African Politics and Society

A MOSAIC IN TRANSFORMATION

PETER J. SCHRAEDER
Loyola University Chicago

WADSWORTH CENGAGE Learning®

Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States
TO

CATHERINE ANNE

You Still Complete Me

and

DAVID HARLOW RICE (1969–2001)

Your Spirit Lives On
About This Volume

A CRITICAL ELEMENT of this book's design is that each chapter stands alone, allowing you to assign or read the chapters in any order you wish. An emphasis has also been placed on making sense of general developments on the African continent as a whole while introducing the distinctive natures of Africa's fifty-three countries. Each chapter emphasizes the major trends associated with a topic, trends that are further explored through illustrative case studies that represent all regions of the African continent. Each chapter concludes with a list of readings for further exploration and research. Numerous maps, tables, figures, and boxed elements highlight fundamental issues of interest.

This book is divided into six major parts. Part I is composed of an introductory chapter that sets out the key themes of the book. This chapter also highlights several research tools devoted to Africa, including Internet sites, African studies journals from several academic disciplines, and a country-by-country list of introductory volumes, bibliographies, and historical dictionaries. These resources are especially designed to help students prepare class papers.

Part II is devoted to the historical context of African politics and society. Chapter 2 explores the rich mosaic of political and economic systems that existed during the precolonial independence era (before 1884). Chapter 3 outlines the political-military and socioeconomic impacts of the colonial era (1884–1951), including an extended discussion of the slave trade. Chapter 4 discusses the rise of African nationalist movements and the emergence of the contemporary independence era (1951–present). Together these three chapters
provide the basis for assessing continuity and change in African politics and society from the precolonial era to the present.

The remainder of the book focuses on trends and developments during the contemporary independence era, with a special focus on the post-cold war era (1989–present). Part III focuses on the sociocultural contexts of African politics and society. This section begins (in Chapter 5) with an analysis of two competing concepts, ethnicity and class, that have served as the basis for often vitriolic debates among specialists of African studies. An important conclusion of this chapter is that, although each concept can explain one piece of the African puzzle, neither alone can explain African politics and society as a whole. Chapter 6 explains how three major ideologies—capitalism, socialism, and Marxism—have competed for influence in the development strategies of African leaders. An emphasis is placed on discerning whether different ideological pathways have led to greater or lesser development performance for their adherents. This section concludes (at Chapter 7) with a discussion of the evolving political themes of the African novel, a form of literature social scientists recognize as a unique means of gaining insight into African politics and society.

Part IV examines continuity and change in the politics of African governance. This section begins (at Chapter 8) with a discussion of the evolving relationship between the African state and civil society. An important theme of this chapter is that the state–society relationship serves as the foundation of any comprehensive understanding of African politics and society. Chapter 9 explores the nature and impacts of one state actor, the African military, through an analysis of coups d'etat and the rise and decline of military governance. Special attention is paid to understanding the prospects for demilitarization and transitions to civilian rule. Chapter 10 explores the African continent's highly diverse experiences in political transition, ranging from the creation of single-party regimes during the 1960s to the establishment of multiparty political systems as part of the spread of the “third wave” of democratization to the African continent at the end of the twentieth century.

Part V is devoted to the foreign relations of the African continent. Chapter 11 begins with an analysis of the various actors involved in formulating and implementing African foreign policies. The remainder of the chapter examines the development of the “pan-African ideal” of strengthening cooperation among Africa's diverse fifty-three countries, as witnessed most recently by the launching in 2002 of the African Union. Chapter 12 explores Africa's relationships with a host of international actors, most notably France, the United States, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations. An emphasis is placed on understanding the nature and evolution of great power competition, including an analysis of evolving U.S. foreign policy in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

The last section (Part VI), which is primarily targeted toward more advanced African studies classes, explores the evolution of two rival bodies of theoretical literature that have competed in their quest to explain African politics and society. Chapter 13 describes the evolution of the dominant “liberal school” of scholarship that ultimately envisions the development of free-
market democracies on the African continent like those found in the northern industrialized democracies. Chapter 14 describes the evolution of a "critical school" of scholarship that has provided important critiques of the prevailing liberal model of development. In its most extreme form, this school emphasizes that true development will only occur in the aftermath of revolutionary struggle and the creation of socialist regimes throughout Africa. Both chapters conclude with analyses of emerging theoretical trends in the cold war's aftermath.

I wholeheartedly welcome your comments and criticisms (please send them to pschrae@luc.edu), regardless of whether you are an undergraduate student taking your first African studies class, a graduate student carrying out your dissertation research, a professor teaching this course for the first or the fiftieth time, or someone who picked up this book due to an interest in all things African.
Acknowledgments

ANY UNDERTAKING THAT attempts to take stock of an entire field of study must depend on the generosity and wisdom of others. The second edition of African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation is no different.

First and foremost, this edition has benefited greatly from my intellectual exchanges with my students and colleagues at Loyola University Chicago. Through the trial and error of teaching this course to hundreds of undergraduate and graduate students, I was able to set out the themes and arguments of the first edition and hone their presentation in the second. I am grateful to Patrick Boyle, a colleague and fellow Africanist in my department, who adopted this book for his courses and provided revision suggestions. I am also grateful to three graduate research assistants—Vassilios Damiras, Jonathan Riggs, and Adina Sigartau—who provided exceptional research assistance with both speed and good humor.

