Ideology and Party Discipline in Setting

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Type of the Paper: Research Paper.
Type of Review: Peer Reviewed.
Indexed in: Google Scholar
Google Scholar Citation: IJRESS

How to Cite this Paper:
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Abstract
Political ideology, party discipline and party indiscipline are three independent but intertwined concepts that grease the wheel of governance. In Africa, these concepts have evolved over time and shaped growth, development and under development pari passu. Political ideology shaped pre-colonial governance settings, independence struggles and post-independence discipline in almost all African Nation States. To accelerate growth and development in the Cold War period, different leaders aligned their political ideology in three folds by: looking East towards the USSR; looking west towards the USA and not looking in either direction by maintaining a somewhat neutral position through the Non Aligned Movement. Similarly, the ideological discipline exhibited by many African elites during the independence struggles quickly deteriorated and was characterized with the rise of dictatorial regimes, undemocratic constitutional amendments, negative ethnicity, extreme violation of human rights, political assassinations, forced detentions, cronyism, massive corruption and inequitable distribution and looting of state resources leading to underdevelopment. This paper discusses different ideologies in Africa: Pan Africanism, African Nationalism, African Populism, African Marxism, African Socialism, Nkurumaism, Ubuntu, Harambeeism and African Anarchism among other ideologies that have shaped party discipline in the African continent. The paper concludes that, for the African Continent to achieve accelerated economic growth and development, time is nigh for both the political elite and the general citizenry to resort back to the founding principles of our political ideologies.

Conceptual Issues
This article first dissects the conceptual issues that are consistently used to interrogate the themes under study.

Ideology- It is a particular set of ethical ideals, myths doctrines, principles or symbol of a social movement class, institution, or big group that elaborates how the community should function and give cultural and political blueprint for a particular social order. Most scholars contend that generally in democratic regimes, ideologies stand for and reflect social liberalism, social democracy, conservatism, civic nationalism, Obedience to the law and freedoms of a country’s citizenry.
Party Discipline- Developing from the concept of ideology, party discipline is the ability of a party in a democracy to at all times adhere to the principles of social democracy, rule of law, civic nationalism and basic freedoms among others. To this end, therefore, a party’s discipline is based on its ability to lead the country’s citizenry vis a vis its ideologies.

Party Indiscipline- This term means, going against important set of principles, regulations and rules that guide the demeanor of members of the political party. A person who strays from the set principles rules and regulations is supposed to be severely, punished regardless of who they are.

Political Party-Ball (1986:73) denotes that political parties are arranged groups that are guided by specific set of ideologies there main aim being to have control of and exercises the power of the state independently or together with others.

Dictatorial tendencies- In this paper dictatorial tendencies result from party indiscipline. They among others include acts such as: they protect their position and their power through regulating the mass media; the employ undercover police and espionage on the inhabitants of their country.

Section A: Ideologies and Party Discipline in African Setting

Many scholars on contend majority of nation states tend to align themselves with democratic ideologies. To this end therefore, the following core tenets constitute the ideology of political parties in Africa-Liberty, Equality, Justice, rule of law and Separation of powers. The following section describes major historical perspectives that have shaped ideology and party discipline in African continent.

Contemporary African Nationalism

In West Africa, political ideology unfolded in the late 19th century through the British educated elites. James Horton a medical doctor in Sierra Leone opposed the racist theory and proposed that Africans have the ability of achieving civilization just as the Europeans biologically and psychologically. The theory of being proud of your own race and non-acculturation was formulated by Edward Wilmot Blyden who was a writer a diplomat and a politician in Liberia. He spearheaded for the development of Africa in terms of own autochthonous Africa ways of life personality and History.

Contemporary African political ideology was developed in the late nineteenth century by British educated elites in West Africa. In Sierra Leone, James Africanus Horton, a doctor of medicine, challenged racist theories and argued that Africans were as capable of achieving “civilization” as Europeans, both biologically and psychologically. He advocated the development of “modern” states in Africa. In Liberia, Edward Wilmot Blyden, politician, writer, and diplomat, developed an ideology of racial pride and non-acculturation and advocated African development through an authentic indigenous Africa, based on an African personality, history, and culture. Joseph E. Casely Hayford who was a barista in Gold coast Ghana he wanted people to evolve from their autochthonous roots and therefore he believed that civilization could be revived and modernized and Africanized.

In a nutshell, Contemporary African Nationalism ideology was based on:

i. The need for Africans to take pride in their personality and achieve authentic development through their culture.

ii. The need for Africans to achieve their original version of civilization and modernization- Afro-centric civilization.

