



Dimensions
for Strategic Studies

Study



AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOBILIZATION

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Dimensions for Strategic Studies

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Introduction

The use of the term “Arab Spring” by American analysts to describe democratic movements in the Middle East appeared in 2005, and the term was used again in January 2011 to describe the wave of protests and Arab revolution movements. A number of international media have adopted a similar term – the “African Spring” – in forecasting sub-Saharan Africa based on civil mass movements and protests in the region since 2014.

The term "African Spring" was not only strange to most of the Africans, as the season of the Spring is uncomfortable in the equator areas of the continent, but rather because they describing their efforts in the political renewal and their conditions with the "Spring", will hide their social and cultural characteristics. In describing the sweeping change in Burkina Faso in 2014. And “Harmattan” is a hot, dry and dusty wind that is familiar in West African countries, and it is the most appropriate terminology that expresses the complex events and current developments in most of the countries in the region.

On the bases of the aforementioned , this paper relies on the methodology of reviewing reports on social developments and studies related to the political scene in Africa in general. It investigates different facts on the ground and the information surrounding democratic mobilization in the sub Saharan Africa. The goal is to understand whether protests in Africa can be called the "African Spring". As such we can deduce what historical data and trends of events for more than a decade indicate.

First: Nature of Change Movements in Africa

The causes of the mass uprisings differ from one country and one region to another. Sub-Saharan Africa shares Arab countries that witnessed the “Arab Spring” similar challenges, including: corruption ¹ and high unemployment and economic crises ² in addition to implications of the dominant power of the presidency ³ and attempts of family political inheritance.⁴ Despite these challenges, most of the countries of Africa, in the south of the Great Sahara, have been raging until today. A wave of revolutions has taken place before the outbreak of a wave of revolutions in North Africa or the Middle East. This is due to the nature of the characteristics of the political area and the variation in the level of influence of the factors that are assumed to help bring Africans to the streets.

In the following points, the factors that reduce the domino effect of the protests are identified to have weakened the geographical spread of the revolutionary movement in sub-Saharan Africa :

1- variations in justifications

African countries show solidarity with their sisters and neighbors in their crises, and this solidarity is evident in the

In the context of periods of struggle for independence, its unity has been defined by specific goals, represented in expelling the colonial powers that all participated in the scourge of its rule and exploitation.

(1) Moletsane Monyake, & Dan Hough (2019). What’s behind the wave of protests in Africa?. The Washington Post, from url <https://wapo.st/3EaUgeD> (visited on 25 November, 2021)

(2) Brahma S. Coulibaly (2020). Foresight Arica: Top priorities for the continent 2020-2030. Brookings Institute, Washington, DC. Available as PDF file at <https://brook.gs/316WNIM>

(3) Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2020). The Dominant Presidency and the Dilemma of Constitutional Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Al Jazeera Center for Studies, via the following link: [3EkvnNy/https://bit.ly](https://bit.ly/3EkvnNy) (accessed 25 November 2021).

(4) Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2021). The dilemma of political succession in Africa. Africans, via the link: / [4725/ https://theafrikans.com](https://theafrikans.com) (Accessed 25 November 2021).



In Nigeria, the protests of commercial women against the British colonial tax occurred in 1929 ⁵ and in 1946. ⁶

This movement inspired protests in other regions.

In 1947, railway strikes took place in the federation of “French West Africa” made up of Mauritania, Senegal and Mali, ⁷ while in South Africa in 1952 there were campaigns to defy the apartheid laws, ⁸ and Hector Peterson, one of the first victims of a student uprising, ignited Soweto in 1976 - A wave of anger within South Africa and other African countries ⁹

Since the late seventies of the last century, the justifications for revolutions and protests affecting each state in the sub-Saharan Africa have become according to the characteristics of that country itself. Also, the protests are often in a country in the region due to the erosion of civil welfare rights as well as cultural and social factors; Violent movements and confrontations in northern Ghana, for instance, are over the succession of leaders and the rights of ethnic groups to impose their own leaders as chairpersons. ¹⁰

Public demonstrations in Nigeria in 2014 were also over female students kidnapped by Boko Haram, the incident that gained an international campaign of solidarity that forced the Government to move towards exploring ways to release the students. ¹¹

