

33

University of Bayreuth
African Studies
WORKING PAPERS

Africa Multiple connects 5



Live as African

**On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's
Agenda for Economic Liberation**

Ndongo Samba Sylla, 2022

33

University of Bayreuth

African Studies

WORKING PAPERS

Live as African

On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's Agenda for Economic Liberation

Ndongo Samba Sylla, 2022



CC BY 4.0

Institute of African Studies (IAS)

The *University of Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers* are published by the Institute of African Studies (IAS) in Bayreuth, Germany.

The IAS promotes African Studies at the University of Bayreuth by supporting scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines from almost all faculties. It facilitates cooperation between researchers and institutions engaged in Africa-related projects, as well as teaching, both on campus and around the world. The IAS consists of three central bodies: the Iwalewahaus, the Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence, and the Africa Research Center (*Forschungszentrum Afrika*), which is currently under construction.

The Working Papers give scholars the space to present empirical studies, theoretical reflections, and report preliminary findings, ongoing projects, and current research. The Working Papers usually reflect works-in-progress and invite discussion and feedback.

Submitted papers are subject to internal review at the University of Bayreuth. Contributions may be submitted to the editor-in-chief: Dr. Jane Ayeko-Kümmeth (IAS@uni-bayreuth.de)

The *University of Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers* feature on the EPub document server at the university library:

2005 - 2018

https://epub.uni-bayreuth.de/view/series/Bayreuth_African_Studies_Working_Papers.html

2018 - ongoing

https://epub.uni-bayreuth.de/view/series/University_of_Bayreuth_African_Studies_Working_Papers.html



INSTITUTE
OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Institute of African Studies

Director: Prof. Dr. Eva Spies

Vice-Director: Prof. Dr. Thoko Kaime

University of Bayreuth

Wölfelstr. 2

D-95440 Bayreuth

Phone: +49 (0)921 554511

Fax: +49 (0)921 554502

www.ias.uni-bayreuth.de

IAS@uni-bayreuth.de

Africa Multiple *connects*

As the Working Paper publication series of the Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence, **Africa Multiple *connects*** offers a forum for research conducted by researchers affiliated therewith. The series features diverse papers such as guests' lectures, workshop contributions, and conference papers.

The Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence was established in January 2019 through the Excellence Strategy of the German Federal and State Governments. Building on the well-established programme of African Studies at the University of Bayreuth, the Cluster pursues an innovative agenda as expressed in its subtitle – *Reconfiguring African Studies*. It has almost hundred and sixty members, from three continents, who represent a diverse range of academic disciplines and cooperate with partner institutions in Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Our understanding of the reconfiguration of African Studies focuses on stimulating new theoretical approaches and the creation of new forms of interdisciplinary collaboration. In addition to the University of Bayreuth, the Cluster is made up of four further African Cluster Centres (ACCs): the Universities of Lagos (Nigeria), Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Burkina Faso), Moi (Kenya), and Rhodes (South Africa).

Our key concepts are *multiplicity*, *relationality*, and *reflexivity*. We employ them to capture the dynamic interrelationship of diversity and entanglement that characterize African and African diasporic ways of life and world-making. In the “Knowledge Lab”, we connect our theoretical, epistemological, and methodological issues. Our “Digital Research Environment” integrates analogue and digital data into a common, digital research platform. Through the Bayreuth Academy of Advanced African Studies, the Cluster coordinates an international fellowship programme for junior and senior researchers, including artists. Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) offers research-oriented training for doctoral students.

In addition to **Africa Multiple *connects***, there are two other subseries published within the *University of Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers*. **Academy *reflects*** features research by Fellows and Postdoc working-groups of the Bayreuth Academy of Advanced African Studies. **BIGSASworks!**, is the platform for publishing research-related articles and edited collections by Junior Fellows of BIGSAS.

The managing editor of the series Africa Multiple *connects* is Dr. Doris Lühr (Doris.Loehr@uni-bayreuth.de).



Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence

Spokesperson: Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Seesemann
Deputy Spokesperson: Prof. Dr. Ute Fendler

University of Bayreuth
Nürnberger Str. 38, ZAPF Haus 3
D-95440 Bayreuth

<https://www.africamultiple.uni-bayreuth.de>
africamultiple-international@uni-bayreuth.de

About the Author

Ndongo Samba Sylla (PhD) is a Senegalese Development Economist. He is currently a Senior Research and Program Manager at the West Africa office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (Dakar).

Abstract English / French

"We must accept to live as African – that is the only way to live free and dignified", said the late Thomas Sankara in his famous 1987 speech at the Organization of African Unity. "Live as African", beyond summarizing Sankara's political and ethical vision, draws an agenda for economic liberation articulated around the ideal of self-sufficiency understood both as freedom from external domination and as capacity to self-determination through reliance first and foremost on one's own resources. In this article, I argue that this agenda is the only one sustainable both for African peoples and for the Planet once it is realized that peoples from the periphery as a whole will never be able to achieve the same consumption/waste levels as peoples in the center, as global South thinkers Celso Furtado and Samir Amin demonstrated some decades ago. Since then, a growing literature has shown why the Western development "model", due to its ecological exceptionalism, is simply not reproducible elsewhere and why the promise of economic catch-up is illusory. Building on these findings and on the importance and implications of monetary sovereignty, I will elaborate on the principles of a Sankara-inspired economic model that could deliver a free and dignified life to all.

"Nous devons accepter de vivre africain - c'est la seule façon de vivre libre et digne", avait déclaré feu Thomas Sankara dans son célèbre discours de 1987 à l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine. "Vivre Africain", au-delà de résumer la vision politique et éthique de Sankara, dessine un agenda de libération économique articulé autour de l'idéal de l'autosuffisance, comprise à la fois comme la liberté vis-à-vis de la domination extérieure et comme la capacité à s'autodéterminer en comptant d'abord et avant tout sur ses propres ressources. Dans cet article, je soutiens que cet agenda est le seul qui soit durable à la fois pour les peuples africains et pour la planète, une fois que l'on a réalisé que les peuples de la périphérie pris collectivement ne seront jamais capables d'atteindre les mêmes niveaux de consommation/gaspillage que les peuples du centre, comme les penseurs du Sud global Celso Furtado et Samir Amin l'ont démontré il y a quelques décennies. Depuis lors, une littérature croissante a montré pourquoi le "modèle" de développement occidental, en raison de son exceptionnalisme écologique, n'est tout simplement pas reproductible ailleurs et pourquoi la promesse d'un rattrapage économique est illusoire. Partant de ces résultats et de l'importance et des implications de la souveraineté monétaire, je vais esquisser les principes d'un modèle économique inspiré de Sankara qui pourrait offrir à tous une vie libre et digne.