Today, this ideology however remains a distant mirage as a majority of West African nation states in particular, Sierra Leone and Liberia- where the ideology of African nationalism was conceived remain underdeveloped and enveloped in extreme poverty, low literacy levels, extreme violations of human rights and hunger among others. In addition, the aforementioned two states have little elements of modernization. Even as a majority African nation states battle the baggage of ideological indiscipline, the citizenry hope to achieve some minimum levels of modernization.
Pan-Africanism
The pan Africanism ideology was formed in 1900. It was one of the universal ideology that encompassed all the African people around the world. It was spearheaded by scholars and activist. The main reason for the formation of the movement was to promote political and cultural ideal. Political Pan-Africanism was mainly concerned with struggle for decolonization of Africa states. While ensuring economic stability through campaigning against imperialism. The pan-Africanism and Back to African movement was propounded by W.E.Du Beiste Paul L. Robeson, and George Padmore. Back to Africa movement was mainly to ensure that, the slaves who were taken to the new land are brought back to Africa, this led to creation of Negritude emerged in France in the 1930s, the exponent were the following; Aimé Césaire, Léon- Gontran Damas, and Léopold Sédar Senghor. Post independent proponents of Pan-Africanism ideology include other Pan-African advocates include leaders such as Toussaint Louverture (Haiti), Jean-Jacques Dessalines (Haiti), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Ahmed Sékou (Guinea) Touré, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), King Sobhuza II (Swaziland), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso) and Muammar Gaddafi (Libya) (Falola, 2003). In a nutshell, Pan-Africanism as a political ideology was anchored on:
  i. African struggle for independence against European Imperialism
  ii. Emphasis on African cultures, traditions and values for every African in all the continents.
As an ideology it failed to achieve its mandate because of its connection to communist and how the Developed nations rather wanted to make use of the pet friends and not nations that are politically autonomous nations in the world. Secondly, it failed because of mistrust among the African rulers.
Today, however, all African states though independent continue to be burdened by heavy debts from European Nation States, China and U.S.A. The debts as well as over dependence on grants and foreign aid has come to be referred to as neo-colonialism. In addition, African elites continue to extend the inequality gap as the citizenry struggle to gain independence from African elites in Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Senegal among other countries.

Modern African Nationalism
The Secondary African nationalism aims at liberating Africans from the colonial oppression socially politically and economically (Nsamba, 2003). The objective of this secondary African Nationalism was to achieve autonomy.
Kwame Nkrumah postulated that:
“Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else will be added unto you.” (Samuel, 2002).
The challenge of African nationalism was to build viable nations out of more than fifty artificially created states, most of which attained independence in the 1960s.
In a nutshell, Modern African Nationalism as an ideology sought to:
  i. Achieve national self-determination of African Nation States
  ii. Eradicate pervasive exclusion and inequalities by European colonial governments- in the form of social exclusion, economic exploitation and political domination.
Today, however, majority of African nations continue to struggle with a number of vices resulting from bad governance namely: political domination by the country’s elite, social exclusion of the country’s citizenry by the elite; chronic human rights violations and police brutality among others. These struggles epitomize the fact that African Nation States continue to struggle with the scourge of indiscipline between and among both the country’s elite and the citizenry.

African Socialism
The African Socialism is a positive belief where Africans come together to Africanize the way of sharing and developing economic resources. In the years between 1950 and 1960 politicians supported...
African socialism but their dearth was in various perspective. Example of proponents in political arena who spearheaded African Socialism are Julius Nyerere of Tanzania François Tombalbaye of Chad, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana among others (Martin 2013).

African socialism is a Marxism-leninism and radical in nature. This ideology against capitalism as being a paradox in African way of life. African socialism is in line with African tradition of communalism. The communist model include state ownership and state planning, land reforms industrialization and nationalization of economy. Pan Africanist is the foreign policy of African Socialist states. In African continent we have states that (and rulers) who employed this ideology that is the years between 1960 to 1970 example of the following countries are; (Modibo Keïta), and Tanzania (Julius K. Nyerere, 1968). Senegal (Léopold Senghor) and Kenya (Jomo Kenyatta) Algeria (Ahmed Ben Bella); Ghana (Kwame Nkrumah, 1962); Guinea (Ahmed Sékou Touré); Mali gave a false declaration but did not actually implement African Socialism.

