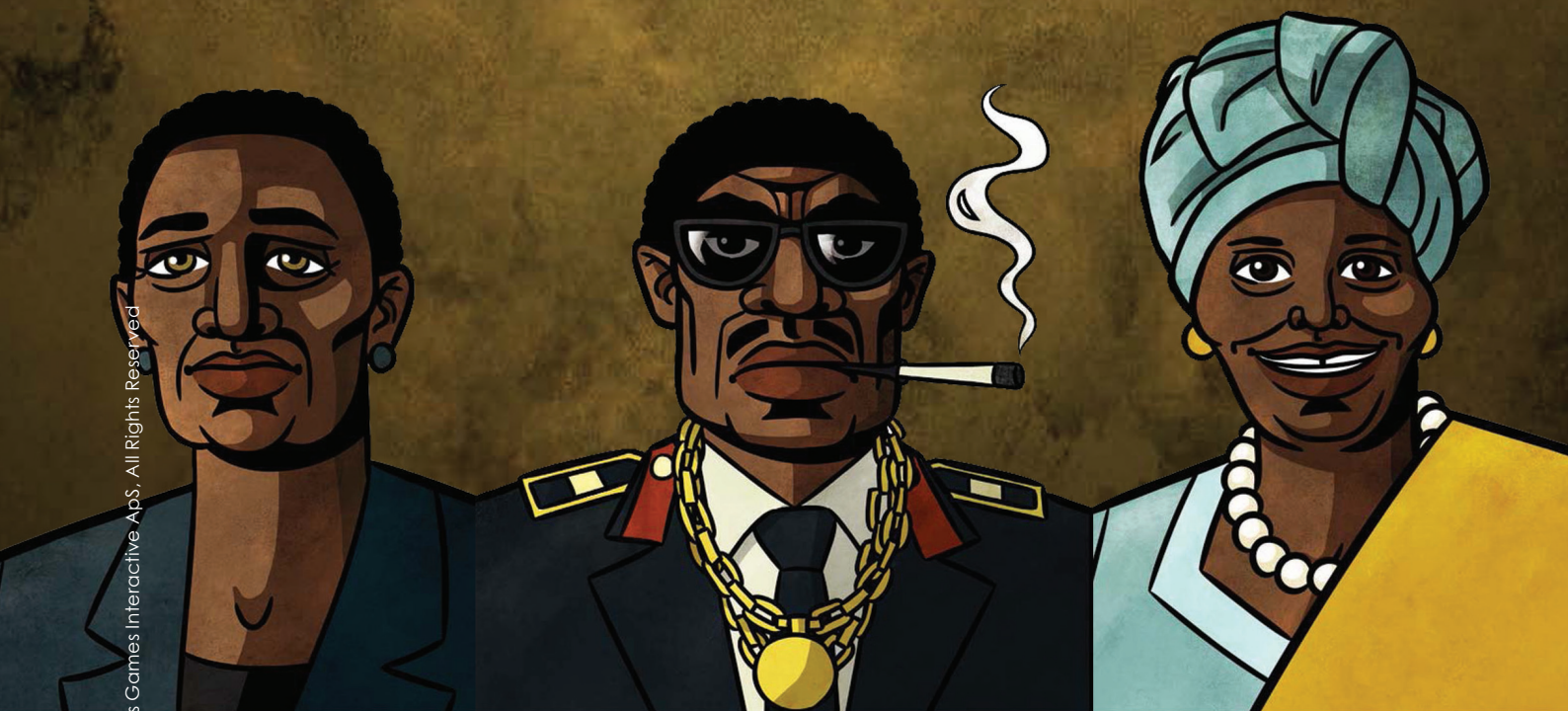


PRESIDENT **FOR A DAY**

CORRUPTION



TEACHER'S MANUAL

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INTRODUCTION

'President for a Day' gives you the opportunity to assume the role of an African president. As such, you must make controversial decisions revolving around topics such as: democratic evolution, corruption, development aid- and cooperation. The game provides a solid foundation for discussions regarding e.g., human rights, cultural differences and governance. There are four diverse scenarios with a set difficulty for the player to engage – scenarios ranging from famine to effloresce of democracy.

In President for a Day you will be faced with a wide array of dilemmas that stem from recent events in African history. You will also witness the local and national effects of modern bilateral cooperation. What kind of leader will you be? Will you strive for democracy, or rule the country with an iron fist?

