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I.   Ideas of Walter Rodney on Africa's Development:

In his famous book: "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"' published in 1972 Walter Rodney made two important contributions. The first contribution was that he clearly exposed historical facts of how the African continent was exploited with the rise of capitalism in Western Europe. The process of exploitation was made in three phases: the era of slave trade and slavery, the era of colonialism and the era of neo-colonialism.

The second contribution was the establishment of an important development theory for Africa, that is a theory which requires struggles for development to take cognizance of concrete conditions of underdevelopment and dependency situation. Under such conditions struggles for development have to go alongside struggles for democracy. Although struggles for democracy and development began with nationalist struggles for independence in Africa, ideas of Rodney gave a new impetus and direction.

This paper is, therefore, intended to discuss how the people in Africa have been struggling for democracy and development since the 1960s and 1970s to the present. This will be done by examining three phases. The first will be the immediate post-independence period, then the period characterised by one party and military regimes, and the last phase is the era of democratization.

2.   Democratic Development Struggles During the Post-Independence Period:

2.1.   The Immediate Post - Independent Period:
Struggles for national independence were intended to liberate and emancipate the people of Africa from colonial domination, oppression and exploitation. In essence, therefore, it was a struggle for democracy and socio-economic development. Both the nationalist political leaders and the people at large looked at independence as an important means of establishing democratic development societies in Africa.

Thus soon after independence philosophical and ideological perspectives were developed by African philosophers, some of whom were the early Heads of State of the new independent nations such as Kwame Nkurumah, Sekou Toure and Julius Nyerere. They all advanced ideas on African democracy 2, socialism and development. For countries that had come out of colonialism fast development could only be possible through principles of socialism and self-reliance. This is because democracy and development had to be carried out while fighting against neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism was viewed as the perpetuation of colonial exploitation. All these philosophers and statesmen advocated the establishment of African Unity. Continental unity could ensure not only fast development but also success in the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Frantz Fanon and Amilcal Cabral3 also called for total liberation of the African continent. Total liberation for them meant political, socioeconomic and cultural liberation. This could only be achieved through the process of achieving independence through violent revolutions. In short this was the time when the establishment of democracy and ensuring fast socio-economic development had to go alongside fighting against neocolonialism and imperialism by taking a socialist self-reliant

approach. Rodney was among the philosophers who advocated and fought for the revolutionary socialist path of development in Africa.Armed groups and went into the bush to fight against the dictatorial and even authoritarian regimes. By the mid-1980s the struggles began to take the form of underground political movements demanding for the establishment of multi-party democracy.

2.2. Democratic Development Struggles During the Era of Democratization:

The era of democratization in Africa began around 1990. This era has been characterised by the adoption of multiparty politics and the growth of civil society activities in most African countries. Beginning of the democratization process was a culmination of demands and movements demanding for the re-introduction of multiparty politics and democratic rights which began during the 1980s in the African countries. Influence from the disintegration of the Communist System in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and pressure from the WB and IMF and the donor community on African facilitated the speed of political reforms.

The democratization process which has been going on up to the present brought new hope and inspiration to the people of Africa. Early 1990s some intellectuals began to describe the new movement as the second wind of change. Others regarded it as the second liberation and the second revolution in Africa'. This means that the struggle for independence was the first wind of change and the first liberation and revolution. This means that the democratization process was viewed as an important struggle for change in Africa that would ensure the establishment of democracy, development and the eradication of poverty.

2.3. Democratic Development Struggles During the Era of One Party and Military States in Africa:

While hopes for democracy and fast socio-economic development were being developed two contradictory processes were taking place during the 1960s and early 1970s. First, internally within the independent African nations intense political power struggles were taking place. The very ideas of African democracy, African socialism and development became ideologies of political parties in power to justify the establishment of one party political system in most African countries. In some countries the power struggles culminated into military coups, thus leading into the establishment of military states. Thus from the late 1960s, 70s and 80s most African countries were either under one party civilian regimes or military regimes.

