GOVERNANCE AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

PRESENTER

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QUALIFICATIONAL PROFILE

• PhD: Public Administration – University of North-West (RSA)
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**INTRODUCTION**

- Importance of remembering the pre-colonial aspects of political history and the critical influence of the relatively short (less than a hundred years in most cases) colonial experience. The **end** of the **colonial era** was speeded up by the **rise of nationalist independence movements**, which will connect historically to the importance of ideology in African politics.
COLONIAL INHERITANCE

• THE WORLD DOES NOT REINVENT ITSELF ON A CONTINUOUS BASIS. IT EVOLVES. NO TOTAL REVOLUTION WHERE ALL THAT HAS GONE BEFORE IT IS LAID TO REST AND A NEW POLITY IS BORN AND COMPLETELY OPERATE ON A CLEANER SLATE: TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS WILL SURVIVE AND ADAPT FROM ONE ERA TO ANOTHER.
• MOST SCHOLARS AND HISTORIANS WROTE MORE ON COLONIALISM AND WERE CONCERNED WITH EUROPEAN IMPACT ON AFRICA.

• IN SHARING AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO EUROPE, THE ALLOCATION WAS DONE AS FOLLOWS:
  FRANCE: NORTH, WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA
  BRITAIN: WEST, EAST, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
  PORTUGAL: ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEA-BISSAU
  BELGIUM: CONGO
  ITALY: LIBYA, ERITREA, SOMALIA
  SPAIN: MOROCCO, GUINEA
  GERMANY: SOUTH-WEST AND THE EAST OF THE CONTINENT
KENYA’S EXPERIENCE IN PRE-COLONIAL INHERITANCES

• POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WAS BASED ON STATELESS SOCIETIES. MOST SOPHISTICATED STATELESS SOCIETIES WERE FOUND IN THE HIGHLANDS AND WESTWARDS TOWARDS LAKE VICTORIA.

• EACH AFRICAN GROUP LIVING HERE HAD THEIR OWN IDENTITY, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL BOUNDARIES. THESE COMMUNITIES AND BOUNDARIES WERE PERMEABLE AND SOCIETIES CO-EXISTED. WARS AMONG THEM CO-EXISTED AS WELL.
• LORDS OF THE HIGHLANDS, THE MASAI WERE THE BANKERS OF THE HIGHLANDS AND WERE PURELY PASTORAL PEOPLE, BUT BENEFITED FROM RESIDING CLOSE TO OTHER MIXED FARMING ETHNIC GROUPS.

• THE MASAI PROVIDED CATTLE TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS, CATTLE WAS THE PRIMARY FORM OF CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE AMONG THESE COMMUNITIES.

• CATTLE WAS USED FOR TRADE AND PAYING OF SOCIAL DEBTS SUCH AS THE MARRIAGE BRIDE PRICE

• THIS REGION WAS WELL CONNECTED TO REGIONS OF AFRICA AND THE WIDER WORLD

• COASTAL TRADE EXISTED FROM EARLY TIMES

• ARAB CARAVANS ENTERED THE INTERIOR THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR TRADE
• TRADE WITH ARABS WAS MAINLY IN IVORY AND SLAVES. THIS WAS DONE BETWEEN MOMBASA (ON THE INDIAN OCEAN COAST) AND LAKE VICTORIA

• THIS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY WAS CONTROLLED FROM THE ISLAND OF ZANZIBAR WHERE OMANI ARABS HAD AUTHORITY OVER THE WHOLE REGION.

• BRITISH GAINED INFLUENCE FROM THIS PART OF AFRICA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

• IN 1888, A ROYAL IMPERIAL CHARTER WHICH WAS COMMERCIAL (BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY TO TAKE CONTROL OVER THESE COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES. WHEN THE BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY BECAME BANKRUPT, LONDON HAD TO TAKE CONTROL ITSELF
• BRITISH ESTABLISHED ITS EAST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE IN 1895 AND KENYA BECAME A FORMAL CROWN COLONY 25 YEARS LATER WHEN WHITE SETTLEMENT IN THE TERRITORY WAS FIRMLY ENTRENCHED

• IN A SPACE OF 25 YEARS KENYA HAD COME FROM A NUMEROUS STATELESS SOCIETIES TO A SINGLE MODERN COLONIAL STATE

• TERRITORY HAD NOW POERFUL CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AND A SIGNIFICANT WHITE SETTLER COMMUNITY
• KENYA WAS ALSO AFFECTED BY COLONIAL BOUNDARIES DEMARCATIONS
• AT EARLY STAGES OF INDEPENDENCE, A GENERAL UNITED FRONT AGAINST A COMMON COLONIAL OPPONENT WAS EXPERIENCED.

• AFTER INDEPENDENCE, UNITY BEGAN TO WEAKEN, LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE PARTY STATES, THEN MILITARY COUPS, AND OTHER AUTHORITARIAN EFFORTS AT CENTRAL CONTROL.

• NOT ONLY POLITICAL PARTIES WERE THE OBJECT OF REPRESSION, BUT OTHER POTENTIAL RIVALS SUCH AS LABOUR LEADERS, STUDENTS AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES WERE OFTEN JAILED OR FORCED INTO EXILE
• IN RECENT YEARS, A MAJORITY OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS SOUGHT POPULAR SUPPORT THROUGH REGULAR FREE AND FAIR MULTI-PARTY ELECTION PROCESSES.

• ELECTIONS SEEK THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN IMPOSING POLICIES AND STRUCTURES ON THE POPULATION

• BY ENGAGING SOCIETY DIRECTLY FOR VOTES, GOVERNMENTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO LISTEN TO THE DESIRES OF THE MASSES OR RISK LOSING THE ELECTION

• POPULATIONS THAT HAVE A ROLE IN CHOOSING THEIR GOVERNMENT ARE MORE LIKELY TO GIVE IT SUPPORT AND LEGITIMACY EVEN WHEN THEIR PREFERRED PARTY LOSES ELECTIONS

• GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH A ONE-PARTY DOMINANT SYSTEM (SUCH AS NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA AND BOTSWANA) RUN THE RISK OF TAKING THE VOTERS FOR GRANTED AND NOT LISTENING.
• HOWEVER, IN OTHER SIMILAR CASES, SUCH AS MEXICO IN LATIN AMERICA AND JAPAN IN ASIA, WHICH HAD DECADES OF SUCCESSFUL ONE-PARTY DOMINANT RULE, A DRAMATIC REVERSAL TOOK PLACE IN THE 1990S, WHEN VOTERS DECIDED ON A CHANGE.

• AFRICAN ELECTIONS IN THE EARLY 1990S, SAW A NUMBER OF GOVERNING LEADERS AND PARTIES OUSTED, INDICATING THAT THEY WERE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THEIR POPULATIONS

• UNDER ONE PARTY DOMINANT STATE, AS WAS THE CASE OF EARLIER INDEPENDENCE ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENTS, NEW GOVERNING ELITES COME TO CAPTURE POWER AND WEALTH THROUGH CONTROL OF STATE ASSETS AND ACCESS. THIS GROUP SOMETIMES CALLED WABENZI OR MBENZI IN SWAHILI AND OTHER LANGUAGES

• AFTER THE LUXURY CAR PREFERENCE OF THE NEW ELITES – CAN COME TO MONOPOLIZE PUBLIC RESOURCES AND WEAKEN THE COUNTRY’S ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY THROUGH “RENT SEEKING” ACTIVITIES
RENT SEEKING behaviour is when someone benefits from scarcity by collecting a fee or adding to the cost of goods or services without adding any value to the end use. For example, in countries where there is a shortage of foreign exchange, the government issues a limited number of licenses for legal access to foreign currency. Those who are well connected can receive a licence and then sell the currency to someone needs it but lacks access for an inflated cost. The connected ones prosper but business costs rise and economic activity shrinks as a result. Mining, fishing, and banking industries are also characterized by scarce access controlled by the government. Literally any activity that requires government permission can be subject to such abuse (corruption).
In extreme cases, new elites used state apparatus almost exclusively for their own benefit, to the detriment of public functions. For example, when the Air Force and Coast Guard are used almost exclusively for smuggling, abuse of scarce public resources reaches level Bayart et al. (1999) refer to as the Criminalization of the State. Example is one of Mobutu Seseko’s rule in Zaire which became kleptocracies (rule by theft).
In mid 2006, ANC in South Africa discovered that five of its senior officials had become billionaires and accounted for 70% of Black Economic Empowerment deals in 2005. Efforts were made to control this, e.g. by limiting the number of opportunities for benefiting from “previously disadvantaged status” to one, as advocated by the ANC Secretary General) and to broaden the impacts of empowerment impacts (Sunday Times 6/8/2006:1).
Limited Economies

• These new rent-seeking processes weakened African economies and only increased inherited problems of excessively limited economies.

• Resulted in a few dominant productive sectors being primary product (commodity) exporters, and having underdeveloped infrastructure
Limited Economies cont...

- African economies developed to service few colonial servants or settlers and the metropolitan colonial economy through primary product exports.
- Little manufacturing or value addition had been developed before independence, except in a few settler-dominated economies such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Algeria
Limited Economies cont...

• In most cases, African countries are agricultural exporters of cash crops (cotton, coffee, cocoa) or mining exporters of raw ore, which could be mismanaged by new governments or disadvantaged by international trade rules and regimes.