Over 100 Africanists too numerous to mention individually provided invaluable updates, factual corrections, critical commentary, and encouragement. Nonetheless, I would be remiss without at least mentioning Crawford Young and Richard Sklar, whose pictures grace the opening pages of Chapters 13 and 14, respectively, for the inspiration and advice they have provided over the years. I alone, however, take full responsibility for any remaining errors of fact or interpretation that are surely present in this edition and look forward to being corrected by all who share my fascination for Africa politics and society. (Please send all comments to pschrae@luc.edu).
Several foundations provided critical financial support. I am particularly grateful to those institutions, most notably the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), and the Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the U.S. State Department, that facilitated my involvement as a Fulbright lecturer at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Senegal (1994–96) and at the University of Tunis in Tunisia (2002–03). Whereas the grant to Senegal allowed me to reflect on the changes in African politics and society associated with the cold war’s end, the grant to Tunisia gave me insight into how the Arab world is responding to those changes. As I have often noted to Ellen Berelson, the brightest light in the U.S. policymaking establishment as concerns cultural exchange programs with the African continent, I cherish the Fulbright program as the most innovative and effective tool of U.S. foreign policy.

My family and friends have provided constant encouragement. As became apparent long before I was formally initiated to the concept of clan politics during my initial field experience in Somalia in 1985, one’s extended family members are the key to success in any endeavor. In addition to my close high school friends—Mike Thomas, Tim and Ginny Ryan, and Mark “Spanks” Przybyla—I wish to thank Bill and Helen, Bill and Laura, Tom and Jojja, Jason and Tammy, Jerry, Paul, Philip, Tricia, Natasha, Brianne, and all other members of the extended Schraeder clan. And, of course, life simply would not be near as exciting without the wonderful distractions provided by the Scanlon (my wife’s) clan, including Pat and Marianne, John and Julie, Sue and Mike, Beth and Scott, Margaret, Emmie, Jack, Patrick, Abbie, Katy, Meghan, and Connor.

My greatest sustenance, however, remains my wife, Catherine Anne. We met as a result of the Fulbright program, she leaving for Bangladesh and I for Senegal. When my Fulbright grant was renewed for a second year, Catherine Anne joined me in West Africa, and we were subsequently married on the Island of Zanzibar. We are currently introducing our children, Maximilian Edward and Marianne Susan, to our passion for international work and travel as we spend two academic years in Tunisia (2002–03) and Italy (2003–04). My favorite line of Max’s to date, which clearly demonstrates that we are doing something right, is, “Daddy, every day is a beautiful day in Africa.” Together Catherine Anne and I have witnessed and experienced many of the events recorded in this book. As a result, it is as much Catherine Anne’s as it is mine.

Last, but not least, this second edition of African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation is co-dedicated to David Harlow Rice (1969–2001), who died in the tragic events of September 11, 2001. An interest in Africa led David to my class and blossomed into a graduating senior Fulbright to South Africa, including attendance at Nelson Mandela’s swearing-in ceremony as president in 1994, which inspired him to undertake graduate work at the London School of Economics and a highly successful career in international investment. David’s passion for everything in life, including Africa, lives on in all who had the great fortune to meet and know him.
Contents

About This Volume vii
Acknowledgments xi
Illustrations, Tables, and Boxes xxii
About the Author xxv

PART I  INTRODUCTION

1 UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY 1

Africa Is a Rich Mosaic of Diversity 2
Necessity of a Continental Perspective 3
To Understand the Present, One Must Understand the Past 5
A Continent in Transformation 6
Influential Impact of the International System 8
Central Importance of the Domestic Dimension 11
Balancing Afro-Pessimism and Afro-Optimism 14
Undertaking Further Research 15
Key Terms 20
For Further Reading 21
Notes 22
PART II HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2 POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE PRECOLONIAL INDEPENDENCE ERA (BEFORE 1884) 23

Segmented Political Systems 24
  Band Organization 24
  Classical Segmented System 26
  Universalistic Segmented System 28
  Ritualy Stratified Segmented System 28
  Autonomous Village System 29
Centralized Political Systems 29
  Pyramidal Monarchy 30
  Association Monarchy 31
  Centralized Monarchy 32
Economic Systems and Trade 33
Diplomacy and Warfare 39
Women and Gender 42
Key Terms 45
For Further Reading 46
Notes 47

3 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF COLONIALISM (1884–1951) 49

Early Contacts with Europe and the Arab World 50
Imposition of Direct Colonial Rule 57
Political-Military Impacts of Colonialism 62
  Application of the European Nation-State System to Africa 62
  Division of African Nations among Several States 62
  Incorporation of Several African Nations into One State 64
  Destruction of Traditional Checks-and-Balances 66
  Reinforcement of Patriarchal Forms of Governance 66
  Authoritarian Political Legacy 67
Socioeconomic Impacts of Colonialism 69
  Creation of Closed Economic Systems 69
  Creation of Export-Oriented Mono-Crop or Mono-Mineral Economies 70
  Promotion of Perverse Infrastructural Development 72
  Strengthening of Gender Bias in National Development 73
  Authoritarian Legacy of the State 74
Key Terms 75
For Further Reading 76
Notes 77
PART III
SOCIOCULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

5 ETHNICITY AND CLASS  100

Ethnic Dimension of African Politics and Society  101
Ethnic Intermediaries and the Creation of Ethnic Compacts  103
Ethnic Violence and the Breakdown of Ethnic Compacts  106
Class Dimension of African Politics and Society  110
Class Divisions in African Society  112
Class Cooperation and Conflict  116
Competing Explanations of the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970)  120
  Perceiving Events through an Ethnic Lens  120
  Perceiving Events through a Class Lens  122
Continuing Debate  123
Key Terms  124
For Further Reading  125
Notes  125

6 IDEOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT  130

Evolution of African Development Ideologies  131
Ideology and Development Choice  134
  Primary Purpose of Development  135
  Primary Engine of Development  136
  Role of Agriculture in National Development  137
CONTENTS

Perception of the Rural Peasantry 140
Role of Foreign Powers and Investment 141
Ideology and Development Performance 143
Economic Growth 143
Socioeconomic Equality 145
 Autonomy from Foreign Control 145
Human Dignity 146
Political Participation 147
Toward a Capitalist-Socialist Hybrid? 149
Key Terms 151
For Further Reading 151
Notes 152