Second, neo-colonialism was using all possible mechanisms to exert its influence in the independent African nations. This was made worse by the cold war situation in which the justification for exerting neo-colonial influence was the fight against the influence of communism. The net result was the growth and consolidation of military dictatorships and authoritarian one party regimes supported by neo-colonial forces. Given the growth of economic crisis in the African countries from the second half of the 1970s to the 1980s, hopes for the building of both democracy and development died out. Independence came to benefit only a few political elites while the majority of the masses continued to suffer political oppression and economic poverty.

New forms of struggles for democracy and development were carried out. In some countries struggles took the form of demonstrations, strikes by workers and students and so on, lock-outs of managers and various forms of underground movements. In

other countries struggles took the form of violent conflicts and civil wars.   Some   of the discontented people formed

3.   Prospects and Problems in Democratic Development Struggles in Africa!
3.1. Prospects;
After the disappointing failure of the first wind of change, the second wind of a change is continuing to show prospects of success. It appears that multiparty politics has been an accepted political system in most African countries. Even countries such as Uganda that had decided to carry out the democratization process through the non-party movement system has recently decided to adopt a multi-party political system.

In Uganda when the National Resistance Movement (NRM took over power in 1986 under the leadership of Yoweri Musevem it decided to establish a non-party movement political system. The NRM was a movement and not a political party. When the wave of democratization characterised by the adoption of multiparty politics, Uganda continued with the movement system arguing that that was the movement system that was much more suitable for conditions of Uganda as it could play the role of a uniting force. A multiparty system would divide Uganda along ethnic and religious lines as was the case during the 1960s.

However, internal struggles demanding for the legalization of the multiparty system continued which culminated into the referendum polls in which such that the majority of the people of Uganda preferred the establishment of a multiparty political system. Thus a multiparty system had to be legally adopted. The NRM had to be transformed from a movement into a political party. Thus the 2006 general elections will be held through a multiparty political system.

Another prospect in terms of the multiparty system has been regular multiparty elections in most African countries. Kenya and Tanzania had already have their third multiparty elections in 2002 and 2005 respectively. This has been the case with most other African countries.

The positive aspect with most of these elections is that they have been facilitating smooth and peaceful regime transitions through the participation of the people as voters.What has been even more encouraging is the fact that even countries which were conflict ridden since independence have been able or are in the process of establishing peace through multiparty transitions. Mozambique provides us with a good example. After successful peace negotiations in Italy and the signing of a peace agreement in 1992', the country had a transition period from 1992 to 1994 when the consolidation of multiparty democracy was carried out leading into the first multiparty elections in 1994. Since then Mozambique had already have three multiparty elections. A country that was first in armed liberation struggle from 1965 to 1975 and civil war from 1976 to 1990 is now enjoying a situation of peace and fast socio-economic development.

Another example of a conflict ridden country which is showing prospects of building peace is Burundi. Burundi, like her neighbour Rwanda, had periodic violent conflicts since her independence in 1962 under consecutive military governments. The first multiparty elections in 1993 were followed by the assassination of the democratically elected President, Melchior Ndadaye. That plunged the country into civil war for more

than ten years. A peace agreement was signed in Arusha on the 28''' August, 2000 after nearly 2 1/2 years of peace negotiations.

The Peace Agreements set a period of three years for the transition process. During the period a new constitution based on a multiparty political system was established and during the February 28tî' 2005 referendum it was accepted by the people by 92% of the votes. The referendum was followed by local government elections, then parliamentary elections and finally presidential elections. By the end ofAugust. 2005 Burundi had completed the transition period and entered a period of building peace and development under a multiparty political system with more than 30 registered political parties.

Although it is too early to talk of prospects the multiparty democratic transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), there are so far signs of good hope. The DRC is also in a period transition after a number of years of civil war from 1996 9. Recently the people have voted for a new constitution through a referendum. The passing of the new constitution has made it possible for the country to hold general elections in 2006.
Success of the first multiparty elections will enable the DRC enter a new era of building democracy and development.