- (5) Johnson, C. P. (1982). Grassroots organizing: women in anticolonial activity in southwestern Nigeria. *African Studies Review*, 25(2-3), 137-157.
- (6) Uchendu, E., & Okonkwo, U. (2021). The Aba Women’s War of 1996 in Eastern Nigeria as anti-colonial protest. In *The Routledge Companion to Black Women’s Cultural Histories* (pp. -254/245). Routledge
- (7) Cooper, F. (1996). ‘Our strike’: Equality, anticolonial politics and the 48–1947 railway strike in French West Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 118-81 ,(1)37.
- (8) Carter, G. M., & Karis, T. (2013). *From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 2: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1964-1882: Hope and Challenge, 1952-1935*. Hoover Press.
- (9) Kruger, L. (2017). The soweto uprisings forty years on: Usable pasts and uncertain futures. *Research in African Literatures*, 255-250 ,(4)48.
- (10) Asante, L. A., & Helbrecht, I. (2018). Seeing through African protest logics: A longitudinal review of continuity and change in protests in Ghana. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 181-159 ,(2)52.
- (11) Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2016). Will the Nigerian government make a deal with "Boko Haram" to release the kidnapped female students? *African Magazine*, on <https://bit.ly/3IIUPeu> (accessed November 2021 ,25)

2- Socio-cultural Factors

The country in sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by its linguistic, cultural and social diversity. In a country like Nigeria, there are more than 300 ethnic groups and more than 200 different languages. ¹²

Despite the spread of many different ethnic groups in the region, the colonial languages were the main languages in which a large proportion of the population of the region communicated. Therefore, it is easier for the public and public opinion in the Francophone countries to interact more with the conditions in the Congo Or Mali, the Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon and others, with the participation of these countries Speaking in French.

As it is easier for the inhabitants of the Anglophone countries to interact more with the civil movement and developments in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa and others, some expected Sudan to be affected by the “Arab Spring” due to its proximity to the Arab countries in terms of the prevalent language compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. ¹³

The revolution of Burkina Faso in October 2014 can be understood through the regional culture factors as there are expectations that the massive demonstrations that swept the country will be suddenly the beginning of the "African Spring", but the regional and continental impact of the movement is small and without expectations, despite its amplified impact through social media and its success in ending the western-backed President Blaise Compaore, whose presidency spanned 27 years. ¹⁴

Among the social factors that most of the protests that the African continent witnessed over the past years, it was aging by certain social classes and different groups for reasons of their own. In January 2012, Nigeria witnessed enough political protest movement to overthrow the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan, after his government abolished fuel subsidies, and most of Nigeria's civil and civil protests and protests ended at the time.

(12) Adegbami, A., & Uche, C. I. (2015). Ethnicity and ethnic politics: An impediment to political development in Nigeria. *Public Administration Research*, 59 ,(1)4.

(13) Silja Frählich(2020). Why the Arab Spring never engulfed sub-SaharanAfrica.DeutscheWelle, from <https://bit.ly/3lIPyU8> (visited on 25 November, 2021).

(14) Engels,B.(2015).Political transitionin Burkina Faso:the fall of Blaise Compaor».Governance in Africa, 6-1 , (1)2.

Later it became clear that this movement was not announced by the political opposition, and that it was a movement that sought the interests of the ruling elite.

The main opposition led by "Muhammad Bukhari" won the presidency in 2015 and his government raised fuel prices. However, Nigeria has not seen any form protest or civil disobedience against this development under the administration of current President "Bukhari" ¹⁵

From the perspective itself, it is possible to understand the series of mass protests in Nigeria against police brutality in 2020. The largest proportion of the protesters ; therefore, are young people, graduates, universities, the unemployed, owners of small businesses and electronic projects. ¹⁶

Although it was the youth group that suffered from police brutality and excesses, the position of President Buhari's government towards the protests was that the protesting youths were supported by the opposition and Western organizations to target his administration and to undermine the stability of Nigeria. ¹⁷

In addition, when South Africans came out in a protest movement that began on March 2015 ,9; the goals were to remove a statue to commemorate the imperialist "Cecil Rhodes" at the University of Cape Town." The campaign attracted African and international interest and led to a broader movement to decolonize education across South Africa, but the movement did not significantly affect students in other African countries who suffer from the same problem. Wits University witnessed in mid-October 2015 a new protest movement spread quickly across South Africa to stop increases in student fees and increase government funding for universities. ¹⁸

(15) Obasi, V.U., Ezenkwa, E.C., Onwa, D.O., & Nwogbaga, D.M. (2017). The Political Economy Of Fuel Subsidy Removal In Nigeria. *African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies*

(16) BBC (2020). Demonstrations in Nigeria: Why are there strong protests calling for reforms? [3E9BZyq/https://bbc.in](https://www.bbc.com/news/health-56382525) (accessed December 2021 ,25).