In a nutshell, as a political ideology, African Socialism was anchored on the following tenets:

i. Resource sharing at community level

ii. Development strategy on planning, industrialization, nationalization of economy and land reforms that is led by the state.

iii. US led capitalism was rejected because it supposedly created extreme socio-political and economic inequalities

Today, as an ideology, a number of nation states in Africa leaning towards the East (USSR) adopted the socialist political ideology: Ghana (1964–1966); Sudan (1969–1971); Equatorial Guinea (1968–1979); Libya (1969–1991) and the Republic of the Congo People’s Republic of the Congo (1969–1991) Egypt (1954–1973); Guinea (1960–1978); Algeria (1962–1990); among others. However, most of these states abandoned socialism as an ideology following the collapse of the USSR. In addition, these countries, like many other African Nation States continue to struggle with socio-economic and political inequalities and inequitable distribution of land and natural resources among other vices.

**African Marxism**

Between 1969-1975 there was development of African Marxist government most of which were military and they used Marxist Leninism as the country’s political orientation. The Leaders who had termed themselves as Marxist did not actually believe in this theory but used it as a means to dominate politically and coerce people. Countries and leaders who bought into this ideology were; Mozambique (Samora Machel and Joaquim Chissano); Namibia (Sam Nujoma);Benin (Mathieu Kérékou); Ethiopia (Mengistu Haile Mariam); Madagascar (Didier Ratsiraka); Congo-Brazzaville (Marien Ngouabi, Joachim Yhombi-Opango, and Denis Sassou-Nguesso)Somalia (Mohammed Siad Barre); Angola (Agostinho Neto and José Eduardo dos Santos), Zimbabwe (Robert Mugabe) and Guinea-Bissau (Luís Cabral and João Bernardo Vieira); , 1980–1995. The political theory of Marxism was forgone all over Africa by 1996.

In a nutshell, as a governance ideology, African Marxism places emphasis on two core tenets:

i. Political domination by the state

ii. And total control of the people.

The aforementioned two tenets are dictatorial in nature. The aforementioned states that adopted this system have had some of the longest serving African dictators like Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, The Somali head of state Mohammed Barre Siad and Head of State of Angola José Eduardo dos Santos . In addition, it is worthy to point out this ideology led to some of the most failed states in the continent with Somalia leading and Zimbabwe struggling economically up to date. Today, however, in as much as African Marxism was abolished in Africa, most African elites have tactfully adopted this strategy as an ideology. Among others, they include Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and Senegal.

**African Socialist Populist Ideology**

This African Socialist Populist ideology adopted from the element of both African Socialism and...
Marxism Leninism and people are under democracy and development. The objective of African Socialism is to provide essential needs to the peasantry and the poorest in the society. Instances of populist regimes in Africa include: Libya (Muammar Qaddafi) since 1977; and Zimbabwe (Robert Mugabe) since 1995). Burkina Faso (Thomas Sankara); Ghana (Jerry Rawlings); In a nutshell, as a strategy, populist ideology focused on:

i. Socio-economic empowerment of the basic needs of the common man
ii. Emphasis on the centrality of the common man in democratic regimes
iii. People centered democracy

As a political ideology, it gave birth to benevolent dictators such as Muammar Qadaffi (Libya) and Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe). However, this paper points out that African Populist comprised one of the most effective ideologies in governance. Today, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and John Pombe Magufuli seem to be using elements of the African populist ideology to run their countries with their citizenry reporting above average levels of satisfaction with the incumbents.

Afro-Marxism
The post-colonial government adopted the ideology of Afro-Marxism model in various sectors of the society social, economically and politically, which was supported through communist governments such as Soviet Union and Cuba. The characteristics of Afro-Marxism is centrality in political decision making, typically within a one party state, economic collectivization or state owned property and industry and the direction of a national culture, often without regard for the cultures of ethnic minorities, by the ruling party.

Africa Anarchism
It is a doctrine of social structure and movement which is confined to Africa and is almost obscure. It is poorly developed in Africa as a systematic body of thought and is majorly obscure as revolutionary movement. Anarchism is a normal practice for the Africans. The initial contact of the African continent with the European nihilist didn’t take place before the second half of the 20th Century with the exception of South Africa via the National Mandela ANC led anti-apartheid campaign. In Kenya, traces of anarchism in a quest for social justice and credible elections have been led by the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in the last two election periods. The nihilists have always emphasized on the need for organization their greatest concern being the type of organization. They debate on horizontal organization which is established on decentralization, social equality, individual and local autonomy, and democratic decision making. Eventually, anarchism renounces all the struggle for the political power of the state and uses it as a weapon and means the social struggle of workers and peasants based in internationalism and solidarity.

