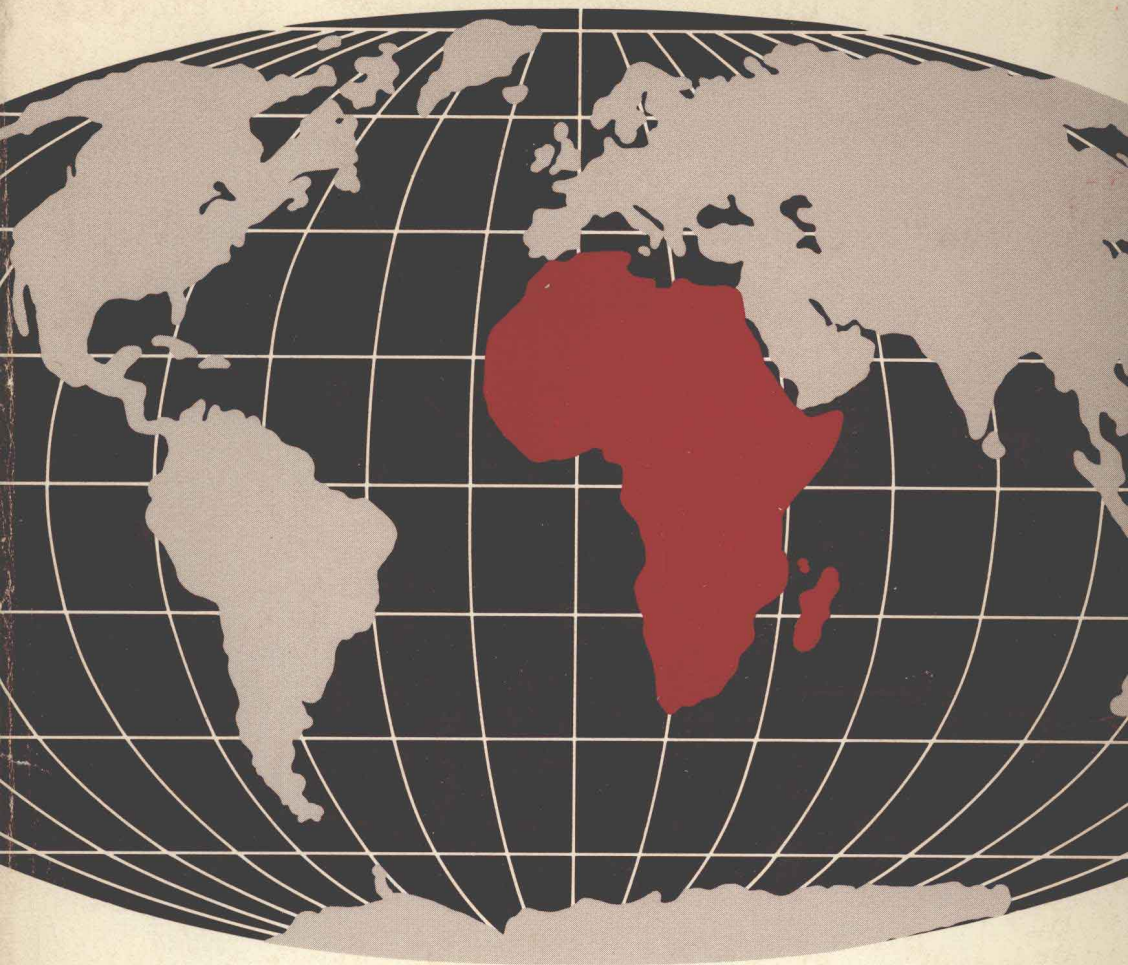


CLIO DICTIONARIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Jack C. Plano, Editor



Claude S. Phillips

THE AFRICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY

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Claude S. Phillips
Western Michigan University



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SERIES STATEMENT

Language precision is the primary tool of every scientific discipline. That aphorism serves as the guideline for this series of political dictionaries. Although each book in the series relates to a specific topical or regional area in the discipline of political science, entries in the dictionaries also emphasize history, geography, economics, sociology, philosophy, and religion.

This dictionary series incorporates special features designed to help the reader overcome any language barriers that may impede a full understanding of the subject matter. For example, the concepts included in each volume were selected to complement the subject matter found in existing texts and other books. All but one volume utilize a subject-matter chapter arrangement that is most useful for classroom and study purposes.

Entries in all volumes include an up-to-date definition plus a paragraph of *significance* in which the authors discuss and analyze each term's historical and current relevance. Most entries are also cross-referenced, providing the reader an opportunity to seek additional information related to the subject of inquiry. A comprehensive index, found in both hardcover and paperback editions, allows the reader to locate major entries and other concepts, events, and institutions discussed within these entries.