(17) Hakeem Elladingmaldin (2021). Banning "Twitter" in Nigeria: Causes and Consequences. *African Readings*, via [3pwj9eX/https://bit.ly](https://www.dimensionscenter.net/bit.ly/3pwj9eX) (Accessed December 10(1 ,(2021 ,30). [www.dimensionscenter](http://www.dimensionscenter.net)

(18) Sizwe Mpofu- Walsh (2021). Fallism's Faultlines: The Paradoxes of "Fees Must Fall". *African Arguments*, from <https://bit.ly/3p7cM1i> (visited on 29 November, 2021).



3- African efforts to incubate democracy

One of the main reasons why the wave of revolutions did not occur, as in the Arab countries witnessed lies in the fact that since the nineties of the last century, sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed a series of rapid democratic transformations that brought multi-party political systems in the countries ¹⁹ that had previously applied the system of interpolations. The end of apartheid in South Africa and the exit of some other countries from bloody conflicts and “civil wars”; They all dampen the fervor of African revolutionaries who fear that uprisings and civic activism against authoritarian governments will trace back the bloody periods they are trying to overcome. Therefore, the best option was for them to engage in peaceful democratic processes that ensure change. Governments tried to ensure their rotation. ²⁰

It is worth noting that despite some studies focusing on the poor quality of elections in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa, and some platforms portraying the continent of Africa as being considered by people; however, the reality in a number of countries in the continent confirms the African efforts to establish democracy, and that the continent has some of the most prominent stories of democratic progress and beacons of political rights and civil liberties, as is the case of Botswana, Ghana, Namibia, Mauritius, Senegal and South Africa. ²¹

Most countries in sub-Saharan Africa are also witnessing a wave of activities in the movements that call for strengthening mechanisms of civil governance and political openness.

These operations have increased since the revolutions in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East; Where African leaders were affected by the repercussions of the Arab Spring; Consequently, they provided new outlets of freedom and strengthened their social programs.

(19) Doorenspleet, R., & Nijzink, L. (2013). One-Party Dominance in African Democracies: A Framework for Analysis. One-party dominance in African democracies, 20)-23)

(20) Ioannis Mantzikos (2012). Five Reasons There Will Be No African Spring. E-International Relations, from <https://bit.ly/3xFjgs7> (visited on 25 November, 2021).

(21) Nic Cheeseman (2019). Democracy in Africa: success stories that have defied the odds. The Conversation, from <https://bit.ly/34yM3nK> (visited on 5 January, 2022).

The rate of political participation increased. The past ten years brought new leaders and decisive successes to opposition political parties that won parliamentary seats and strategic positions in the countries of the region.

In Nigeria and Ghana in 2015 and 2016, the political opposition won the presidency, respectively; ²² and in 2020, Lazarus Shakwera of the Malawian Congress Party defeated the incumbent, Peter Mutharika, by a margin of %59 for the opposition against %40 for the incumbent. ²³

Hackendi Hechilema won the incumbent President Edgar Longo in the last presidential elections. ²⁴ In October 2021 the opposition Josiah Maria Neves and the former Prime Minister won the presidency of Cape Verde (Cabo Verde Confession President) was defeated. ²⁵

It is also noted that it is easy to organize protests and demonstrations in most of the countries of South Africa in the Great Desert, the turnout of young Africans to political processes has increased, and they are crowding out the sheikhs and old faces. Some of the youth group in some countries of the region, such as South Africa and Uganda, have learned to organize social campaigns and popular movements to unite their ranks and perform their political roles in leadership critical times their countries were passing through. In other African countries, the youth were able to found political parties to present their demands despite the difficulties of overcoming the presidents or ruling parties, and despite their control of the media and elections committees and security forces at the disposal of those authorities.

In 2012, the youth movement "Y'en a marre" in Senegal succeeded in its struggle against the decision of the Constitutional Court that allowed President "Abdullah Wade" to run for a third presidential term. ²⁶

(22) Idowu, H.A., & Oluwafemi 'Femi' Mimiko, N. (2020). Election management systems and peaceful alternation of power between incumbent and opposition governments in Ghana and Nigeria. *Politikon: The IAPSS Journal of Political Science*, 44, 88-111.

(23) (Reuters) (2020). Vimalawi opposition leader wins re-election. [3InfoXM/https://reuters](https://reuters) (Accessed 25 December 2021).