The subjects regard:

1. *Famine, caused by draught and climate change*
2. *Foreign intervention from neighbouring, as well as, western countries.*
3. *Ethnic conflicts spun by the numerous African tribes, as well as the borders established, in the past, by the colonial forces.*
4. *The political culture of the country, in regards to upholding (or failing thereof) human rights.*



Teacher's Manual

The purpose of the teacher's guide is to broaden the background knowledge of the teacher by addressing perspectives that are not covered in the topic-overview, or the game. This allows the teacher, if desired, to delve deeper into the topics during the course of the classes. The guide also holds some good ideas on how best to utilize the given material, as well as suggestions on how to approach the courses in class.

Student assignments

The student assignments contain a series of questions, developed with the intent of promoting repetition and expansion of the knowledge earned in the classroom, as well as to incite the students to reflect on situations experienced in the game. The questions are divided by topics – and they can be used within the specific scenarios.

A NUANCED VIEW OF AFRICA

In May 2012, the former president of Liberia, Charles Taylor, was sentenced to 50 years in jail by a special UN tribunal for war crimes. He rose to power after triggering a bloody civil war financed by diamonds. Later on he was one of the driving forces behind the civil war in neighbouring Sierra Leone, a civil war that saw the use of child soldiers among many other atrocities. In 2005, he was replaced by a democratically elected female politician, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 for her non-violent struggle for the rights of women.

This goes to show the spectrum of African presidents. Even though there are other factors than the behaviour of the head of state that plays a role in the development of a nation, the examples are numerous of countries where this factor of behaviour has played a crucial role. Take for example the countries of Eritrea and Ghana. The former is in a hopeless economic and political morass caused by an undemocratic president who has "forgotten" to hold elections ever since he attained the presidency in 1993, the latter has for the last decade been undergoing a stable and rapid development with democratically elected presidents.

The South African researcher Greg Mills opens his book "Why Africa is Poor" by answering the question of poverty thusly:

"The main reason why Africa's people are poor is because their leaders have made this choice." This is a novel and surprising "single-factor explanation" for what ails Africa.

One must be careful not to generalize, and the entirety of Africa cannot be lobbed into the same basket, or interpreted by way of the same formula. As a result, you cannot easily say whether it is going well or not so well in Africa. The scope of development spans from high levels of growth in some countries, and others with crippling poverty. In general, however, the 1990's were a period of stagnation or drawbacks, whilst the development since the turn of the millennium has been one of significant growth.

The UNDP refers to the 1990's as the lost decade of Africa, with stagnating economies and the spread of HIV/AIDS, in turn leading to a reduction in the average life span of many African nations, as well as a load of violent conflicts.

In recent years, however, things have improved. Among other things, the life expectancy grew by 5 years from 2000-2011, and according to The Economist, African nations has seen an average increase in BNP by 5 percent, thus matching the growth seen in Asia. In the coming years, The Economist expects the economic growth in the region to further pick up the pace. A short clip from the 2011 incarnation of the IMF Economic Outlook tells us about the development. The IMF expects the economic growth in 2012 to increase to 6 percent, with the oil-rich and poorest nations seeing the most significant growth.

The two authors (Jeffrey Herbst og Greg Mills: "Afrika i 2020 ") mentioned above furthermore state that the 6 percent growth rate is a necessity if a country is to both feed its population AND invest in the future.

If, on the other hand, the growth stagnates at 3% or less, they will not be able to deal with the impending social issues affecting the very same populace. The nations of Africa need growth, or they will wither and die.

Likewise, the paper states that investments in the agrarian sector is an essential factor (and a factor that is also touched upon in the student material). As they put it:

"The African elites have neither shown the will nor the ability to encourage economic growth on a larger scale outside the capital cities, apart from the areas from which they could be thought to benefit from the development personally".

On the other hand, a number of scientists and especially the latest UNDP report agree that the fertile tropical climate of the continent, the many precious minerals and great oil finds in combination with the extensive amount of available cheap labour can make Africa the winner in the long term. The 2012 report can be found on the UNDP website along with a short resume.

Internal and external explanations

Since the founding of DANIDA in 1962, Denmark has given more foreign aid to Africa than any other continent. This has something to do with the fact that since the end of colonial rule, Africa has not seen the same level of economic growth as other developing regions. All Danish legislation pertaining to foreign aid centres around poverty.

