Unit Eight: Emerging Democracies in the 21st Century

Grade Level: Grades 9-12

National History Standards:

Era 9: Standard 2A
> Analyze how population growth, urbanization, industrialization, warfare, and the global market economy have contributed to environmental alterations

> Standard 2B
> Analyze why economic disparities between industrialized and developing countries have persisted or increased and how both neo-colonialism and authoritarian political leadership have affected development in African . . . countries

> Standard 2C
> Analyze how feminist movements and social conditions have affected the lives of women In different parts of the world and compare women's progress toward social equality, economic opportunity, and political rights in various countries

> Standard 2D
> Assess the impact of population pressure, poverty, and environmental degradation on the breakdown of state authority in various countries in the 1980s and 1990s

New Jersey Social Studies Standards:

6.2.12.A.5.e Assess the progress of human and civil rights around the world since the 1948 U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.
6.2.12.C.5.d Determine the challenges faced by developing nations in their efforts to compete in a global economy.
6.2.12.D.5.a Relate the lingering effects of colonialism to the efforts of Latin American, African, and Asian nations to build stable economies and national identities.
6.2.12.A.6.d Assess the effectiveness of responses by governments and international organizations to tensions resulting from ethnic, territorial, religions and/or nationalist differences.
6.2.12.C.6.a Evaluate the efforts of governmental, nongovernmental, and international organizations to address economic imbalances and social inequalities.
6.2.12.C.6.b Compare and contrast demographic trends in industrialized and developing nations, and evaluate the potential impact of these trends on the economy, political stability, and use of resources.

Objectives:

1. Define "democracy" and "the rule of law"
2. Identify barriers to the full development of democracy in African nations
3. Compare views by various writers about the indicators necessary for emerging democracies in Africa to be successful
4. Analyze the environmental issues have on emerging democracies

Lesson Length: Two to Three Class Periods

Materials:

Article "The Hopeless Continent," from *The Economist*, May 13, 2000 (attached)
Article "What Hopeless Continent" by Ama Ata Aidoo, *New Internationalist*, Sept 2000, www.newint.org/issue327/view.htm (attached)
Excerpts from Larry Diamond essay: "Developing Democracy in Africa: African and International Imperatives" (attached) from http://democracy.stanford.edu/Seminar/DiamondAfrica.htm
"Trees for Democracy" by Wangari Maathai, *New York Times* Op-Ed commentary, December 10, 2004, www.nytimes.com/archives (attached)
"Examining the notion of literacy in a rapidly changing world." From UNESCO's Institute for Statistics, www.uis.unesco.org (attached)

Lesson Overview:

Most African nations have had difficulty transitioning to flourishing economies and stable democratic societies. This lesson provides a framework for understanding that both democracy (self-government) and economic growth require an adherence to the rule of law and that there are many barriers in most African nations to self-government and economic growth. The activities explore these barriers and ways that they can be overcome. In an article entitled, "Hopeless Africa," in *The Economist*, Issues 8170, p 17, May 13, 2000, warfare in Sierra Leone is used to epitomize the problems with African societies, which "seem especially susceptible" to "brutality, despotism and corruption." Ama Ata Aidoo, a poet and playwright from Ghana, responds in an article, "What 'Hopeless Continent'? in *New International* 327, Sept. 2000, arguing that Africa has plenty of natural resources but has been looted by Europeans with the aid of venal African leaders. Dr. Larry Diamond, from Stanford University's Hoover Institute, provides a theoretical basis for understanding the components necessary for a democracy to flourish. Wangari Maathai, the 2004 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize from Kenya, suggests a relationship between how we manage our environmental resources and the development of democracy because poverty (caused by poor management of resources) causes conflict and wars. An article from UNESCO stresses the need for literacy and education in order to promote democratic governments. After considering all of these varying views, what do your students conclude is necessary for African countries to flourish economically and politically in the 21st century?

Introduction/Anticipatory Set:

What is democracy? How would you define it? Have your students brainstorm definitions and components. Conclude with a definition that separates capitalism or economic systems from democracy or self-government.