7 POLITICS OF THE AFRICAN NOVEL 155

Political Dilemmas Faced by the African Novelist 156
Political Themes of the African Novel during the Early Years 158
Re-Creation of Africa's Past 158
Colonial Intrusion 159
Colonial Injustice 159
Nationalism and Independence 159
Disenchantment with Elites 161
Freedom as Despair 162
Status of Women in African Society 162
Emergence of Politically Committed African Novelists 163
Neglected Popular Elements of Society 163
Destructive Nature of Societal Divisions 164
Promoting Gender Equality 164
Nuruddin Farah and the Politics of Commitment in Somalia 165
Early Years as Critic of Social Injustice 165
Qualified Optimism after the 1969 Military Coup d'État 166
Opposition to the Dictatorship of Siad Barre 167
Evolving African Identity 171
Politics of the African Novel in Perspective 172
Key Terms 172
For Further Reading 173
Notes 173
PART IV CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN GOVERNANCE

8 STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY  176
Concentration of State Power at the Expense of Civil Society  177
   Africanization of the State  178
   Bureaucratic Expansion and the Growth of Parastatals  179
   Dismantling of Institutional Checks-and-Balances  180
   Co-Optation and the Silencing of Civil Society  181
   Expansion of the Coercive Apparatus  182
   Creation of Personal Rule Networks  183
Crisis of the State and the Resurgence of Civil Society  186
   Deepening Economic Crisis  186
   Growing Inability to Provide Social Goods  188
   Resurgence of Civil Society  189
   Intensification of Domestic Violence and Conflict  191
In Search of a State–Society Balance  193
Key Terms  197
For Further Reading  197
Notes  198

9 MILITARY COUPS D'ÉTAT AND MILITARY GOVERNANCE  201
Trends in Military Coups d'État  202
Role of the Military in Political Governance  205
   Civilian Supremacy Model  205
   Watchdog Model  206
   Balance Wheel Model  206
   Direct Rule Model  208
   Social Transformation Model  208
Myths Concerning the Effectiveness of Military Governance  209
   Military Enjoys Greater Légitimité  209
   Military Rule Is More Efficient  210
   Military Is Best Able to Maintain Stability  211
   Military Constitutes a Better Unifying Structure  212
   Military Is Best Prepared to Promote Development  214
Demilitarization and Transitions to Civilian Rule  215
Key Terms  218
For Further Reading  218
Notes  219
PART V FOREIGN RELATIONS

11 FOREIGN POLICY MAKING AND THE PURSUIT OF PAN-AFRICANISM 244

Understanding the Foreign Policy-Making Context 245
   President and Bureaucracies of the Executive Branch 246
   Role of National Legislatures in Foreign Policy 248
   Foreign Policy Impact of Nongovernmental Actors 249
Pan-Africanism and the Search for African Unity 253
Regional Economic Cooperation and Integration 261
Key Terms 266
For Further Reading 266
Notes 267

12 AFRICA IN WORLD POLITICS 271

Role of Foreign Powers 272
Great Powers and Africa during the Cold War (1947–1989) 274
   Complementary Interests among the Western Powers 274
   Africa as a Proxy Battlefield for East-West Conflict 276
   Contradictions in the Search for Allies 278
Cold War to Cold Peace (1989–Present) 278
   Evolving Foreign Policy Interests 279
   Economic Competition among the Great Powers 280
   Rhetoric versus Reality in Support for Democratization 282
Involvement in the United Nations 285
PART VI RIVAL THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

13 STUDY OF AFRICA IN THE LIBERAL TRADITION 301
Predominance of Modernization Theory (1950s–Early 1960s) 302
Rise of Modernization Revisionism (Late 1960s) 304
Concern with Stability and the Politics of Order
(Late 1960s–Early 1970s) 308
Demands for Policy Relevance and Public Policy Research
(Mid-1970s–1980s) 311
New Directions (1990s–Present) 313
Key Terms 318
For Further Reading 318
Notes 319

14 STUDY OF AFRICA IN THE CRITICAL TRADITION 322
Dependency Theory and the Development of Underdevelopment
(Late 1960s–Early 1970s) 323
Circulationist Revisions of Dependency Theory (1970s) 325
Marxism's Impact on the Development of Critical Thought
(Early 1970s) 327
Marxism and the Emergence of a Neo-Marxist School of Thought
(Late 1970s–1980s) 330
New Directions (1990s–Present) 333
Key Terms 337
For Further Reading 337
Notes 338

Appendix 1 List of Acronyms 341
Appendix 2 Country Name Changes in Africa during the
Contemporary Independence Era 347
Appendix 3 Political Leadership in Africa during the Contemporary
Independence Era 349
Index 359
ISSUATIONS,
TABLES, AND BOXES

MAPS

Map 1.1   Contemporary Africa   3
Map 1.2   Africa's Primary Regions   4
Map 1.3   Women in National Parliaments (2002) (Percent of Lower or Single House Seats Held by Women)   7
Map 2.1   Trans-Saharan Trade Network (Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries)   36
Map 2.2   Areas of Saharan Nomads in the Contemporary Era   37
Map 3.1   Portugal's Empire in the Sixteenth Century   51
Map 3.2   Colonial Partition on the Eve of World War I (with Contemporary Country Names)   60
Map 3.3   Territories Inhabited by the Somali People   63
Map 3.4   Nigerian Mosaic   65
Map 3.5   Railroads in Colonial West Africa (1930s)   72
Map 4.1   Waves of African Independence   82
Map 6.1   African Ideologies   132
Map 6.2   HIV/AIDS Infection Rate (2001) (Percent of Adults Aged 15–49)   139
ILLUSTRATIONS, TABLES, AND BOXES

Map 9.1  Successful Military Coups d'État 203
Map 10.1  Strength of Democracy (2002) 233
Map 11.1  Diplomatic Representation (Number of Embassies Maintained Abroad in 2000) 247
Map 11.2  Select Regional Economic Organizations 262

