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## Secretary's Introduction

Dear Colleagues:

I am very pleased to introduce myself to you as the new Secretary of RC4. As you well know, I was not with you at Fukuoka. But I am thrilled to be communicating with you, today, as a proud member of the Association and excited Secretary of RC4.

I have a seemingly strange (for want of a better word), but noteworthy story to share with you. I am a historian who practices my craft (in political and diplomatic history) at the meeting point of the disciplines of history and political science. Thus, I have long been thinking and writing aloud some of the preoccupations of IPSA and RC4. That was the reason why I showed up, uninvited, but cordially welcomed, at the IPSA workshop held on September 23-24, 2005 at the University of South Florida, Tampa campus, where I currently teach African history, and other courses, as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Africana Studies.

It was at this workshop that my first question, conveyed as an interrogative response to one of the presentations, caused my Provost, Dr. Renu Khator, to regard me as a political scientist in a historian's garb. The Provost was correct. I have shared with my political science friends the same interest in subjects of importance to political scientists. That interest began in Ghana, West Africa, where I was born, forty-six years ago, and during my days as an undergraduate in the departments of Classics and History at the University of Ghana (1984-87). As an undergraduate student, I had studied Greek and Roman history, politics and literature, as well as the history of Ghana and Africa, for my B.A. degree. I have often considered myself as an intellectual butterfly always eager to perch on as many attractive petals as my fragile wings can propel me. So it was with that "butterfly instinct" or keen interest in new things in the political terrains of history that I chose to study U.S. relations with Poland in the Cold War period for my M.A. degree in diplomatic history, at Wilfrid Laurier University, in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada (1989-1991).

My fascination with how the clash of interests within the American foreign policy-making bureaucracies shaped the conduct of foreign policy towards Poland from 1945 to 1947 encouraged me to turn that fascination towards investigating aspects of the history of my own continent, Africa. Interest in how government works or fails to meet the needs of people in post-colonial Africa inspired me to ponder over why Ethiopia, an African country that was not colonized, faces the same dilemmas of state failure to deliver prosperity and quality of life to peasants and other citizens that confront other African nation-states that had been colonized by the Europeans.

When I began to investigate how government bureaucracies worked to prevent or precipitate famine in Ethiopia, in the Horn of Africa, for my doctoral dissertation in the Department of History at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, from 1991 to 1997, I had a wide range of concerns in mind. They included the causes of famine in Ethiopia from 1950 to 1991; how Ethiopian government bureaucracies anticipated and dealt with particular famines or worked with NGOs and foreign governments to address those famines before they developed into mass starvation.

## Secretary's Introduction - Continued

In short, how did public bureaucracies function in Ethiopia to produce the kind of public policies required to address critical national emergencies?--- (a typical objective of RC4). In my dissertation, "Famine and the Politics of Food Relief in United States' Relations with Ethiopia, I concluded, among many things, that there have been situations in the modern history of Ethiopia when the state and its bureaucracies deliberately used famine and starvation as tools of genocide and also mechanisms for inducing political compliance. I noted that the latter was obvious during the Ethiopian revolution of the 1970s led by the Mengistu government.



Therefore, I saw as great and unique the opportunity I had, soon after the defense of my dissertation, to do post-doctoral research at Yale University, from 1998 to 2000. In the Comparative Genocide Studies program at Yale, as an Andrew W. Mellon fellow, I deepened another interest of mine: comparative history and politics. I used the comparative method to further my interest in the behavior of states and state bureaucracies in moments of change. Thus, it was not surprising that I chose to devote my post-doctoral work to writing a book on the relationship between revolutions and genocide with specific focus on the similarities and differences between the Ethiopian revolution and the Cambodian revolution of the early 1970s and the nature of the genocides purported to have occurred in their wake. The resulting book, *Revolution and Genocide in Ethiopia and Cambodia*, published by Lexington Books, was released in September 2006, and now available in some libraries and bookstores.



Dr. Edward Kissi,  
Secretary of RC4

Before joining the Department of Africana Studies, at the University of South Florida, in August 2003, I had a rewarding three-year (2000-2003) teaching and research experience at Clark University, in Worcester, MA. There, I taught courses on African history; US foreign policy, Comparative Genocide, and Genocide in the Developing World, as a Visiting Assistant Professor. So interest in politics in Africa, in particular, and the developing world, in general, continues to be one of my many intellectual hobbies. I was, therefore, excited when Provost Renu Khator and Dr. Kofi Glover, my colleagues at USF, and who are members of IPSA and who also attended the Fukuoka Conference, conveyed the good news to me, when they returned, that there had been an enthusiastic interest in me, at Fukuoka, of becoming the new Secretary of RC4. I view that confidence you expressed in me as an indication that you see me as a historian who can be welcomed to the councils of political scientists and who can contribute to our collective interests as scholars.

