GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

Also by William Tordoff

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GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

THIRD EDITION

WILLIAM TORDOFF

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Preface and Acknowledgements

I decided initially to take the end of 1995 as the cut-off date for this third edition of *Government and Politics in Africa*. However, as fresh events unfolded in 1996 I extended this date selectively to cover important incidents, such as Mathieu Kérékou's return to power in Benin following his success in the presidential election in March and the National Party's withdrawal from South Africa's ruling coalition government in June.

This expanded edition includes new material on the decline and weakness of the state, leading to the emergence in some countries – for example, Liberia and Sierra Leone – to what William Reno has called the 'shadow state'. The state's relation to society is discussed further and the importance of ethnicity as a determinant of political behaviour – notably in the Rwandan context – is assessed. More attention is given to the position of women, who, in the post-independence period, have failed to secure rewards commensurate with their contribution to the independence struggle. The extent to which power is decentralised to provincial and district levels is examined, as is the establishment of black majority rule in South Africa and its significance for African states to the north. Economic reform measures and political liberalisation initiatives are subject to fresh analysis, though the main conclusions which I reached in the second edition remain unchanged. These are firstly that experiments in private enterprise are unlikely to be successful unless the institutional structure that the market economy requires is strengthened and that in the meantime the economic role of the state will remain important; and secondly, that while Africa's objective circumstances do not exclude political democracy, they are generally unfavourable to its early achievement and continuance.

As before, the help and advice which I have received from Ralph A. Young of the Department of Government, University of Manchester, have been invaluable and are greatly appreciated. I am

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I am indebted to the Director of the Publications Department, World Bank, Washington, DC, for allowing me to reproduce in an amended form at pp. xx–xxii the tables, ‘Table 1 and Table 1a. Basic Indicators’, which appear in *Workers in an Integrating World: World Development Report, 1995* (published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 162–3 and 228.

I wish to thank also Christopher Pycroft of the University of Liverpool for making available to me, and allowing me to make use of, his informative paper ‘Local Government in the New South Africa’ (LIPAM, University of Liverpool, mimeo, February 1996).

Chapel-en-le-Frith
High Peak

WILLIAM TORDOFF

Abbreviations and Acronyms

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	African-Caribbean-Pacific (countries)
AEF	Afrique Equatoriale Française
AFORD	Alliance for Democracy [Malawi]
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council [Ghana]
AG	Action Group [Nigeria]
ALC	African Liberation Committee
AMU	African Mineworkers' Union [Northern Rhodesia/ Zambia]
ANC	African National Congress [Northern Rhodesia/Zambia; South Africa]
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]
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BNF	Botswana National Front
BPN	Bureau Politique Nationale [Guinea]
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi [Tanzania]
CDR	Committee of the Defence of the Revolution [Burkina Faso]
CEAO	Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CEEAC	Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale
CFA	Central Franc Afrique
CFAO	Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale
CIAS	Conference of Independent African States
CNR	Conseil National de la Révolution [Burkina Faso]
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COREMO	Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPP	Convention People's Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
CPO	Central Planning Officer [Botswana]
CPR	Council of People's Representatives [Ethiopia]
CTRN	Transitional Committee of National Recovery [Guinea]
CUF	Companhia União Fabril [Portugal]

DDC	District Development Committee [Botswana <i>et al.</i>]
DDCC	District Development Coordinating Committee [Zambia]
DIAMANG	Angolan Diamond Company
DO(D)	District Officer (Development) [Botswana]
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [Namibia]
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East African Common Services Organisation
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa [United Nations]
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EPLF	Eritrea People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme [Ghana <i>et al.</i>]
EU	European Union
F. & C.O.	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDD	Forces for the Defence of Democracy (Burundi)
FIS	Front Islamique de Salut [Algeria]
FLING	Frente para a Libertação e Independência da Guiné Portuguesa
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale [Algeria]
FLS	Front-Line States
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armée [Algeria]
GNP	Gross National Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KFL	Kenya Federation of Labour
KPU	Kenya People's Union
LDC	Less-Developed Country
LGNF	Local Government Negotiating Forum [South Africa]
LOGOSP	Local Government Support Project [Zambia]
MAP	Muslim Association Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning [Botswana]
MINURSO	Mission for the Referendum in Western Somalia [United Nations]
MLGH	Ministry of Local Government and Housing [Zambia]
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands [Botswana]
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy [Zambia]
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MPD	Movement for Democracy Party [Cape Verde]
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