What principles guide the formation of democratic institutions in a country? Basically, it is the rule of law. Have your students try to define the rule of law and then share the following thoughts from a variety of scholars. Although some define the rule of law as simply "having a democratic government," most see the two concepts as related but not exactly the same. Idealists define the rule of law very broadly as "the social, economic, educational and cultural conditions under which man's legitimate aspirations and dignity may be realized." Cynics view the rule of law as merely "a political ideal." Scholars generally agree that the rule of law includes at a minimum:

- Protection against arbitrary actions by the government
- Everyone is subject to the laws
- Laws are clearly set out in advance and equally applied to all

- Protection of individual rights

What barriers exist to the development of full democracy in Africa? Make a list of your students' responses, which should include at least some of the following:

- Different religions, ethnic groups, languages and cultures
- Lack of voter participation
- Public apathy
- Alienation of certain groups
- Ethnic rather than national identification
- Lack of civic skills—uneven knowledge
- Lack of common language for civic discourse
- Inequality of opportunity
- Corruption and abuse of authority
- Need for safety and security by and from the government
- Lack of a national history of democratic processes

Is it possible to institute the ideals of democracy and the rule of law in a country that has a history of autocratic government? How can democratic institutions develop in countries with widespread poverty? How does the use of land, trees and other environmental resources impact on the development of democracy? What is needed to encourage the creation of strong, stable democracies in Africa?

Ask your students to brainstorm what they think African nations need in order to become stable democracies. Keep the list for the closure discussion.

Activities/Procedures:

1. Read the article, "Hopeless Africa," from *The Economist* (on pages 94-95). Use the chart on page 105 to list the factors that the author believes are necessary for or are impeding successful democracies to flourish in Africa.

2. Read the article What "hopeless continent" in *New International* by Ama Ata Aidoo, a poet and playwright from Ghana (on pages 96-97). Use the chart on page 105 to list the factors that the author believes are necessary for or are impeding progress in African countries.

3. Read the essay by 2004 Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Wangari Maathai, from Kenya (on pages 98-99). Identify factors that Ms. Maathai thinks are necessary for building successful democracies in her homeland of Kenya and other African nations and put them on the attached chart.

4. Read the article by Denise Lievesley and Albert Motivans for UNESCO (2000) (on pages 100-101). What do they think are the most important factors that will enable democracies to flourish? Put these factors on the attached chart.

5. Read the excerpts from "Developing Democracy in Africa: African and International Imperatives," an essay by Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (on pages 102-104). Use the chart attached to list factors that Dr. Diamond believes can encourage the development of stable democracies in Africa.

6. Have the whole class discuss their list of factors that the five authors thought were important for the development of democracy. Do the writers share any common beliefs about how to develop and sustain democratic governments in African nations? How do environmental factors and resources figure into the equation for success? How do human rights apply? Why does Ms. Maathai employ the help of women?

7. Compare your charts with the "Comparison of Assets" Chart from Lesson: *Six West African Nations in the 21st Century Global Marketplace* and specifically discuss the likelihood of having flourishing economies and stable democratic societies in Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal.

Closure:

Go back to the list of factors identified by the class at the beginning of the lesson. Do your students see any similarities between their initial list and their chart, *Factors that Encourage the Development of Democracy*? Having now read these articles, thought about the problem, and looked concretely at Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal, what do you think African nations need in order to participate in the global marketplace and sustain stable democracies? After your class wrestles with this issue, make sure that your final list includes some of the following items:

- Limited government (see Lesson 7: *Comparing Constitutions and Human Rights*)
- Rule of law
- Protection of private property
- Military under civilian control
- Inclusion of diverse ethnic groups in electoral politics
- Literacy
- Expertise (education)
- Open civil society (a free press, human rights organizations, religious groups, professional associations, election monitoring groups)
- Transparency in government
- A code of conduct for government officials (to end corruption in government)

You might suggest that this is obviously what ALL countries need to sustain democratic institutions. By looking at the efforts of emerging democracies in Africa, we can see the components necessary to build stable democracies. By learning about Africa, we also learn about ourselves.