FIGURES

Figure 2.1  Segmented Political Systems 25
Figure 2.2  Centralized Political Systems 30
Figure 5.1  Ethnic Intermediaries 104
Figure 5.2  Class Relationships 113
Figure 9.1  Spectrum of Civil–Military Relations 205
Figure 9.2  Incidence of Military Coups (Five-Year Averages, 1950–2002) 217
Figure 10.1  Spectrum of Political Transition 228
Figure 10.2  Protection of Political Rights 237
Figure 10.3  Protection of Civil Liberties 238

TABLES

Table 2.1  Compensation for Permanent Injuries to Men 27
Table 2.2  Exchange Rates for Compensation (in Livestock) 27
Table 3.1  Estimates of the Global Slave Trade (Number of Africans) 53
Table 6.1  Policy Implications of African Ideologies 142
Table 6.2  Comparative Development Performance of African Ideologies 148
Table 7.1  Award Winners at the 2003 FESPACO Film Festival 161
Table 10.1  Legislative Election Results in Botswana (Parties Winning at Least One Seat) 238
Table 11.1  ANC Diplomatic Missions Maintained Abroad during the Anti-Apartheid Struggle 252
Table 12.1  United Nations Peacekeeping Missions in Africa (As of April 2003) 287
Table 13.1  Should Researchers Work with the U.S. Government? 310

BOXES (A CLOSER LOOK)

Researching Africa on the Internet 10
Researching Africa in Scholarly Journals 12
The Issa Xeer: Regulating Conflict in Segmentary Societies 26
Great Zimbabwe 35
Island of Gorée and the Atlantic Slave Trade 56
ILLUSTRATIONS, TABLES, AND BOXES

Liberia: Sole American Colony? 68
Nelson Mandela's "Long Walk to Freedom" 84
Africa's Fifty-Fourth Country? Secession of the Somaliland Republic 95
Transcending Ethnicity and Class? Marabouts as Religious Intermediaries 108
Transcending Ethnicity and Class? Gender and the Debate over Female Circumcision 118
HIV/AIDS and National Development 138
Ivory Trade and the Politics of Conservation 144
Politics of African Cinema 160
Somali Alphabet Politics 168
The Exit Option: African Emigration to the United States 184
Rebuilding Trust: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission 194
Hidden Killers: Land Mines in Africa 207
Female Guerrillas after the Wars 212
Nonparty Systems? Uganda's "Movement Democracy" 226
Assessing the Spread of Democracy in Africa 232
Leon H. Sullivan (African/African-American) Summit 250
African Summer 256
Franco-African Summits in the Pursuit of la Francophonie 276
Japanese Neomercantilism in Africa 284
African Studies Association 306
Should Researchers Work with the U.S. Government? 310
Association of Concerned Africa Scholars 326
Western Social Science as Imperialism? 331
About the Author

PETER J. SCHRAEDER received his doctorate in international studies from the University of South Carolina in 1990, after completing undergraduate work in French language and politics at the Sorbonne and international studies at Bradley University. He is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Loyola University Chicago, where he also teaches as part of the interdisciplinary Black World Studies and International Studies programs. A specialist of African politics and international relations, Schraeder has lived, worked, and traveled in more than half the fifty-three countries that compose the African continent. In addition to teaching at the University of Tunis in Tunisia (2002–2003) and at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Senegal (1994–1996) as part of the Fulbright scholar exchange program, he has held visiting appointments at Somali National University (1985), the African Studies Program at Northwestern University (1989–1990), the Harare (Zimbabwe) branch of the French Institute of African Research (1996), and the University of the Antilles in Guadeloupe (1999). Schraeder’s research has been published in such diverse journals as African Affairs, The Journal of Modern African Studies, The Journal of Politics, Middle East Journal, Politique Africaine, and World Politics. He is the author of United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis, and Change (1994) and the editor of Exporting Democracy: Rhetoric vs. Reality (2002) and Intervention into the 1990s: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World (92). He is currently working on a book, Beyond the “Big Man”: Formulation and Implementation of African Foreign Policy in the Era of Democratization (author). Schraeder’s tenure (1998–1999) as president of the International Studies Association/Midwest (ISA/Midwest) is complemented by active involvement in a wide variety of professional organizations, most notably the African Studies Association (ASA), the American Political Science Association (APSA), and the International Studies Association (ISA). Fluent in English and French, Schraeder is also actively involved in a wide number of international research networks, most notably in France and francophone Africa.
Supporters of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) rallying in the capital city, Maputo, in 1999.
THE DAWN of the twenty-first century serves as an exciting time of change for all those interested in the African continent and its peoples. Hundreds of African pro-democracy groups have sought to capitalize on a wave of democratization that seeks to replace authoritarian political systems with more inclusive forms of political governance. African activists have stressed the importance of creating multiethnic societies based on an ethic of tolerance, the protection of universal human rights, and the rule of law. African policymakers, technocrats, and private entrepreneurs are in the forefront of restructuring once-moribund African economies to unleash the African entrepreneurial spirit. A new generation of African reporters, writers, and scholars has contributed to the flourishing of newspapers, literature, and scholarship that opposes the vestiges of state-sponsored censorship, and in 2002 African leaders launched the African Union, a pan-African organization that is committed to the ideals of economic liberalization, regional integration, and democracy promotion. The primary purpose of this chapter is to set out some core introductory themes as we together attempt to make sense of these changes in African politics and society against the larger backdrops of African history and international relations. This chapter also highlights a wide variety of resources for conducting research on Africa, including compilations of some of the most noteworthy academic journals and Internet sites devoted to African politics and society and a country-by-country list of introductory volumes, bibliographies, and historical dictionaries that can be consulted for each African country.