• World prices for such commodities are fluctuating and longer term cyclical variability, hence making economic planning difficult
Political institutions inherited from colonial control were weak and illegitimate

- People had little positive contact with government before independence in most places and saw it as foreign, repressive, and exploitative.
- Indirect rule meant that people had no contact with state.
- In few other states, popular participation had been allowed prior to independence.
- People not well disposed towards modern governments.
Political institutions inherited from colonial control were weak and illegitimate cont...

French colonies had participation in electing representatives to French Parliament decades before independence. In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah elected Prime Minister in 1951, six years before independence.

• Expanding of public services done to benefit larger populations, many people rapidly promoted, but were short of experienced personnel
• Centralized control of policy had a problem because few servants had not skills or experience to make independent decisions or take responsibility
• Continuing the inherited state traditions of serving only the few, government bureaucracies became inefficient, cumbersome, and ultimately corrupt.
• Everything depended on the state which was weak at best.
• Borrowed money kept the system going until completely in debt crisis that stopped the flow of new loans
Political institutions inherited from colonial control were weak and illegitimate cont...

• Weak political institutions inherited from colonial state, highly personalized political loyalties came to dominate both central and local levels of government. These arrangements are abusive and of corruption while being accountable to the masses. Despite good intentions of leaders and governments, survival dictated less beneficial means of governance.
Political institutions inherited from colonial control were weak and illegitimate cont...

• In the 1970s and the 1980s, one-party states and personal dictatorships dominated African politics until the end of the Cold War. Both internal and external pressures led to major transformations in African state politics.

• Relation between the state and civil society caused these changes, especially in South Africa and the French speaking countries where National Conferences influenced civil society participation after 1990.
SIX IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF COLONIAL INHERITANCE

• INCORPORATION OF AFRICA INTO INTERNATIONAL MODERN STATE STRUCTURE
• IMPOSITION OF ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES
• FAILURE TO DEVELOP LINKS BETWEEN THE STATE AND SOCIETY
• PROMOTION OF AN AFRICAN STATE ELITE
• BUILDING OF SPECIALIST EXPORT ECONOMIES
• ABSENCE OF STRONG POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
1. INCORPORATION OF AFRICA INTO INTERNATIONAL MODERN STATE STRUCTURE

• DIVISION OF AFRICA INTO MODERN STATES FULLY INTEGRATED WITHIN INTERNATIONAL JIGSAW PUZZLE OF SOVEREIGN TERRITORIES (EXCEPT ANTARCTICA).

• - ALL STATES ACCOUNTED FOR ENTIRE LAND SURFACE OF GLOBE

• - COUNTRIES HAD CLEARLY DELINEATED AND FIXED BOUNDARIES

• - ALL LEGAL POLITICAL INTERACTION WAS NOW CHANNELLED THROUGH, OR AT LEAST HELD ACCOUNTABLE TO STATE INSTITUTIONS
STATE WAS IMPOSED ON A VARIETY OF DIFFERENT POPULATIONS, THESE DIVISIONS CONTINUE OVER CONTROL AND LEGITIMACY OF THE INHERITED STATE

AS SOON AS THE COMMON ENEMY OF THE COLONIAL POWER HAD LEFT, RIVALRIES AND DISPUTES RESURFACED.

SECESSION ATTEMPTS AND COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE CHALLENGING THE STATE HAVE BEEN EVER PRESENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE, EG. CHAD, IVORY COAST, NIGERIA, AND SUDAN ARE EXAMPLES OF RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS THAT HAVE LED TO VIOLENT CLASHES BETWEEN THE STATE AND SOCIETY

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES, IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTES AS WELL AS DISPUTES OVER MATERIALS, ARE ALSO EXAMPLES OF DISPUTES
AMERICAN SCHOLAR AND NAMIBIAN EXPERT, JOSHUA FORREST (2004), HAS RECENTLY COMPLETED A STUDY THAT FINDS A GROWING COMPLEXITY OF SUB-NATIONALISM SINCE 1990. THIS INCLUDES DOZENS OF SECESSIONIST, IRREDENTIST AND AUTONOMY SEEKING MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE CONTINENT. HE SEES THESE CHALLENGES AS INCREASING IN RECENT YEARS.

TWIN PROBLEMS OF THE ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES AS PER THOMSON ASSERTIONS:

- **IRREDENTISM**: REUNIFYING DISPERSED POPULATIONS (EG. IN SOMALIA)
- **SECESSION**: DISMEMBERING A PART, SUCH AS REGION, PROVINCE FROM THE STATE)
- **EXAMPLES**: BIAFRA IN NIGERIA IN THE 1960S; CABINDA IN ANGOLA, BAROTSELAND PROVINCE IN ZAMBIA, CAPRIVI IN NAMIBIA (1999), REHOBOOTH IN NAMIBIA (1990), ETC.
2. IMPOSITION OF ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES

• IMPERIAL POWERS IMPOSED BOUNDARIES WHICH HAD NEGATIVE EFFECTS

• BOUNDARIES RARELY MATCHED EXISTING PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL, SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC DIVISIONS – THEY WERE ARBITRARY

• GOVERNMENT WAS FOR MAINTAINING ORDER; BALANCING BUDGETS, AND OVERSEEING THE EXTRACTION OF RAW MATERIALS FOR EXPORT. GOVERNMENT WAS NOT TO PROVIDE PUBLIC SERVICES FOR CITIZENS

• OVER CENTURIES, ELEMENTS OF CIVIL SOCIETY COMPETED WITH MONARCHS AND EMPERORS. THE RESULT FOR THIS WAS THAT THE MIDDLE CLASS AND THEN THE WORKING CLASS GAINED MORE EMPOWERMENT. EACH CLASS OR GROUP SUCCEEDING IN SHAPING STATE INSTITUTIONS TO REFLECT THEIR DEMANDS

• TODAY, DEMOCRACY IS VIEWED AS HAVING A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY THUS PROVISION OF PUBLIC SERVICE
• AFRICANS LEFT OUT OF ANY REPRESENTATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. TRUST AND SHARED POLITICAL VALUES NEVER DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE RULED.

• STATE INSTITUTIONS NEVER SOUGHT OR GAINED RESPECT OF THE PEOPLE

• THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1884-5 A CATALYST OF COLONIAL DOMINATION. BOUNDARIES WERE ALREADY DECIDED BEFORE THIS CONFERENCE.

• IMPACT OF FRAGMENTATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF ARBITRARY STATES: EXAMPLES: NAMA, HERERO AND OVAMBO POPULATIONS UNDER GERMANY COLONY
• LEFT SOME POPULATIONS DIVIDED BY ARTIFICIAL LINES ON A MAP
• COLONIAL RULE USED ‘DIVIDE AND CONTROL’ AND ‘INDIRECT RULE’ THROUGH LOCAL RULERS TO SECURE THEIR DOMINATION
• VERY COMPLEX STATES WERE CREATED, EG. DRC AND NIGERIA
• POPULATIONS DIVIDED AND THE COLONIAL LANGUAGES AND EXPERIENCES ASSOCIATED WITH THEM
3. PROMOTION OF AN AFRICAN STATE ELITE / THE FORMATION OF STATE ELITES

- Colonial states distanced themselves from their African subjects. However, contact was needed.
- A number of Africans required to sustain imperial administration’s authority among masses.
- These elites having benefited from access to government institutions would then go and manage the liberation campaigns and form the first governments after independence.
- Colonial administrators used traditional leaders to be intermediaries of imperialism.
- Chiefs or monarchs charged with raising taxes, supplying labour and ensuring colonial laws and regulations were respected.
• CHIEFS USED AS SUCH, ALSO EXPECTED THE POWER OF THE STATE TO BACK THEIR LEADERSHIP WITH BENEFITS IN TERMS OF TRIBUTE
• COLONIAL ADMINISTRATORS GAVE CHIEFS A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE OF TAX AND FINES COLLECTED
• LEADERS RULED THEIR JURISDICTIONS BUT WERE NOT TO COMPROMISE COLONIAL INTERESTS
• EDUCATED AFRICAN ELITES WERE ALSO GIVEN ACCESS TO STATE POWER
• THESE PROTO-ELITE WAS EMPLOYED IN THE LOWER POSITIONS OF GOVERNMENT SUCH AS CLERKS, TEACHERS OR COURT INTERPRETERS OR BECAME PROFESSIONALS SUCH AS LAWYERS AND DOCTORS
• They received prosperity from their salaries and engaged in Western society of towns and cities.

• Leaders also gained prosperity through corrupt practices from state apparatus.

• Most colonial governments tried to Africanise their civil service towards the end of colonial rule. Numbers of this bureaucratic class increased as did the numbers of professionals employed by state.

• Bill Warren argues that colonialism was supposed to have closed the development gap between the West and third world countries.

