rule in Ethnic Boots / 140 The Second Coming of Partisan Politics / 143

The Second and Third Coming of Military Rule / 147

Eight: Kenya: Settler Ideology and the Struggle for Majimbo / 149

Partisan Politics in Ethnic Garb / 151

The Attempt at a Nationalist Coalition under Partisan

Politics / 155

Coalition-Building and Partisan Politics in the Moi Era / 158

Nine: Tanzania: Ujamaa, Compulsion, and the Freedom

of Association / 163

The Advent of Partisan Politics / 166

The Advent of Socialism / 168

Socialism, Ujamaa, Villagization, and Voluntary

Organizations / 171

The Tactical Retreat of the Tanzanian State / 174

Ten: Somalia: Experiments with Democracy, Military Rule, and

Socialism / 175

Somalia in the Garb of Partisan Politics / 177

The Advent of Military Rule and Socialism / 182 Clan Manipulation under Military Rule / 183 The Impact of the End of the Cold War / 185

Eleven: Senegal: From French Colonialism to the Failure of Partisan

Politics / 189

The First Coming of Western Politics / 192

Partisan Politics after the Second World War / 196 The Entente and Mali Federation Experience / 199 Partisan Politics in Senghor's Senegal after the

Mali Federation / 200

Partisan Politics after Senghor / 202

Twelve: Rwanda: From Success Story to Human Disaster / 211

The Origin of the Historical Forces / 213
The European-Created Hamitic Thesis / 216
The Advent of Partisan Politics / 219

Post-independence Political Struggles / 224

Planned Liberalism / 227

Intensification of the Violent Confrontation / 237

The Genocide / 238

Thirteen: Congo (Kinshasa): "A Most Lethal Poison ..." / 251

How Partisan Politics Created Confusion / 253

Entry of International Political and Ideological Forces / 256 The Beginning of Congolese Military Interventions / 260

Mobutu's Military Kingdom / 266 Mobutu's Multiparty Games / 269

Mobutu's Wealth and the Congolese Debt / 271

Fourteen: Conclusion: Establishing an African (Jaku) Democracy / 273

Notes / 283

Bibliography / 297

Index / 307