Besides prospects in terms of establishing multiparty democracy there are also prospects in terms of relative growth in freedoms of association, speech and the press and observance of human rights. In most African countries this has resulted into proliferation of many civil society organizations and mass media institutions. For example when Tanzania adopted the multiparty political system in 1992 had only about 25 highly state controlled civil society organizations in form of mass organizations and NGOs. To date it has more than 1000 registered civil society organizations and many more others which are not registered. By the time of Burundi Peace Negotiations in Arusha from 1998 to 2000, Burundi. A small country had around 5000 civil society organizations. The enlargement of members of civil society organizations has been common phenomenon in most African countries during this era of democratization arising out of relative freedom of association.

Likewise freedom of the press has facilitated the growth of many state and private media institutions in form of newspapers, radio stations, and TV stations. For example in 1992 Tanzania had only four newspapers, two for
the Government and two for the party. By now there are more than twenty newspapers. Most of the private media institutions are relatively autonomous.

3.1. Problems:
One of the problems constitutes the link between the building of multiparty democracy and socio-economic development. Given the history of political domination and oppression and economic exploitation under colonialism the demands in Africa have continuously been demands for democracy and development. The two have to go together to ensure real liberation and emancipation of the African people.Observing development in most African countries one finds a weak link between the two.

This is because the majority of the African people continue to be very poor.Even under situations of rapid economic growth, the growth has not transformed into development to ensure the lifting of the standard of living of the majority of the people. The growth

benefits only a small section of the population, constituting the political and economic elites, as well as the external investors. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, leading into gross social injustice.

Another problem constitutes the nature and character of multiparty politics. The nature of relations between political parties differs from the different African countries, but there are certain common problematic characteristics in most African countries. One of such characteristics is lack of leveling ground in the processes of multiparty competition. This is due to the fact that one of the political parties can be very strong while others very weak such that the situation creates a situation of a de jure multiparty system but de facto one party system.

This problem is much more reflected in elections and the establishment and functioning of representative bodies, notably multiparty parliaments and local government councils. In the elections the strong party wins most of the seats resulting into the opposition having very few seats. For example, in Tanzania for example the new Union Parliament after the December 2005 elections the 17 opposition parties have won only 14 percent of the seats, while the ruling party has 86 percent.
        This is a very big imbalance for the efficient working of the Parliament as Multiparty Parliament.   Due to the principles of party discipline there is likely to be little sufficient debate and challenge to the government ensuring the establishment viable policies and strategies for political and socioeconomic development.

Yet another constraint characterizing the multiparty politics in African countries has been growth of political corruption. Such corruption has grown common during elections. 1° Sharp competition between political parties and between individuals has result into some parties and individuals using corrupt means such as dishing money and other things to voters so that they can vote for them. In Tanzania it is commonly known as "takrima". Worse still ruling parties often behave as state parties to make use of state resources at their own advantage against opposition parties. The practice of rigging elections has become a common phenomenon in African countries. Political corruption has the danger of sowing seeds of instability and corruption in the African societies.
However, we have discussed prospects in terms of relative growth of civil society, freedoms of associations, the press and observance of human rights. We have deliberately used the word relative. What this means is the fact that compared to the era of one party and military states, there has been substantial change but the change is far from being satisfactory according to democratic standards. In many African countries the growth of the civil society is mainly in form of numbers rather than in terms of vibrancy and effectiveness.

Tendencies of states enacting laws to control the civil society organizations and male them less autonomous have also been growing. Even measures to ban some organizations or their activities are being often taken on CSOs that appear to be a threat to state interests. The need for greater freedom and autonomy should also be said of the media so that it can criticise and give opinion on state policies, strategies and practices. Not sufficient progress has been made in observing human rights in a number of countries.

Yet another shortcoming in the democratization process has been gender imbalance in the political power structure. This is true in leadership positions in state institutions and representative organs such as Parliaments and local government councils. In 2004 the SADC countries established guidelines for SADC member countries to make sure that by the year 2005 each member state should reach the percentage of 30 for women' in all these institutions. It was realized that by 2004 it was only South Africa and Mozambique that had reached 30% or above. Tanzania had 22% and may other countries were below that.