I look forward to a rewarding working relationship with the President of RC4; the Board members of RC4, and indeed all of you, as we continue to practice our cherished craft of thought with a good measure of diligence and humor.

Edward Kissi, Ph.D.  
Secretary of RC4

## XX World Congress Follow-Up

The XX International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress held in Fukuoka, Japan in July, 2006 was a great success! The theme was globalization, democracy, and the "new bureaucracy." RC4 held four panels and a total of 14 papers were presented.

Thank you to all of the participants for a wonderful meeting! For those of you who could not attend, we missed you! We look forward to seeing everyone at the Mid-term meetings and at the next World Congress. The XXI IPSA World Congress will be held in Santiago, Chile in 2009. Please stay tuned!

## RC 4's New Web Site!

We are pleased to announce that RC 4's New Web site has been completed! Please visit to keep track of the latest news, publications, and meetings. The Web site's address is <http://ipsarc4.web.usf.edu/>. Please note that this site replaces RC 4's previous site, <http://folk.uio.no/danbanik/RC4.htm>, which is no longer active.

If you have any questions and/or concerns, you may e-mail us at [ipsarc4@web.usf.edu](mailto:ipsarc4@web.usf.edu). We will try to respond as soon as possible. Don't forget to bookmark the site!

## RC4 and RC35 Regional Mid-term Conference

The next RC4 and RC35 regional Mid-term Conference will be held from April 3-5, 2007, in St. Louis, Missouri, United States of America. The theme of the Conference is Globalization, Technology, and Development. The call for papers was sent out in late 2006, and the abstracts for the Conference were due by January 18, 2007. If you are not able to attend this meeting, hopefully we will see you at the next one! We will keep you posted on the next meeting time and location.



St. Louis, Missouri

## The New RC4 Board

At the XX World Congress in Fukuoka, Japan, July, 2006, RC 4 elected its new board. It is custom for RC4 to elect new members of the board every three years at each World Congress. Please find the list of the new board below and the e-mail address of each member.

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## Reflections

### Our Mandate

Research Committee 4 (RC4) wishes all of its members and the broader community of colleagues of IPSA a happy new year. RC4 is very pleased to introduce a special feature into its newsletters. We will call this feature *Reflections*. In it, members of RC4 will have an opportunity to submit their reflections on bureaucracies in any region/sub-region of the world. Our *Reflections* will help us fulfill our central objective of investigating "issues and problems relating to the organization and function of public bureaucracies in developing countries." In that regard, Reflections will be commenting on how public bureaucracies have fared in Africa; Asia; Latin America and the Caribbean in their key tasks of formulating and implementing public policies that lead, ultimately, to "modernization" and "development." We will also be interested, within our mandate, in sharing with you our assessments of the interactions between citizens and civil society in these developing regions of the world; the role public bureaucracies, or their substitutes, have played in improving government and "the quality of life" and in protecting "human rights and human dignity." Finally, we will gauge how successful public bureaucracies in the developing world have been in "changing the context[s] of globalization." We invite RC4 members to contribute their reflections to be printed in future newsletters.

I have taken the liberty to write our first reflections on public bureaucracies in a select number of countries in Africa in the year 2006 and at the beginning of 2007.

### Public Bureaucracies and Public Welfare in Africa

*Reflections by Edward Kissi*

In the last decade of the twentieth century, public bureaucracies in some African countries betrayed their central trust: to protect and improve the quality of human life. In those decades, from Ethiopia to Rwanda through Liberia and Sierra Leone, public bureaucracies became collaborative agents in state-organized persecution of vulnerable groups and political dissenters. In Ethiopia, in the Horn of Africa, such persecutions occurred during drought-induced famine situations. It was also in the areas of domestic and international famine relief that public bureaucrats in Ethiopia, for instance, infringed on human rights and human dignity. In many cases, public bureaucrats in state food distribution organizations distributed relief food according to political allegiance. The most egregious of the crimes of public bureaucracies in Africa, at that period of time, was the use of state institutions, such as the print and broadcast media, to facilitate genocide in Rwanda, in 1994.

But, much has changed in Africa since these dark days in the history of public bureaucracy on the continent. Since 2000, African governments have improved or significantly repaired their sordid relationship with their citizens and civil societies. With the exception of Sudan, where that relationship continues on a worse path, the most remarkable progress in the relationship between public bureaucracies and public welfare has occurred in countries such as Kenya; Djibouti and Ghana. Here, public offices and institutions have been used to improve the quality of life in four areas of state and nation-building: governance; citizens and civil societies; quality of life and responses to the pressures of globalization.