Keywords / Mots clés

Economic Development, Delinking, External Debt, Unequal Ecological Exchange, Monetary Sovereignty. / Développement Economique, Déconnexion, Dette Extérieure, Echange Ecologique Inégal, Souveraineté Monétaire.

Contents

Institute of African Studies (IAS)	iii
Africa Multiple <i>connects</i>	iv
About the Author	v
Abstract English/French	v

Live as African: On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's Agenda for Economic Liberation

1 An Agenda of Liberation	3
2 The Myth of Economic Development	4
3 Western Development, Surplus Labor, and Emigration	7
4 Unequal Ecological Exchange	8
5 Delinking and Self-centered Development	11
6 An Example of Domestic Resource Mobilization	13
7 Conclusion	15
8 References	16
9 Latest Publications in the <i>Africa Multiple connects</i> Working Paper Series	19

List of figures

Figure 1: Evolution of the average real GDP growth and the external debt/GDP ratio for sub-Saharan Africa (1960-2019) - in percentage 10

Live as African

On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's Agenda for Economic Liberation¹

Dr. Ndongo Samba Sylla

Captain Thomas Sankara, born in 1949, came to power in 1983 following a military coup organized by his companions-in-arms. He renamed Upper Volta, the name given to his country by France, its colonizer, to Burkina Faso, which means "land of men of integrity." During his four years in power, Sankara tried to transform a poor and landlocked country under the yoke of French imperialist rule. The image he left to younger generations is that of a sober and honest pan-Africanist political leader. Despite his status as head of state, he kept his captain's salary, which was lower than that of his wife, then a civil servant working in the transportation sector. In order to assume their duty, members of his government were obliged to publicly declare their assets from 1986 on, 27 years before the same measure was implemented in France.

In retrospect, Sankara can be considered as a pioneering alter-globalist activist. He was concerned with ecological sustainability and was a sincere advocate of women's rights. He also advocated for the abolition of Third World countries' debt, namely in his most famous speech delivered on July 29, 1987 at the Organization of African Unity (OAU). On that day, with eloquence, humor, and passion, Sankara pleaded urgently for African peoples to unite to face their common challenges. In particular, he called on his African peers to collectively repudiate the continent's external debt. He argued that this debt is illegitimate owing to its colonial origins and should not be paid. One additional reason for its repudiation was that Europe owed Africa a blood debt which had not yet

¹ The author would like to thank Dr. Kai Koddenbrock and Prof. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni for their valuable comments on a previous version, held during a master class, financed by the Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence at the University of Bayreuth (funded by the German Research Foundation under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2052/1 – 390713894). Eventual errors are mine.

given rise to reparations. However, as Sankara tragically warned in his speech from 29 July 1987, “[I]f Burkina Faso stands alone in refusing to pay, I will not be here for the next conference!”

A few months later, on October 15, 1987, he was assassinated by a commando under the orders of his comrade-in-arms Blaise Compaoré, who would succeed him in power. Compaoré, with the support of France, ruled Burkina Faso with an iron fist until his overthrow by a popular movement in 2014. He was exfiltrated in extremis by France to Côte d'Ivoire. After 35 years, at a long-awaited trial, the Burkinabe justice system was recently able to shed light on the circumstances of Sankara's death. It sentenced the absentee Compaoré and his accomplices to life imprisonment. This judgment has been a hard-fought victory for Sankara's family and the activists who campaigned for more than three decades for the organization of a trial.

Sankara articulated important views about African development, and more generally about economic liberation, that we can build on in our current efforts to create sustainable prosperity for 1.3 billion Africans in a context marked by climate change and growing environmental stress. My objective is not to give an economic assessment of Burkina Faso under Sankara's rule, but rather to reflect on the relevance and current potential of the agenda of economic liberation he advocated.

I will elaborate on his 1987 speech at the OAU. In my opinion, it is among the most important speeches ever delivered by an African leader in addition to the one by Patrice Lumumba at the ceremony of the proclamation of Congo's independence on June 30, 1960 (Lumumba 1961: 44–47). The Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was the chair of the 1987 OAU Summit. Kaunda was truly impressed by Sankara's performance, charisma, boldness, and generous pan-African vision. It is said that he told him on that day: “I want you as the President of my country” (Sylla 2012: 225). This was not a cheap compliment from a head of state 21 years older than him. These words reflected genuinely a deep sense of admiration, trust, and hope.

Indeed, that day, before his African peers, Sankara urged African peoples to trust their inventiveness. He promoted the slogan “produce in Africa, transform in Africa, consume in Africa,” as a way to spur local production, enlarge domestic demand for domestic products, and reduce unnecessary imports. He proposed drastically reducing prestige and sumptuary spending. He opposed military spending aimed at arming Africans against each other and encouraged his peers to discuss Africa's problems within the framework of the OAU in place of the platforms established by the former colonial metropolises. He had in mind, for example, the France-Africa summits.

Sankara ended his speech with very significant and far-reaching words: “I would simply say that we must accept to live as African – that is the only way to live free and dignified.”

In my opinion, the motto “Live as African,” beyond summarizing Sankara's political and ethical vision, draws an agenda for economic liberation. I would go even further: no development strategy for the African continent worthy of its name can do without the “Live as African” program that Sankara called for.

To defend this thesis, I will put Sankara in conversation with the late Brazilian economist Celso Furtado and the late Franco-Egyptian economist Samir Amin. These two Global South thinkers

provided the theoretical underpinnings for a Sankara-style economic liberation agenda. In particular, they challenged the still dominant view that countries of the South could replicate Western development trajectory. Furtado and Amin concluded that people in the South will never be able to catch up with the average standard of living in the North. Since then, some empirical studies dealing with the phenomenon of unequal ecological exchange have confirmed their prognosis and thus insisted, as Sankara did in his time, on the need for the countries of the South to find an alternative to the unsustainable Western development path. Based on these considerations, I will briefly elaborate in the conclusion on what policy content could be given nowadays to the program "Live as African."

