

# Contents

Introduction: state, civil society and external interests	1
Why study African politics?	1
The multiple political systems of Africa	3
The book's thematic approach	3
State, civil society and external interests	4
History: Africa's pre-colonial and colonial inheritance	7
The pre-colonial inheritance	8
The colonial inheritance	11
State and civil society	21
Case study: Kenya's historical inheritance	23
Ideology: nationalism, socialism, populism and state capitalism	31
Decolonisation in Africa	32
Nationalism	35
African nationalism	36
The differing ideological shades of African nationalism	37
State and civil society	44
Case study: socialism and ujamaa in Tanzania	50
Ethnicity and religion: 'tribes', gods and political identity	59
Definitions of ethnicity	60
The creation of 'tribes'	61
Ethnicity as a method of modern political mobilisation	64
Religion and African politics	67

<i>State and civil society</i>	71
<i>Case study: ethnicity and the nation-state in Nigeria</i>	73
<b>5 Social class: the search for class politics in Africa</b>	<b>82</b>
<i>Marx on social class</i>	83
<i>The problems of exporting Marx to Africa</i>	84
<i>The African mode of production</i>	85
<i>A more flexible look at social class in Africa</i>	87
<i>Identifiable social groups within African society</i>	88
<i>The value of class analysis in explaining African politics</i>	96
<i>State and civil society</i>	99
<i>Case study: social class in Botswana</i>	100
<b>6 Legitimacy: neo-patrimonialism, personal rule and the centralisation of the African state</b>	<b>107</b>
<i>Centralisation of the African state</i>	108
<i>Personal rule</i>	115
<i>The search for legitimacy</i>	118
<i>Clientelism</i>	119
<i>State and civil society</i>	120
<i>Case study: personal rule in Côte d'Ivoire</i>	122
<b>7 Coercion: military intervention in African politics</b>	<b>129</b>
<i>African military coups d'état</i>	130
<i>Why has Africa experienced so many military coups?</i>	134
<i>Problems facing military rulers</i>	137
<i>The outcomes of military rule in Africa</i>	139
<i>State and civil society</i>	141
<i>Case study: Uganda's 1971 military coup</i>	142
<b>8 Sovereignty I: external influences on African politics</b>	<b>149</b>
<i>Inter-African international relations</i>	151
<i>Superpowers, the Cold War and Africa</i>	152
<i>The impact of the Cold War on African politics</i>	158
<i>Africa and the New World Order</i>	159
<i>State, civil society and external interests</i>	164
<i>Case study: Somalia's international relations</i>	166
<b>9 Sovereignty II: neo-colonialism, structural adjustment and Africa's political economy</b>	<b>175</b>
<i>Burdens of the international economy</i>	179
<i>The African debt crisis</i>	181

<i>The era of structural adjustment</i>	183
<i>The consequences of structural adjustment</i>	185
<i>State, civil society and external interests</i>	189
<i>Case study: Ghana's structural adjustment</i>	192
<b>10 Authority: the crises of accumulation, governance and state collapse</b>	<b>200</b>
<i>The growing crisis of state legitimacy</i>	201
<i>The loss of state authority</i>	207
<i>The state's own survival strategies</i>	212
<i>State and civil society</i>	215
<i>Case study: Zaire – Mobutu's vampire state</i>	217
<b>11 Democracy: re-legitimising the African state?</b>	<b>228</b>
<i>Democracy</i>	229
<i>Explaining the emergence of multi-party democracy</i>	232
<i>The obstacles to democratic consolidation</i>	236
<i>State and civil society</i>	244
<i>Case study: the search for democracy in Algeria</i>	246
<b>12 Conclusions: state and civil society in post-colonial Africa</b>	<b>255</b>
<i>Appendix: a guide to African politics resources on the internet</i>	260
<i>Notes</i>	263
<i>Index</i>	276