

as well as the specifically liberal elements of limited government and individual self-development.

Broadly conceived, developmental democracy would evoke fresh and original responses to the problems of economic underdevelopment, social stagnation and political drift. Original thought is the heart of the matter. Gregor has shown, convincingly, that the essential ideas of developmental dictatorship were formulated during the first decade of this century by revolutionary syndicalists in Italy. By the ninth decade these ideas have surely run their course. There is no good economic reason for Africans today to propitiate the European gods of developmental dictatorship.

From the early stirrings of modern African nationalism to the onset and consolidation of political independence, Africa has resisted foreign intellectual domination. In all but a few countries, African governments conduct their foreign relations on the basis of a deep and abiding commitment to the principle of non-alignment in world politics.⁴⁵ African statecraft reflects a determination to formulate the challenges of international relations from a self-defined standpoint. In the social thought of twentieth-century Africa, intellectual self-reliance is a paramount theme; it spans the ideological spectrum as indicated by its prominence in the francophonic philosophy of *Négritude*, the Africanist tradition of Anton Lembede and his followers in South Africa,⁴⁶ the 'African' and democratic socialism of Nyerere, and the revolutionary socialism of Amílcar Cabral.⁴⁷ Students of social thought should recognise the quest for an intellectual synthesis and transcendence of capitalism and socialism in their classical and contemporary, or neoclassical, forms. In an essay entitled 'The emancipation of democracy', W. E. B. Du Bois assessed the contribution of black people in America to democracy thus:

It was the black man that raised a vision of democracy in America such as neither Americans nor Europeans conceived in the eighteenth century and such as they have not even accepted in the twentieth century; and yet a conception which every clear sighted man knows is true and inevitable.⁴⁸

Might this not be written of Africa's contribution to democracy in our time?⁴⁹

Where shall we look for the signs of intellectual and political synthesis which would signify the emergence of a new democracy? Where have the forms of developmental democracy begun to take shape? Every national workshop bears inspection, for each, in its own way, contributes to the aggregate of democratic knowledge and practice. Consider Zimbabwe, where revolutionary socialists in power prepare to terminate a transitional period of liberal government in favour of a more restrictive, one-party political formula. Their long-term objective has been described in an official document as 'a truly socialist, egalitarian and democratic society'.⁵⁰ Zimbabwean leaders and theorists will be challenged by the fact that there are no models for this kind of social construction on the face of the earth.

In pace-setting Zambia, where wage labour constitutes a comparatively large component of the total work force (more than one-third), the struggle for trade-union autonomy is fundamental to the cause of developmental democracy. But for the democratic vitality of the labour movement, developmental dictatorship in the guise of 'scientific socialism' could not be counteracted by other popular groups in Zambia. While clergymen, businessmen, intellectuals and professional people are, in the main, opposed to the adoption of 'scientific socialism' as an official doctrine, they could not resist it effectively without the firm support of democratic labour. In this matter of ideological choice, the principal restraining force on Zambia's political leadership is neither foreign capital nor the Zambian bourgeoisie; it is the Zambian labour movement.⁵¹

In the Sahelian nation of Niger, a military government has proclaimed the institution of a new political order, known as 'the development society'. Founded upon the twin pillars of traditional youth organisations and village-based agricultural cooperatives, the new system of government functions through a series of elected councils, culminating in a National Development Council, which has been directed to frame an 'original' and 'authentically Nigerien' constitution.⁵² Here, too, the spirit of developmental democracy is abroad.

In neighbouring Nigeria, the prospects for developmental democracy are enhanced by a federal system of government which provides a multiplicity of arenas for social and political experimentation. Federalism is also the essential foundation of Nigerian national unity. The relevance of that example to pan-African thought merits attention. Dictatorship may be the most formidable barrier to pan-African unity. Pan-African federalism would foster democracy at the expense of dictatorship in many countries. As a pan-African principle, federalism would also facilitate the exchange of democratic discoveries among African polities and thereby promote the growth of developmental democracy. Increasingly, African freedom would radiate African power.

Metaphorically speaking, most Africans today live under the dictatorship of material poverty. The poverty of dictatorship in Africa is equally apparent. It offends the renowned African tradition of community-wide participation in decision making.⁵³ By contrast with dictatorship, democracy is a developing idea and an increasingly sophisticated form of political organisation. The development of democracy in Africa has become a major determinant of its progress in the world.