The political and social sciences suffer more than most disciplines from semantic confusion. This is attributable, *inter alia*, to the popularization of the language, and to the focus on many diverse foreign political and social systems. This dictionary series is dedicated to overcoming some of this confusion through careful writing of thorough, accurate definitions for the central concepts, institutions, and events that comprise the basic knowledge of each of the subject fields. New titles in the series will be issued periodically, including some in related social science disciplines.

— Jack C. Plano
Series Editor

A NOTE ON HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

The African Political Dictionary is organized so that entries and supplementary data can be located in either of two ways. First, items are arranged alphabetically within subject-matter chapters. Terms relating to political activities like elections or indigenization, for example, can be found in the chapter titled Governmental Institutions and Processes. When doubtful about which chapter to look up, consult the general index. Page numbers for entries appear in the index in heavy black type; subsidiary concepts discussed within entries can be found in the index identified by page numbers in regular type. For study purposes, numerous entries have also been subsumed under major topical headings in the index, giving the student access to broad classes of related information.

The student can also more fully explore a topic by using the extensive cross-references provided in most entries. These may lead to materials included in the same chapter or may refer the student to other chapters. Page numbers have been included in all cross-references. A few concepts can be found as entries in more than one chapter; in each case the definition and significance of the item is related to the subject matter of each chapter in which the entry appears.

The author has designed the unique format of this book to offer the student a variety of useful applications in the quest for information. These include its use as (1) a *dictionary and reference guide* to the language of African political systems; (2) a *study guide* for the books, articles, and lectures used in introductory courses on African politics; (3) a *source of review material* for the political science major enrolled in advanced courses; and (4) a *social science aid* for use in courses in cognate fields that deal with the cultures, economics, geography, history, and social institutions of Africa.

FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific States
ADB	African Development Bank
ALC	African Liberation Committee (Organization of African Unity)
ANC	African National Congress
BADEA	Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa
CEAO	West African Economic Community
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization (United Nations)
FLN	National Liberation Front (Algeria)
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
FNLC	National Front for the Liberation of the Congo
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Corporation
LDC	Less Developed Country
LLDC	Least Developed Country
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NIEO	New International Economic Order
OAPEC	Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCAM	African and Mauritanian Common Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADR	Saharan Arab Democratic Republic
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization

UDEAC	Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
WHO	World Health Organization

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The African Political Dictionary

1. Land and People

Central Africa That area embracing the former French Equatorial Africa (Chad, Central African Republic, Gabon, and Congo), Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo). *See also* EAST AFRICA, p. 3 INDIAN OCEAN AREA, p. 7; NORTH AFRICA, p. 8; SOUTHERN AFRICA, p. 15; WEST AFRICA, p. 17.

Significance Central Africa extends from the heart of the Sahara Desert to the enormous Zaire (formerly Congo) River Basin. The southern part of this large area embraces the great rain forests (p. 13). The vast country of Zaire has rich mineral deposits as well as petroleum sources that exist along much of the Atlantic coast. French is the major *lingua franca* of Central Africa since France dominated the four states of the former French Equatorial Africa and Belgium dominated Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo). Spanish is the *lingua franca* of Equatorial Guinea (because of Spain's colonial domination). In São Tomé and Príncipe, Portuguese (because of Portugal's rule) is the *lingua franca*.

East Africa An area of Africa containing Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar). Some scholars exclude Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia from East Africa, preferring to place them in a separate category called the "Horn." *See also* CENTRAL AFRICA, p. 3; HORN, p. 8; INDIAN OCEAN AREA, p. 7; NORTH AFRICA, p. 8; SOUTHERN AFRICA, p. 15; WEST AFRICA, p. 17.

Significance Ethiopia is a direct descendant of Aksum (Axum), an early state formed in the fourth century B.C. In the fourth century A.D.

the Coptic form of Christianity was introduced, which is still extant. Islam, which is present in Ethiopia, dominates in Djibouti and Somalia, and is important in the rest of East Africa (p. 196). Islam and Arab influences, especially along the coast, have integrated much of East Africa into a far-flung commercial network for at least 1,000 years. European involvement in the area began only in the nineteenth century during the scramble for Africa (p. 48). In the early part of the twentieth century, European settlers were attracted to the highlands of Kenya, complicating colonial relations (p. 51).

Geographical Factors: Climate Average weather conditions as revealed in temperature, wind velocity, and precipitation. Most of Africa is situated in the tropic zone between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. Africa has almost half of the tropical lands in the world, and consequently sustained heat covers much of the continent. Seasons vary mainly from hot and wet to hot and dry in most of West and Central Africa. Great temperature variations, however, occur in desert and semidesert areas between day and night. The Mediterranean coast and highland areas are predominantly temperate, and southern Africa is often quite cool. *See also* LOCATION, p. 4; SIZE, p. 5; TOPOGRAPHY, p. 5.