1 An Agenda of Liberation

The motto "Live as African," as articulated by Sankara, is not racist or xenophobic. Nor is it a plea for autarky or isolationism. Sankara was truly an internationalist. In the same speech at the OAU, he declared: "The popular masses of Europe are not opposed to the popular masses in Africa. Those who want to exploit Africa are those who exploit Europe, too. We have a common enemy." Sankara had a conception of "Africanness" that reminds us of the Constitution of the first Haitian Republic. When Haiti gained its independence in 1804, Haitian citizenship was not defined in a racialized way. Rather, anyone who fought to liberate Haiti from the shackles of colonial domination was considered Haitian (Manji 2019). Even the much-celebrated 1789 French Revolution did not go as far as Haiti, as the late Michel-Rolph Trouillot demonstrated in his wonderful book entitled *Silencing the Past*.

"Live as African" is an agenda for liberation. Argentine philosopher Enrique Dussel, who wrote extensively on the philosophy and ethics of liberation, introduced the concept of *critical* or *negative ethics* (Dussel 1985, 2008, 2013). According to him, the first principle of critical ethics suggests that we must oppose "every ethical system that entails the production of certain victims" (Eduardo Mendieta in the foreword of Dussel 2008: X). This stance requires ethical systems to be assessed from the location of their specific victims (*ibid.*). An agenda of economic liberation must by definition be articulated from the perspective of the victims of the current global economic system. It aims to resist the existing global economic order and possibly transcend it in favor of an alternative way of organizing economic and political life that would empower the considerable number of victims that must be produced as long as the status quo prevails.

The "Live as African" motto starts from the acknowledgment that African popular masses have been and are dominated and that they must end this situation themselves. The liberation of the continent will not come from outside. Africans will have to liberate themselves from the legacies of racism, colonialism, and imperialism. However, this will only be possible if African peoples regain trust in themselves, unite their forces, and promote their material and cultural resources. To that extent, any project of liberation must have epistemic and educational underpinnings (Ndlovu-Gatssheni 2020).²

² For Sankara, transforming society away from colonial legacies and some oppressive "traditions" required political education. Leadership by example was paramount, as well as raising peoples' awareness and sense of solidarity through the practice of subaltern experiences (for example, inducing men to perform tasks ordinarily reserved for women or introducing urban people to rural life). More generally, as Fidèle Toé, Sankara's childhood friend, remembered: "For

“Live as African” is a powerful expression for the ideal of self-sufficiency, self-sufficiency being understood both as freedom from external domination and as capacity to self-determination. It points to the urgent need to delink from an oppressive and exploitative world economic system as a first step towards self-determination and the building of more prosperous and egalitarian polities.

“Live as African” was not a catchphrase for Sankara. During his four years as the head of the Burkina Faso state, he did his best, in very adverse circumstances, to implement a policy of economic self-sufficiency based on the mobilization of domestic resources, and the fight against corruption and economic and financial waste. Although a number of policy errors were made, significant socio-economic achievements have been recorded (Sylla 2012; Peterson 2021).

I would like to argue here that the path delineated by Sankara is the only one that is sustainable for both Africa and the planet Earth. To make this argument, I will rely on two Global South thinkers who showed why the Western development path cannot be successfully emulated in the Global South and why, therefore, peripheral countries must by necessity find their own way to create a sustainable prosperity for their inhabitants. Those two thinkers are Furtado and Amin. I would say that Furtado and Amin provided intellectual justifications for the Live as African type of approach while Sankara provided their scholarly views with a policy agenda, the limits of which we can learn from.

2 The Myth of Economic Development³

Furtado is one of the most prominent intellectuals of his generation. Influenced by great thinkers such as Karl Marx, John Maynard Keynes, Joseph Schumpeter, and Raúl Prebisch, he was a pioneer of development economics and a leading figure of structuralism in Latin America. Furtado wrote more than 30 books published in some 15 languages. He worked at the Economic Commission for Latin America (1949-1957), and he was the first Brazilian Minister of Planning (1962-1963). Between 1986 and 1988, he was the Minister of Culture. Before his death in 2004, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Economics.

As a scholar, Furtado provided the kind of theoretical arguments that back and strengthen the agenda of economic liberation advocated by the practical man of action that Sankara was. In 1974, Furtado published in Portuguese a small and relatively ignored book called *The Myth of Economic Development*. The English edition was published only in 2020, at the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth.

Sankara, the question of education is fundamental. I think that we did not let him go to the end of his thought. His action did not really go to the end of his thought [...] Thomas would have liked us to do something like what they did in Cuba: to take three or four years to launch a literacy campaign to eradicate illiteracy, to put all children and young people in school. As a result, the trained human capital could have been properly put to good effect. The population would have had materials to raise their intellectual level: everyone could read newspapers, books and participate in debates, write, etc. However, he built schools. That's all he did. A school for him is not the big sophisticated building [...] Under Sankara, schooling has made a spectacular leap.” (interview in Sylla 2012: 214; my translation).

³ This section relies heavily on Sylla (2020b).

The Myth of Economic Development is a prescient book that discusses from a Global South perspective *The Limits to Growth*, a landmark report by the Club of Rome, and a best-seller in the environmentalist literature (Meadows et al. 1972) and a source of inspiration for the current Degrowth movement (Schmelzer et al. 2022). *The Limits to Growth* has been translated into 30 languages since its publication. It analyzed and projected the interrelationships and behavior between 1900 and 2100 of five main factors: population, industrial production, agricultural production, natural resources, and pollution. The main conclusions of *The Limits to Growth* are the following:

First, economic growth is not the solution to the most pressing issues humanity is facing. It's rather the big problem: "That which all the world sees as the solution to its problems is in fact a cause of those problems" (Meadows 2007: 193).

Second, the idea of endless economic growth in a finite world is absurd. Sooner or later, limits will be reached. On the one hand, regarding "sources," not all resources that allow for exponential growth of capital, population, industry, and agriculture are *renewable*. On the other hand, regarding "sinks," the industrial system has *irreversible consequences* on the physical environment - including the atmosphere - which compromise the planet's ability to withstand the increased pressure it imposed on it.

