

# THE POSTCOLONIAL STATE IN AFRICA

FIFTY YEARS OF  
INDEPENDENCE,  
1960–2010

CRAWFORD YOUNG

# The Postcolonial State in Africa

---

*Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010*

CRAWFORD YOUNG



---

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS

The University of Wisconsin Press  
1930 Monroe Street, 3rd Floor  
Madison, Wisconsin 53711-2059  
uwpress.wisc.edu

3 Henrietta Street  
London WC2E 8LU, England  
eurospanbookstore.com

Copyright © 2012

The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System  
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any format or by any  
means, digital, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or  
otherwise, or conveyed via the Internet or a website without written  
permission of the University of Wisconsin Press, except in the case of  
brief quotations embedded in critical articles and reviews.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Young, Crawford, 1931–

The postcolonial state in Africa : fifty years of independence, 1960–  
2010 / Crawford Young.

p. cm. — (Africa and the diaspora: history, politics, culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-299-29144-0 (pbk. : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-299-29143-3 (e-book)

1. Africa—Politics and government—1960– 2. Africa—History—1960–

3. Postcolonialism—Africa. I. Title. II. Series: Africa and the diaspora.

DT30.5.Y686 2012

960.3'2—dc23

2012015295

# The Postcolonial State in Africa



Africa, 2012

To  
REBECCA YOUNG  
*In Memoriam*

## Preface

In a real sense, this volume is a product of the half century of engagement with Africa, beginning with graduate study in 1955, that roughly overlaps the fifty years of African independence. Teaching and research concerning African politics was my primary mission during my academic career at the University of Wisconsin–Madison from 1963 until 2001 and has continued to be my main interest in my emeritus years. The present book became my primary (though not the only) research focus after publication of the work intended as a predecessor, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, in 1994. One may only hope that the volume is worthy of its protracted period of gestation.

Over such an extended time period, the number of debts I have accumulated far exceeds the space available to acknowledge them all. Looming over all others is the diverse support I have received from the university I have been privileged to serve: a pair of research professorships, one bearing the name of my doctoral mentor, Rupert Emerson, and the other that of the retired chancellor and president of the university, H. Edwin Young, as well as sundry grants from the Graduate School Research Committee. Beyond material support, the superb intellectual environment provided by the university, especially my colleagues in the Department of Political Science and in the African Studies Program, and the resources of the university libraries have been of immense benefit. The extraordinary erudition and scholarly contribution of my colleague Jan Vansina have been a particular inspiration.

Over the years, I have enjoyed research awards from the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation, Fulbright Program, Social Science Research Program, and most recently the Mellon Foundation.

Visiting years at the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), and the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington) were memorable opportunities. Of particular value were visiting professor years at Makerere University in Uganda (1965–66) and Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar in Senegal (1987–88), and a term as dean of the Social Science Faculty at the former Lubumbashi campus of the Université Nationale du Zaïre (now University of Lubumbashi) in Congo (1973–75). The latter service fell within the frame of an African university development program of the Rockefeller Foundation, whose field representative (and dean of African politics scholarship), the late James Coleman, was a priceless support.

A number of graduate students have provided invaluable help as research assistants; in the years during which this volume was my primary goal, they include Gwen Bevis, Brandon Kenthammer, Cédric Jourde, Bruce Magnusson, Geraldine O'Mahoney, Laura Singleton, and Ric Tange. Beyond direct research assistance, these pages reflect the intellectual contributions of the sixty outstanding graduate students whose doctoral programs I have been privileged to help supervise; perhaps less directly, but no less importantly, the stimulation provided by the intellectual curiosity of the hundreds of graduate students and thousands of undergraduates enrolled in my courses over the years plays a part as well. Several of my former students served as coauthors on various books and articles over the years, notably Thomas Turner, Neal Sherman, Tim Rose, and Mustafa Mirzeler.

My teaching and research years in Uganda, Congo-Kinshasa, and Senegal were likewise enriched by colleagues and students. In Uganda, these include Okello Oculi, E. A. Brett, Edward Kannyo, and Nelson Kasfir. In the Lubumbashi years, my debt is great to Munzadi Babole and Ileka Nkiere, my colleagues in the dean's office, as well as fellow faculty members Mwabila Malela, Pascal Payanzo, Georges Nzongola Ntalaja, Johannes Fabian, Jean-Claude Willame, Jean-Luc Vellut, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, and Benoît Verhaegen. In Senegal, special thanks are due to my colleagues Babacar Kante, El Hadj Mbodj, Tafsir Ndiaye, Mamadou Diouf, and Richard Siegwalt.

Over the past five decades, I have benefited from regular contact with several fellow African politics scholars entered the field about the same time as I did: Goran Hyden, René Lemarchand, Richard Sklar, William Foltz, and Herbert Weiss. I am especially grateful to my colleagues who provided invaluable critiques of the manuscript draft: Michael Schatzberg, Thomas Spear, Aili Mari Tripp, Scott Straus, Louise Young, and Ralph Young. So also did the press readers, notably Catherine Boone and Pierre Englebert.