Anarchism is not only opposed to chaos, disorder and violence but also to terrorism. The nihilists in the world champion for peace as a virtue and reject war, militarism, armies and the development and acquiring of technologically advanced weapons that promote war. The nihilists, propose that violence can e used only in the case of self-defense. In a nutshell, as an ideology anarchism places emphasis on:

i. The need for social equality
ii. Non violent political alternatives as a way to reject political repression

Today, anarchism in Africa has been applied by the citizenry against perceived dictatorial regimes. In Sudan to topple Omar al-Bashir, Ivory Coast to topple Laurent Gbagbo, During the Arab Spring revolution in Egypt to topple Hosni Mubarak, Tunisia and Libya to topple Mohamed Qadaffi as well as unsuccessfully in Kenya. As an ideology, anarchism is costly but might be an alternative to authoritarian regimes.

However, anarchism is Africa was faced by a number of obstacles among them: the obstacles of colonial education, the Western based legal system, lack of international solidarity and well as military and ethnic versus class consciousness.

Ubuntu
Ubuntu is rooted from a Nguni word (isiZulu) meaning Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu, the translation is that “a person is a person because of or through others” (Lief & Thompson, 2015:243; Tutu, 2004:25-26). Ubuntu is the ability to show compassion, dignity, humane and the same interest in building and ensuring rule of law is adhered to in the society and mutual caring (Mandela, 2006: Tutu, 1999:34-35). The Ubuntu has spread and encompassed today to day lives African continent especially various West, East and Central Africa. (Rwelamila, Talukhaba & Ngowi, 1999:338). The challenges African face such as the poverty, hunger, isolation, deprivation, poverty can be combated through solidarity, brotherly, and sisterly concern, cooperation caring and sharing.

Nelson Mandela former South African president who was a Nobel Prize winner, contend that Ubuntu encompasses universal truth and culture which underpins an open society (Mandela, 2006). The Ubuntu emphasize that the community should empower themselves economically, socially and politically and should address their problems. The Ubuntu philosophy also implies that if people are treated well, they are likely to perform better. Table 1 gives a summary of Ubuntu as an ideology in Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>African Ubuntu Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U-Universeal</td>
<td>Global, intercultural brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-Behaviour</td>
<td>Human(Humane), caring, sharing, respect, compassion, love and appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U-United</td>
<td>Solidarity, community, bond, family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-Negotiation</td>
<td>Consensus, democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Tolerance</td>
<td>Patience, diplomacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U-Understanding</td>
<td>Empathy, forgiveness, kindness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Summary of Attributes of the African Ubuntu Ideology


Nkrumaism

Nkrumaism is a political school of thought of the post independent head of state Kwame Nkrumah. He was one of the initial political leaders in Africa, this made him emerge to be an icon in the left-wing pan-African movement. His over emphasis on political and economic freedom proved to be a vital element of his overarching political school of thought, merging the nationalist independence movement in his home country of Ghana with left-wing economic thought.

Similar to other political ideologies in Africa at that time, the stand-point of Nkrumaism was that the African counties needed to come together and adopt a socialist political structures which were in line with the traditional African Values of egalitarianism (Birmingham, 1998). According to Nkrumah's view, pre-colonial African societies did not own anything as individuals but rather they organized everything and owned communally, what Nkrumah called "communalism." In Nkrumah's reasoning, four basic pillars formed the applied aspects of this theory:

i. The means of production being held by the state,
ii. A single-party democracy,
iii. Nurturing an economic system that does not have classes, and

He further reasons the whole of Africa and Ghana in particular, had never developed differences in the class systems which had been observed by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin in Europe and therefore, a reform could rekindle the previously existing egalitarianism suited to a post-colonial context.

Nyayoism & Harambee Political Ideologies in Kenya

(Moi1986) who was the former president penned his thoughts on what a prosperous nation should look like. He then documented the Nyayo philosophy,
whose central theme was peace, love and unity. These three traits, he wrote, would form the foundation Kenya needed to build a united, strong and prosperous nation. He envisioned a country that would prosper under the helm of clean and irreproachable leaders.

“...Destruction of hard-won wealth, ruination of vestiges of progress and the disillusionment of everyone; the leaders, donors and the people. It is with these sad examples before us today that we look at the Nyayo philosophy, which insists on peace, love and unity” (Moi, 1986).

Africa, in 1986, had its fair share of troubles. There were still several nations seeking independence from colonial rule, while those that had received their freedom had not yet figured out how to cope with the new challenges of self-governance. According to the book, corruption and self-interest thrived, while a majority of those who agitated for independence languished in poverty and were deprived of the basic needs by their fellow Africans. His numerous travels to restore and maintain peace across Africa had taught him the essence of peace in a country’s development.