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*"But, much has changed in Africa since these dark days in the history of public bureaucracy on the continent."*

## Public Bureaucracies and Public Welfare in Africa

In the few years preceding 2006, and in the course of the past year, Kenya and Djibouti did remarkably well in delivering services to their citizens. In December 2006, heavy flooding in Kenya washed away major feeder roads and posed a threat to the lives of thousands of people. But in collaboration with a team of US marines and armed services personnel attached to the Combined Joint Task Force—Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), the Kenyan government acted, on time, to save the lives of citizens who would otherwise have perished in this nature-induced disaster situation in many areas in rural Kenya or could have become refugees in neighboring countries. With the help of the CJTF-HOA, the Kenyan government airlifted to safety nearly 150,000 of its citizens affected by the flooding and also provided them with tents and mosquito nets offered as disaster aid by the World Food Organization (<http://www.hoa.centcom.mil/Stories/Dec06/20061212-001.html>).

The policymaking bureaucracies in Djibouti, in the Horn of Africa, also functioned well to protect human life in that country under similar circumstances. Severe floodwater from periodic heavy rains that began in April 2004 had made roads impassable, forced many people from their homes and created grave sanitation problems. Unlike in previous decades where public officials in countries in the Horn of Africa refused to acknowledge such natural disasters that led to food shortages, outbreaks of diseases and mass deaths, the government of Djibouti immediately acknowledged the gravity of the problem. It also declared an emergency, sought and accepted external aid. Djibouti's *National Disaster Center*, a rapid response public bureaucracy, helped to rescue people from low-lying areas and pump stagnant water from places where it could have jeopardized public health. The timely intervention of the government of Djibouti is a remarkable improvement in state behavior towards vulnerable citizens and also an encouraging example of the improving relationship between public bureaucracies and public welfare in a developing country.

These two noteworthy examples are not representative of what is happening on the a continent of 54 countries. They are, arguably, not indicative of a rapidly changing organization and function of public bureaucracies in Africa. Yet, they represent important progress in public attitudes and state-society relations in a part of the developing world where these attributes of good governance had been lacking in recent decades. Here, Kenya and Djibouti offer good examples of what RC4 is monitoring in developing countries—"the role of good governance for development and the protection of human rights and human dignity."

### Somalia

Between 1991 and 2004, Somalia, in the Horn of Africa, existed as a country without a central government and, therefore, without functioning public bureaucracies. In that vacuum emerged a collection of civil society institutions made up of village clerics, financed not by a functioning state, but by local businessmen eager for some modicum of law and order. Some form of law and order was, until December 2006, maintained through Islamic Courts that functioned as public bureaucracies or outlets for the pursuit of grassroots democracy. The actions of these quasi-public bureaucracies or "moral institutions," as their advocates and operators called them, have been inconsistent with basic human rights and dignity.



Map of Sub-Saharan Africa

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*"The timely intervention of the government of Djibouti is a remarkable improvement in state behavior towards vulnerable citizens."*

## Reflections

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Islamic clerics who operated these courts as substitutes of normal judicial institutions issued edicts in December 2006 making public exhibition of "Western lifestyles," which included wearing "Western" clothing and hairstyle, a crime punishable by public flogging. The clerics of southern Somalia called these harsh edicts "moral policing" of a collapsed state. RC4 considers criminalization of individual freedoms and self-expression in Somalia, in the name of religious morality or purity, as inconsistent with good governance and the idea of grassroots democracy. But, from the perspective of political science, Somalia provides an intriguing case study of public bureaucracies or the lack of them in nation-building. To the extent that a modern society has survived for more than 15 years without formal administrative apparatus (public bureaucracies) is a remarkable phenomenon warranting some study and analysis by political scientists.

### Africa and the Pressures of Globalization

US public officials acknowledge that seven countries in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Eritrea, Kenya and Djibouti) "could become the next major front in the war on terrorism" ([http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2006-10-21-hornofafrica\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2006-10-21-hornofafrica_x.htm)). These countries occupy territory that is more than half of the United States and have experienced poverty, declining quality of life, human rights violations and corrupt leadership.

RC4 notes that Djibouti, in the Horn of Africa, and Kenya and Uganda, in Eastern Africa, have, since September 11, 2001, been assisting the United States in the global war on terrorism. Here is a recognition by public officials, in light of what happened to Kenyans and Tanzanians when US embassies in these two African countries were bombed by Al Qaeda, in 1998, that terrorism is a global threat to public security and no one has immunity against it. In the post 9/11 world African governments appear to conclude that the quality of life has come to depend on global and regional security. Cooperation and partnership in the global war on terrorism have, therefore, triggered important shifts in the organization and function of government and public bureaucracies in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa in response to this new form of international cooperation. RC4 has noted that the African nations actively involved in the global war on terrorism are using their partnership with the United States to renegotiate approaches to development.