Our four daughters, Eva, Louise, Estelle, and Emily, all assisted with the manuscript at one stage or another. Greatest of all is my debt to my beloved late wife Becky, who passed away while the manuscript was in process. Her remarkable political career as long-serving state legislator, former member of the Madison School Board and Dane County Board of Supervisors, and occupant of other high state offices was an inspiration to her family. She was always the first to see manuscript drafts, including the first two chapters of the present work. I dedicate the volume to her indelible memory.

## *Glossary and Acronyms*

ABAKO	Alliance des Bakongo (Congo-Kinshasa)
AEF	Afrique équatoriale française
ADB	African Development Bank
AFDL	Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaire
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
Anyanya	guerrilla forces; southern Sudanese insurgents
AOF	Afrique occidentale française
AQIM	Al Qaeda in the Islamique Mahgreb
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Sierra Leone)
AU	African Union
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
<i>bula matari</i>	crusher of rocks, Congolese term for Belgian colonial state
CFA franc	communauté financière d'Afrique (currency)
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party (Sudan)
ECOMOG	West African Military Advisory Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Eritrea)
Estado Novo	Portuguese "New State" under the 1933–75 dictatorship

FDLR	Front démocratique pour la libération du Rwanda
FIS	Front islamique de salut (Algeria)
FLN	Front de libération nationale (Algeria)
FNLA	Frente nacional para a libertação de Angola
<i>forces vives</i>	vital forces of society
Françafrique	former French territories in sub-Saharan Africa
FRELIMO	Frente da libertação de Moçambique
GDP	gross domestic product
Gécamines	Générale des carrières et des mines (Congo-Kinshasa mining corporation)
GNP	gross national product
<i>Herrenvolk</i>	master race
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IGAD	Inter-African Governmental Agency for Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Interahamwe	Rwandan Hutu youth militia
<i>jamahariyya</i>	state of the masses, Muammar Qadhafy's term for his Libyan autocracy
Kamajors	traditional militia in Mende region, Sierra Leone
KANU	Kenya African National Union
<i>loi-cadre</i>	1956 French framework law providing territorial reorganization for decolonization
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)
LURD	Liberians United for Peace and Democracy
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (Nigeria)
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change (Zimbabwe)
MFDC	Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance (Senegal)
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (Zambia)

MPLA	Movimento para a libertação de Angola
MPR	Mouvement populaire de la révolution (Congo-Kinshasa)
<i>mukhabarat</i>	national security state, referring to Arab states
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (Kenya)
NCP	National Congress Party (Sudan)
NEPAD	New African Partnership for Development
NIF	National Islamic Front (Sudan)
NP	National Party (South Africa)
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NRA	National Resistance Army (Uganda)
NRC	National Republican Convention (Nigeria)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement (Kenya)
PAIGC	Partido africano da independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde
POLISARIO	Frente popular para la liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Rio de Oro
RCD	Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie
RENAMO	Rêsistencia nacional moçambicana
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	structural adjustment programs
SDP	Social Democratic Party (Nigeria)
shari'a	Islamic law
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSDF	Southern Sudan Defense Force
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front (Ethiopia)

TFG	Transitional Federal Government (Somalia)
UDF	United Democratic Front (South Africa)
UDSG	Union démocratique et sociale gabonaise
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement of Liberia
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNITA	União para a independência total de Angola
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UPC	Union des populations du cameroun
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Force
UPS	Union progressiste sénégalaise
USC	United Somali Congress
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

# Contents

*List of Tables* / ix

*Preface* / xi

*Glossary and Acronyms* / xv

## PART ONE Setting the Frame

- 1 A Half Century of African Independence: Three Cycles of Hope and Disappointment / 3
- 2 In Search of the African State / 32

## PART TWO Itineraries: Three Cycles of Hope and Disappointment

- 3 Decolonization, the Independence Settlement, and Colonial Legacy / 87
- 4 The Road to Autocracy: Breakdown of the Decolonization Settlements / 122
- 5 Anatomy of State Crisis / 158
- 6 Democratization and Its Limits / 194

## PART THREE Themes and Conclusions

- 7 Morphology of Violent Civil Conflict / 227
- 8 Africanism, Nationalism, and Ethnicity: The Ambiguous Triple Helix of Identity / 291
- 9 The African Postcolonial State: Concluding Reflections / 334

*Notes* / 375

*Index* / 435

# Tables

TABLE 1.1	Six Phases of Postcolonial Evolution / 10
TABLE 2.1	State as Concept / 35
TABLE 4.1	Successful Coups in Africa, 1952–70 / 146
TABLE 4.2	African and Other Developing Areas Average Annual Growth Rates, 1960–70 / 157
TABLE 5.1	African and Other Developing Areas Average Annual Growth Rates, GNP per Capita, 1965–89 / 187
TABLE 6.1	Classification by Regime Type, 2009 / 208
TABLE 6.2	African Perspectives on Democracy, Twenty Countries, 2008 / 223
TABLE 7.1	African Civil Wars, 1990–2010 / 249
TABLE 9.1	Sub-Saharan African Economic Growth in Comparison, circa 1960–2010 / 345
TABLE 9.2	African Defense Expenditures, 2007 / 350
TABLE 9.3	Top and Bottom Ten Countries, 2010 Mo Ibrahim Index / 358
TABLE 9.4	Comparative African State Performance, 2009 / 360

## PART ONE

---

### Setting the Frame