AFRICA IS A RICH MOSAIC OF DIVERSITY

First and foremost, the African continent is a rich mosaic of diverse countries and peoples. Encompassing a landmass three times larger than the continental United States, Africa is composed of fifty-three sovereign countries that range in size from the microstate of Djibouti (approximately the size of Massachusetts) to the continental giant of Sudan (approximately the size of Western Europe) (see Map 1.1). The populations of African countries are equally diverse in both size and ethnicity. Whereas the Seychelles have a population of less than 100,000 Seychellois of mixed African, South Asian, and European descent, Nigeria leads the continent with over 100 million citizens divided among nearly 250 ethnic groups. Economically, oil-rich Libya boasts a gross national product (GNP) per capita of over $7,600, whereas economically impoverished Mozambique struggles to recover from decades of civil war with a GNP per capita of less than $900. The political dimension of this African mosaic is also diverse. African leaders have employed capitalism, Marxism, socialism, and Islamic revivalism as the bases for creating a wide variety of political regimes, including monarchies, military dictatorships, Islamic republics, and liberal democracies.
NECESSITY OF A CONTINENTAL PERSPECTIVE

A second theme of this book is that a complete understanding of African politics and society requires a continental perspective inclusive of both North Africa (often called Saharan Africa) and the four regions (East Africa, Central Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa) typically called Sub-Saharan Africa (see Map 1.2). Classic studies often focus exclusively on Sub-Saharan Africa due to the belief that several dimensions of North African politics and society, most notably the influence of Arab culture and Islam, combine to make that region unique and therefore noncomparable to neighboring regions in the south. Although specific geographical regions, countries, and even regions within countries may embody varying degrees of uniqueness, this book nonetheless seeks to examine the continental trends that transcend individual regions and therefore provide us with a comprehensive understanding of
African politics and society. For example, one by necessity must focus on both Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa to understand the rise and decline of the trans-Saharan trade network during the precolonial and colonial eras, as well as the subsequent impact of this trend on contemporary African politics and society. Similarly, any comprehensive understanding of the rise of African nationalism and the emergence of the contemporary independence era must necessarily begin with that region—North Africa—which witnessed the first wave of nationalism and independence during the 1950s. In short, a comprehensive understanding of African politics and society requires the bridging of the gap that historically has separated studies of Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa.

MAP 1.2 Africa’s Primary Regions
TO UNDERSTAND THE PRESENT,
ONE MUST UNDERSTAND THE PAST

A third theme of this book is that any comprehensive understanding of contemporary African politics and society must draw upon Africa's past. The evolution of African history can be divided into three broad historical periods:

- **Precolonial Independence Era (before 1884):** A rich and varied political history of the rise and fall of hundreds, if not thousands, of independent African political systems.

- **Colonial Era (1884–1951):** The period of direct European colonial rule in which the vast majority of previously independent African political systems were replaced by colonial states controlled by Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. The Berlin Conference of 1884, a gathering primarily attended by the European Great Powers that consecrated the creation of formal empires in Africa, marks the beginning of this period.

- **Contemporary Independence Era (1951–present):** A new era of political independence, marked by the end of colonialism and the emergence of the fifty-three countries that compose the African continent. This period began symbolically with Libya's independence in 1951 and continues to the present.

The dependency—decolonization debate over the degree to which the colonial era still influences contemporary African politics and society testifies to the significance of understanding the past. According to scholars belonging to the dependency school of thought, the granting of legal independence that began in the 1950s did little to alter the constraining web of economic, political, military, and cultural ties that continued to bind African countries to the former colonial powers (see Chapter 14).¹ This conceptualization of African politics—often called neocolonialism—is especially prominent in writings about the relationship between France and its former colonies, primarily due to policies designed to maintain what French policymakers refer to as their chasse gardée (exclusive hunting ground) in francophone Africa. Even in those former colonies where the European power was either too weak (e.g., Spain) or uninterested (e.g., Britain) to preserve privileged ties, the rise of the cold war and superpower intervention ensured the gradual replacement of European neocolonial relationships with a new set of ties dominated by Moscow and Washington. According to this perspective, direct colonial rule has been replaced by a series of neocolonial relationships that perpetuates external domination of African politics and society.

Scholars of the decolonization school of thought argue instead that legal independence was but the first step of an evolutionary process permitting African leaders to assume greater control over their respective political and social systems.² According to this perspective, although external influences were extremely powerful in the immediate postindependence era, layer upon
layer of this foreign control is slowly being “peeled away” with the passage of time. While carefully underscoring that individual African countries can follow different pathways, proponents of the decolonization school argue that the most common pattern of political self-realization begins with legal independence, followed by efforts to assure national sovereignty in the military, economic, and cultural realms. “In this view, each layer of colonial influence is supported by the others, and as each is removed, it uncovers and exposes the next underlying one, rendering it vulnerable, untenable, and unnecessary,” explains I. William Zartman, one of the most prominent proponents of the decolonization school. “Thus, there is a natural progression to the removal of colonial influence: Its speed can be varied by policy and effort, but the direction and evolution are inherent in the process and become extremely difficult to reverse.”

Although the dependency—decolonization debate is far from being resolved, the year 2018 will mark a symbolic turning point as the contemporary independence era (1951–2018) will have then lasted as long as the colonial era (1884–1951).

A CONTINENT IN TRANSFORMATION

A fourth theme of this book is that the African continent is in the midst of socioeconomic and political–military transformations of historic proportions. The most dramatic example of this theme is the process of political transition toward greater levels of democracy that emerged full bloom in the 1990s. In sharp contrast to the end of the 1980s, when only five African countries (Botswana, Gambia, Mauritius, Senegal, and Zimbabwe) held competitive multiparty elections, the first 5 years of the 1990s witnessed multiparty contests in thirty-eight African countries, with twenty-nine of these constituting “founding elections” in which “the office of the head of government is openly contested following a period during which multiparty political competition was denied.” In the case of South Africa, for example, the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as that country’s first democratically elected president after being imprisoned for nearly 28 years by apartheid-era dictatorial regimes symbolized the efforts of hundreds of African pro-democracy groups to instill democratic practices throughout the African continent.