• Imperial rule may have brought great hardships to Africa, but also brought improvement economic techniques, better health, and wider experience of education on the continent.
• ZIMBABWE WAS LEFT WITH COAL MINES TO PRODUCE POWER FOR ANY POST-INDEPENDENCE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, BUT ALSO FAILED

• ALGERIA HAD A SMALL STEEL INDUSTRY TO BUILD UPON, BUT ALSO FAILED

• IMPERIAL POWERS EXTRACTED A GREAT DEAL OF WEALTH FROM THEIR COLONIAL POSESSIONS VIA LABOUR EXPLOITATION, AND RAW MATERIAL AND PROFIT EXPORT. THESE IF USED IN AFRICA WOULD HAVE BENEFITED AFRICA THAN THE WEST

• COLONIALISM LEFT AFRICA WITH ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS BASED ON THE PRIMARY SECTOR

• POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE BROUGHT THE POTENTIAL FOR MORE RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH
4. BUILDING OF SPECIALIST EXPORT ECONOMIES

- ECONOMIES FAILED TO ‘TAKE OFF’ AFTER INDEPENDENCE
- WESTERN INDUSTRIES HAD THE DEMAND FOR RAW MATERIALS, BUT NO INTERESTS IN BUILDING STRONG INTEGRATED ECONOMIES
- EXAMPLE: TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE ONLY REVOLVED AROUND MOVING GOODS FROM POINT OF EXTRACTION TO A PORT
- FEW LINES OF COMMUNICATION WERE BUILT TO ENHANCE INTERNAL OR REGIONAL TRADING LINKS, THAT IS WHY FOR EXAMPLE IVORY COST TRADES MORE WITH FRANCE THAN ITS NEIGHBOUR GHANA
- LITTLE INVESTMENT WAS MADE IN AFRICAN HUMAN RESOURCES
- DAVID LAMB OBSERVES THAT AFTER 300 YEARS OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN GUINEA BISSAU, IMPERIALISM LEFT JUST 14 UNIVERSITY GRADUATES, AN ILLITERACY RATE OF 97%, ONLY 265 TROOPS
• GREATER PROPORTIONS OF THE PROFITS GENERATED IN AFRICA AND INVESTED LOCALLY WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A MUCH HEALTHIER ECONOMIC INHERITANCE FOR POST COLONIAL AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS

• POPULATION DENSITIES WERE STABLE AND NO TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGHS WERE IMMINENT

• In extreme cases, new elites used state apparatus almost exclusively for their own benefit, to the detriment of public functions. For example, when the Air Force and Coast Guard are used almost exclusively for smuggling, abuse of scarce public resources reaches level Bayart et al. (1999) refer to as the Criminalization of the State. Example is one of Mobutu Seseko’s rule in Zaire which became kleptocracies (rule by theft).
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5. FAILURE TO DEVELOP LINKS BETWEEN THE STATE AND SOCIETY

- These new rent-seeking processes weakened African economies and only increased inherited problems of excessively limited economies.
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• World prices for such commodities are fluctuating and longer term cyclical variability, hence making economic planning difficult.
6. WEAK POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

- Political institutions inherited from colonial control were weak and illegitimate
- People had little positive contact with government before independence in most places and saw it as foreign, repressive, and exploitative.
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• Everything depended on the state which was weak at best.

• Borrowed money kept the system going until completely in debt crisis that stopped the flow of new loans.
• Weak political institutions inherited from colonial state, highly personalized political loyalties came to dominate both central and local levels of government. These arrangements are abusive and of corruption while being accountable to the masses. Despite good intentions of leaders and governments, survival dictated less beneficial means of governance.

• In the 1970s and the 1980s, one-party states and personal dictatorships dominated African politics until the end of the Cold War. Both internal and external pressures led to major transformations in African state politics.
• Relation between the state and civil society caused these changes, especially in South Africa and the French speaking countries where National Conferences influenced civil society participation after 1990.

• FRAGILE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT HISTORICAL MOORINGS

• RETURN TO COLONIAL-STYLE AUTHORITARIAN AND BUREAUCRATIC STATE AFTER INDEPENDENCE
### POTENTIAL PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE COLONIAL INHERITANCES

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# Potential Problems Created by the Colonial Inheritances

## Formation of a State Elite
- Strong association between political office and personal wealth
- Social mobility dominated by access to the state
- Corruption
- An exploitative ‘bureaucratic bourgeoisie’

## The Economic Inheritance
- Disadvantage in the international economy
- Underdevelopment of human resources
- Lack of public services
- Economies over-reliant on primary sector
- Over-reliance on exports
- Biased towards European, not local or regional markets
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• States left after colonialism had weak legitimacy
• African leaders ruled on their personal capacities and personal loyalties they built up during independence process
• Potential opponents crushed in the first decade of independence
• Political party leaders, labour movement activists and traditional authorities jailed or forced into exile by their own African presidents
• Parliament, students and professionals received the same pressures
• Institutions of local government, judiciaries were also under similar pressures
• Power centralized in the president and the executive branch of national government
• African leaders advocated ‘One-Party State’ and the ‘President for Life’
• Various arguments put in place to justify why ‘One-Party State’ and ‘President for Life’
• On arguments they (intellectuals and power holders alike) also put forward ‘the imposed character of Western institutional arrangements’; lack of correspondence with African traditions and the need to focus on development;

• Public resources used to reward supporters outweighed development

• Public service and parastatals enlarged in size and were not able to expand service delivery to meet expectations

• Education and health sectors became best performers until budget constraints and debt crises affected these sectors
• Leaders used force to control states as substitute for legitimacy (right to rule) or to develop a system of patron-client relationships to secure power;

• The so-called ‘Big Men’ lost control over population and alienated people through corruption and repression;

• Because of this, effectiveness and popularity of government suffered, especially, when reward system became higher to other divisions in society (class, region, ethnicity or religion);
• When economies continuously failed, because of debt burdens or mismanagement, the public challenged the legitimacy of the new system and forced political and economic reforms on regime or regime total change
• Patronage systems are easier to maintain when economy is growing or is readily available from lenders;
• The first decade of independence became easy
• Later when declining terms of trade and oil price increases, the surplus in economy, the debt crisis further impinged on patronage system;
• More repression was required, but could backfire
STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- Centralization advantaged state at expense of civil society
- Pluralist institutions left by imperial powers now gone at decolonization
- Power taken away from civil society and ‘peripheral’ institutions of state and placed in hands of executive
- By this, presidential monarchs exercised their personal rule
- Modern state system maintained even after independence
• Many countries went into periods of chaos and anarchy, but Africans were able to live in stability and order;
• Where national identities were fragile and resources scarce, a highly centralized state was necessary;
• Freedom and self-determination won at independence was not appreciated as this would tear state apart
• Advocated that under centralized government, fragmented societies are grouped together to share benefits in a modern state;
• Benefiting from centralized state failed
• Civil society disadvantaged;
• All alternative political mobilization co-opted or brutally crushed;
• Clientelism did not work without exploitation of clients by patrons;
• Patronage given to civil society was flawed;
• Political elite preyed on vulnerability of their people;
• Patrons distributed wealth in network, but before this, they had to serve their own personal interests first;
• State bureaucracy prospered, civil society remained constrained;
• No relationship of equal exchange existed;
• Centralized state failed to produce consistently strong government
• Centralized states destroy many of their links with society
• Institutions responsible for providing advice and feedback on policy were dismantled soon after independence
• Core executive institutions, and their leaders relied on own counsel and expertise
• African personnel in this way lost touch of their own people
• Gulf / gap between state and civil society grew
• States with sufficient resource base, may not experience gulf between rulers and ruled;
• Resource could be provided via client-patron network to offset any misgiving Africans may have had against their governments
• Where resources are limited, lack of linkage between state and civil society proves fatal;
• Inefficient and corrupt regimes with no resources to ‘buy off’ civil society experience regular crises of legitimacy
• In this case, coercion is used to close this gap
• Violence comes in and hanging to power becomes unsuccessful
• Military coups were resultant on the African continent
• By the end of 1980s, there were no more issues of hanging to power, because resources were no more there to maintain legitimacy in neo-patrimonial African states
• Patron-client network shrank and some states collapsed
• in other states, presidential-monarchs tried to liberate their regimes
• Multi-party competition introduce to try to retain power
• Era of centralized state and personal rule in its extreme form, was at an end in African states
2. IDEOLOGY

• Ideology constitutes a set of ideas that both guide and justifying political actions.

• Thomas asserts that: nationalism or nationalist anti-colonialism was the dominant ideology of the early independence period. This again, links to the artificiality of colonial boundaries, but also to the struggle against a common enemy in terms of the ruling power.
• Independence gained – nationalist enterprise became more complicated
• Some leaders found new sources of unity or to keep the old enemy in focus for a long period
• Some leaders depended on the prior colonial power to retain office, esp. in former French colonies, where French troops repeatedly intervened to save governments or leaders in trouble over decades.
• States came before nations and needed a comprehensive set of ideas to sustain them and build a common identity
• In keeping up with the personal nature of power in these early days of independence, the ideologies adopted by African leaders were often personalized (eg. Mobutuism).
IDEOLOGY CONT...

• Robert Putman describes *ideology* as: a *life-guiding systems of beliefs, values, and goals affecting political style and action*.

• Individuals use ideologies to help them understand and explain the world.

• Human beings synthesize the mass of information around them into something logical and meaningful, giving them a ‘*world view*’.
The disciples are guided by Catholicism, Islam, socialism, liberalism, and anarchism to convince their followers.

Study of politics is by key characteristics of these ideologies, as well as examining their impact upon the process of governing.

Ideology in this case acts as a socializing force

People with similar world views cooperate to further mutual interests, and defend this lifestyle against competitors
IDEOLOGY CONT...

• **Liberal democracy** thrives in western Europe and North America. It is an ideology that binds state and society together and provides governments with their mission, coherence, and legitimacy.

The **four main ideologies** that were common in Africa during the late twentieth century are:

• **African socialism**
• **Scientific socialism** (Afro-Marxism)
• **Populism**
• **State capitalism**

Nationalism was the mobilization force used for Africans to liberate themselves from imperial rule
IDEOLOGY CONT...