Which of these critical items are present and which seem to be missing in Senegal? In Ghana? In Nigeria? In any other countries that you consider? What should be the role of wealthy, developed countries, such as the United States and the European Union, in helping African countries to develop stable democratic governments and thriving economies?

Assessment:

The teacher will grade charts summarizing the viewpoints of the various writers. In addition, a participation grade can be given based on individual student involvement in the group process and discussion activities.

"Hopeless Africa"

The Economist, May 13, 2000

AT THE start of the 19th century, Freetown was remote and malarial, but also a place of hope. This settlement for destitute Africans from England and former slaves from the Americas had become the main base in west Africa for enforcing the British act that abolished the slave trade. At the start of the 21st century, Freetown symbolises failure and despair. The capital of Sierra Leone may be less brutalised than some other parts of the country, but its people are nonetheless physically and psychologically scarred by years of warfare, and this week they had to watch as foreign aid workers were pulled out. The United Nations' peacekeeping mission had degenerated into a shambles, calling into question the outside world's readiness to help end the fighting not just in Sierra Leone but in any of Africa's many dreadful wars. Indeed, since the difficulties of helping Sierra Leone seemed so intractable, and since Sierra Leone seemed to epitomise so much of the rest of Africa, it began to look as though the world might just give up on the entire continent.

It was in response to accusations of indifference towards Africa that the UN Security Council, at America's behest, started this year with a ``month of Africa''. It went well. AIDS, refugees and wars were all on the agenda, and there were signs that the new concern was not just a 31-day wonder. The Clinton administration, for instance, has since pressed ahead with plans to combat AIDS, doubling its budgetary requests to Congress. Congress, for its part, is backing a bill that will ease or abolish trade restrictions for 48 African countries. The World Bank and other donors showed last month that they were ready to intensify the fight against malaria, a disease that causes misery in Africa. And the UN has gone ahead with its peacekeeping plans, sending 8,000 troops to Sierra Leone and pledging another 5,500, all being well, for Congo.

All, however, is not well. Since January, Mozambique and Madagascar have been deluged by floods, famine has started to reappear in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe has succumbed to government-sponsored thuggery, and poverty and pestilence continue unabated. Most seriously, wars still rage from north to south and east to west. No one can blame Africans for the weather, but most of the continent's shortcomings owe less to acts of God than to acts of man. These acts are not exclusively African--brutality, despotism and corruption exist everywhere--but African societies, for reasons buried in their cultures, seem especially susceptible to them.

Sierra Leone manifests all the continent's worst characteristics. It is an extreme, but not untypical, example of a state with all the epiphenomena and none of the institutions of government. It has poverty and disease in abundance, and riches too: its diamonds sustain the rebels who terrorise the place. It is unusual only in its brutality: rape, cannibalism and amputation have been common, with children often among the victims. For this it can thank, above all, Foday Sankoh, the rebel leader brought into government in an ill-advised ``peace'' deal last July.

In itself, Sierra Leone is of no great importance. If it makes any demands on the world's attention, beyond the simple one of sympathy for its people, it is as a symbol for Africa. Yet the UN has sent troops to Sierra Leone. Mr Sankoh wants them out, so that he can plunder and torture at will. He has therefore done his best to terrify them, and their political masters, by capturing several hundred. The Security Council, meaning the great powers who can render it useful or supine, is torn by all the usual arguments. It agonises that it cannot stand idly by, as it did in Rwanda in 1994. Moreover, it cannot, after all its fine words in January, turn its back on Africa. But neither can it keep a peace that does not exist, nor intervene in every

war in every corner of the globe. It must beware of mission creep, and fight only where it can win. African wars are, above all, matters for fellow Africans.

Caution versus credibility

There is merit in each of these propositions, though some of them are contradictory. Fortunately, not all. The proper course for the Security Council now is to authorise troops to snatch Mr Sankoh and put him on trial, for recent crimes if not for the ones committed before he was given an amnesty. The UN must be given enough troops, with enough equipment, training and sophisticated leadership, to quell the rebels. Realistically, that means that some of them must be first-world soldiers, drawn at least initially from the British force already there, with a mandate to fight. And once any fighting is finished, the UN must stay on in Sierra Leone, as it is staying on in the Balkans, to wage peace. In short, it must win.