Third, the pursuit of economic growth will lead to the overshoot and collapse of industrial civilization, if the global trends observed in terms of population growth, industrialization, food production, pollution, and resource depletion are to continue. If nothing is done to invert the trends, limits will be reached during the 21st century. Currently, this is the message from the reports regularly published by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change of the United Nations.

Last but not least, technological progress will not help push the limits to growth. Only a radical change in the "value system" - production/consumption behaviors - can help prevent civilizational collapse.

As a major recommendation, the authors of *The Limits to Growth* proposed a global strategy to achieve what they called "global equilibrium" or a "non-growth state" (which is a state that can allow every habitant of the planet to live well). They stressed that developed countries should radically adjust their lifestyles and should help developing countries towards achieving global equilibrium.

Furtado saw three merits in *The Limits to Growth*. First, it modelled the world economy as a closed system. Until then, the dominant approach had been to start from individual countries and assume that non-renewable resources were unlimited in the "outside world," i.e., the rest of the world. Second, *The Limits to Growth* addressed an overarching issue largely ignored by economists, namely the consequences of capital accumulation on the physical environment. Third, it showed the ecologically unsustainable character of "industrial capitalism."

That said, according to Furtado, *The Limits to Growth* suffered two limitations from a Global South perspective:

- First, it obscured the great dependence of core countries (the developed/Western countries) on the natural resources of the peripheral countries (the Global South).
- Second, it also betrayed an ignorance of the specificity of underdevelopment. Indeed, *The Limits to Growth* made projections based on the questionable assumption that “as the rest of the world develops economically, it will follow basically the US pattern of consumption” (Meadows et al. 1972: 109).

This last assumption sums up what Furtado called “the myth of economic development” – the belief that the poorest citizens in the Global South will one day enjoy the same living standards as the average citizen in the Global North. The myth of economic development is the belief in “economic catch-up.”

In his discussion of *The Limits to Growth*, Furtado reached three major conclusions:

First, the pressure on natural resources in the future will be much less than that projected by *The Limits to Growth*, since the consumption pattern of the core countries concerns only a minority of the world's population and can never be generalized to the whole planet. In other words, pressure on global resources are attenuated by the functioning of the global economic system which prevents populations in the Global South achieving the same consumption patterns as in the Global North:

“The predominant evolutionary tendency is to exclude nine out of ten people from the principal benefits of development; and, if we observe the group of peripheral countries in particular, we realize that there the tendency is to exclude nineteen out of twenty. This growing mass of the excluded—in absolute and relative terms—that is concentrated in peripheral countries constitutes in itself a heavy factor in the evolution of the system” (Furtado and Furtado 2020: 61).

His second conclusion is that the generalization of the “Western way of life” must lead to the collapse of civilization:

The Limits to Growth “provides a thorough demonstration that the lifestyle created by industrial capitalism will always be the privilege of a minority. The cost of this lifestyle, in terms of the degradation of the physical world, is so high that any attempt to generalize it would inevitably lead to the collapse of an entire civilization, putting the survival of the human species at risk. **We have then thorough evidence that economic development—the idea that the poor peoples can one day enjoy the lifestyles of the currently rich peoples—is simply unattainable.** We now know incontrovertibly that peripheral economies will never be developed, in the sense of being similar to the economies that currently make up the center of the capitalist system” (Furtado and Furtado 2020: 62).

His third conclusion has a more programmatic aspect: the impossibility of “economic catch-up” does not imply that the citizens of the Global South are condemned to suffer from poverty and inequality. It only implies that:

- capitalism has nothing to offer as a prospect of a decent life for the vast majority of humanity;
- an alternative *orientation of development* should be devised that is more egalitarian and more economical in resource-use. To that end, priority should be given to a wide social dissemination of consumer products whose production escapes the modernist cult of planned obsolescence.

3 Western Development, Surplus Labor, and Emigration

Furtado was not alone among Global South thinkers in the rejection of the economic catch-up view. Amin reached similar conclusions via a different theoretical road. The former director of the Third World Forum and prolific author observed that the secular destruction of the peasantry in the Global North went hand in hand with an important growth in agricultural productivity (Amin 2017). In 19th century Europe, in particular, industrialization made it possible to employ productively a large part of the labor force released by the agriculture and crafts sectors. But that was not enough to absorb the surplus labor force. Emigration, especially to the Americas, provided the main outlet. Britain, the leading economic hegemon at that time, is probably the most eloquent example of this pattern. As Utsa Patnaik and Prabhat Patnaik wrote in their book, *A Theory of Imperialism*, “Between 1821 and 1915, over 16 million persons migrated permanently out of Britain [...], a number larger than Britain’s 1821 population. British emigration alone made up 36 percent of all emigration from Europe during this period. The average number of persons migrating every year from Britain over this period works out to nearly half the annual increase in population.” (Patnaik and Patnaik 2017: 56-57).

However, if the countries of the Global South are to follow the same development trajectory as the West, this must lead to a large dispossession of peasants and thus to the creation of a huge surplus labor force. However, this surplus labor force will not be absorbed by the “modern” sector due to the absence of industries or to the capital-intensive nature of the technologies used. In contrast to Western Europe during its 19th century industrialization phase, there is no place on the planet where the Global South could export its surplus labor, let’s say its army of informal sector workers. Despite the Western media frenzy about so-called “migrants,” the fact is that the Global North is rather closed to workers from the Global South, especially low-skilled ones. Indeed, one of the main features of the current world system is that there is very little movement of labor, especially from the South to the North. At current emigration rates, if we were to relocate 10% of the poor population from the South to the North, it would take two hundred years, according to economist Branko Milanovic (2010: 124).

As the Global South cannot tap new “Americas” somewhere on the planet, disparity in living conditions between the North and South and within the South must remain the norm, as is currently the case. Nowadays, as Amin argued,

"The demands that industries in the peripheries should be “competitive” on world markets justify the use of modern technologies which reduce the level of labour-intensive work. At the same time, there are no new Americas to open for mass migrations from Asia or Africa. In such conditions, the pursuit of a model based on historical capitalism produces nothing other than migration from devastated countrysides to squalid urban slums” (Amin 2017: 3).

In a nutshell, the limited opportunities for large-scale emigration to newer “Americas” is another important reason why the countries of the Global South cannot collectively replicate the development trajectory of the West and why, therefore, they must find a path of their own.