(24) Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2021). Hakainde Hachilema, President of Zambia: The Failures of Longo and the Challenges of the New Testament

(25) Aljazeera (2021). Opposition candidate Neves wins Cape Verde election. From <https://bit.ly/32NO2Uj> (visited on 27 November, 2021).

(26) Atul Bhattarai (2016). Changing Senegal Through Rap: Y'en A Marre. *World Policy Journal*, From <https://bit.ly/3G0QF3r> (visited on 27 November, 2021).



In South Africa, in 2013, the young Julius Malema had to create the “Economic Freedom Fighters” party to confront the ruling African National Congress. His party members became able to question the president of the country and hold the government officials accountable for their policies. ²⁷

In Uganda, the artist "Robert Kigolani" announced in April 2017 his candidacy for membership of the parliamentary constituency for the eastern province of Kyadondo after being dissatisfied with the living conditions, won the by-elections by a large margin, defeating the veteran candidates of the ruling party and the main opposition party. In the 2018 elections, "Kigolani" used his prestige and fame to support young men and other candidates who won most of the elections they ran. Indeed, “Kigolani” became the face of the new Ugandan politics, the representative of the Ugandan youth in the recent presidential elections that took place on January 14, 2021. ²⁸

In addition to the foregoing, the last democracy summit held in December 2021 in Washington was an American recognition of the progress made by African countries democratization – even if the summit missed the opportunity to interact with Africans on the best way to consolidate their democracies. ²⁹

Seventeen African countries participated in the summit, including Ghana, Senegal, Botswana, Mauritius and Cabo Verde and Zambia, which are considered the carriers of democratic standards on the continent. ³⁰

Previously, the results of the Afrobarometer survey in 34 African countries were confirmed. The peoples of the vast majority of those African countries support democracy and reject military rule, the hegemony of a single party and personal leadership. ³¹ Western countries are also struggling, including The United States of America with threats to its democracies ³²

(27) Mbete, S. (2020). Out With the Old, In With the New?: The ANC and EFF's Battle to Represent the South African "People". In *Populism in Global Perspective* (pp. 240-254). Routledge

(28) Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2020). The Presidencies of Uganda: Can “Bobby Wayne” Realize the Dream of Young Voters?. *African Follow-ups*, No. 9(12), pp. 60-66

(29) Chris Olaoluwa Ogunmodede (2021). Biden's Democracy Summit Missed an Opportunity to Engage With Africans. *World Politics Review*, From <https://bit.ly/3q6kmec> (visited on 7 January, 2022).

(30) US Department of State (2021). Summit for Democracy: Invited Participants. From <https://bit.ly/3zGiX1m> (visited on 7 January, 2022).

(31) E. Gyimah-Boadi, & Joseph Asunka (2021). Do Africans want democracy — and do they think they're getting it?. *Afrobarometer*, From <https://bit.ly/3q7qz9T> (visited on 7 January, 2022).

(32) Chris Olaoluwa Ogunmodede (2021). Biden's Democracy Summit Missed an Opportunity to Engage With Africans.



4- Processes of National Constitutions amendments

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa are witnessing constitutional coups, in the form of amendment of National constitutions to serve the interest of the holders of the presidential position. Often the aim of the amendment is to abolish the limits of the presidential term, or to remove the limits of the presidential age as was the case with the Cameroonian president Paul Biya when he held a referendum in the National Assembly in 2008. ³³

The Rwandan President Paul Kagame did the same thing in 2015³⁴ through a constitutional referendum, the Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni followed suit in making constitutional amendments in 2017. ³⁵

The late Chadian President Idriss Deby in 2005 ³⁶ and 2018-, and the late Burundian President Ndayishimiye 27 December 2018. ³⁷

Togolese president, Faure Gnassingbe, in 2019. ³⁸

That's along with others who diverted peoples opinion from uniting and mobilising towards stopping those presidents miss up with the laws of their countries.

Despite the weakness of the legal institutions in the region, and despite the oppression of constitutional rights by their governments; the flame of resistance against governments and presidents political corruption still exist. Most of these countries still enjoy more open systems and timetables for democratic elections and parliamentary platforms, if they are to be compared with other systems in North Africa.

(33) France2008) 24). Cameroon parliament extends Biya's term limit. From <https://bit.ly/3FXRfir> (visited on 27 November, 2021)

(34) Ibid: Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2020). The Dominant Presidency and the Dilemma of Constitutional Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.