It must do so, first, for the people of Sierra Leone; second, for the people of Africa; and, third, for the people of any country similarly threatened in the future, which is another way of saying for its own credibility. A Somali warlord, Muhammad Aideed, sent the Americans scuttling from Africa in 1993. If another thug can with impunity see off the entire UN, the organisation may as well go out of business. That does not mean that it should also send troops to Congo: the situation there is far more complex, and even more dangerous. But if the UN, whose recent history is littered with meaningless vows of protection in ``safe'' areas, is forced by the parsimony or fears of its first-world members to cut and run in Sierra Leone, warlords everywhere will take it as a licence to act at will. In Africa especially, nothing would do more to justify despair.

What "hopeless continent"? - The Economist's perception of Africa

By Ama Ata Aidoo, *The New Internationalist,* September 2000

I grew up knowing that Europeans had dubbed Africa `The Dark Continent'. My emotional response was to wish that the description referred exclusively to the pigmentation of the skin of the majority of its peoples. It did not. I am not a psychologist or a psychoanalyst. However, I do know that it has not been easy living with that burden.

That expression was first used in the Nineteenth Century. Since then its ugly odour has clung to Africa, all things African, Africans and people of African descent everywhere, and has not faded yet. Any time we were confronted with it we felt like we were carrying the proverbial sack-full of salt, to which a steady trickle of water was being added. Was it any wonder that some of us hoped that a new century would usher in new beginnings all round?

Little did we know ...

At first it was only a rumour. Then, last March, The Economist had a map of Africa on its cover, with the headline `The Hopeless Continent'. What, one wonders, is the source of such malediction? What compels some editor in London or New York to characterize a whole continent of nearly 700 million people, and all of its 300,175,000 square kilometres as `hopeless'? What have Africans done to deserve such absolute hexing? Many Africans at home and abroad who saw the piece greeted that damning declaration with a characteristically resigned: `But what did we expect? Europeans have always done this sort of thing to Africans. They are just at it again.'

However, those of us who are paranoid or incurable believers in conspiracy theories go further. We suspect that The Economist has got a really dark and sinister aim. Clearly, as our masters' voice, one of its agendas is to make sure that Africans do not regain any of the self-confidence they may have lost from the `Dark Continent' label. Otherwise, what do the editors at The Economist know about what is in store for Africans which Africans themselves do not know?

In any case, we would beg to differ. Given what it has already weathered, it should not even be remotely possible to describe Africa in this way. Actually, what intrigues us conspiracy theorists is how, over the last few centuries, what should have been unique attributes have been negotiated into problems for this continent.

Africa is geographically the centre of the world, neither East nor West. This characteristic has become a source of trouble. The desire to consign the North -- especially classical Egypt -- first to Asia and then to Europe has led some Euro-American academics to attempt the most incredible intellectual acrobatics. Not that we should feign too much surprise. Africans have been the subject of consistent and bewildering pseudo-scholarship, always aimed at proving that they are inferior human beings. Even when there was genuine knowledge it was handled perniciously: by anthropologists and social engineers, cranial and brain-size scientists, sundry bell-curvers, doomsday, medical and other experts. It is at once interesting and rather pathetic that the men who work on the genome project felt compelled to declare that out of the three billion genes in an individual's pool not a single one supports the notion of racial difference!

Meanwhile, those who know it for a fact credit Africa with an almost inexhaustible percentage of the whole world's natural resources. The desire to loot these riches has led stakeholders to abuse its people verbally, physically, psychologically and in other unimaginable ways. The campaign to portray Africans and people

of African descent everywhere as next to animals must surely have one objective: to demonstrate that Africans do not deserve to have Africa -- at least, not as much as others do.

For any of the calamities which others visited on us to succeed our own leaders had to collaborate: which many did, in diverse and devious ways over the last 500 years, not just willingly, but also quite often at the heads of singing and dancing throngs. What really hurts is that these dangerous liaisons netted our leadership nothing more than trash: always. These days they are also laughing all the way with their pennies and cents to the banks in Zurich, the Bahamas, Luxembourg ...