4 Unequal Ecological Exchange

In favor of the Furtado and Amin views on the impossibility for the Global South to economically catch up with the Global North, a growing literature has shown that the Western development trajectory during the last two centuries had been based on an ecological “exceptionalism,” or better, on an “ecological imperialism,” resting first on the net appropriation of the resources of the Global South and second on the externalization to the Global South of the ecological costs of capitalist expansion. These two patterns combined render “economic catch-up” impossible for the Global South as a whole.

If economic catch-up were to happen, Global South citizens would have to achieve the same *levels of consumption and waste* as the average citizen in the Global North. Yet, we know that if all the inhabitants of the earth had the same ecological footprint as the average resident of the European Union, 2.8 planets would be needed while we only have one. The European Union represents only 7% of the world's population, yet it uses 20% of the planet's biocapacity (WWF 2019). In other words, the planet could not afford the universalization of the unsustainable European way of life.

In January 2021, the journal *Ecological Economics* published an article coauthored by Christian Dorninger and nine of his colleagues. Titled *Global patterns of ecologically unequal exchange: Implications for sustainability in the 21st century*, this article has made particularly salient three empirical results of the literature on unequal ecological exchange (see Dorninger et al. 2021; see also Hickel et al. 2021; Hickel et al. 2022).

First, developing countries lose both on flows of biophysical resources and on monetary flows: “[High income] nations accomplish a net appropriation of materials, energy, land, and labor, while simultaneously generating a monetary surplus from those net appropriations” (Dorninger et al 2021: 10).

Second, economic growth in developed countries depends on unequal ecological exchange: “The economic growth of wealthier regions is achieved through high mass throughput and concurrent environmental burden shifting to poorer regions” (Dorninger et al 2021: 10).

Third, economic catch-up for the Global South is impossible:

“Because the economic growth model of industrialization requires the appropriation of resources from poorer regions, it seems illusory for all poorer nations to be able to ‘catch-up’ by – among other things – accessing even poorer regions from which to appropriate resources. Industrialization as experienced by the world’s wealthiest countries, and some emerging economies like China, cannot become universal” (Dorninger et al 2021: 10).

The situation of “unequal ecological exchange” implies that the Global South loses on two accounts: net transfer of biophysical resources and net monetary transfers to the Global North. The question we may ask here is: how is it possible that the Global South loses both on net biophysical resource flows and on net financial flows?

For this situation to exist, the Global South must be structurally in a position of *financial indebtedness to the Global North*. This begs another question: How can the debt in hard currency be repaid to the Global North? The answer is: permanent austerity for the majority in the Global South and the selling-off (and privatization) of national assets. The enforcement of so-called creditors and investors’ rights is ordinarily the province of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. As a matter of fact, their objective role is to facilitate the drain accruing to the Global North through unequal exchange.

Sadly, unequal ecological exchange has been the story of post-independence Africa. Due to the nature of the economic specialization they inherited from colonialism, most African countries are subject to an alternation between “growth” cycles stimulated by improved prices for commodities and “austerity” cycles marked by declining terms of trade and debt distress.

For example, the 1960s were a decade of relatively high economic growth on average for sub-Saharan Africa. In the following decade, the average rate of growth declined due namely to deteriorating terms of trade. But the foreign currency debt, as a ratio of GDP, increased. Issuance of foreign currency debt tends to increase with investors’ confidence in brighter growth prospects. Unfortunately, worsening terms of trade and higher borrowing costs paved the way for a debt crisis that the IMF and World Bank managed from a creditor perspective. The results were that many African countries experienced lost decades in terms of real GDP per capita growth. Yet, their foreign currency debt/GDP ratio continued to increase: A clear sign that austerity policies are not designed to help countries recover economically and be in a better financial position. Rather, austerity policies are designed to punish countries and put them at the mercy of their creditors. The foreign currency debt/GDP ratio declined only with the partial cancellation of bilateral and multilateral debts from the first decade of the 2000s. Growth resumed, even if it was jobless. Thanks to more peaceful political settings and improved terms of trade, sub-Saharan Africa recorded its best decadal performance, prompting the so-called “Africa rising” narrative. Investors’ confidence was back. However, with the end of the super commodity boom cycle in the beginning of the 2010s, economic growth slowed down. It was sustained mostly through onerous infrastructure projects sometimes financed with the issuance of debts in foreign currency. The foreign currency debt stock had been gradually reconstituted (see Figure 1). The COVID-19 pandemic would just expose further the unsustainable foreign debt trajectory of a number of

African countries. The pandemic did not create the debt distress. It just accelerated it, given that all the debt sustainability indicators have been deteriorating from 2008.

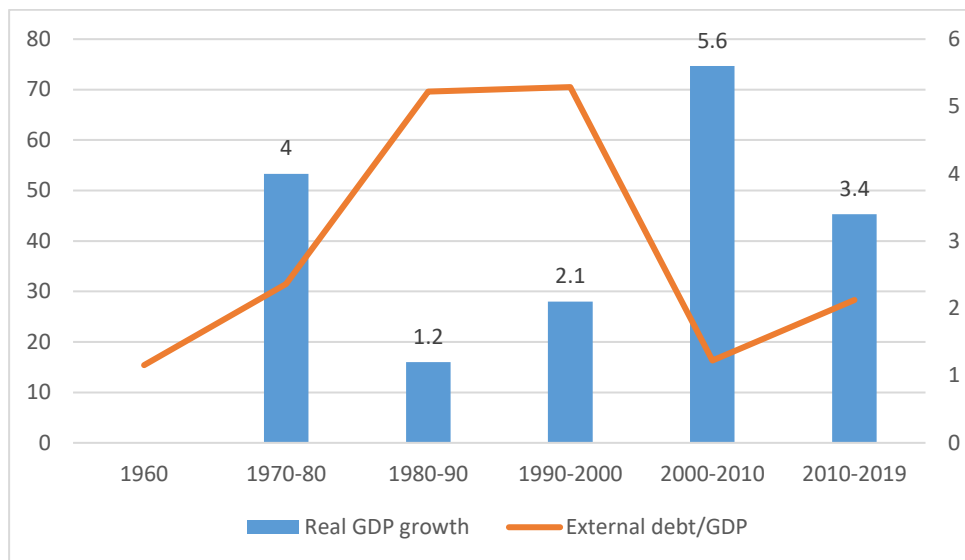


Figure 1: Evolution of the average real GDP growth and the external debt/GDP ratio for sub-Saharan Africa (1960-2019) - in percentage⁴

Figure 1: in blue, right scale, we have the average real GDP growth per decade; the line, left scale, corresponds to the external debt/GDP ratio at the beginning of each decade. The graph contains data for 30 countries for which data are complete for the whole period. Average real GDP growth by decade is provided for the period from 1970.