Disagreements nonetheless have emerged over whether Africa’s socioeconomic and political–military transformations are inherently for the better. At the beginning of the 1990s, those prone to underscore the positive side of these changes typically spoke of the emergence of an African renaissance—the “rebirth” of economic, social, and political freedoms that had been extinguished during the colonial era and subsequently denied to African peoples by dictatorial elites during the initial decades of the contemporary independence era. An important point of departure of this position, at least as it concerns the process of political transition, is an optimistic belief in both the willingness and the ability of democratically elected leaders to correct deficiencies in
governance and to ensure a better future for their peoples. Others who are more critical, however, are prone to adhere to the classic French maxim: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" ("The more things change, the more they remain the same"). According to Claude Ake, for example, Africa's initial experiments with multiparty elections at the beginning of the 1990s in many cases ensured the "democratization of disempowerment": a process whereby multiparty elections allow for the rotation of self-interested political elites of different parties, while the vast majority of the population remains disempowered from the political system.\(^6\)

The competing nature of these two visions, and hence potentially conflicting images of continuity and change in African politics and society, is demonstrated by the evolving role of gender in African politics.\(^7\) According to statistics compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the number of African women being elected to national parliaments more than doubled during the 1990s to an average of 13 percent in 2003 (see Map 1.3). To put this figure in perspective, argue proponents of an African renaissance, female representatives

---

**MAP 1.3** Women in National Parliaments (2002) (Percent of Lower or Single House Seats Held by Women)

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Web Site (http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm).
in 2003 constituted 18 percent of the British House of Commons, 13 percent of the U.S. Senate, and 11 percent of the French Senate. Critics could nonetheless respond that extremely high averages for a select number of African countries (e.g., women constitute 30 percent of Mozambique's parliament) severely skew Africa's overall average; that even the 13 percent figure is not indicative of true social change in that seats are often reserved under a quota system on the basis of gender (e.g., 30 percent of all elected seats in Uganda's local councils are reserved for women); or that overall levels for the African continent still lag behind those for all other regions except the Middle East, where women constitute only 5 percent of elected representatives. I intend in this book to cite and explore the transformations taking place (in this case, the rising percentage of African female parliamentarians) while leaving normative questions, such as whether such transformations are ultimately for the better, to you.

**INFLUENTIAL IMPACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

A fifth theme of the chapters that follow is that changes in the international system have significantly influenced African politics and society. From the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, the international community's acceptance of slavery as a legitimate form of commerce had a devastating impact on the African continent. It has been estimated that the European and Arab slave trades together were responsible for the forced removal and enslavement of more than 30 million Africans (see Chapter 3). This international norm was finally rejected during the nineteenth century, only to be replaced by the legitimization of Europe's occupation of Africa and the creation and expansion of European empires.

Four international events significantly influenced the global balance of power and the evolution of African politics and society during the contemporary independence era. First, the extended conflict of World War II heralded the decline of Europe as the most powerful region of the world, as well as the rise of the United States and the former Soviet Union as the unparalleled superpowers of the twentieth century. Africa's direct involvement in the war began with fascist Italy's invasion and occupation of Ethiopia in 1935. The war weakened the European empires to such a degree that the first wave of decolonization began during the 1950s. Subsequent waves of decolonization ensured that, except in the case of Spain's continued control over several small coastal enclaves (most notably Ceuta and Melilla) in Morocco, African independence from direct colonial rule was largely complete by the end of the twentieth century (see Chapter 4).

A second turning point within the international system was the outbreak of the cold war (1947–89). An important outcome of this ideological struggle was the emergence of the African continent as a battlefield for proxy wars
between the United States and the former Soviet Union. During the 1960s, for example, the White House ordered a series of covert campaigns in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo-Kinshasa, formerly Zaire) that not only led to the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba (denounced in Washington as a “Castro or worse”) but ensured the rise to power in 1965 of a pro–West military strongman, Mobutu Sese Seko. The cold war also fostered the longevity of numerous African dictators who were courted by the superpowers with lavish offers of economic and military aid in exchange for loyalty. In the case of Congo–Kinshasa, the United States provided Mobutu’s military dictatorship with approximately $1.5 billion in economic and military aid during a period of more than 25 years, as long as Mobutu was willing to support Washington’s anticommunist agenda throughout Africa.

The cold war’s end in 1989 served as a third turning point within the international system. The collapse of single-party regimes throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union powerfully influenced African pro-democracy activists and sparked a wave of democratic transitions in all regions of the African continent (see Chapter 10). Authoritarian leaders could no longer successfully ally themselves ideologically with one of the superpowers in exchange for protection against opposition movements. The Soviet Union had ceased to exist, and a new Russian regime preoccupied with domestic economic restructuring had largely withdrawn from African politics. Also, the United States began to downplay anticommunist political–military relationships in favor of promoting trade and economic investment. The Clinton administration’s refusal in 1997 to prevent the pro–United States Mobutu from being overthrown by a popular guerrilla movement, led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila, exemplified this new international order (see Chapter 12). Although Mobutu’s downfall was primarily determined by the emergence of organized domestic opposition to his increasingly corrupt regime, the inaction of the Clinton administration would have been unthinkable before the end of the cold war.