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MRN	
(RENAMO)	National Resistance Movement [Mozambique]
MRND	National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development [Rwanda]
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, subsequently called the National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NDC	National Democratic Congress [Ghana]
NDP	National Development Plan [Botswana <i>et al.</i>]
NEC	National Executive Committee [Tanzania <i>et al.</i>]
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NLC	National Liberation Council [Ghana]
NLM	National Liberation Movement [Gold Coast/Ghana]
NNA	Nigerian National Alliance
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NP	National Party [South Africa/ Zambia]
NPC	Northern People's Congress [Nigeria]
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
NPP	Northern People's Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
NUTA	National Union of Tanganyika Workers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OCAM	Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauritienne
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [Western industrialised states]
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front [Ethiopia]
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Pan-African Congress [South Africa]
PACU	Provincial Accounting Control Unit [Zambia]
PAFMECSA	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
PCT	Parti Congolais du Travail
PDC	People's Defence Committee [Ghana]
PDCC	Provincial Development Coordinating Committee [Zambia]
PDCI	Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire
PDG	Parti Démocratique de Guinée
PF	Polisario Front [Western Sahara]
PFDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice [Eritrea]
PFPP	Patriotic Front Party [Zimbabwe]
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council [Ethiopia]
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council [Ghana]
PNP	People's National Party [Ghana]
POGR	President's Own Guard Regiment [Ghana]
PP	Progress Party [Ghana]
PPP	People's Progressive Party [Gambia]

PPN	Parti Progressiste Nigérien
PRA	Parti de Regroupement Africain [French Black Africa]
PRL	Pouvoir Révolutionnaire Locale [Guinea]
PRP	People's Redemption Party [Nigeria]; People's Revolutionary Party [Benin]
PS	Parti Socialiste [Senegal]
PTA	Preferential Trade Area [Southern Africa]
PUP	Party of Unity and Progress [Guinea]
RCD	Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique [Tunisia]
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain [French Africa]
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme [South Africa]
RENAMO	<i>See</i> MRN
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RPT	Rassemblement du Peuple Togolaise
RUF	Revolutionary United Front [Sierra Leone]
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACU	South African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SADR	Saharan/Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCOA	Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
SDP	Social Democratic Party [Nigeria]
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SMC	Supreme Military Council [Nigeria]
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council [Somalia]
SRSP	Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party
SSLM	Southern Sudan Liberation Movement
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TCP	Togoland Congress Party [Gold Coast/Ghana]
TDC	Transitional District Council [South Africa]
TFFTU	Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions
TFL	Tanganyika Federation of Labour
TLC	Transitional Local Council [South Africa]
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front [Ethiopia]
TRC	Transitional Representative Council [South Africa]
TUC	Trades Union Congress [Ghana <i>et al.</i>]
UAC	United Africa Company [Britain]
UAM	Union Africaine et Malgache
UDEAC	Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale
UDF	United Democratic Front [Malawi]
UDPM	Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien
UDV	Union Démocratique Voltaïque

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UFIR	Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans [Zaire]
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UGTAN	Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire [Guinea]
UN	United Nations
UNAVEM III	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNIP	United National Independence Party [Northern Rhodesia/Zambia]
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission to Liberia
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UPADS	Union Pan-Africain pour la Démocratie Sociale [Congo]
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPGA	United Progressive Grand Alliance [Nigeria]
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria
UPP	United Progressive Party [Zambia]
UPS	Union Progressiste Sénégalaise
US	Union Soudanaise [French Soudan/Mali]
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	United Somali Congress
UWUSA	United Workers' Union of South Africa
WDC	Workers' Defence Committee [Ghana]
WPE	Workers' Party of Ethiopia
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
ZIMCO	Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

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

Eritrea

Gambia/Senegambia⁶

Ghana

Guinea-Bissau

Cote d'Ivoire⁷

Lesotho

Malagasy Republic/

Madagascar

Malawi

Mali⁸

Namibia

Rwanda¹

Saharan Arab Democratic
Republic⁹

Senegal/Senegambia⁶

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

Eritrea, within Ethiopia⁵

Gambia

Gold Coast and British
Togoland

Portuguese Guinea

Ivory Coast

Basutoland

Madagascar

Nyasaland

French Soudan

South West Africa

Ruanda-Urundi

Spanish Sahara/Western
Sahara

Senegal

<i>Present</i>	<i>Pre-independence</i>
Somalia/Somali Democratic Republic	{ British Somaliland
Somaliland ¹⁰	{ Italian Somaliland
South Africa	northern region of Somalia
(black majority rule) ¹¹	South Africa
Tanzania (1965) ¹²	(white minority rule)
	{ Tanganyika
	{ Zanzibar
Togo	French Togoland
Zaire (1971)	Belgian Congo ¹³
Zambia	Northern Rhodesia
Zimbabwe	Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia

Notes

1. Ruanda-Urundi was a Belgian-administered UN trust territory which became independent in 1960 as two separate states, Rwanda and Burundi.
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. Eritrea was subject in turn to Italian colonial rule, British military administration, and Ethiopian control. The imperial regime's destruction of Eritrean autonomy after 1952 provoked armed guerilla opposition that ended with the achievement of independence in 1993.
6. The names 'Gambia' and 'Senegal' are retained. In 1981 the two states formed the confederation of Senegambia; this was dissolved in 1989.
7. In 1986 the Ivorian government instructed international organisations to use the French language designation in all official documents. I have used this designation to cover the period from 1986.
8. 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.

9. Also known as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Its international status is still in dispute.
10. The northern region of Somalia declared itself independent as the Republic of Somaliland in 1991; the United Nations has not yet granted recognition.
11. No change in name, but a change in substance of immense importance occurred when non-racial multi-party elections in April 1994 resulted in the establishment of black majority rule.
12. 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.
13. Often referred to as Congo-Léopoldville and subsequently (from 1 July 1966) as Congo-Kinshasa.

Table: Basic Indicators

	Population (millions) mid-1993	Area (thousands of sq. km)	GNP per capita		Life expectancy at birth (years)		Adult illiteracy (%)		
			US dollars 1993	Average annual growth (%) 1980-93	Average annual rate of inflation (%)		Female 1990	Total 1990	
					1970-80	1980-93			
									1993
Low-income economies									
1 Mozambique	15.1	802	90	-1.5	-	42.3	46	79	67
2 Tanzania (mainland)	28.0	945	90	0.1	14.1	24.3	52	-	-
3 Ethiopia	51.9	1097	100	-	-	-	48	-	-
4 Sierra Leone	4.5	72	150	-1.5	12.5	61.6	39	89	79
5 Burundi	6.0	28	180	0.9	11.8	4.6	50	60	50
6 Uganda	18.0	236	180	-	-	-	45	65	52
7 Malawi	10.5	118	200	-1.2	8.8	15.5	45	-	-
8 Chad	6.0	1284	210	3.2	7.7	0.7	48	82	70
9 Rwanda	7.6	26	210	-1.2	14.3	3.4	-	63	50
10 Madagascar	13.9	587	220	-2.6	9.9	16.1	57	27	20
11 Guinea-Bissau	1.0	36	240	2.8	5.7	58.7	44	76	64
12 Kenya	25.3	580	270	0.3	10.1	9.9	58	42	31
13 Mali	10.1	1240	270	-1.0	9.9	4.4	46	76	68
14 Niger	8.6	1267	270	-4.1	10.9	1.3	47	83	72
15 Burkina Faso	9.8	274	300	0.8	8.6	3.3	47	91	82
16 Nigeria	105.3	924	300	-0.1	15.2	20.6	51	61	49
17 Togo	3.9	57	340	-2.1	8.9	3.7	55	69	57
18 Gambia, The	1.0	11	350	-0.2	10.6	16.2	45	84	73
19 São Tomé and Príncipe	122	100	350	-3.6	4.0	24	-	-	-
20 Zambia	8.9	753	380	-3.1	7.6	58.9	48	35	27
21 Central African Republic	3.2	623	400	-1.6	12.1	4.2	50	75	62
22 Equatorial Guinea	0.38	28.00	420	1.2	-	-0.6	48	63	50
23 Benin	5.1	113	430	-0.4	10.3	1.4	48	84	77

Notes:

- (1) The main criterion used to classify African state economies (in ascending order) is GNP; however, it should be remembered that classification by income does not necessarily reflect development status.
- (2) The summary measures for GNP per capita, life expectancy, and adult (i.e. 15 years plus) illiteracy are weighted by population. Those for average annual rates of inflation are weighted by the 1987 share of country GDP valued in current US dollars.
- (3) Countries in italics have data for years other than those specified.
a = estimated to be low-income (US\$695 or less)
b = estimated to be lower-middle income (\$696 to \$2785)
c = estimated to be upper-middle income (\$2786 to \$8625); the 1993 GNP per capita for Botswana has recently been revised from \$2590 to \$2790. For convenience, I have grouped those countries (some wracked with civil war) where no GNP figures were available at the end of the relevant division. However, if such information was to hand, a number of them would be placed higher in the relevant band; thus Eritrea, one of Africa's poorest countries, would be listed near the top of band a.

Source: Adapted from *Workers in an Integrating World: World Development Report, 1995* (published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, 1995), Table 1, pp. 162–3, and Table 1a, p. 228.