GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

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WILLIAM TORDOFF

M
MACMILLAN

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For
Audrey and Jane,
Jill and Michael

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Preface

This book draws upon my experience of living in Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia for some sixteen years in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as on subsequent visits to these and other African countries. I have been constantly impressed by the courtesy and kindness of the African people, in all walks of life, and their willingness to discuss with me political, administrative and other issues. My debt to them, in all my publications, is very great.

In writing this particular book, I have received valuable help and advice from many friends and colleagues. I am especially indebted to Ralph A. Young, whose willingness to give up his own time for the benefit of others is proverbial at Manchester; his comments on successive drafts were invariably penetrating and constructive. I would also particularly like to thank Barry Munslow who, by his perceptive criticism of the typescript and through discussion, advanced my understanding of the new Afro-Marxist states. I am grateful also to Richard Jeffries, who read the first and final drafts of the typescript for Macmillan with great care and made many suggestions for its improvement, as well as to Macmillan's overseas reader. In addition, I would like to thank the following for their helpful comments on various parts of this work: Dennis Austin, Paul Cammack, Robin Luckham, Keith Panter-Brick, Sam Nolutshungu, and Roger Tangri. It is customary for an author to state, in the preface to his book, that he alone is responsible for the views expressed in the pages which follow. It is important for me to do so on this occasion since my own ideological perspective – that

of a democratic socialist – has no doubt led me to express certain points in a way that will not commend itself to all those who have advised me.

The writing and completion of this book have been greatly facilitated by the speed and accuracy with which Gillian Woolley has typed successive drafts; to her, as well as to Jean Ashton and Linda Cooper, my warm thanks. I gladly acknowledge, too, the help given me at all stages of preparation by Chiu-Yin Wong, former publisher of the International College Division, Macmillan, and her successor, Alison Hart, and Kay McCann, Macmillan's Editorial Services Consultant. It remains to add that without the constant encouragement and support of my wife, Audrey, this book would never have been written.

William Tordoff

Manchester
August 1983

Acknowledgements

By kind permission of the author and the editor, table 10.1 in this book has been reproduced from Colin Leys' article 'African Economic Development in Theory and Practice', *Dædalus*: 'Black Africa: A Generation after Independence', issued as vol. III, no. 2 of the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Spring 1982), p. 109, table 3. Inevitably, this book draws upon the works of many authors and, under the terms of the agreement between the Publishers' Association and the Society of Authors, I have quoted from several of them, including Colin Leys, Robin Luckham, James Mayall, Barry Munslow, Joel Samoff, Richard L. Sklar, Morris Szeftel, Crawford Young, and the late Thomas Hodgkin. I am grateful to Morris Szeftel, as well as to the Librarian and Director of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, for allowing me to quote extensively from his unpublished Ph.D. thesis, *Conflict, Spoils and Class Formation in Zambia* (University of Manchester, 1978).

Abbreviations

Note. Where the geographic locus of any organisation is not clear from its title, this has been indicated in brackets.

AAPC	All-African People's Conference
ACP (countries)	African–Caribbean–Pacific
AEF	Afrique Equatoriale Française
AG	Action Group [Nigeria]
ALC	African Liberation Committee
AMU	African Mineworkers' Union [Northern Rhodesia/Zambia]
ANC	African National Congress [Northern Rhodesia/Zambia]
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
APC	All People's Congress [Sierra Leone]
ARDP	Accelerated Rural Development Programme [Botswana]
ARPS	Aborigines' Rights Protection Society [Gold Coast]
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party [Zanzibar]
BNF	Botswana National Front
BP	British Petroleum
BPN	Bureau Politique Nationale [Guinea]
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi [Tanzania]
CEAO	Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest

CFAO	Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale
CIAS	Conference of Independent African States
COREMO	Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique
CPP	Convention People's Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
CUF	Companhia União Fabril [Portugal]
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East African Common Services Organisation
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa [United Nations]
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
FLING	Frente para a Libertação e Independência da Guiné Portuguesa
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale [Algeria]
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GNP	Gross National Product
GRAE	Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KFL	Kenya Federation of Labour
MAP	Muslim Association Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
MRM	Mozambique Resistance Movement
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons/National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NDR	National Democratic Revolution [Ethiopia]
NLC	National Liberation Council [Ghana]
NLM	National Liberation Movement [Gold Coast/Ghana]
NNA	Nigerian National Alliance
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern People's Congress [Nigeria]
NPN	National Party of Nigeria