Dear Reader, here is an invitation. On a clear day, fly from Zurich across the Alps. Take note of those blindingly beautiful, perennially snow-capped European mountains. Look through the window as you cross the Mediterranean, the sea that separates Europe from Africa -- or connects Africa to Europe -- and around which so much has happened over the last 6,000 years. Then get prepared for the arid dazzle of the Sahara, the earth's largest desert. Keep looking, so that you do not lose sight of the sheer expanse of it or its many changing selves. Keep looking, as the plane flies over the charming promise of the Sahel, followed by the immense savannahs. Then prepare yourself for the awesome greens of the forests. Shortly you will be approaching the coast. The Atlantic welcomes you.

Even on such a clear day it would not have been easy to see human habitation on this trip. What there is, is always lost in that great expanse of nature. So what is the problem? We know that there is still not a single resource useful to humans, some of which does not stand on a piece of Africa, lie beneath its soil or around its gulfs, capes, bights and bays.

If there really is any argument, then it is about whether Africans are ever going to shake themselves free from the present malaise and build a meaningful life for themselves out of the over-abundance of their physical environment.

Dear Economist: Africa a `hopeless continent'? Hardly.

Trees for Democracy

by Wangari Maathai, *The New York Times,* December 10, 2004

When I was growing up in Nyeri in central Kenya, there was no word for desert in my mother tongue, Kikuyu. Our land was fertile and forested. But today in Nyeri, as in much of Africa and the developing world, water sources have dried up, the soil is parched and unsuitable for growing food, and conflicts over land are common. So it should come as no surprise that I was inspired to plant trees to help meet the basic needs of rural women. As a member of the National Council of Women of Kenya in the early 1970's, I listened as women related what they wanted but did not have enough of: energy, clean drinking water and nutritious food.

My response was to begin planting trees with them, to help heal the land and break the cycle of poverty. Trees stop soil erosion, leading to water conservation and increased rainfall. Trees provide fuel, material for building and fencing, fruits, fodder, shade and beauty. As household managers in rural and urban areas of the developing world, women are the first to encounter the effects of ecological stress. It forces them to walk farther to get wood for cooking and heating, to search for clean water and to find new sources of food as old ones disappear.

My idea evolved into the Green Belt Movement, made up of thousands of groups, primarily of women, who have planted 30 million trees across Kenya. The women are paid a small amount for each seedling they grow, giving them an income as well as improving their environment. The movement has spread to countries in East and Central Africa.

Through this work, I came to see that environmental degradation by poor communities was both a source of their problems and a symptom. Growing crops on steep mountain slopes leads to loss of topsoil and land deterioration. Similarly, deforestation causes rivers to dry up and rainfall patterns to shift, which, in turn, result in much lower crop yields and less land for grazing.

In the 1970's and 1980's, as I was encouraging farmers to plant trees on their land, I also discovered that corrupt government agents were responsible for much of the deforestation by illegally selling off land and trees to well-connected developers. In the early 1990's, the livelihoods, the rights and even the lives of many Kenyans in the Rift Valley were lost when elements of President Daniel arap Moi's government encouraged ethnic communities to attack one another over land. Supporters of the ruling party got the land, while those in the pro-democracy movement were displaced. This was one of the government's ways of retaining power; if communities were kept busy fighting over land, they would have less opportunity to demand democracy.

Land issues in Kenya are complex and easily exploited by politicians. Communities needed to understand and be sensitized about the history of land ownership and distribution in Kenya and Africa. We held seminars on human rights, governing and reducing conflict.

In time, the Green Belt Movement became a leading advocate of reintroducing multiparty democracy and free and fair elections in Kenya. Through public education, political advocacy and protests, we also sought to protect open spaces and forests from unscrupulous developers, who were often working hand in hand with politicians, through public education, political advocacy and protests. Mr. Moi's government strongly opposed advocates for democracy and environmental rights; harassment, beatings, death threats and jail time followed, for me and for many others.