After the 2005 elections Tanzania in Parliament and for the first time the Deputy Speaker in the Union Parliament is a woman. Even in terms of Ministers the number has been greater than in past and for the first time in important ministries such as the Ministry of Finance and that of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation the Ministers are women. However, these developments merely show progress which is being made to solve the problem of gender imbalance in the democratization process. Even the SADC figure of 30 percent is just in terms of progress that should have been made by 2005 and not as permanent aspects. Actual balance should be around 50% for each gender.

4.   The Task Ahead;
This short paper has tried to show an historical perspective in the struggles for democratic development in Africa particularly from the era of Walter Rodney in the 1960s and 1970s when he developed revolutionary ideas for Africa's democratic development. What is clear and what we have already noted above is the fact that Africa has been struggling for both democracy and development. Africa's historical experience shows that there is no development without democracy and there is no democracy without development. That is why some African intellectuals have advanced the idea of the necessity of establishing democratic developmental states in Africa1Z.

In order to attain the goal of democratic development in African countries there is need to develop policies and strategies at national and regional levels to advance and strengthen the prospects and solve the problems discussed above. Of greater importance three issues need to be seriously addressed. The first issue of improving the state of multiparty politics and competition. The system of multiparty politics has already been accepted by most African countries. It has to be noted that this was a system that was developed with the nationalist struggles for independence when in the then colonies a number of political parties were formed. Thus independent African nations came out of colonialism with a multiparty political system. Thus it is not something new for Africa, and for countries like Botswana it has continued since independence. What is requïred is to develop conditions for a fair leveling ground in the playing field to ensure equality.

The second issue should be people's empowerment. Since the beginning of the democratization period early in the 1990s African intellectuals have continued to advance ideas on people's empowerment in different ways. Some have emphasized the idea of democracy of the popular masses', others the idea of social democracy and yet others the idea of people-centred democracy' others have emphasized the need for developing democracy at grassroots level. What all that entails is the need for empowering the people politically and economically through civil society organizations

and individuals. The growing tendency in African countries has been to put a lot of emphasis on the role of political parties in the establishment of multiparty democracy, thus inarginalizing the civil society. This should be reversed.

The third important issue should be advancing the principles of people-centred development. Given the trends of globalization and global economic structures based on the liberal market economy the tendency has been economic growth without development. What is required is development which goes with people's economic empowerment, equity and social justice. Thus, people centred democracy should be developed as part and parcel with people centred development. This should be the essence in the struggle for democratic development in Africa.

End-Notes:
1.	Rodney, W., 1972, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.
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3.	Frantz Fanon and Amilcal Cabral were revolutionary thinkers who advocated the use of revolutionary violence in the struggle for national independence in Africa.
4.	Sithole, M., 1993, "The Democratization in Africa: Is the Second Wind of Change Any Different from the First? Research Proposal for CODESRIA.
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7.	Ajello, H. E. A., 1998, "A Successful Peace-Keeping Operation: Tile Mozambique Experience" EU Special Envoy: Paper presented at a Conference in Arusha on Conflict Resolution in Africa.
8.	Mpangala, G. P., and B. U. Mwansawu (eds), 2004, Beyond Conflict in Burundi, Dar es Salaam: The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.
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10.	Chambua, S. at al (eds), 2002, Multiparty Elections and Corruption in Tanzania: With Special Reference to the 2000 Elections; Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press.
ii.	SADC Barometer 6, 2 August, 2004. SADC Barometer is a Journal which is published by the South African Institute of International Affairs With Funding from NORAD and USAID.
12.	Mkandawire, T., 1995, "Beyond Crisis: Towards Democratic Developmental States in Africa"; Dakar: CODESRIA Eighth General Assembly.
13.	Shivji, I. G. (ed), 1991, State and Constitutional ism: An African Debate on Democracy, Harare: SAPES Books.
...................., 1997, "Critical Elements of a New Democratic Concesus in Africa", In: Othman, H., (ed), Reflections on Leadership in Africa: Forty Years After Independence: Brussels: VUB University Press.
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15.	People centred development and people centred democracy and unity is among aims and objectives of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.
16.	Mushi, S., 2001, Development and Democratization in Tanzania: A Study of Rural Grassroots Politics; Kampala: Fountain Publishers.