One thing Sankara understood, and which is not clear yet to most progressive intellectuals and movements, is that cancelling the existing foreign currency public debt stock is far from enough. All the discussions about the need to find an international and functional mechanism for sovereign debt restructuring are probably as well-meant as the campaigns for debt cancellation or debt jubilee. Although the discussions have become very technical, they often miss the elephant in the room. Sankara knew that the system of unequal ecological exchange is what was to be abolished first of all. Though important, the repudiation or cancellation of the outstanding foreign debt stock would not be enough. Even if it were cancelled, the foreign debt stock would be quickly reconstituted, as the case of sub-Saharan Africa between 2000 and now made clear. So, as long as foreign debt cancellation or repudiation does not intervene as a foundation for another development path, its benefits risk being temporary and pyrrhic (Sylla 2023a). Between 2000 and 2016, for 28 countries representing 85% of sub-Saharan Africa GDP, interests paid on external debt amounted to 100 billion USD. Though very significant, this was five times less than the income accruing to foreign direct investment during the same period and sample of countries (Kvangraven et al. 2021:128; Sylla 2023a). Yet, there is no campaign asking to cancel the

⁴ World Bank Development Indicators accessed on July 2022.

repatriation of these huge amounts of profits and dividends, which ultimately contribute to the reconstitution of the foreign debt stock of the continent.

In sum, there is logically no sustainable development for Africa and the Global South in a world of unequal ecological exchange. Even the highly commendable sustainable development goals of the United Nations are not sustainable in practice. They still cling to the economic catch-up view and to that extent do not acknowledge the reality of unequal ecological exchange.

5 Delinking and Self-centered Development

Once it is realized that economic catch-up is an illusion for the Global South, something else must be tried. Another development path must be experimented by necessity. This logical conclusion is the basis of the delinking strategy advocated by Amin.

Far from being synonymous with autarky, a delinking strategy rather implies prioritizing the domestic needs of the peripheral countries over the demands of the global economic system. In practical terms, it means implementing policies that lead to a greater local control over (i) the reproduction of the labor force, (ii) the domestic market, (iii) natural resources, (iv) technology, and (v) the "centralization of the economic surplus" – that is, the control over the financial system and flows and the ability to direct domestic investment (Amin 1990).

While Amin theorized delinking, Sankara was obliged by the circumstances faced by his country to experiment with a form of forced delinking. Sankara invited Amin to come to Burkina Faso in order to discuss the country's economic challenges. At his arrival, Sankara said to him: "You have told us that we must have the courage to de-connect [delink]. Before we could gather that courage, the French have taken the lead and de-connected [delinked] us. What shall we do?" As Amin recollected some years later: "I had not imagined that the question of de-connection [delinking] would first arise in a country as poor as Burkina Faso" (see Mamdani 2018).

Retrospectively, there were some objective limitations to the agenda of economic liberation advocated by Sankara. One was the lack of a supportive regional integration framework. A landlocked country such as Burkina Faso must leverage trade and financial ties with its neighbors. Not to mention that political leaders in the region, except for the Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings, were not especially enthusiastic about the Burkinabe revolution and its young and unconventional leader (Sylla 2012; Peterson 2021).

Another limitation was the lack of monetary sovereignty by Burkina Faso and the related lack of understanding of the cardinal importance of money and finance. Burkina Faso is still a member of the franc zone, the last colonial monetary zone in Africa (Pigeaud and Sylla 2021; Koddenbrock and Sylla 2019). The strategy of domestic resource mobilization promoted by Sankara would have much more economic impact and popular support with the appropriate monetary and financial instruments. Given the little financial help received from outside, the Burkinabe revolution happened in a context of severe self-imposed austerity that was resented by what could be considered as the middle classes at the time. Sankara himself acknowledged that it's very tough to deeply transform an underdeveloped country when the state budget is as little as 58 billion CFA

francs, with 72% of it devoted to pay the debt and the salaries of 30,000 civil servants (Sylla 2012: 302).

One major lesson from the Burkinabe revolution is that a strategy of domestic resource mobilization requires a minimum in terms of monetary sovereignty to be successful over the medium and long run. Burkina Faso, under Sankara, was heavily money-constrained and this limited the scope of popular support for the Burkinabe Revolution over a long-term basis.

Yet, as Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) shows, money can never be an absolute constraint. Governments that issue their own fiat currency can never lack their own currency (Mosler 2010, Wray 2015, Mitchell et al. 2019). In principle, they will always be able to finance in their own currency any project that relies essentially on real resources available locally or that can be developed locally. In contrast to financial resources, real resources refer to land, labor, equipment, intermediary inputs, etc. (Sylla 2020a, Sylla 2023b).

The paradigmatic revolution introduced by MMT opens up a developmental space that has been hardly explored. In contrast to the current extraverted development path that makes African countries economically vulnerable and highly dependent on foreign trade, technology, and finance, it is possible to create a sustainable prosperity that reduces external dependency in its various facets. In the spirit of the “Live as African” motto, this path consists in mobilizing domestic resources in an institutional framework of monetary sovereignty.

By an institutional framework of monetary sovereignty, I mean an intellectual and policy framework where the following facts are acknowledged: First, a government issuing a sovereign currency can never lack “money” and its spending is not limited by its fiscal receipts; second, investment is not constrained by available savings; and three, real resources constraints are the ones that matter most of all. From the 1960s to date, most calls for African self-reliance have been unaware of the point of view of monetary sovereignty, as they subscribe to the view that money is a scarce “resource,” and relatedly that taxes finance public spending and that savings constraint investment.⁵

⁵ The absence of a monetary sovereignty perspective can be seen for example in the celebrated Arusha Declaration. The author, the late Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, wrote:

“When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money and if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit the calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes. We realize that the cow has no more milk – that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that she would like more milk which could be sold

My thesis is that by uniting Sankara's approach to MMT's description of the operational realities of the monetary system, we can delineate a promising approach to economic development able to deliver the basics of decent life to anyone while reducing African nations' external dependency.