Significance Because of the hot climate, Africans have little need for heated shelters or heavy clothing. In fact, in many parts of the continent, cooking, eating, and socializing are done outside in traditional settings. Furthermore, two and sometimes three harvests per year are possible in some places, and certain crops, such as bananas, papaya, coconuts, and citrus fruits, grow with little human effort. On the negative side, heat, especially when combined with high humidity, is uncomfortable for all people. Furthermore, tropical soils are low in organic and mineral content and tend to be easily eroded. Such soils therefore require great care and hard work by farmers. Finally, the uneven spread of rains divides the agricultural year into periods of intense activity and periods of inactivity, and occasionally hunger and deprivation.

Geographical Factors: Location Africa sits astride the equator between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It extends as far north of the equator as it does south, although two-thirds of its land mass is situated in the north. While the Mediterranean Sea constitutes the northern boundary of the continent as a whole, the Sahara Desert can be said to

constitute the northern boundary of sub-Saharan or Black Africa. *See also* CLIMATE, p. 4; SIZE, p. 5; TOPOGRAPHY, p. 5.

Significance Africa's location has resulted in different contact patterns with the rest of the world. North Africa has been integrated into the Mediterranean world since the beginning of the First Millennium B.C., and closely linked to the Middle East after the spread of Islam beginning in the seventh century. East Africa has been connected with the Indian Ocean-Arab-Asian world for at least 2,000 years and especially since the rise of Islam. European and New World areas have been in contact with western, Central, and Southern Africa since the fifteenth century. Even so, to Europeans during the Age of Exploration, sub-Saharan Africa was considered a barrier along the sealandes to south and east Asia.

Geographical Factors: Size Physical extent. Africa is a continent of 11,682,000 square miles (30,432,500 square kilometers). It is almost 5,000 miles (8,045 kilometers) from Tunis, Tunisia, to the Cape of Good Hope, Republic of South Africa. It is about 4,400 miles (7,079 kilometers) from Dakar, Senegal, to the eastern tip of Somalia.

Significance Africa is the second largest continent (after Asia). It is larger than all of North America and India plus Great Britain, France, West Germany, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium. It makes up fully 20 percent or one-fifth of the landmass of the earth.

Geographical Factors: Topography The configuration of the earth's surface. Africa's surface is massive, more or less flat rock with few folds or deep undulations. However, highlands over 3,000 feet (914 meters) in height and 600 to 800 miles (965–1,287 kilometers) wide, stretch from Ethiopia to the Republic of South Africa. From these highlands rise the spectacular Mount Kilimanjaro (19,340 feet; 5,895 meters); and its nearby neighbor Mount Kenya (17,040 feet; 5,194 meters), as well as the Great Rift Valley (p. 7) and the Great Lakes, a string of lakes running from Ethiopia to Malawi. Most of the continent is under 3,000 feet (914 meters) and can be characterized as a vast plateau with small mountains here and there. The volcanic peak of Mt. Cameroon (13,353 feet; 4,070 meters), much of the eastern area from Ethiopia to the Drakensberg Mountains in South Africa, and the Atlas Mountains in Morocco and Algeria are exceptions to this pattern.

Great inland basins catch water and help to form some of the world's great rivers. The Nile flows north from Lake Victoria and other sources to empty into the Mediterranean. The Niger rises in Guinea and flows over 2,500 miles (4,023 kilometers), first northeastward into Mali, then southeastward into Nigeria, and finally south to the Atlantic. The Zaire (Congo) begins in southeast Zaire and flows over 3,000 miles (4,827 kilometers), first north, then west, and ultimately southwest to empty into the Atlantic. The Zambezi begins in Botswana, flows between Zambia and Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) and through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean.

Africa also has the largest desert in the world, the Sahara, which extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. Its western portion appeared in the last 10,000 years and thus is of relatively recent origin. Rock paintings attest to the facts that the Sahara was once much more densely populated than now and contained forests, rivers, and tropical game. Other large, and very dry deserts are the Kalahari in Namibia (formerly South West Africa) and Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) and the Namib, running along the coast of Namibia.

A rain forest runs along the west coast of Africa from Guinea to Nigeria with an important gap in Benin (formerly Dahomey). It spreads inland from Cameroon to Angola and eventually extends to the eastern portion of Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo). Between the rain forest and the Sahara Desert is the Sudan or savannah, grasslands that extend across the width of the continent from Senegal to Ethiopia and at its eastern end curve southward around the rain forest into southern Africa (p. 16). The coasts are remarkably smooth with no great indentations and few natural ports. Rapids are found on many rivers just before they reach the coast and prevent easy access from the sea. *See also* CLIMATE, p. 4; LOCATION, p. 4; SIZE, p. 5.