The most recent turning point within the international system, especially as concerns U.S. relations with the African continent, was the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The U.S. response to these attacks, most notably the Bush administration’s pursuit of a global war on terrorism, indicated the continued importance of strategic imperatives in international affairs. One of the Bush administration’s priorities is courting African allies in North and East Africa, due to their proximity to the Middle East and inclusion in the Islamic world. In North Africa, for example, the construction and opening in December 2002 of a new $42 million U.S. Embassy in Tunis demonstrated Tunisia’s rising strategic importance as an Arab country that offers strong support for the war on terrorism. Tunis boasts a State Department office for assessing regional threats, a U.S. Defense Department regional training center for U.S. Special Forces destined for combat in the Arab world, and a Foreign Service Institute for teaching the Arabic language to numerous U.S. government personnel who are preparing to work in Arabic-speaking countries. The undemocratic nature
A Closer Look: RESEARCHING AFRICA ON THE INTERNET

Contemporary News Updates
AllAfrica News Wire
http://allafrieca.com/
Electronic News on Africa
Washington Post
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inat/africa.htm
The New York Times
http://www.nyti.com

United States-Based Resource Centers
Berkeley-Stanford Joint Center for African Studies
http://www.stanford.edu/dept/AFR
Boston University
http://www.bu.edu/afrc
Central Connecticut State University
http://www.ccsu.edu/afstudy
Columbia University
http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/
Harvard Africa Studies
http://www.fas.harvard.edu/cffrica/
Howard University
http://www.howard.edu/
Indiana University—Bloomington
http://www.indiana.edu/~afrixst/
Lincoln University
http://www.lincoln.edu/politicalscience
Northwestern University
http://www.nwu.edu/african-studies/
Michigan State University
http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~africa/
Ohio State University
http://www.acs.ohio-state.edu/
Ohio University
http://www.ohiou.edu/
Tuskegee University
http://www.tusk.edu/
University of California—Los Angeles
http://www.isop.ucla.edu/iscasb/
University of Florida—Gainesville
http://www.clas.ufl.edu/africa
University of Illinois—Champaign/Urbana
http://www.afrost.uiuc.edu/univ.html
of Tunisia's political system, as well as those of other U.S. allies in the war on terrorism, nonetheless raises once again a potential dilemma reminiscent of the cold war: the degree to which security imperatives (in this case, the war on terrorism) should take precedence over other foreign policy objectives, such as the normative goal of strengthening democracy on the African continent.

CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE DOMESTIC DIMENSION

A sixth theme of this book is the central importance of African domestic actors in any understanding of continuity and change in African politics and society. The international environment may provide the context within which decisions are made, but it is ultimately Africans who make and carry out the decisions. In the pages that follow, we will explore the crucial roles played by a wide array of Africans, including the leaders and citizens of the political systems of
the precolonial independence era, the armed resistance movements of African kingdoms and ethnic groups that challenged the imposition of colonial rule, the nationalist movements that led their countries to independence beginning in the 1950s, the military officers who illegally took power in coups d'état and

A Closer Look: RESEARCHING AFRICA IN SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

The following list is designed to serve as a starting point for carrying out research. Dates in parentheses mark the first years of publication.

**African Studies Association Journals (with Political Content)**

**Other Journals on African Politics**
- Africa: Journal of the International African Institute/Revue de l'Institut Africain International (1928)
- Africa Quarterly (1961)
- Africa Today (1954)
- Afrique et Développement/Africa Development (1976)
- Asian and African Studies (1965)
- The Maghreb Review (1976)
- Northeast African Studies (1979)
Journals of Related Disciplines

_African Archaeological Review_ (1983)
_African Economic History_ (1972)
_African Literature Today_ (1968)
_African Urban Quarterly_ (1986)
_African Urban Studies_ (1978)
_The International Journal of African Historical Studies_ (1968)
_Journal of African Civilization_ (1968)
_The Journal of African History_ (1960)
_Journal of African Languages and Linguistics_ (1979)
_Journal of African Law_ (1957)
_Research in African Literatures_ (1970)

Leading Non-English-Language Journals

_Africa, Rivista Trimestrale di Studi e Documentazione dell’Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente_ (Italian: 1946)
_Afrika Spectrum_ (German: 1966)
_Afrique Contemporaine_ (French: 1962)
_Estudios Africanos_ (Spanish: 1985)
_Politique Africaine_ (French: 1980)
_Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos_ (Portuguese: 1985)

Current Events Summaries

_Africa Analysis_ (1986)
_Africa Confidential_ (1960)
_Africa Research Bulletin: Political Series_ (1964)

Annals and Yearbooks

_Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents_ (1970)
_Africa South of the Sahara_ (1971)

Journals for Bibliographical Searches

_The African Book Publishing Record_ (1975)
_A Current Bibliography on African Affairs_ (1963)
_International African Bibliography_ (1971)
established military dictatorships, the civilian politicians who have led democratization movements intent upon replacing authoritarian regimes with democratic forms of governance, African writers and filmmakers who have spoken out against abuses of human rights, and presidents and other national leaders who manage the foreign relations of their countries. In short, a true understanding of African politics and society must emphasize the socioeconomic and political-military impacts of Africans themselves.

**BALANCING AFRO-PESSIMISM AND AFRO-OPTIMISM**

A final theme is the necessity of seeking balance in our understanding of African politics and society. It is widely recognized, for example, that the vast majority of the U.S. public maintains what can be called a National Geographic image of Africa. The mention of Africa typically conjures stereotypical images of lush jungles and wild animals, poverty and famine, “tribal” warfare, and deadly diseases, such as ebola and HIV/AIDS. These images are reinforced by the nature of media reporting, which usually concentrates on the negative aspects of the African continent. An analysis of Africa’s coverage in *The New York Times* demonstrates, for example, that 73 percent of all articles published between 1955 and 1995 embodied negative images of African politics and society. Not surprisingly, news editors interested in “what will sell” most often cover the sensational events, such as famine in Ethiopia, civil war in Somalia, and ethnic genocide in Rwanda, which neatly fit the preconceived images of their audiences.