Djibouti, a Horn of African nation of about 600,000 people, hosts a US counter-terrorism force called Combined Joint Task Force- Horn of Africa. Since June 2002, about 1,600 US troops stationed in Djibouti, and with the help of that African nation's public officials and state bureaucracies, have conducted counter-terrorism operations in neighboring Yemen, in the Middle East, and as far as Tanzania and Uganda, in Eastern Africa. What is instructive here is the interest public officials in Djibouti have shown in the necessity of using this new global partnership to deal with the conditions of poverty and despair that once made Somalia and Sudan havens for Al Qaeda terrorist activities. Thus, Djibouti and the United States have used their common interest in combating terrorism to introduce and improve medical care and education, two key means of improving the quality of life.

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*"US public officials acknowledge that seven countries in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa 'could become the next major front in the war on terrorism.'"*

*We invite members to write similar reflections on other regions of the world for which they have interest and/or expertise. We also invite any comments on the reflections.*

*Please send your comments and/or reflections to [ekissi@cas.usf.edu](mailto:ekissi@cas.usf.edu) or [esteurer@mail.usf.edu](mailto:esteurer@mail.usf.edu). Thank you!*

## Reflections

The US-African partnership to combat global terrorism includes human rights training for the military. Djibouti officer corps, as well as Ugandan soldiers, have received training in basic principles of the Geneva and Hague conventions. In a part of the world torn by civil strife, reaffirming the responsibilities soldiers, as members of an important public bureaucracy (defense), have towards civilian populations in times of war is a healthy movement towards good governance in Africa.

### Ghana

Ghana is witnessing what the World Bank has called "progressive leadership"—the kind that creates opportunities for "development." Ghana and Liberia have made good progress in their focus on good governance. To consolidate its third democratic experiment, Ghana's Electoral Commission has created a credible electoral system to ensure a free and fair election of public officials in the forthcoming (2008) parliamentary and presidential elections. There is a commendable trend towards political pluralism in West Africa.

### Liberia

Africa's oldest republic, and the continent's most recent democracy, is rattling under the pressures of globalization. In late 2006, the World Bank expressed a lack of confidence in the efficiency and transparency of Liberia's public institutions. In January 2007, the Bank proposed a new and startling concept of bureaucratic efficiency to this war-ravaged West African nation that recently elected the continent's first female president in a free and fair election. The Bank's proposed Governance and Economic Management Program (GEMAP) seeks to retool the concept and function of public bureaucracy in Liberia by "installing international representatives" at every "revenue-generating" public institution in the country. The purpose, according to the Bank, is to "limit corruption" and inject efficient management in "state-owned enterprises." World Bank senior economist for Liberia Eric Nielsen characterizes the GEMAP idea as a "response to a failure of governance" in Liberia.

Liberia, like many developing countries, is plagued by corruption and the incompetence of public bureaucrats. But the idea that "international staff" (i.e., foreign/expatriate bureaucrats) in African public bureaucracies is the best solution to failed governance because foreign bureaucrats are "more honest and transparent" than local officials belies the nature and functioning of public bureaucracies in general. The GEMAP idea is a classic collision of the imperatives and pressures of globalization and the presumed inefficiencies of public bureaucracies in developing countries. The President of Liberia has stated that she has three criteria (honesty, competence and respect for human rights) for assessing Liberia's public bureaucracies. RC4 will monitor how Madam President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, a Harvard-trained economist, and former World Bank and UNDP bureaucrat, responds to this form of transnational public bureaucracy and uses her three criteria to respond to the challenges of governance and/ or change the contexts of globalization in this developing country on the African continent.♦

## **Congratulations!!!**

Last, but certainly not least, please join us in congratulating Dr. Renu Khator for receiving the *Hind Rattan* (Jewel of India) for non-resident Indians who making outstanding contributions in their field to make India proud! The award was presented to her on January 25, 2007 in New Delhi, India.

Dr. Khator has also received the “Outstanding American by Choice” award by U.S. Immigration and Citizenship Services! She received the award on December 14, 2006 at the University of South Florida.

*\*\*\*If you have received any honors or promotions, please forgive us for not including it in this newsletter. Please inform us about your award if you would like to be congratulated in the next newsletter. Thank you!\*\*\**

*Newsletter created by Erin Steurer*