Fortunately, in 2002, Kenyans realized their dream and elected a democratic government. What we've learned in Kenya - the symbiotic relationship between the sustainable management of natural resources and democratic governance - is also relevant globally.

Indeed, many local and international wars, like those in West and Central Africa and the Middle East, continue to be fought over resources. In the process, human rights, democracy and democratic space are denied.

I believe the Nobel Committee recognized the links between the environment, democracy and peace and sought to bring them to worldwide attention with the Peace Prize that I am accepting today. The committee, I believe, is seeking to encourage community efforts to restore the earth at a time when we face the ecological crises of deforestation, desertification, water scarcity and a lack of biological diversity.

Unless we properly manage resources like forests, water, land, minerals and oil, we will not win the fight against poverty. And there will not be peace. Old conflicts will rage on and new resource wars will erupt unless we change the path we are on.

To celebrate this award, and the work it recognizes of those around the world, let me recall the words of Gandhi: My life is my message. Also, plant a tree.

Examining the notion of literacy in a rapidly changing world.

From the UNESCO Institute for Statistics

At the outset of the 21st century, there are still an estimated 880 million adults who cannot read nor write in the world; two-thirds of whom are women. Many children won't learn to read and write in school - as an estimated 113 million children of primary school-age are not attending. And many more children drop out or complete school without even learning to read or write.

Literacy plays an essential role in improving the lives of individuals by enabling economic security and good health and enriches societies by building human capital, fostering cultural identity and tolerance, and promoting civic participation.

International Literacy Day (September 8th) provides an opportunity to assess the current state of global literacy and the steps needed to improve the situation. It is clear that in order to achieve measurable progress, large gaps in the knowledge about literacy need to be taken seriously. A changing world compels us to rethink what we mean by literacy.

Views on how to define it have become broader - moving away from the narrow notion of simply the ability to read and write - to include numeracy and the application of knowledge in problem-solving. Definitions of literacy commonly refer to the skills used in everyday life or those that allow one to function competently in their own society. But the types of skills demanded in the information age are in flux.

Economic globalization, advances in information and communications technology and the move towards knowledge-based societies present new opportunities for some, but may exclude others. The risk of growing global inequalities and exclusion provide a good justification for better measurements of literacy. In this case, data should help answer questions such as:
what is the general level of literacy skills among the population?
How are such skills distributed across the population or regions?
And how do skill levels relate to the risk of poverty or exclusion?

Literacy data can also help judge the effectiveness of school-based or other educational programmes. A 1992 World Bank adult literacy assessment in Bangladesh revealed that completion of primary school does not necessarily guarantee basic skills. The results showed that among those who had completed fifth grade, a majority failed to achieve even minimum skill levels in reading, writing and mathematics.

However, more commonly, literacy data give only rough estimates of progress at the global or regional level. Literacy rates are based on indirect measures - that is, they relate to self-assessments or estimates based on the percentage of the population reaching a specified grade level - and are collected infrequently as part of population censuses or household surveys. The validity and comparability of these approaches have long been questioned. In the 1990s, direct measures of literacy were carried out in developed countries and produced startling results. The International Adult Literacy Survey showed that in 14 of 20 OECD countries, at least 15 per cent of adults have only rudimentary literacy skills. Even in Sweden, the country that achieved the highest overall score, almost one in ten adults encountered a severe literacy deficit in everyday life and work. As one would expect, these results immediately sparked spirited debates on education and employment policies in many of these countries.

It is time to transfer these types of technologies to developing countries. However, efforts to directly measure literacy levels must carefully reflect the notion of literacy and basic learning skills considered

important in a specific local context. They must also be sensitive to the limited resources and capacities of a less developed country. Therefore, assessments should be culturally-specific, cost-effective and easy to administer. To ensure sustainability and to prevent duplication, UNESCO will need to develop a mechanism to mobilize the relevant institutions and teams in the field of literacy assessment across the globe, to build consensus on an agreed measurement approach with national partners and to promote the use of this application in different development contexts.