- INITIAL COUNTRIES THAT LIBERATED THEMSELVES AND EXPelled THEIR COLONIAL MASTERS IN THE 1950S

- LIBYA - 1951
- MOROCCO - 1956
- GHANA - 1957
- GUINEA - 1958

NATIONALISM

Nationalism defined as:

The desire that the nation should be housed in its own sovereign state

Nation defined as:

A collection of people bound together by common values and traditions, often sharing the same language, history and an affiliation to a geographical area
NATIONALISM CONT...

• Nation united by interpretations of the past and symbols such as flags, anthems and ceremonies, the people of the nation generate social cohesion of their chosen

• Pluralist competition was sacrificed to the higher goals of national unity and economic development in the pre-colonial period

• Nationalism fostered by the state, became the dominant ideology
AFRICAN NATIONALISM

• Each state followed its own unique ideological path to secure national unity and economic development.
Factors that prompted nationalism

- Imperial powers agreed to grant all peoples self-determination and democracy that they had demanded for themselves and their allies during the Second World War.

- It was believed that only the civilized (white) human beings would cope with liberty and political autonomy

- The issue of cost to run a state as colony

- Empire that involved responsibilities and not just exploitation became a burden on the colonial treasuries

- These costs could be in forms of moral, motivations for political withdrawal

- Pressures created from within the colonies themselves
AFRICAN SOCIALISM

• Created to reduce dependence on the West
• Restructure economies to meet local needs
• Means to reduce poverty
• Providing social welfare
• Capitalism and liberalism as methods to achieve these goals
• Egalitarian approach used
• Socialism – ‘free good’, a ‘political amulet’
• Socialism – realized before colonial rule
• African socialism promoted than copy and paste of the socialism as practised in Soviet Union
AFRICAN SOCIALISM

• Classical theories of socialism – proletariat becomes a revolutionary class to defeat the bourgeoisie.

• Absence of a working class (except South Africa) - leaders stressed traditional values

• Africa had communities which were classless, communal and egalitarian before colonial rule

• African socialism – used as means to recover traditional values and mix them with technology and the modern nation state
AFRICAN SOCIALISM CONT...

• Combined equality, cooperation and humanism of the village community with wealth and modern production methods and state institutions
• Tanzania introduced the issue of village development, but also failed
• State enterprises nationalized including foreign capital
• State involved in development projects of infrastructure and industrialization
• Socialism promised more equality in wealth distribution through state actions, but failed.
CAPITALISM

• Associated with colonialism to which African leaders could not attest
• Private accumulation of wealth (especially by the few)
• Socialism failed in Africa while capitalism grew in terms of economic development
• Marxist ideologies of Max, Lenin, and Stalin did not have interest for peasants
POPULISM

• Individuals involved in political process
• State institutions more responsive to needs of society
• Associated with military government
• Army officers instigate *coup d’etat* by ousting previous dictatorial and corrupt government
• Military government creates new legitimacy by building new public institutions
• These institutions aimed at bridging gap between state and civil society
• Ideas stressed here are morality, probity and accountability
POPULISM CONT...

• Problems such as reluctance in devolving power to local committees
• Leaders feared losing control over masses
• Nationalist demands to establish tight central authority to be able to maintain national unity and coherent economic development overpowered demands for allowing masses to truly administer themselves
STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

• Tolerant of private capital – both domestic and foreign
• Lively small-scale capitalism - farmers, transport and export/import entrepreneurs
• Heavy state intervention – marketing monopolies, price setting, large parastatals
• State still the largest producer and distributor within the economy
• Curtailment of political pluralism often only one legal political party permitted
# CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULISM & STATE CAPITALISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Populism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Advocates people’s representation</td>
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<td>• Participation – formation of people’s committees</td>
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<td>• Probity – anti-corruption moves</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Usually formed by military coups – regimes establish legitimacy</td>
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<td>• Examples: Sankara’s Burkina Faso, Rawlings’ Ghana and Gaddafi’s Libya</td>
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GOVERNANCE

Objectives

To be able to:

• understand and explain what governance is;

• relate governance to politics and how the two interface
GOVERNANCE

• WHAT IS GOVERNANCE?

• - Study of regimes and regime politics
• - manner in which responsibility is discharged
  o This responsibility may be acquired through:
    o Election
    o Appointment
    o Delegation in the public domain or
    o in the area of commerce (corporate governance)
• The process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented
• Governance exists as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance
• An analysis of governance focuses on formal and informal structures set up to implement decisions
ACTORS IN GOVERNANCE

• Government
• Influential landlords in rural areas
• Associations of peasant farmers
• Cooperatives
• Non-governmental organizations
• Research institutes
• Religious leaders
• Finance institutions
• Political parties
• Military, etc
ACTORS IN GOVERNANCE

• Formal government structures – means by which decisions are implemented
• At national level – informal decision-making structures such as ‘kitchen cabinets’ or informal advisors exist
• In urban areas – organized crime syndicates such as the “land Mafia” may influence decision-making
• In rural areas – locally powerful families make or influence decision-making
• Such informal decision-making lead to corruption
Additional actors

- Media
- Lobbyists
- International donors
- Multi-national corporations

These play a vital role in decision-making or influencing the decision-making process

All actors (excluding the government and military) are grouped together as ‘civil society’
GOVERNANCE CONT...

• Exercising power and decision-making for a group of people is called governance. It happens everywhere – from urban centres to rural villages – and the well-being of a community depends on the choices made by people granted this authority. Because of the diversity of organizational structures around the world, people such as land lords, heads of associations, cooperatives, NGOs, religious leaders, political parties and of course, government are all actors granted the power to govern.
POLITICS

• WHAT IS POLITICS?

Articulation of a political vision, frequently an ideology, which sets forth the goals of the rulers and their plans for governing (principles for decision-making); the refinement of leadership styles and modes of operation (locus of decision-making)
WHAT IS POLITICS? CONT...

• Firstly: how rulers consolidate and entrench their position at the center; what rules do they establish and what patterns of decision-making do they encourage to increase their power?

• Secondly: how do they gain the confidence of their constituencies; what support bases do they construct and what means do they devise to maintain these alliances?
SESSION TWO

• GOOD GOVERNANCE

• Objectives

To be able to:

- know what good governance is;
- distinguish between governance and good governance
- understand the benefits of good governance
GOOD GOVERNANCE

WHAT IS GOOD GOVERNANCE?

• existence of efficient and accountable institutions – political, judicial, administrative, economic, corporate – and entrenched rules that promote development, protects human rights, respects the rule of law, and ensures that people are free to participate in, and be heard on, decisions that affect their lives.
GOOD GOVERNANCE
WHAT IS GOOD GOVERNANCE? CONT...

• good governance is taken here to mean a condition whereby such responsibility is discharged in an effective, transparent, and accountable manner
GOOD GOVERNANCE
WHAT IS GOOD GOVERNANCE? CONT...

• The World Leaders at the 2005 World Summit concluded that good governance is integral to economic growth, the eradication of poverty and hunger, and sustainable development. The views of all oppressed groups, including women, youth and the poor, must be heard and considered by governing bodies because they will be the ones most negatively affected if good governance is not achieved.
“Good governance” is a relatively new term that is often used to describe the desired objective of a nation-state’s political development. The principles of good governance, however, are not new. Good governance is, in short, anti-corruption whereas authority and its institutions are accountable, effective and efficient, participatory, transparent, responsive, consensus-oriented, and equitable. These are the major characteristics of good governance as outlined by the United Nations.
WHY GOOD GOVERNANCE?

Good governance advances sustainable development for three reasons, viz.

• First, good governance is aimed at enjoying political freedom and participating in the decisions that shape one’s life, which are fundamental human rights.

In those African countries where leaders are not elected or selected by election (Libya, for example), or where elections are flawed (Zimbabwe, for example), choices are severely restricted. The denial of these rights is a denial of human development.
Second, good governance helps to protect people from economic and political catastrophes such as famines and other crises. There is a direct correlation between bad governance and famines, for example, in Africa. In other words, those countries frequently suffering from famines in Africa tend not to have good governance.
Third, good governance can promote sustainable development by empowering citizens to influence policies that promote growth and prosperity and which reflect their priorities.
• For good governance to exist in both theory and practice, *citizens must be empowered to participate in meaningful ways in decision-making processes*. They have a right to information and to access. Although widespread accessibility remains a barrier for many countries, one of those ways is through Information and Communication Technology (ICT) applications such as the Internet.
FACTORS INFLUENCING GOOD GOVERNANCE

• Participation (men and women) through legitimate intermediate institutions or reps.
• Rule of law (fair legal frameworks) enforced impartially, full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities
• Transparency (decisions taken and enforced must follow rules and regulations) free information available and accessible, in clearly understandable forms and media
• Consensus oriented (mediation of broad interests to reach a common agreement)
• Equity and inclusiveness (for all members of the society to benefit from)
• Effectiveness and efficiency (processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while using resources at their disposal)
• Accountability (government and private sectors to be accountable to their institutions) who is accountable to whom on decisions taken and implemented
3. ETHNICITY: ETHNIC GROUPS, TRIBES, AND POLITICAL IDENTITY

• Ethnic groups are more vital and are used in African politics and has a greater influence on a political arena. Many ethnic groups were put together and identified according to their geographical, values, norms, cultural, tribal and language aspects. The political identity is therefore important as it touches on the very important elements of life such as social, economic and affiliations to social groups. African values ethnic aspects than class.
OBJECTIVES

