

Not Yet Democracy

West Africa's Slow Farewell to Authoritarianism

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DEDICATION

We dedicate this book to all Africans anywhere who died fighting who went to prison who keep on fighting

for the advent of genuine democracy and respect for Human Rights and dignity

CONTENTS

Preface		xi
Acknowled	lgments	xiii
Introducti	on	3
The De	mocratization Nexus	6
The Cas	ses	10
Indeed '	'Not Yet Democracy"	16
Chapter I	Côte d'Ivoire: The Miracle that Wasn't, Flawed Civil-Military Relations, and Missed Opportunity	19
Introdu	ction	19
Brief Hi	storical Background	22
France a	and West Africa: A Background	25
	revention Strategies: The Seeds ilitary Intervention	26
The l	French Military Presence	27
	ptation, Manipulation, and Politicization the Military	29
Effects of	of the Coup Prevention Strategies	31
The Co	up and Its Aftermath	37
The Mil	itary Interlude and Beyond	40
The Aft	ermath	45
High Hopes and Missed Opportunity		

Chapter II	The Military and "Democratization"			
F	in The Gambia: 1994–2002	51		
The Jawara Years: 1965–94				
The Milit	ary and "Democratization": 1994–96	56		
Civil and	Political Rights under the AFPRC: 1994–96	59		
Social and	d Economic Rights	64		
Human R	ights under the APRC: 1997–2002	67		
Policy Re	commendations	70		
Conclusio	on	76		
Chapter III	The October 2001 Presidential Elections			
-	in The Gambia	79		
Backgrou	nd	79		
Lifting Ba	n on Decree 89	81		
Campaig	n and Issues	84		
The Elect	ion Results	89		
Post-Elec	tion Violence, Intimidation and Job Dismissals	92		
Analysis		94		
Recomme	endations	102		
Conclusio	on	104		
Chapter IV	Mauritania 1991–2001: Regime Rearrangement			
-	and "Consolidation" of Instability?	107		
Introduct	Introduction			
Historical Background				
External 1	External Pressure and Its Outcome			
Ould Taya's Personal Evolution				
Human Rights Abuses				
The Economy: A Tribal Monopoly				
The "Programmed Electoral Putsch"				
The "Consolidation" of Instability				

		CONTENTS	ix
Plus Ça (Change		126
,	on Radicalization and Uncertain Future		134
Chapter V	Friend or Foe? The Military and Demo Transition in Benin and Togo	cratic	139
Introduc	tion		139
The Mili	tary and Politics in Benin		141
The First	t Military Coup of 1963		142
The Mili	tary Coups of 1965		144
The 1967	7 Military Coup		146
The 1969	Military Coup		148
The 1972	2 Military Coup		150
The Mili	tary and the National Conference in Ben	in	152
The S	econd "October Revolution"		152
The N	lational Conference		156
The Mili	tary and Politics in Togo		162
The M	Ailitary Coup of 1963		164
The 1	967 Military Coup		167
The Mili	tary and National Conference in Togo		168
Conclusi	on		176
Conclusion			179
Epilogue			193
Bibliograph	ny		201
Index			215

PREFACE

Not Yet Democracy: West Africa's Slow Farewell to Authoritarianism is the product of the collaborative work of three eyewitnesses to and stakeholders in West Africa's checkered democratization experiments. It crystallizes the authors' shared, deep commitment to a symbiosis between, on the one hand, the inquisitive and evaluative look of scholars and, on the other, the earnestness of believers in genuine democracy in seeing the total eradication of authoritarian practices in Africa. That others before us have attempted to provide similar interim assessments of the democratization process does not make the task of writing this book any easier. It still entails risks and is bound, as such studies usually are, to raise criticisms. On the one hand, it is often argued that, in light of the situation in the sub-region even in the most touted cases, the term 'democratization process' is a singularly generous characterization of the developments of the last decade or so. On the other hand, some charge that many analysts easily succumb to a resurgent Afro-pessimism. In doing so, they miss the immense progress recorded in this area in a short period compared to the three decades that preceded Africa's rendition of Samuel Huntington's so-called "third wave." In addition to these ready no-win criticisms, the most significant challenge, from where we stand, has been the dizzying pace of developments in West Africa. The most inspired analysis seems to be constantly trying to catch up to these events. Even our sober findings and predictions about the evolution seem to be overtaken by the rapidity with which change (for better or worse) is occurring.

These common criticisms and frustrating odds notwithstanding, it is crucial that a progress report be done, particularly about small

(and mostly *Francophone*) states that tend to be left out of most analyses, which often focus on more prominent countries such as Nigeria or Ghana. The experiences of smaller African countries hold a wealth of lessons for others in the sub-region and Africa more generally. Moreover, the central role of the military in charting this historic phase of the evolution of West Africa's political systems deserves special attention. It highlights the critical balancing of the civil-military relations equation that West Africans must consider as they think through and contrive new political dispensations. The ambition of *Not Yet Democracy* is to do all the above.

We have tapped our collective, intimate understanding of the general political dynamics, particularly the civil-military relations of the states studied, to present an accurate, theoretically and empirically insightful accounts of the fits and starts of democratization, the hopes it aroused, its challenges, slow progress, and disconcerting setbacks. When feasible, we have made predictions or proffered recommendations to speed up this historic process of turning the page on a debilitating and onerous era of West African history. Even before the publication of the book, some of our predictions, such as the likely retrogression of Togo toward a "presidential monarchy" of sorts and the ineluctability of an attempt by Arab Nationalist groups within the Mauritanian military to overthrow Ould Taya's regime, came to pass. Many other notable developments have occurred in West Africa since the manuscript's completion. An epilogue was added to the conclusion to update West Africa's Slow Farewell to Authoritarianism generally, and in the states studied more specifically.

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