The United Nations is proposing to draw international attention to these issues by launching a decade for literacy. It is clear that in addition to well-targeted programmes, better-trained teachers and the innovative use of technologies, sufficient resources for better measures of literacy are essential in supporting these activities. More policy-relevant and reliable measures of basic skills and knowledge will help to monitor progress towards and enable the achievement of world development goals.

Excerpts from "Developing Democracy in Africa: African and International Imperatives"

by Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

From the early 1990s, Africa has experienced a "second liberation" that has opened up new prospects for democratic development on the continent. After 1990, most of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa legalized opposition parties and held competitive, multiparty elections. But those elections have often not met the minimal democratic criteria of freeness and fairness. Many incumbent parties have exploited institutional advantages to deny the opposition any chance of winning power in the new multi-party regimes. These regimes are best understood as "pseudodemocracies" or what Richard Joseph has termed "virtual democracies."

A distinction between a "merely" electoral democracy and a more substantial form, what may be termed "liberal democracy" is crucial to understanding the limits and possibilities of democratic development in Africa. In a liberal democracy, elected officials have power as well as authority, and the military and police are subordinate to them. The rule of law is upheld by an independent and respected judiciary. As a result, citizens have political and legal equality, state officials are themselves subject to the law, and individual and group liberties are respected. People are free to organize, demonstrate, publish, petition, and speak their minds. Newspapers and electronic media are free to report and comment, and to expose wrongdoing. Minority groups can practice their culture, their faith, and their beliefs without fear of victimization. Executive power is constrained by other governmental actors. Property rights are protected by law and by the courts. Corruption is punished and deterred by autonomous, effective means of monitoring and enforcement…

However, this is not to say that democracy is impossible in Africa (or in other poor countries), for several reasons. Economic development is not the only factor that affects democracy, and the level of "human development," as measured by factors such as literacy and life expectancy, appears to be more closely correlated with democracy. Second, economic development appears to improve the likelihood of democratic survival through its impact on several crucial intervening variables - the strength and vigor of civil society, the relationship between state and society, the class structure, the political culture, and the linkage to the international system. These variables can be pushed in a democratic direction, or "accelerated," by factors other than economic development, and if that happens the prospect for democracy will be considerably greater than would be predicted by the country's poverty. And third, Przeworski et al. show that democracies in poor countries have significantly better prospects if they can maintain economic growth with low to moderate inflation. If African countries can regenerate at least modest economic growth while also restraining inflation; and if they can make progress on some of the other factors I consider below - particularly getting the institutional frameworks right - their poverty will become much less of an obstacle to democracy. In economic terms, then, the real danger for Africa is the combination of poverty and prolonged economic crisis and decline…

The basic economic principles are clear, and more effort is needed to educate African policymakers and publics about their compelling logic: currencies should be convertible, tariffs low, barriers to market entry and business incorporation low or nil, taxes low, simple, and easy to administer. Yet economic growth requires not only economic policies and institutions that encourage savings, investment, and trade; it also needs a political "enabling environment." The political environment has to breed confidence in the future to attract foreign investment and retain the capital of domestic elites: it has to

ensure peace, stability, low transaction costs, and a rule of law. It also requires workable physical infrastructure, including roads that connect agricultural producers to national markets and international ports. Finally, it demands effective investment in basic public education and health - key foundations of the East Asian miracle…

Strategies for democratic development in Africa will thus need to think of state building and democracy building as simultaneous and complementary tasks…

The state in Africa cannot be truly strong unless it enjoys a broad base of legitimacy. This requires a democracy that works to some extent to include all groups, and this in turn requires an appropriate institutional design, as I argue below. But this is not enough. There are three other elements of a strong state that generate particular problems for Africa: a professional military appropriate to the country's security, an effective police force and judicial system for maintaining law and order, and a competent - or what Linz and Stepan call "useable" - bureaucracy. With very few exceptions (such as Botswana and South Africa), African countries suffer enormous deficiencies in all three respects. Each of the above segments of the state is weak in capacity, heavily corrupt, and often undermined in its coherence and professionalism by the pervasive pulls of ethnic, familial, and factional ties.