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NPP	Northern People's Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OCAM	Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauritienne
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front [Ethiopia]
PAFMEC(S)A	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central (and Southern) Africa
PAICV	Partido Africano da Independência da Cabo Verde
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PDCI	Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire
PDG	Parti Démocratique de Guinée
PF	Polisario Front [Western Sahara]
PFP	Patriotic Front Party [Rhodesia/Zimbabwe]
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council [Ethiopia]
PP	Progress Party [Ghana]
PRA	Parti de Regroupement Africain [French Black Africa]
PRL	Pouvoir Révolutionnaire Locale [Guinea]
PRP	People's Redemption Party [Nigeria]
PSS	Parti Socialiste Sénégalais
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain [French Black Africa]
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SADR	Saharan/Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
SCOA	Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SMC	Supreme Military Council [Nigeria]
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council [Somalia]
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TFL	Tanganyika Federation of Labour
TPLF	Tigre People's Liberation Front [Ethiopia]
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UAC	United African Company [Britain]
UAM	Union Africaine et Malgache

UDEAC	Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale
UDV	Union Démocratique Voltaïque
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UGTAN	Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire [Guinea]
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDD	Union Nationale pour la Défense de la Démocratie [Upper Volta]
UNIP	United National Independence Party [Northern Rhodesia/Zambia]
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UPA	União das Populações de Angola
UPC	{ Union des Populations du Cameroun Uganda People's Congress
UPGA	United Progressive Grand Alliance [Nigeria]
UPN	United Party of Nigeria
UPP	United Progressive Party [Zambia]
UPS	Union Progressiste Sénégalaise
UPV	Union Progressiste Voltaïque
US	Union Soudanaise [French Soudan/Mali]
WSLF	Western Somalia Liberation Front
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU(PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPA	Zimbabwe People's Army
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Changes in Country Names

Note. Throughout the text, I have used the name by which the country was known at the date relevant to the discussion. Changes of name usually occurred at independence; post-independence changes are indicated in brackets.

Present

Benin (1975)

Botswana

Burundi¹

Cameroon

Cape Verde

Central African Republic

Congo

Djibouti

Equatorial Guinea

Gambia/Senegambia⁵

Ghana

Guinea-Bissau

Lesotho

Malagasy Republic/

Madagascar

Malawi

Mali⁶

Namibia⁷

Pre-independence

Dahomey

Bechuanaland

Ruanda–Urundi

{ French Cameroons
British Southern Cameroons²

Cape Verde Islands

Oubangui Chari

French Congo³

French Territory of the

Afars and Issas⁴

Spanish Guinea

Gambia

Gold Coast and British

Togoland

Portuguese Guinea

Basutoland

Madagascar

Nyasaland

French Soudan

South West Africa

Present

Rwanda¹
Saharan Arab Democratic
Republic⁸
Senegal/Senegambia⁵
Somalia/Somali
Democratic Republic
Tanzania (1965)⁹
Togo
Zaire (1971)
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Pre-independence

Ruanda–Urundi
Spanish Sahara/
Western Sahara
Senegal
{ British Somaliland
{ Italian Somaliland
{ Tanganyika
{ Zanzibar
French Togoland
Belgian Congo ¹⁰
Northern Rhodesia
Southern Rhodesia/
Rhodesia

Notes

1. Ruanda–Urundi was a Belgian-administered trust territory which became independent in 1960 as two separate states.
2. The Southern Cameroons, a British-administered UN trust territory, joined the Republic of Cameroon following a plebiscite in 1961: the people of the Northern Cameroons opted for integration with Nigeria.
3. Often referred to as Congo-Brazzaville.
4. Often referred to as French Somaliland.
5. The names ‘Gambia’ and ‘Senegal’ are retained, but in 1981 the two states formed the confederation of Senegambia.
6. The Mali Federation was formed by Senegal and Soudan in 1959, but survived for less than three months after being granted political independence by France in June 1960. France then recognised the separate independence of Senegal and Soudan, and the Union Soudanaise changed the name of Soudan to the Republic of Mali.
7. Not yet independent.
8. Also known as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Its international status is in dispute.
9. The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar came into being on 26 April 1964, as a consequence of the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar; the name ‘United Republic of Tanzania’ was officially adopted a year later.
10. Often referred to as Congo-Léopoldville and subsequently (from 1 July 1966) as Congo-Kinshasa.

Political Map of Africa