Significance The great deserts are sparsely populated. Most Africans live in the grasslands, the highlands, and the rain forests. The great rivers provide a means of transportation and communication, as well as a source of food. The rivers are sluggish and tend to ebb and flow with rainy and dry seasons. The smooth coastline made the continent as difficult to depart from as to enter, and partly explains why there was little ocean exploration from Africa. The Sahara has served as a bridge to much trade and cultural interchange, but today appears to be something of a barrier in political relations. Technologically the desert is becoming more and more of a bridge between North Africa and the sub-Saharan region. But as one scholar has noted, "What technology has opened, politics has often closed" (Zartman, 1963, p. 21). National boundaries divide the Sahara into many parts, each manifesting a national interest that looks away from the desert rather

than toward it. Many border disputes involve ill-defined boundary lines in the desert. And North African perceptions of the world differ from those of sub-Saharan Africans (p. 16).

Great Rift Valley A fault in the earth's surface that runs the length of the Red Sea, through Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, southward from Rwanda to Mozambique, thence into the Indian Ocean. Part of the rift is a deep escarpment centered mainly in Kenya and Ethiopia, while other portions of the rift appear in the Great Lakes, all on the eastern side of the continent.

Significance The Rift Valley in Kenya and Ethiopia has been especially generous in preserving the remains of the earliest known proto-humans. Through the indefatigable efforts of the late Dr. Louis B. Leakey and, more recently, Richard Leakey and Donald Johanson, the paleoanthropological record not only places the origin of man in eastern Africa but pushes that origin back to well over 3 million years ago.

Horn, The A protrusion off the east coast of Africa that juts into the Indian Ocean, where it is joined by the Gulf of Aden. On a map, the region resembles a V or a horn lying on its side. It embraces Somalia, Djibouti, and eastern Ethiopia.

Significance The Horn is especially important as a strategic outpost overlooking the Gulf of Aden, the passageway connecting the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean.

Indian Ocean Area Island countries in the Indian Ocean attached to the continent of Africa through membership in the Organization of African Unity (OAU). These include the Comoro Islands, Madagascar (formerly the Malagasy Republic), Mauritius, and Seychelles. Réunion is also located in the Indian Ocean but is a department (district) of France, not an independent state. Mayotte likewise is a part of France, although it is one of the four islands of the Comoros. *See also* EAST AFRICA, p. 3; CENTRAL AFRICA, p. 3; NORTH AFRICA, p. 8; SOUTHERN AFRICA, p. 15; WEST AFRICA, p. 17.

Significance There was never any question that the large island of Madagascar and the small Comoro Islands, located between Madagascar and the mainland, would be associated with Africa. Mauritius and Seychelles were further from the continent, and had stronger Indian

and southeast Asian influences, so it was not clear that their governments would identify with Africa. As these areas became independent, however, they sought membership in the OAU and were readily admitted. The Indian Ocean Area has become important to Africa because of the continued presence of a colonial power (France) there. Further east and closer to India is the British possession of the Chagos Archipelago, where Diego Garcia Island is located and on which the United States has a military base. African states have agreed that the Chagos belongs to Mauritius. They are motivated by (1) the belief that Mauritius and the Chagos Archipelago were once governed together; (2) the goal of eliminating all vestiges of colonialism from anywhere near Africa; and (3) the desire to make the Indian Ocean a "Zone of Peace" (p. 175).

Maghreb Northwestern Africa, particularly Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. The Maghreb became the granary of the Roman Empire, providing grains as well as olives and grapes to the Mediterranean world. In the seventh century, the Maghreb (from the Arabic word for "west") became the western outpost of Islam in Africa. Arabs established Islam in the region along with their language.

Significance The people of the Maghreb have had a long common history, which contained a dream of ultimate unity. In fact, the area was united briefly in the eleventh century. It has been divided into three parts, however, longer than it was ever unified. Even as French colonies, all three areas were ruled as separate entities. Nevertheless, there is a pan-Maghrebic perspective in the area that supports some efforts at cooperation. On the other hand, nationalism precludes close cooperation, and indeed today Morocco and Algeria are in a state of hostility over the Algeria-supported Polisario movement (p. 160), which is seeking independence from Morocco.

North Africa An area embracing the five states that border the Mediterranean (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt), Western Sahara, and usually the Sudan Republic, although the southern half of Sudan contains cultures more akin to sub-Saharan Africa than to North Africa. *See also* CENTRAL AFRICA, p. 3; EAST AFRICA, p. 3; INDIAN OCEAN AREA, p. 7; SOUTHERN AFRICA, p. 15; WEST AFRICA, p. 17.

Significance The identifying characteristics of this area are the Arabic language, overwhelming acceptance of Islam, and historical ties with the Middle East. As the southern shore of the Mediterranean,