(35) Ibid

(36) Ibid

(37) Ibid

(38) Ibid

Second: The African democratic movement and the imprints of external forces

The position of Nigerian government officials that the protesters are funded by foreign institutions and companies, relying on financial support that was provided by the founder of “Twitter” to one of the Youth organizations that organized the protests. ³⁹

And when the Ugandan artist "Robert Jigolani's campaigned to challenge President Museveni, the same the accusations of being financed by the American and Europeans were leveled against him. ⁴⁰

The developments of the political scene since 2020, in terms of military coups, indicate that Africa is once again witnessing the scenarios of the first four decades of independence for its countries. The excuses of the coup leaders at the time were that their mobilization was to oppose the policies of the Cold War and the race between the Soviet Union (Russia) and the United States against each other for influence, liberation and hegemony. The only difference is the dim voice of other international parties like Japan, Turkey and India. ⁴¹

In the face of the return of international competition on the lands of the African continent, some African leaders face the accusation of betraying their peoples and working in the interest of the former colonial powers or foreign interests. Every foreign power aligns itself with its supporters from among the African elites, supports the coup movements, and glorifies the dictators as long as they represent their interests.

(39) Ibid:

Hakim Aladi Najmuddin (2021). The Twitter Ban in Nigeria: Its Causes and Repercussions

(40) The Independent(2020). Claims that Bobi Wine is backed by foreigners are ridiculous– Epstein. From <https://bit.ly/3l0dVAi> (visited on 30 November, 2021)

(41) Monyae, D. (2018). US, Russia, China and Africa in the Evolving Global Order. *Changing Societies & Personalities*. 2018. Vol. 2. Iss. 4(1) 2(4), 351-365)

Therefore it was the position of the public and leaders of the democratic movement, in the interest of countries like Libya, Central Africa, Mali, Guinea Conakry and Chad that the political crises and military coups in their countries are measures to suppress protests and stifle the suffocation of the opponents, all of which are entangled in the fingerprints of foreign and private forces; especially France, the US, Russia and China. ⁴²

The Russian ambassador to Guinea Conakry in 2019 faced criticism from the international community. Guinean opposition to his interference in national politics through his support for President Alpha Plan Conde about amending the constitution to run for a third term. President Conde insisted on his plan, ignoring the disturbances and problems that the plan creates between ethnic groups in Guinea, and held the referendum on the new constitution in March 2020. He won the third presidential term in October 2020, followed by a military transfer in September 2021, led by Mamdidumbuya, who ousted President Conde from power and dissolved the government and parliament. ⁴³

The main demand reiterated by “young Africans”, who participated in the last last conference "France-Africa", is for France to stop supporting tyrannical rulers and end economic exploitation as a “neo-colonial” policy. ⁴⁴

Sources in the Malian army confirmed that the coup d'état that overthrew Malian President "Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta" in August of 2020 was by those who trained in Russia before they returned to Mali to overthrow the elected president loyal to France. Reports indicated that the coup of May 2021 - the second coup in Mali in just nine months - was due to attempts to expel the loyalists of the Russian Federation from the transitional government. These are officials loyal to France, and the “France-backed leader of the armed forces of France”.

(⁴²) Muhammad Dan Suleiman (2021). Towards a Better Understanding of the Underlying Conditions of Coups in Africa. E-International Relations, from <https://bit.ly/3D8tpOY> (visited on 30 November, 2021) / ⁴⁸⁹⁴ / <https://theafrikans.com> (accessed December 2021,30).

(⁴³) Gabriel Faburi Kroma (2021). Al-Aqeeq coup against the African Professor of International Law, via the link

(⁴⁴) Hakim Aladi Najm Al-Din (2021). The “Africa-France” summit: between the new Elysée strategy and the betrayal of “Achille Mbembe.” African readings, via the link ^{3EbXcrk}/<https://bit.ly/Dec.2130>, Education 2030



Questions are still being raised about the American role in this development, as there are allegations that General “Guetta” and other participants in the coup have received US military training and aid. ⁴⁵

On the other hand, France's recent moves and allegations were aimed at supporting the democratization processes were suspicious by many. Most of the coups in Africa since 1958 to date have occurred in the ⁴⁶former French colonies, and it is difficult to exclude the influence of France on the political crises in those countries.

The French record within the continent in the past two years contradict the claim to support democracy. In Chad, France supported the May 2021 coup that was carried out by the Chadian army after the sudden departure of President Idriss Déby, but it rejected the coup in Mali and Guinea, claiming that the Democratic coup in Mali and Guinea were carried out by countries.