- Indicate the significance of ethnicity in African politics
- Summarize most of the classes commonly analyzed in African politics
- Explain why class variables are not usually so useful for understanding African politics
• DEFINITION

• A distinct group in society self-consciously united around shared history, traditions, beliefs, cultures, and values, which mobilizes its membership for common political, economic, and social purposes – is in essence a culturally based social organization (Chazan, et al:1999)
THE CREATION OF TRIBES

• Believed to have been formed as a result of colonialism
• Communities gathered together into regional blocs of tribes
• The aim being to make political and economic aspects easier

• Tribes did not exist according to assumptions and are believed to have been created in order to group the communities into classes which are easily manageable by the colonial masters

• The people of Africa gathered to form tribes for two major reasons:
  - It was demanded by the colonial masters
  - It was found that new ethnic identities as an advantage for Africans in the new colonial political environment
• Africans themselves were willingly taking on new identities to further their own interests and those of their communities
• Intermediaries between state and tribes also benefited
• Intermediaries became leaders and also benefited by becoming leaders of larger communities from state institutions and resources
• Chiefs become richer and more influential because of colonialism
• It is no surprise that these intermediaries became involved in building the myth of the tribe
• Belonging to a tribe enabled members to share resources that their ethnic intermediaries extracted from colonial authorities
• Not belonging to a tribe meant an automatic exclusion from competition for state spoils
• States wanted to work with tribes, whereas Africans wanted to work with forming larger ethno-regional groups required
• State goods were allocated according to these new tribal formations
• Leaders and their followers invented traditions and symbols to bind these imagined communities together
• While colonial authorities were busy assigning Africans to tribes, Africans were busy building tribes to belong to
• African tribes by implication then meant that they are to be seen as instrumental social constructions and not ‘natural’, or ‘primordial’ phenomena.
• Africans identify themselves as belonging to an ethnic group because it is in their interests to do so
• Ethnic group is not highest political level, but leaders use it to dominate or control the highest level - the nation-state, e.g. in Namibia, we use language (Oshivambo-speaking) as proxy or substitute for ethnicity (Ovambo) in census and other official materials, Caprivi use Silozi, Damara/Nama, use Damara) Herero (use Herero) Botswana (use Tswana or Setswana) to dominate other tribal groups within the ethnic groupings).
• Cultural solidarity used as method to secure tangible political power and economic advantage

• Formed ethnic groups are not different from interest groups that can be found working within other political systems

• Representatives lobby state, seeking resources, for the group and public policy measures that serve their interests

• Individuals will identify themselves as belonging to this group supporting it, because this now becomes a new way of securing new wells, medical centers, schools and roads, etc.

• Ethnic conflicts not seen as conflict of cultures, but clash over resources
• (Mamdani (1996) describes the way in which colonial authorities removed the leadership accountability mechanisms of traditional societies leaving powerful local chiefs and warlords as uncontrolled.
DOMINANT CLASSES/ SOCIAL CLASSES

1. PEASANTS

small agricultural producers, producing largely for their consumption

Characteristics

- majority of population
- based in small rural communities
- involved primarily in subsistence agriculture
- family is the main unity of production
- limited contact with the capitalist economy
- occupies an ‘underdog’ position in society
2. PROLETARIAT (WORKERS)

Wage earners within capitalist societies who rely on selling their labour

Characteristics

- proportion of the population
- landless rural laborers
- urban laborers (industry, mining, transport)
3. INFORMAL SECTOR ENTREPRENEURS

Individuals making a living from petty trading, often involving illegal activities

**Characteristics**
- Not permanently employed in formal economy
- Often irregular / insecure work
- Street vendors
- Money changers/lenders (including foreign currency
- Smugglers
- Petty thieves
- Prostitutes
DOMINANT CLASSES CONT...

4. PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Minor owners of productive property whose exploitation of labour is limited, or the lower ranks of the salaried state bureaucracy

**Characteristics**
- Predominantly male
- Self-employed artisans
- Small farmers employing labour
- Small traders
- Teachers
- Soldiers
- Lower ranks of public service
DOMINANT CLASSES CONT...

5. BOURGEOISIE

(i) National Bourgeoisie
   The indigenous ruling class

Characteristics
- The ruling class
- Predominantly male
- A small proportion of the population
(a) Commercial Bourgeoisie

The classical bourgeoisie as defined by Marx in his studies of Western capitalist societies

**Characteristics**

- Largely in trading and agricultural sector (rather than manufacturing)
- Entrepreneurs
- Business interests
- Commercial farmers
- Land owners
(b) Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie

Those who ‘control’ rather than ‘own’ the means of production, exploiting their command over the institutions of the state to accumulate capital

Characteristics
- Largely urban
- Educated
- State decision-makers
- Political class (MP’s), ministers, party officials, etc.
- Higher rank bureaucrats
- Military officers
- Public managers (e.g. in nationalized industries)
- Professionals (public sector)
(c) Comprador Bourgeoisie

Any section of the national bourgeoisie which acts as an agent for the international bourgeoisie

(ii) International Bourgeoisie

International capitalists based in the ‘North’ who exploit the peripheral economies of Africa, and other areas of the South

Characteristics

- The ultimate ruling class according to underdevelopment dependency theorists
- Transnational corporations
- International financial institutions
6. TRADITIONAL RULERS

Those whose authority is based mainly on tradition and custom

**Characteristics**
- Clan heads
- Chiefs
- Paramount chiefs
- Emirs
- Monarchs
STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

• Nationalism used by African leaders as tool for maintaining authority over political institutions and over society as a whole
• Nation-state had sub-national challenges to its authority and had to protect modern economic and political development
• Ethnicity brought negotiation and bargaining between nationalist state and civil society
• Political environment of one party states and authoritarian rule, Africans got their political representation via membership of an ethnic group
• Africans identified themselves as Zambians, Gambians or Namibians, but also held strongly to their sub-state levels
• Ethnic associations brought more political rewards to Africans in the post-colonial era
• Nationalism is a tool to create state
• Ethnicity is a tool to create civil society
4. COERCION

- State inherited by newly independent countries had weak legitimacy
- Africa’s leaders determined to rule on basis of personal capacity and personal loyalties and personal loyalties built during independence process
- Co-opted or crushed potential opponents and were very ruthless same as their colonial masters
• Power centralized in the hands of president and the executive branch of national government
• Public service and parastatals ballooned in size
• Leaders used force (coercion) as substitute for legitimacy (right to rule)
• Developed a system of patron-client relationships to secure power
• These relationships were a substitute for robust civil society relations with rulers
• Idea of coercion or force, first enacted by an increasingly strong, centralized state often dominated by a ‘big man’
• When the ‘big man’ comes in power, he rules ostentatiously or arbitrarily and illegitimately
• Military force finds it easy now because the people are living in fear and are easy to believe whoever would come in power to break this yoke over them
5. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

- Shift from governing through legitimacy to using coercion empowered military in Africa and started displacing existing governments
- Military would have been the best in seizing power, but would not improve governance situation
- Military leaders not good at managing society or economy
- Same system of incompetence, cooptation and corruption dominated military regimes
• Military regimes certainly corrupt like civilian regimes
• Armed forces normally reluctant to initiate a coup, because it breaks the informal rules of political power
• As legitimacy of state weakened and its effectiveness declining, military rule stepped in to take over power of state
Several types of coups were described, but in the end, military leaders did not provide a solution to the crisis of the state.

- **Veto coup**: occurs when military perceives a threat to its position in the society (e.g. if a rival force – such as labour unions – is to be armed, breaking the monopoly.

- **Breakthrough coup**: a military-led revolutionary change in the regime, e.g. General Nasser overthrew the King in Egypt 1954 see Thomson page 126)
• Fewer coups in Africa since 1990.
• In the past, Nigeria, Benin, and Burkinafaso topped in military coups
• Lesotho experienced three coups in the period covered
• Internal war and cross-border conflicts have replaced military coups in many countries,
• Elite consensus on democratic reform and popular demand for multi-party elections and political freedoms blocked military takeovers in many countries of Africa
• International pressures and assistance supported civilian control
• OAU/AU have threatened non-recognition of governments that come to power through force
• Thomas Thompson suggests two explanations for coups derived from academic literature for military takeover:
  1. The weakness of existing regimes in the face of economic crises
  2. The relative strength of the military compared to other social forces (including government)
• The military is not only a strong institution within the state, because of its capacity to invoke violence;
• Armed forces are usually also highly organized, cohesive, loyal and hierarchical organizations
• At first public is greatly for the military putting them out of their misery in terms of existing governments;
• Some military leaders quickly returned to the barracks, while others lingered on and on;
• These leaders relied often on bureaucrats to actually govern
Military leaders had little knowledge or experience at running rail roads, electricity grids or central banks.

They were certainly as corrupt as civil regimes. The Sani Abacha government in Nigeria may top even Mobutu’s realm in this case.
Thompson further creates a typology of military coups (Nigeria 1983) veto coup; (Algeria (1992), (Nasser, 1954)

• In African situations, majority of the 71 military coups from 1952 to 1990 were of the guardian type – claiming to protect the interests of the nation against corrupt or incompetent leaders.

• Ordinary forces are reluctant to initiate a coup process, because it breaks the informal rules of the political process
• In Early 1960’s some analysts hoped that Africa might escape or skip this experience altogether, but this was not the case

• Once the precedent is established, however, military officials find it easier to execute the next one, and the next one

• African coups are characterized by very junior officers (lieutenants, captains and even sergeants such as Jerry Rawlings being an example here
• In other parts, senior officers such as colonels or generals are normally leading coups.