“It is my sad observation that the numerous and continuous theatres of war in this continent are an eloquent commentary on the extent of our devotion and human will to achieve peace. Therefore peace is very elusive, so elusive that one wonders whether negotiations can achieve peace. Yet, negotiations are the only sane channels for national solidarity and international concord.........Peace must begin at home. For this reason, Kenyans have no reason not to respect our formula of peace; namely, where

love exists, justice and equality will be promoted” (Moi, 2006).

Moi (1986) listed Ghana and Sudan, which were then beset by various troubles, as nations that he would not want Kenya to be like. Sudan gained independence in 1956 from an Anglo-Egyptian government administered by Britain and Egypt. Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, was also a British colony and had also got its independence in 1956. Kenya’s second president observed that Sudan and Ghana were faces of the sorrow that had befallen Africa. Moi was of the view that a colonial hangover, which was infested with “intellectual and moral parasites”, was the continent’s major problem.

“In his eyes, the future Kenya ought to have unblemished politicians and intellectuals who would steer the country from the aforementioned ‘disease’ that had befallen other independent countries across the continent............. I frequently ask myself, how can we ensure that political chaos don’t occur in Kenya? The politicians and government administrators must stand high and clear above the corrosive mire of corruption and degenerative tendencies that would mess the country” (Moi, 1986).

Moi was of the view that the masses ought to see their leaders as clean and irreproachable. The former president further detailed the role he envisioned each person would play in building a prosperous Kenya. For the youth, his idea was to have them go through the National Youth Service (NYS) before they transitioned to university. According to him, the NYS training would give young people a sense of national belonging and practical education that would in turn be of use to the country.

Harambee Philosophy
The word Harambee is a Bantu word has its etymology in the word Halambee. The word Harambee was first used by porters at the Coast of
Kenya in Lamu, Malindi Mombasa and later I spread to other parts of the country (Ombudo, 1986). The word Harambee is pronounced as haa-raam-bay. Which means "pull together", and it is presented as a way of life in Kenya (Ngethe, 1979) and a traditional custom of Kenyans (Godia, 1984). The word has also been employed as slogan used in politics to symbolize unity of a man to help achieve a worthy end. It encourages Kenyans to give their best in order to complete any task at hand for community development.

The term has been put in use in various development activities of the society social, politically in Kenya. There are similar ideologies in developing countries such as Ujamaa in Tanzania humanism in Zambia. It embodies ideas of mutual assistance, joint effort, mutual social responsibility and community self-reliance. Hence this is an informal development strategy of the citizens, by the citizens (with assistance from external sources, including the government) for the citizens (Akong’a 1989).

Harambee has existed in every society in Kenya it is not a new aspect. Each African community had work group. Each society had self-help or cooperative work groups in of women, youths and men for instances in cultivation, harvesting, clearing bushes and building a house, by which groups of women on the one hand and men on the other organized common work parties, for example to cultivate or build houses for each other; clear bushes, harvesting etc. Being brother’s keeper was important in the security and prosperity of the community. Harambee has been used translated to various language groups for example: Kamba- Mwethia; Maasai-Ematonyok aKikuyu-Ngwarto; Luo- Konyir; Luhya-Obwasio; among others.

The Harambee involves self-reliance mutual self-responsibility embodies the ideas of assistance. Therefore it was important in development in the supply of essential needs and social services. It was financed by the government. Harambee self-help projects have been responsible for the construction of over 60 dispensaries, 260 nursery centers, 42 bridges, 200 schools, 40 health centers, 500 kilometers of rural access roads among others throughout the country (Bailey 1993 p.169). The foundation of social services started as the Harambee basis. It will be quite in order to state that Harambee ideology significantly impacted socio-economic development in Kenya.

Conclusion
This paper is an exposition of political ideologies in Africa in an attempt to understand the much needed ideological discipline which is needed to turn around development fortunes in Africa. In general, the paper concludes that most of Africa’s political ideological foundations were geared towards pursuit for social justice, liberty, equality, humanity and people centered development among other virtues. However, upon independence and with onset of the Cold War, African elites deviated from these norms and the continent quickly deteriorated to interstate conflicts, negative ethnicity, corruption and inequitable distribution of state resources among other vices. The paper concludes that for Africa to achieve accelerated growth and development, time is nigh to revert to the founding political ideological principles- the elites and the general citizenry alike.

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