Such a contradiction means that the French positions are affected by the trend of the Malian state towards the Russian “Wagner” company for security assistance, after the success of the Russian presence in the South African Republic. ⁴⁷

For China, its strategy in Africa differs from that of France or Russia. As such, there is adoption of China's influence and relations with the continent on the basis of adaptation to political realities rather than forming it or directly influencing it. ⁴⁸

This approach also differs from the strategy adopted by the United States of America, which was accused in recent months of orchestrating the recent coup d'état of Guinea against President "Alpha Condé", with the aim of neutralizing China, whose trade with Africa exceeded over the past 40 years. ⁴⁹

(⁴⁵) Previous source:

Muhammad Dan Suleiman (2021). Towards a Better Understanding of the Underlying Conditions of Coups in Africa.

(⁴⁶) Zounmenou, D. (2009). Coups d'état in Africa between 1958 and 2008: Africa watch. African Security Review, 18(3), 72-73

(⁴⁷) Ibid: Muhammad Dan Suleiman (2021). Towards a Better Understanding of the Underlying Conditions of Coups in Africa

(⁴⁸) Holslag, J. (2011). China and the coups: Coping with political instability in Africa. African Affairs, 110(440), 367-386

(⁴⁹) Wenjie Chen, & Roger Nord (2018). Reassessing Africa's global partnerships Approaches for engaging the new world order. Brookings, from <https://bit.ly/3x17c0n> (visited on 30 December, 2021).



A report stated that the organizers of the Guinean coup left a military base after receiving American training in it, and that they headed after that to the capital, "Conakry" to carry out the coup. ⁵⁰

However, external forces categorically deny any role in impeding the stability of civilian rule or exacerbating political and social developments within Africa. France denies that it was responsible for the political problems in its former colonies, or that it had a role in the collapse of the security situation on the coast since the arrival of its military force which weighs its role.

(50) Fatoumata Diallo (2021). Were US soldiers really involved in Guinea's latest coup?. The Africa Report, from <https://brook.gs/317qfyh> (visited on 30 November, 2021). www.dimensionscenter.net 13



Third: Endeavors for change in the shadow of a long winter

For most Africans an uprising against governments makes less sense than protesting for facilitating regulation against a certain governmental policy or action; especially when the impact of civil society organizations is weak and the opposition parties that may manage the uprising are divided among themselves because of conflicting interests; and that gives less priority to popular discontent.

The distinguishing feature of most African protests has been that they were met with brutal repression without meeting the popular demands that provoked these protests, as is the case in the riots that are renewed due to food and freedom between the years 2007 and 2020, ⁵¹ in countries such as Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Senegal, Mozambique, South Africa and Lesotho. and still. The Kingdom of Eswatini (formerly Swaziland) for example has witnessed since late June 2021 a series of protests against the monarchy and in favor of democracy. ⁵²

(51) Mohamed Keita (2014). How not to write about Africa: Use "African Spring". Africa is a Country, from <https://bit.ly/3ImQYxB> (visited on 30 November, 2021).

(52) Aljazeera . 2021 Tensions run high in Eswatini as pro-democracy protests continue. from <https://bit.ly/3I3KzkC> (visited on 30 November, 2021).

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the foregoing that the sub-Saharan Africa region has recorded relative successes in the field of democratization, and the current dynamics in the region indicate that indifferent African governments will continue to confront civil mobilization and popular pressures if current challenges persist. In addition, the situation in some African countries may lead to conflict and destabilizing change, where the frustrated and unemployed youth pose a major threat to stability, especially as the gaps of popular support between the incumbents and the opposition continue to narrow, and with the diminishing of affinity with the old guard.

Among the results of the study is that the democratic decline in African countries - as a result of the creation of power vacuums and weak legitimacy - reinforces the flourishing of organized crime, as is the case in Somalia, which has faced the crisis of the "Al-Shabab" movement since 2006, and northeastern Nigeria, which has been suffering from the rebellion of the "Mozambique" and the Boko Haram rebels since the year 2009.

As for the general trend in sub-Saharan Africa, it is in favor of the main political parties and the old political faces of the opposition. In spite of the aforementioned dynamics that say the lord of the land is the right of the people and the "righteousness of the lord of the african country", but that the lord of the land The "Herramtan" may turn into something more systematic and dangerous if it does not solve the problems related to politics, economic issues and security



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