• Since 1990, military leaders find less support from public for engineering coups.

• Military coups receive much less international support, despite the ready availability of weapons in recent years.
6. PERSONAL RULE

• System of government not managed by one person;
• Legal-rational institutions to carry out duties of state not built;
• Patrimonial leaders distribute offices to close relatives, friends and clients;
• All these officials have to now show some loyalty to leader in order to remain in office;
• Clients now tied to their benefactor, rather than salaried officials serving government institutions in which they are employed;
• Loyalty to leader brings rewards;
• Clients free to exploit their position of authority, creating their own fiefdoms;
• These African regimes were not purely patrimonial;
• Patrimony derives from tradition and legal-rational institutions;
• Legal-rational institutions may have been weak in post-colonial Africa, but did exist and function as any modern state requires;
• Independent African politics should be viewed as a function between patrimonialism and legal-rational institutions;
• Private interests pursued in political structure that has a legal-rational façade;
• Modern African state a domain for president-monarch rather than a purely patrimonial figure.
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONAL RULE

• Authoritarian, arbitrary, ostentatious and inefficient;
• Produced fragile governments;
• Created administration that is based on factions than institutions and officials working together;
• African leaders assumed office by being in a vanguard of their country’s nationalist movement, or by leading military coups;
• Many of these leaders regarded themselves as Father or Founding Father or Founding President of their nations;
• such perceptions as these encouraged these leaders to act as if they were above the law
7. STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- Centralization advantaged state at expense of civil society
- Pluralist institutions left by imperial powers now gone at decolonization
- Power taken away from civil society and ‘peripheral’ institutions of state and placed in hands of executive
- By this, presidential monarchs exercised their personal rule
- Modern state system maintained even after independence
• Many countries went into periods of chaos and anarchy, but Africans were able to live in stability and order;
• Where national identities were fragile and resources scarce, a highly centralized state was necessary;
• Freedom and self-determination won at independence was not appreciated as this would tear state apart
• Advocated that under centralized government, fragmented societies are grouped together to share benefits in a modern state;
• Benefiting from centralized state failed
• Civil society disadvantaged;
• All alternative political mobilization co-opted or brutally crushed;
• Clientelism did not work without exploitation of clients by patrons;
• Patronage given to civil society was flawed;
• Political elite preyed on vulnerability of their people;
• Patrons distributed wealth in network, but before this, they had to serve their own personal interests first;
• State bureaucracy prospered, civil society remained constrained;
• No relationship of equal exchange existed;
• Centralized state failed to produce consistently strong government
• Centralized states destroy many of their links with society
• Institutions responsible for providing advice and feedback on policy were dismantled soon after independence
• Core executive institutions, and their leaders relied on own counsel and expertise
• African personnel in this way lost touch of their own people
• Gulf / gap between state and civil society grew
• States with sufficient resource base, may not experience gulf between rulers and ruled;
• Resource could be provided via client-patron network to offset any misgiving Africans may have had against their governments
• Where resources are limited, lack of linkage between state and civil society proves fatal;
• Inefficient and corrupt regimes with no resources to ‘buy off’ civil society experience regular crises of legitimacy
• In this case, coercion is used to close this gap
• Violence comes in and hanging to power becomes unsuccessful
• Military coups were resultant on the African continent
• By the end of 1980s, there were no more issues of hanging to power, because resources were no more there to maintain legitimacy in neo-patrimonial African states
• Patron-client network shrank and some states collapsed
• in other states, presidential-monarchs tried to liberate their regimes
• Multi-party competition introduced to try to retain power
• Era of centralized state and personal rule in its extreme form, was at an end in African states
8. ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN A COUNTRY, STATE OR GOVERNMENT

• Protection of human rights
• Acts as watchdog on government affairs
• Where resources are limited, lack of linkage between state and civil society proves fatal
• Individuals involved in political process
• State institutions more responsive to needs of society
• These institutions aimed at bridging gap between state and civil society
• Ideas stressed here are morality, probity and accountability
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY CONT...

• Equity in resource allocation and distribution
• State institutions more responsive to needs of society
• Inefficient and corrupt regimes with no resources to ‘buy off’ civil society experience regular crises of legitimacy
• Multi-party competition introduced to try to retain power
• States with sufficient resource base, may not experience gulf between rulers and ruled;
• Institutions responsible for providing advice and feedback on policy created and strengthened
• Core executive institutions, and their leaders rely on counsel and expertise of civil society
• Regulates state bureaucracy;
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY CONT...

• Monitor creation of all alternative political parties, mobilizations or co-optations of civil society into government systems

• Freedom and self-determination maintained and appreciated as this would tear state apart if not well maintained

• Control and regulation of resource use

• Assist in the proper functioning of both internal and external relationships

• Maintenance of human rights
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY CONT...

- Advocates good governance
- Advocates that under centralized government, fragmented societies are grouped together to share benefits in a modern state;
- Power taken away from civil society and ‘peripheral’ institutions of state and placed in hands of executive only puts the state at risk, because there are no checks and balances
9. LEGITIMACY

• Weak legal-rational institutions did not prosper in post-colonial dispensation
• Liberal democracy abandoned
• Façade of modern institutions may remain, but different political environment
• Personal rule overtook legal-rationalism by using centralized activity
• Parliaments and presidents are alike to those of the West, but totally different from that of Africa
• Power removed from civil society and peripheral state institutions and placed to executive, often with one individual who is dominant

• Patronage based on distribution of state resources between governors and governed

• Loss of legal-rational legitimacy through centralization of state – alternative links between state and civil society had to be forged

• African leaders took inherited modern states, adapted liberal institutions to their own interests and patrimonialized the whole system
10. CENTRALIZATION OF THE AFRICAN STATE

• Representative, accountable and efficient government requires political power distribution across society

• Within state, should be a number of branches of government to keep up with checks and balance upon each other

• Separation of powers deters dangerous accumulation of authority within a single area of government

• Power to be dispersed between state and civil society
• State institutions not to monopolize political process
• Political parties to have equal powers to compete fairly over state
• Interest groups given powers to influence public policy
• Absence of pluralism in a state makes state to turn against itself – it concentrates more on serving its own interests than collective good
• Together with separation of powers, links between state and civil society, state should be accountable to people
• Achieving accountability by multi-party elections and involving universal franchise
• Power diffused among the three elements, viz. state, civil society and people as a whole - representation and accountability achieved in this way
• There is dangerous concentration of power in a centralized state
• Dispersal is limited
• Centralized state found where centrifugal forces results in political power shifting from civil society and peripheral institutions
• Power accumulates in specific core offices of state, more often within the executive branch
• Monopoly over all formal political power now wanted by these leaders
• Opportunities for organized opposition is denied or limited in order for centralized state to gain more grounds
• Rival source of power not endorsed or tolerated by political elite
• Opposition political parties outlawed
• Only official party of state permitted to campaign, creating one party states

• One party (the ruling party) tightly controlled by the ruling elite

• Elite restricts rival political activity coming from civil society

• Labour unions, professional groups and other voluntary associations influenced or co-opted by government of centralized state
• Co-option – civil society leaders given positions in structure of state
• Potential sources of opposition cut, because these social movements lose their leaders to state elite
• A Cameroun saying says: “the mouth that eats does not speak”
• Voluntary associations resisting pressure from state to maintain own independence from state are banned out of existence
• Leaders protect their monopoly of political power by executing those fighting for the rights of the people (Nigeria, execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others in 1995 was in this way)
• When centralization process is complete, no potential source of opposition remains, either inside or outside state structures
• Problem with one party state – reduced links between state and civil society and between governors and the governed
• Main function of a political party in a political system is to act as an intermediary
• Leaders use party institutions to remain in touch with people – while civil society use party structures in order to channel their demands though to political elite
• Leaders failing to answer to demands of society – accountability lost
• Thomson suggests that political leaders were not willing to downsize the public services because doing so would mean losing the patronage advantage that public sector jobs provided.

• The public also know the situation of few jobs available and how many people depend on each one.
10. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND (HIPC)

• Most African countries forced into structural adjustment programs, because they were unable to service their debts (making payments).

• Most African countries not able to service their debts and in most cases these programs made matters worse

• Fault of governments which resisted changes

• African governments reluctant in reducing or downsizing their public services, despite promises to do so
• Governments continued to inefficiently absorb too much revenue without being able to invest for the future
• Privatization in Africa (selling publicly owned assets to private sector) lagged behind the process in other development countries, who already effected change earlier
• Donors in the late 1990s recognized the non-viability of the African debt – countries would never be able to service existing debts and have any chance to develop or stem the tide of social decline

• The program Highly Indebted Poor Country was enforced to offer greater incentives through deeper debt reductions and targets to make deep and rapid changes – so-called “shock therapy”
• Reform works were needed and governments were forced to replace coercion expenditures with greater legitimacy and popular support (e.g. in former Eastern and Central European countries such Poland, and Hungary)

• Pressure from civil society combined with external pressure to force changes on unwilling African governments
• National Conferences in French-speaking countries toppled governments, and pressures elsewhere forced one-party states and military and political dictatorships to reopen multi-party electoral competition, beginning in 1990 and 1991.