To be provocative, I would say that the challenge is MMT-ing Sankara or if we prefer Sankara-ing MMT.

6 An Example of Domestic Resource Mobilization

To illustrate this point, let us take a concrete example coming from the revolutionary work being done by Diébédo Francis Kéré, a Berlin-based architect born in Burkina Faso. He recently won the prestigious Pritzker Prize 2022, which is considered the Nobel Prize for Architecture. Kéré's work epitomizes perfectly the "Live as African" approach. As a pioneer of sustainable construction, he built schools in Burkina Faso, namely in his native village, using essentially local materials. In March 2022, following the announcement of the Pritzker Prize, he was interviewed by a French TV channel. Here are some edited excerpts (see Kéré 2022) (all translations are mine):

To the question "What inspired you to build schools using local materials?" he replied:

"I always resented the fact that children are sitting in classrooms where it's very hot, where there's no light, in a country where there is the sunlight during all the day. I said to myself, we must use what is abundant to create classrooms that provide comfort for teachers and students but also classrooms that are inspirational [...] I wanted to bring beauty to the neediest. In doing so, the techniques came. That is, how to create passive ventilation, how to create a roof that supports passive ventilation and at the same time protects the building from the weather. That's how I did it by modernizing the earth, that is, by adding aggregates to it...I didn't just stop there. In Burkina Faso, there is laterite. I used it by cutting it to make facades that give the feeling of modernity that inspires. I also used local wood... to create facades to protect the walls from the sun and thus create a shaded and welcoming space for the users. That's my way of doing it."

To the question "Why don't Africans use local materials, so-called traditional materials?" his reply was:

"The West, by its way of doing or its way of saying that what we have is primitive and has no value, we end up rejecting what we have. This leads to saying, for example, that building with the earth is synonymous with poverty. I did not want to accept this. I wanted to improve the earth and create buildings that inspire [...] We have to convince people. We must not let ourselves be stopped but we must prove that what we have can be the basis for the development of our country. I did this by using earth to build my first school."

to provide more comfort for herself or her calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!"

To the question: "Why should Africans go back to these materials?" he replied:

"If you continue to use materials that don't come from home, the resources will disappear. If you use what you have and you take advantage of it to improve local skills, you make people proud and add recognition to what we have. That's what's going to move us forward."

From this rich and dense interview, I derive three major lessons. First, cultural alienation has worked to diminish Africans' sense of self-esteem. Worse, it led us to devalue what we are and what we possess. Second, cultural alienation coupled with the imposition of development agendas from abroad have prevented African peoples from exploring an endogenous development path that could deliver sustainable prosperity, self-esteem, and recognition. This lack of self-determination has until now produced unnecessary suffering and hardships. Third, the quest to ground African development in domestic resources stimulates itself a process of creativity and innovation. At the same time there is already enough creativity to start with within the continent. Indeed, the good news is that throughout the continent and its Diaspora there exists people, unknown to most of us, who are achieving in their field of expertise what Kéré has achieved in the domain of architecture.

What creative minds like Kéré, and policymakers must know is that whatever is feasible locally from a technical and material point of view can be in principle financed in the domestic unit of account of the sovereign issuer of the currency. Sankara-ing MMT or MMT-ing Sankara consists of connecting the strategy of mobilizing domestic real resources with the possibilities associated with monetary sovereignty. In other words, it consists of implementing projects based on domestic real resources and financed essentially in the national currency. This development path creates prosperity for the majority while reducing external dependency. It could be further leveraged provided that regional or continental integration is also designed according to the "Living as African" approach.

None of this implies that African countries do not need foreign technology or finance or international solidarity. Rather, the argument is that international cooperation and solidarity should stop being a *deus ex machina*. It should be tailored to meet the specific needs and constraints arising from African countries' strategies to mobilize their domestic resources. In that perspective, the real test for international cooperation and solidarity is to demonstrate whether it helps increase African self-reliance. For example, in place of a collaboration that creates technological dependency, a "Live as African" approach to international solidarity would promote cooperation to develop liberation techniques, i.e., techniques, tools, and methods that allow the continent and its inhabitants to increase their capacity to mobilize their domestic resources and lessen the reliance on foreign resources.

7 Conclusion

As Sankara (1987) rightly said: "We must accept to live as African - that is the only way to live free and dignified." It is also the only way out of the current dead-end. Humanly and ecologically sustainable development must be based on the mobilization of resources available locally or on those that could be developed locally.

The good news is that everything that is technically feasible locally can, in principle, be financed in the domestic currency. This is the liberating message of the monetary sovereignty perspective. As Sankara (1987) also observed: "We have enough intellectual capacity to create or at the very least use technology and science wherever we find it."

To the question "What can an agenda of economic liberation for Africa à la Sankara look like nowadays?" I would argue that this agenda could revolve around the following idea: the basic elements constitutive of a dignified life should be de-commodified and, wherever possible and desirable, should tend to be free of charge. By the basic elements constitutive of a dignified life, I mean for example food, safe water and environment, shelter, education, local transportation, etc. The principle should be that oligopolistic market actors must not decide the fate of peoples and nations.

This agenda should be implemented by focusing on the ecologically sustainable mobilization of domestic/regional/continental resources. To be successful, it requires renewed forms of democratic and collective leadership, pan-African solidarity, and international solidarity.

This agenda for economic liberation is not a utopian vision. There is enough human, cultural, and material wealth potential in the African continent to make it happen.

8 References

Amin, Samir. 1990. *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. London: ZED books.

Amin, Samir. 2017. To the Memory of Sam Moyo. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 5 (2 & 3): 1–20.

Dorninger, Christian, Alf Hornborg, David J. Abson, Henrik von Wehrden, Anke Schaffartzik, Stefan Giljum, John-Oliver Engler, Robert L. Feller, Klaus Hubacek and Hanspeter Wieland. 2021. Global patterns of ecologically unequal exchange: Implications for sustainability in the 21st century. *Ecological Economics* 179.

Dussel, Enrique. 1985. *Philosophy of Liberation*. New York: Orbis Books.