One of the elements of a useable bureaucracy that African countries most lack is a cadre of highly trained, professional economic technocrats who understand the dynamics of markets domestically and internationally and the basic requirements for generating economic growth. In fact, there is probably no major region of the world that is so severely lacking in the needed expertise… Another high priority for state strengthening involves police training, and improving or overhauling the administration of justice. Legal codes need to be modernized, streamlined, documented, and made more accessible.

The dilemma for Africa is that it will require renovated and strengthened state structures to foster both democratic and economic development, and it costs money to build states: to construct honest, competent bureaucracies and judicial systems, for example. Expertise is also needed. Given the limited near-term prospects for economic growth in Africa - particularly in the absence of the enabling environment that a competent, disciplined, well trained state would provide - it is difficult to see where the resources will come from if not substantially from the outside. Whether these vital dimensions of a workable state emerge will depend in part on the assistance strategies and priorities of the principal bilateral donors and multilateral development banks.

To these government structures must be added a vigorous and open civil society. Civil society is filled with all kinds of organized groups, and in a corrupt system most interest groups may be corrupt, both in their internal operation and in their hot pursuit of favored treatment by the state. However, two kinds of organizations in civil society are important for combating corruption. One is an anti-corruption civic organization that educates society about the long-term costs of corruption, campaigns for procedural reforms, and independently monitors the conduct of public officials and reports abuse of office. Many human rights organizations, religious groups, and professional associations (such as the branches of FIDA, the Federation of Independent Women Lawyers) have the credibility in society and understanding to play this role, or to form new organizations to do so…The other crucial element of civil society is a free press, particularly one that develops the capacity for investigative journalism (and the discipline and professionalism to engage in it responsibly). Today in Africa, newspapers and magazines are on the front line of the struggle against political corruption, and are paying the price in intimidation, harassment, and repression from their governments.

Civil society tends to grow naturally with education and political development, but low levels of development need not mean a feeble and impoverished civil society. Despite its poverty, India has had for several decades an impressively vibrant, vigilant, and pluralistic civil society, and this has been a key foundation of its democratic persistence. Political culture, leadership, and organization can make a difference. Two essential requirements are political space in which to operate autonomously and some resource base to enable civil society organizations to organize and mobilize autonomously from the state. The international community can help with both. Bilateral and multilateral donors should make it clear that they consider the ability of NGOs, interest groups, and mass media to operate freely a critical condition for good governance in Africa. This should be a prominent condition for official development assistance and debt relief.

The development challenge in Africa is preeminently a political one. Institutions must be built—in the state, politics, and civil society—that can channel citizen participation in constructive ways and deliver minimally decent, accountable, effective governance…Ideally, political parties should have linkages to civil society organizations but not capture them or be captured by them…Political institutions must be designed to allow for the meaningful representation of distinct interests in society without polarizing the contest between them. In particular, institutional designs must find ways to manage ethnic conflict and provide incentives for interethnic cooperation and accommodation.

While the circumstances in Africa today are dire, they are not hopeless. In fact, they offer more grounds for hope than at any time in the past three decades. Against the greed, suspicion, fragmentation, exploitation, violence, and decay that has characterized African politics since independence, counter-trends are now taking shape. There is among many African elites a growing, if still grudging and partial, acceptance of market mechanisms and democratic principles. There is a widespread popular weariness with civil war and greater readiness for accommodation, purchased, to be sure, at a dear price. Public cynicism with government and politics remains dangerously high in many countries, but it is accompanied by growing intolerance of corruption and greater recognition of its costs to society. Most important, perhaps, is the emergence of a new type of social and political actor, in the form of civic organizations (and mass media) that seek better, more liberal, responsible, and humane governance for the society rather than immediate, material rewards for themselves. In their dedication to the wider political community and the rule of law, and in their greater transcendence of the ethnic identities that cleave party politics, these new organizations represent the seed of a new African phenomenon: a *civic community,* built on honesty, trust, tolerance, cooperation, political equality, law abidingness, and public spiritedness.

The full article may be found at http://democracy.stanford.edu/Seminar/DiamondAfrica.htm

FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

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