• By end of the decade, all but a handful of countries had held multi-party elections with greater (Senegal) or lesser (Ivory Coast) openness.
• Several dramatic changes took place in all corners of the continent
• Structural adjustment and HIPC programs brought negative social and economic hardships
• Unemployment increased, as did prices, especially of imported goods
• Important public services continued to decline or were priced beyond most people’s ability to pay
• Important government subsidies on food and fuel were also removed
• These changes were not popular, and leaders were sometimes voted out of office or riots followed such changes
• Under HIPC programs, deeper debt relief was twinned with poverty reduction efforts to make sure that new resources were not squandered as before
• Results of the reforms were mixed, but political changes were more dramatic than the economic ones
• **PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC ASSETS**

• Privatization controversial issue in Africa and elsewhere

• In former Soviet Union, of the deals given to insiders at bargain prices

• Few people became billionaires overnight – state lost revenue in the process

• In other countries, foreign interests were the only ones benefiting

• Around the world, endless variety of experiences in commercializing and privatizing state-owned enterprises are common
• African countries reluctant to downsize the state as compared to other countries and may have paid a price in lost growth, investment and efficiency as a result

• State not to do everything, but state remains responsible to desirable things being done by private owners or operators, e.g. government of Lesotho required to sale public telephone service as a condition, that the number of subscribers be increased from 4 000 (after 40 years of independence) to 40 000 within 5 years
• Not all government operations need to be privatized – African governments in general took to many functions which then bloated the payrolls, unserviceable international debts, mismanaged service delivery, costing government treasury dearly (e.g. in Namibia, Air Namibia, NBC, Sports, and many more)

• Not all privatization works, reluctance of African states to give up control (patronage) costs the state, e.g. Zambia dragged its feet in privatizing copper and lost billions of dollars in the final deal as compared to earlier deals/offers
• Ongopolo Mine (in Namibia) failed because of lack of local capacity, especially when international partners are excluded
• Previous owners of TCL showed how problematic having international partners can be – they closed the mine on short notice and failed to comply with the rules for departing, leaving the community to suffer
• Another example in Namibia is RAMATEX, current NAC issues, etc
• Revenue from privatization can provide governments (with one-time) infusions of investments to enhance capacity and efficiency of the economy

• Key to such public service is to ensure that they are productive ones to enhance economic performance of the country and not wasting money on political or prestige projects that bear no return in the longer run
• PERSONNEL ISSUES AND SUSTAINABLE GROWTH

• Public sector employment – final reform to governance
• Size of public service grew very high after independence
• The reason for this growth – increase number of people serviced by state and a reward for patronage system to maintain loyalty and support for political leaders
• Overstaffing drained budgets and displaced investments toward future growth
• One great difference between successful developing countries and stagnant ones is the level of productive investment
• Overspending on “feel good” projects, military, or personnel will be paid for through lower future growth
• NEPAD, the Millennium Development Goals, and Vision 2030, all require decades of 7% economic growth to meet their targets
• To achieve this, Namibia should pay more attention to investment and more efficient spending
• Retrenchments are opposed by public opinion in Africa even from unsustainable levels, but privatization in other developing countries has shown effectiveness as a policy option to boost the economy when it is done well.

• Privatization creates opportunities for more private/market activity, more economic and government efficiency, and a clearer targeting of public sector capacity to essential services.
• Entire payroll funded by donors, e.g. Central African Republic
• Bloated structure led to inefficient standards of performance, ghost workers, and poor overall performance by public sector
• E.g. in Tanzania, 25 000 employees in the railroad although the new reform required that only 10 000 employees were needed to run it well
• Tanzania had over 250 parastatals and was one of the poorest countries in the world
• After following reforms in both political and administrative sectors, Tanzania benefited from deep debt reduction and sustained economic growth
• A critical element in personnel issues in Africa is failure to develop independent and professional middle level of managerial expertise in the independence decades
At independence, large numbers of marginally trained nationals were quickly promoted into top ranks – sergeants became generals, clerks became ministers throughout government.

Because of inexperience, and due to political balancing act of cabinet formation, the “BIG MEN” did not trust their subordinates or those who were below them.

An experienced professional public service was not allowed to develop.
• As a result of this, few countries in Africa have an effective, experienced cohort of professional middle management decision-makers who can act efficiently and independently as professionals.

• In many countries of Africa, all final decisions had to be confirmed by the “BIG MAN”.

• Further dilemma for public sector – repression and closed political and professional space combined with economic collapse to speed up the brain drain – Africa’s skilled workforce leaves the country of their origin each year in large numbers.
• This talent went for greener pastures in developed countries
• Programs by United Nations and others try to keep experts inside, but out-immigration is not reversing although some political exiles have returned
• The longer the people stay away from their home country the less likely they are to return (except in highly politicized situations, such as Namibia and Palestine)
• The main benefit comes from remittances (money sent from abroad) to families left behind
• Remittances in some cases become the fourth or even second highest exchange earner for a country (e.g. Ghana, Pakistan, Dominican Republic)
• New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) facilitate the reform process over the past 32 years
• Negotiations with G-8 and the International Financial Institutions (IFI’s) led to commitments for greater aid, greater trade access, deep debt relief and more cooperation with international partners

• Combined with accelerated political reform, policy, and performance reforms from African governments, economic growth improved

• Wave of increasing commodity demand (from China and India) and rising prices are expected
• Results of these engagement and reform may increase revenue for governments, just as commitments for reducing poverty and popular control of governments are being achieved.

• When governments work on internal improvements in legitimacy, performance, and efficiency, the future would be secured.
• GOVERNANCE REFORMS

• Civil society as soon as the Cold War ended removed support to dictators

• Debt crisis of African states made them vulnerable to international pressure, if they wanted to access more loans, which were needed to maintain or improve current conditions (fuel, spare parts, capital replacements, food, etc.)
• All these forces converging brought remarkable changes in political fortunes in many countries
• Unions in Zimbabwe and Zambia and churches in Kenya and Malawi led the way to reform
• Reforms already took place in Asia and Latin America
• Indigenous business leaders also sought openings and opportunities in reforming
• Elections, constitutions, and limits on presidential terms (Zambia, Malawi, Namibia and Kenya ‘replaced presidents for life’ and opposition parties became energized once again

• Opposition politicians now had opportunities to replace governments, but they also have to please the voters or face replacements themselves
• Government reforms emphasized several key elements such as corruption (e.g. Kenya, Nigeria and Namibia) and major figures in Kenya and South Africa.

• Developed countries have legislation against bribe giving and some of their companies were caught for their parts in improper behaviour (Lesotho, South Africa).

• African countries have been always at the bottom of the ranking on corruption of Transparency International’s annual reports and similar studies.
• Corruption discourages investors, undermines the integrity of government (spreading the scope to all transactions), and raises the cost of doing business while decreasing productivity

• Attempts to stop corruption, several reforms are helpful and these are: amount of time required to complete transactions (receive documents, licenses, contracts, permissions, etc)

• The longer the time the more opportunities and incentives for corruption
• E.g. Zambia, by 1990, accounted for 80% of the country’s economy
• Private economic actors had no incentive to invest, government was not a very efficient producer, the public bureaucracy was bloated and inefficient – therefore development deteriorated
• Over-control of economy by government leads to declining agricultural production and little of new jobs being created
• Improvements in transparency and administrative and regulatory efficiency eliminates the problem for delayed approvals of funds for any business or program – political will needed here

• Over-centralization was caused by distrust by leaders of any rivals, de-legitimization of traditional leaders who were co-opted by colonial powers and the personalization of power in the “BIG MAN”
• Leaders choked off political rivals and squeezed the space of for civil society to operate
• Leaders of independent states nearly monopolize economic activity outside the needed Transnational Companies that still operated in most countries
• This was done through direct ownership of the means of production as state owned enterprises (parastatals), or through tight control by the state marketing boards, governments (especially proclaimed socialist ones) left little space for private entrepreneurial initiatives or development of a business class
• Zambia got a bad advice from World Bank on assertions that Zambia had more copper on which they depended for exports

• Another problem for Zambia was excessive economic domination by the state

• Poor and without economic viability, Zambia fell increasingly under the burden of debt and structural adjustment
• Contrastingly, dynamic growth of a new Black middle class (called “Black Diamonds” in South Africa drove the economy to new heights, achieving the highest growth in decades

• Political protests combined with external forces / pressure to move from one-party state to multi-party competition by Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in Zambia ousted president Kaunda after 26 years in power

• Zambia then qualified for HIPC and put up a number of reforms that led to big debt write-offs and renewed improvement in the economy
• Recent reforms reduced over-centralization problems and most governments took initiatives to decentralize government services to local levels

• These reforms give more control to local voters and reduce personnel and resources burdens on government

• Reforms reduce conflict with state by giving more local control to local people
• GOVERNANCE PROBLEMS: NEPAD SOLUTIONS

• Reinvigorate continent from within and reestablish and strengthen its external relationships
• Adding new dynamism to political and economic reforms
• Negotiating more advantageous international economic reforms in trade, investment and finance (debt)
• In Africa, two changes were necessary: (a) improved governance (legitimacy and effectiveness) and (b) improved stability
• AU initiated an African Peer Review Mechanism to assist countries in reforming governance and improving effectiveness

• Demand for developed country agricultural subsidies and supports must be removed to create a fairer system of trade opportunities (and policy consistency) on the part of the developed world
• Trade, debt forgiveness and improved government effectiveness all put increased resources in control of governments without the ties usually associated with aid and loans

• Such resources under a country’s own control diminish dependency and allow governments to shape their own futures
• Democratic processes allow civil society to influence the specific programs and allocation priorities