Dussel, Enrique. 2008. *Twenty Theses on Politics*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Dussel, Enrique. 2013. *Ethics of Liberation: In the age of Globalization and Exclusion*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Furtado, Celso. 2020. *The Myth of Economic Development* (translated from the original 1974 Portuguese edition). Newark: Polity Press.

Hickel, Jason, Dylan Sullivan and Huzaifa Zoomkawala. 2021. Plunder in the Post-Colonial Era: Quantifying Drain from the Global South Through Unequal Exchange, 1960–2018. *New Political Economy* 26 (6): 1030-1047.

Hickel, Jason, Christian Dorninger, Hanspeter Wieland and Intan Suwandi. 2022. Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990–2015. *Global Environmental Change* 73 (102467).

Kéré, Diébédo Francis. 2022. "Je suis honoré et ça m'encourage à continuer mes recherches". *Interview with France 24* (March 16). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ri1FqcNTHg>, accessed 08.11.2022.

Koddenbrock, Kai and Ndongo Samba Sylla. 2019. Towards a Political Economy of Monetary Dependency: The Case of the CFA Franc in West Africa. *MaxPo Discussion Paper* 19/2. Max Planck Sciences Po Center on Coping with Instability in Market Societies. Paris: MaxPo.

Kvangraven, Ingrid Harvold, Kai Koddenbrock and Ndongo Samba Sylla. 2021. Financial subordination and uneven financialization in 21st century Africa. *Community Development Journal* 56 (1): 119-140.

Lumumba, Patrice. 1961. *The Truth about a Monstrous Crime of the Colonialists*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2018. Mahmood Mamdani on Marxist intellectual Samir Amin. *Africa is a Country* (December 23). <https://africasacountry.com/2018/12/mahmood-mamdani-on-marxist-intellectual-samir-amin>, accessed 08.11.2022.

Manji, Firoze. 2019. Emancipation, Freedom or Taxonomy? What does it mean to be an African?. In *Racism after Apartheid: Challenges for Marxism and Anti-Racism*, ed. Vishwas Satgar, 49-74. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Meadows, Donella Hager, Dennis Lynn Meadows, Jürgen Randers and William Wohlsen Behrens III. 1972. *The Limits to Growth: A report for the Club of Rome's project on the predicament of Mankind*. New York: Universe Books.

Meadows, Donella Hager. 2007. The history and conclusions of The Limits to Growth. *System Dynamics Review* 23 (2/3): 191–197.

Milanovic, Branko. 2010. *The haves and the have-nots: A brief and idiosyncratic history of global inequality*. New York: Basic Books.

Mitchell, William, Larry Randall Wray and Martin Watts (2019) *Macroeconomics*. London: Red Globe Press.

Mosler, Warren. 2010. *Seven Deadly Innocent Frauds of Economic Policy*. Valence Co., Inc.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2020. *Decolonization, Development and Knowledge in Africa: Turning Over a New Leaf*. London: Routledge.

Nyerere, Julius. 1967. *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance* (translated from Swahili by Ayanda Madyibi). <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nyerere/1967/arusha-declaration.htm>, accessed 08.11.2022.

Patnaik, Utsa and Prabhat Patnaik. 2017. *A Theory of Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Peterson, Brian J. 2021. *Thomas Sankara: A Revolutionary in Cold War Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Pigeaud, Fanny and Ndongo Samba Sylla. 2021. *Africa's Last Colonial Currency: The CFA franc story*. London: Pluto Press.


Sankara, Thomas. 1987. *A United Front against Debt - Speech at the Organization of African Union* (August 29, translated from French). <https://progressive.international/wire/2021-02-26-thomas-sankara-a-united-front-against-debt/en>, accessed 08.11.2022.

Schmelzer, Matthias, Andrea Vetter and Aaron Vansintjan. 2022. *The Future is Degrowth: A Guide to a World beyond Capitalism*. London: Verso Books.

- Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2012. *Redécouvrir Sankara. Martyr de la Liberté*. Berlin : Editions AfricAvenir/Exchange & Dialogue.
- Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2020a. *Modern Monetary Theory in the Periphery. What does MMT have to offer developing nations?* (February 26). <https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/41681/modern-monetary-theory-in-the-periphery/>, accessed 08.11.2022.
- Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2020b. Preface. In *The Myth of Economic Development*, ed. Celso Furtado and Mario Tosi Furtado (translated from the original 1974 Portuguese edition). Newark: Polity Press.
- Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2023a. Imperialism and Global South's Debt: Insights from MMT, Ecological economics and Dependency Theory. In *Imperialism and the Political Economy of Global South's Debt*, ed. Ndongo Samba Sylla. Northampton: Edward Elgar, forthcoming.
- Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2023b. Modern Monetary Theory as an analytical framework and a policy lens: An African perspective. In *The Elgar Companion to MMT*, ed. Larry Randall Wray and Yeva Nersisyan, forthcoming.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2015. *Silencing the Past. Power and the Production of History*. New York: Beacon Press.
- Wray, Larry Randall. 2015. *Modern Money Theory: A primer on Macroeconomics for Sovereign Monetary Systems*, 2nd edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- WWF – World Wide Fund for Nature. 2019. *EU Overshoot Day Report: Living Beyond Nature's Limits*. Brussels: WWF.

9 Latest Publications in the *Africa Multiple connects* Working Paper Series

Title	Editor(s)	Year of Publication	Issue
Live as African: On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's Agenda for Economic Liberation	Ndongo Samba Sylla	2022	33(5)
beaucoup de peur et de questionnement: Une étude comparative des discours sur le Covid-19 en Côte d'Ivoire et au Cameroun	Martina Drescher, Oumarou Boukari, and Carline Liliane Ngawa Mbaho	2022	29(4)
COVID-19 and (Im)mobilities in West Africa	Andras Breuer, Martin Doevenspeck, Kamal Donko, and Ouedraogo Serge	2021	26(3)
African Studies and the Question of Diasporas	John Ayotunde (Tunde) Isol Bewaji	2021	25(2)
Figuring out how to Reconfigure African Studies	Rüdiger Seesemann	2020	24(1)



Sylla, Ndongo Samba. 2022. Live as African: On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara's Agenda for Economic Liberation. *University of Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers 33, Africa Multiple connects 5*. Bayreuth: Institute of African Studies.