The principal dilemma associated with this incomplete understanding of Africa is that it has contributed to the rise of Afro-pessimism, the belief that grinding poverty, outbreaks of devastating diseases, and intensifying conflicts will remain staples of the African landscape for the foreseeable future. Extreme adherents of this view suggest that Africans cannot reverse the continent’s slide toward anarchy. One need not err on the side of Afro-optimism, that is, the belief that all is well, to recognize the imperative of achieving a more balanced understanding of African politics and society. For every famine there exists an agricultural “success story” such as Botswana, where forward-thinking leadership has made that country a net exporter of foodstuffs. For every military coup d’état there exists a transition to civilian rule, such as in Benin, where 19 years of military dictatorship (1972–91) were replaced by democracy (1991–present). For every civil war there exists a case of conflict resolution, as in Mozambique, where a peace accord signed in 1992 ended nearly 30 years of guerrilla warfare. For every ethnic conflict there exists a well-meaning attempt to create multiethnic cooperation, such as South Africa’s democratization under the leadership of president Nelson Mandela (1994–99) and his successor, President Thabo Mbeki (1999–present). These issues and others are examined in the chapters that follow.
UNDEBERTAKING FURTHER RESEARCH

Those interested in undertaking research related to the African continent should first consult the Internet sites and scholarly journals listed earlier in this chapter. The following books also constitute excellent starting points for conducting research on individual African countries. Three series are represented. The World Bibliographical Series (WBS), published by Clio Press, offers annotated bibliographies of sources relevant to each country. Each volume also includes an introductory overview essay and an extensive index. The African Historical Dictionaries (AHD) series, published by Scarecrow Press, constitutes mini-encyclopedias of a country's historical figures, places, terms, and events. Each volume also includes an introductory overview essay and a comprehensive bibliography. Finally, the Nations of the Modern World (NMW) and the Nations of Contemporary Africa (NCA) series, published by Westview Press, offer descriptive overviews of the history, economics, politics, and international relations of individual African countries.

Algeria


Angola


Benin


Botswana


Burkina Faso


Burundi


Cameroon

DeLancey, Mark W., and Mark Dike

DeLancey, Mark W., and Peter J.

Cape Verde
Lobban, Richard, and Matlene Lopes

Verde: Crioulo Colony to Independent Nation (NMW).

(WBS).

Central African Republic
Republic (WBS).

Kalck, Pierre (translated by Thomas

O’Toole, Thomas (1986). Central African
Republic: The Continent’s Hidden Heart (NCW).

Chad
Azevedo, Mario J., and Emmanuel U.
Nnadozie (1997). Chad: A Nation in
Search of Its Future (NMW).

Decalo, Samuel (1997). Historical
Dictionary of Chad (AHD).

Joffé, Emile G. H., and Valerie Day-Viaud

Comoro Islands
Islands: Struggle against Dependency in
the Indian Ocean (NCA).

Ottenheimer, Martin, and Harriet
Ottenheimer (1994). Historical
Dictionary of Comoro Islands
(AHD).

Congo-Brazzaville
Decalo, Samuel, Virginia Thompson,
and Richard Adloff (1996). Historical
Dictionary of Congo (AHD, 3rd ed.)
(2nd ed., 1984, by Thompson and
Adloff; 1st ed., 1974, by Thompson
and Adloff).


Côte d’Ivoire
Daniels, Morna (1996). Côte d’Ivoire
(WBS).

Dictionary of Côte d’Ivoire (The Ivory
Coast) (AHD).

Democratic Republic of the Congo
(Congo-Kinshasa)
of the Democratic Republic of Congo
(Zaire) (AHD, 2nd ed.) (1st ed., 1988,
by Bobb).

Leslie, Winsome J. (1993). Zaire:
Continuity and Political Change in an
Oppressive State (NCA).

Williams, Dawn Bastian, Robert W.Lesh,
(WBS).

Djibouti
Alwah, Daoud A., and Yohanes
Mibrathu (2000). Historical
Dictionary of Djibouti (AHD).


Egypt
Goldschmidt Jr., Arthur (1994). Historical
Dictionary of Egypt (AHD, 2nd ed.)
(1st ed., 1984, by Joan Wucher
King).

Equatorial Guinea


Eritrea


Ethiopia


Gabon


Gambia


Ghana


Guinea

Binns, Margaret (1996). *Guinea (WBS)*.

Guinea-Bissau


Kenya


Lesotho

Liberia


Libya


Madagascar


Malawi


Mali


Mauritania


Mauritius


Morocco


Mozambique


Namibia


Schoeman, Stanley, and Elna Schoeman (1997). *Namibia (WBS)*.

Sparks, Donald L., and December Green (1992). *Namibia: The Nation After Independence (NCA)*.

Niger


Nigeria


Rwanda


Fegley, Randall (1993). *Rwanda (WBS)*.

São Tomé and Príncipe


Shaw, Caroline S. (1994). *São Tomé and Príncipe (WBS)*.

Senegal


Dilley, Roy M., and Jerry S. Eades (1994). *Senegal (WBS)*.


Seychelles

Bennett, George (with the collaboration of Pramila Ramgulam Bennett) (1993). *Seychelles (WBS)*.


Sierra Leone

Binns, Margaret, and Tony Binns (1992). *Sierra Leone (WBS)*.

Foray, Cyril Patrick (1977). *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone (AHD)*.

Somalia


South Africa

Davis, Geoffrey V. (1994). *South Africa (WBS)*.

Saul, John, and Patrick Bond (1998). *South Africa: Apartheid and After (NMW)*.


Sudan

Daly, M. W. (1992). *Sudan (WBS)*.


Swaziland


Nyeko, Balam (1994). *Swaziland (WBS)*.
PART I  INTRODUCTION

Tanzania


Togo


Tunisia


Uganda


Zambia


Zimbabwe


KEY TERMS

Saharan Africa
Sub-Saharan Africa
Precolonial Independence Era (before 1884)
Colonial Era (1884–1951)
Contemporary Independence Era (1951–present)
dependency–decolonization debate
dependency school of thought
neocolonialism
decolonization school of thought
African renaissance
National Geographic image of Africa
Afro-pessimism
Afro-optimism
FOR FURTHER READING


2. For example, see I. William Zartman, "Europe and Africa: Decolonization or Dependency?" *Foreign Affairs* 54 (1976): 325–43.

3. Ibid., pp. 326–27.


7. This paragraph was inspired by and draws upon an extremely insightful article written by Aili Marie Tripp, "The New Political Activism in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 3 (2001): 141–55.