• Investors, lenders, tourists and trading partners should not generalize conflict for all countries in Africa so as to deprive those countries not in conflict, e.g. if there is a war in Angola, deals are cancelled in Ghana
• Both AU and regional economic blocks set about creating collective measures to manage the impending conflicts in order to attain stability
• Both AU and regional bodies like SADC and ECOWAS developed standby forces to rapidly deploy for peacekeeping duties
• AU created a “Council of the Wise” as a diplomatic negotiating and oversight body (sometimes a designated individual) to try to broker a settlement in conflict situations or to negotiate difficulties
• DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

• emergence of multi-party democracy in Africa
• obstacles to democratic consolidation
• key to sustainable development is the consolidation of democratic governance
• one or two elections held not sufficient
• countries need to achieve political strength of a popular legitimacy by having transparent rules and operations, effective policies and robust civil society to engage government between elections

catch word for consolidation is that all of the relevant players come to see democracy as “the only game in town”. Meaning they do not seek or prefer any alternative ways of governing
• African Peer Review Mechanism of NEPAD and African Union (AU) are designed to promote best practices (or at least improved governance procedures) to achieve such consolidation among an increasing number of countries
• Peer reviews conducted in European countries concentrate more on technical features than in the case of APRM
• APRM looks at macro or system wide approach
• African Public Service Charter is designed to bring greater professionalism and other initiatives from regional bodies and African Union
• A solid effort is needed to bring African governance up to a higher international standard

• Namibia is one of the leading countries in this movement (though it has not yet signed up for the APRM)
EXTERNAL FORCES: THE COLD WAR AND ECONOMIC WEAKNESSES

Two major external factors which are cold war and economic weaknesses created antagonisms and alliances into African politics. Many dictators supported by the two sides, de-linking rulers from civil society. These sides are: USA and USSR.

End of cold war meant end of external support and most dictators disappeared. From 1990, global economy has been the second major external influence in form of debt crises, structural adjustments and economic strains.
EXTERNAL RELATIONS: SOVEREIGNTY DURING THE COLD WAR

• Whole agenda of independence is sovereignty (ultimate control of state, people and territory) and this was and still important in international relations of the African continent.
• Nationalist independence agenda has been key hindrances of Pan African regional movements.
• From the beginning, African leaders did not want to surrender control to supranational agencies.
• The issue was discussed and led to a compromise and deferment embedded in forming the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU).
• African leaders now accepted the sanctity of national / colonial borders and hoping that one day they would form United States of Africa
• Africa again began embroiling itself in continued post-colonial relations with other former metro poles and more significantly in the Cold War.
Among former colonial powers, French-speaking colonies (France and Belgium) were the most likely to send troops back to the continent to “restore order” or to protect their favoured incumbents.

Troops were sent on several occasions or would be deployed permanently.

Close personal relations existed between African leaders and French government officials, especially among first generation of independence leaders, who often maintained villas in the South of France.
• US and UK only sent substantial troops on one occasion each since 1960 (Somalia and Sierra Leone, respectively).
• Military leaders also received their training in the metropoles and maintained close contacts with officials there.
• After the end of Cold War, these neo-colonial ties began to weaken, and external relations became more varied and complex new alliances across language and political domains (e.g. Rwanda, where complex new alliances and antagonisms involved French, American and Ugandan interests).
• Cold War – came with atmosphere of external influence on the African continent.

• Two superpowers, USA and USSR) and their allies followed opportunistic and geo-strategic paths in Africa, combined with ideological and historic patterns of influence.

• GOVERNMENTS SOUGHT PROTECTION FROM POLITICAL RIVALS AND FROM THEIR OWN PEOPLE, BASED ON CLAIMED IDEOLOGICAL THREATS OR ALLIANCES.
• Military support, bases and alliances featured more commonly
• Ethiopia and Somalia switched sides in an opportunistic moves on all sides.
• The Soviets found a better strategic partner in Ethiopia and the USA needed a substitute to compromise with the lost ally, while Somalia needed a patron regardless of varying ideologies
• Late independence movements and colonial or settler resistance also became intertwined in Cold War influences
• Rivals sought protection and dictators survived by choosing sides.
• Other sought to play off both sides (e.g. Egypt), while many countries tried to remain on sidelines by joining the Non-Aligned Movements (NAM)
• Soviet Union sought to weaken colonial powers by taking advantage of conflicts in former colonies and by supporting liberation movements with ideological compatibility

• Support was in form of military supplies and other security and economic advice

• Angola accumulated over US$ 8 billion in debt to USSR between the years 1975 and 1992

• Angola was an ally to USSR that needed weapons to fight Jonas Savimbi
• Although African countries were considered friendly allies – they never qualified to be admitted to the COMECON (the economic community of communist states)
• Gorbachev’s reforms in late 1980s liberation movements were seen as expensive detriment to improved relationships with the West;
• By so doing, pressure mounted to end USSR support activities
• Negotiations for Namibia’s independence came just at end of closing down process, hence USSR, Cuba, Angola and SWAPO to negotiate
• Within months (November 1989) eastern European government fell;
• The USSR also fell in August 1991
• Several dictators relieved of the necessity of maintaining legitimacy with their own people, because they had access to foreign assistance for their domestic coercion as an alternative
• Rival sides sustained their favorites with military and economic assistance
• End of Cold War in early 1990s brought an end to this expensive support and to leaders being supported

• Other priorities, e.g. economic reform or human rights and democracy became more important than sticking with old allies

• Those leaders able to survive because of this support are: Savimbi (Angola), Mobutu (Congo DRC), Mengisutu (Ethiopia) and Siad Barre (Somalia)
China played a small role in the cold war, but skeptical in the sense real revolution was yet to come

Leaders were not that satisfied with them as they were also supplying little assistance in supplying minimal material to liberation movements (Savimbi also received)

Diplomatic support for liberation movements and consistent support for sovereignty dominated Chinese international agenda

Chinese were more inward looking until recently when they started with economic activities in Africa
• Cuba active also in supporting revolutionary movements in the sixties without great success and then later supported friendly governments with education and health assistance, while thousands of troops were committed to Angola and Ethiopia after 1975

• The role of Cuban troops in Angola was a sharp point that involved superpowers and South Africa, holding Namibia’s independence hostage through the 1980s
• Cuba sent more health and education staff to numerous African countries
• The Cold War is now an old blanket, the shift and attention is now on economic issues of debt and renewal
AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

• Kwame Nkrumah’s dictum, “Seek ye first the political kingdom, and else will be rendered unto you,” epitomises the false start of African economic development.

• Created in a period of relatively strong commodity prices, newly independent African countries were largely content to leave their economies in the trap of raw material production
• Weak states and insecure leaders concentrated on political survival, to the detriment of a more dynamic economic development strategy

• International forces, in terms of control by former colonial powers (neo-colonialism) and powerful international financial institutions, which also reinforced structural weaknesses of the new economies
• Most African states had small markets
• Could not take advantage of economies of scale in production or produce a diversity of goods and services, thus their producers needed protection from more efficient economic actors (multi-national corporations or developed country producers)
• This kept African goods expensive and inefficiently produced
• When competition opened up, as to what happened at end with textile production protection in 2005, whole industry collapsed in Kenya, South Africa, Zambia and Lesotho
• Import substitution strategies, to protect local producers from outside competition, seemed necessary but were not used to help economies become more efficient or competitive
• The textile agreement had lasted 30 years – surely making it enough time to prepare for competition
• Later, attempts to create larger markets through regional economic groups, e.g. SADC, ECOWAS, substituting collective self-reliance strategies for national ones, have yet to produce much in the way of increased trade results after a quarter of a century
• Small size of African economies were only dominated by just a few primary commodities, e.g. coffee or copper
• Each country sells one or two items only
• Their economies live or die on the basis of world prices for those items
• Governments rarely made adjustments for those price changes, always hoping that they would increase in the future
• Were supposed to make immediate adjustments to a fall in income, governments borrowed to fill the gap between revenue and expenditure
• Instead of governments becoming more efficient spenders and producers, they became debtors with bloated and inefficient industries and bureaucratic structures
• With small business classes (often out of favour with socialist inclined politicians), governments became the major producers through parastatals.
• With parastatals being operated, drain on public resources became horrific.
• Funds for key government functions (such as roads not repaired, teachers and soldiers were not paid), corruption set in as an alternative to public salaries.
• Colonial governments created few modern industries, except in a few settler countries such as South Africa, Kenya, and Zimbabwe

• Commodity prices highly variable in both short and longer-term waves. Within a decade, of independence most countries experienced a long-term decline in trade (export prices relative to import prices) and these with other problems challenged political stability

• Oil prices shot up for non-producers in the 1970s (from US$ 3.00 a barrel in 1973 to over US$ 40.00 per barrel in 1980.

• Governments again borrowed instead of reforming
• Massive oil price increases exceeded the ability of Third World oil producers to absorb the flow revenue, which later was invested in international banks.

• The banks needed to place these surplus funds in profitable investments and thus made funds readily available to developing country governments and parastatals.

• When parastatals defaulted – governments were the guarantors on whom the debts fell, just like what happened with Air Namibia’s purchase of a Boeing jet.
• At the same time, inflation in developed countries was passed on to consuming nations in the form of higher prices for manufactured goods, further reducing the terms of trade for African and other developing countries.
• Interest rates also rose dramatically at the end of the 1970s.
• Consequences of these led to the continent’s economic decline
• Asian economies were booming as newly industrial tigers
END OF PRESENTATION