One can discern between the external and internal explanations, where the external ones may be linked to a colonial past and the associated exploitation. This aspect, however, does not provide an answer to why other former colonies on other continents have seen significant progress. The internal ones are rooted in culture and system of government.

The external, historical explanations

Among the many external explanations for the plight of Africa, the European colonization of the continent in the 19th century has its natural place as one of the primary ones. The Western powers effectively divided the continent between them at the 1884-85 Berlin Conference, whereas the Latin American empires had largely disbanded by this time. This led to very random border definitions that showed little regard for tribal divisions. You could, as an experiment, turn the problematic on its head and have the students imagine what the consequences may have been, had it been African states drawing up the borders of Europe by the use of random lines on a map.

The repercussions of this seemingly random division of landmass is contested, however, depending on whether you belong to the school of thought that reiterates that states already existed in Africa before the colonization, or the school that is of the opinion that the population of Africa mainly comprised scattered concentrations of nomadic tribes.

Greatest among the colonial powers in the continent was England and France, and they had very different ways of running their colonial empires. England left a lot of the local administration to African chieftains, similar to how they conducted business in the Raj. In effect, a form of internal autocracy. France, on the other hand, attempted to copy the system of government they knew from home and apply it to the colony, in effect a more centralistic policy.

To this day, the former colonies maintain close relations with their former masters. Other colonial powers preferred a more heavy-handed approach, Belgium and Portugal in particular were experts at this system of unbridled exploitation.

There was one point, however, that they could all agree on. All trade had to take place between the colony and the motherland. This created a very impractical, monocultural allocation of labour, where the colony supplied a single, or a few, select raw materials in the form of minerals or plantation goods to the colonial power in return for simple industrial products. Attempts at a pan-African common market has never really succeeded, and only in recent years have we seen a new trade pattern emerge, because China has stepped onto the world stage as an important trade partner.

The scope of presidential power

Internal explanations are tied to the policies conducted by the country in question. In President for a Day we have chosen to focus on the presidential role of problem solver. This is an important role, because there are not the same checks and balances/restraints imposed upon the power of the office of president that we are used to from Western democracies..

The political machinations of the president can both prove a boon and a detriment to the country – more often than not the latter, if we take in the continent as a whole. At the same time, the country and its government is subject to limitations of the sort that the American politologist David Easton calls the (environment).

The division is reminiscent of the division employed by American scientist and author Jared Diamond uses to explain why some states collapse:

1. **Man's effect on the environment**
2. **Climate change.**
3. **Diplomatic relations to friendly neighbours**
4. **Diplomatic relations to hostile neighbours**
5. **Political and cultural factors.**

It is within these limitations that the president has to operate.

In this teacher's guide, we have chosen to take a closer look at the office of the president, in the sense of his role as the head of state.

The game about the African president can be used in connection with a greater class project/thematic week/month on Africa, which in turn can be a part of a greater theme on developing or poor countries. The advantage of letting the president be the centre of attention in a theme about Africa is that it gives it an air of excitement and contemporary relevance. The game can also be used in connection with a theme of the day, or an event, that catches the eye of the students.

The disadvantage is that the game is not representational of the plight of the rest of the developing world. Poverty and civil war has ravaged the continent since time immemorial, whilst many Asian and Latin American countries are in the midst of a rampant process of development.

Democracy in Africa

It is important that the students get a greater affinity for the plight of the office of president in Africa before the game.

The main job for the president is to make decisions and see them come to fruition, as well as maintaining law and order. This should, of course, take place in accordance with the national constitution.

The CIA World Factbook classify almost every African nation as a republic. The president is often elected in a general election, with the president often acting as both head of state and of government, but many states have a president as well as a head of government appointed by parliament.

There is no doubt, however, that the real power lies with the office of president in the African states. African nations almost always has a constitution (Eritrea being the exception), but it is not always self-evident that the president adheres to this constitution.

From time to time, he or she will refuse to hold elections, but it is more common that the election results will be tampered with, or that he will refuse to leave office if he is defeated. He can choose to harass his opponents by jailing members of the opposition or disturbing town hall meetings.

The electoral action itself is disrupted in areas where the opposition has strong support, and ballots are tampered with. Ballot boxes disappear or comes pre-filled with counterfeit ballots. The result is manipulated by public officials despite being under scrutiny by foreign officials.

In Eritrea, the president has been in power since 1993, without holding a single election.

In the Ivory Coast, the president refused to step down, despite losing the election. This led to civil war.

In the Western world, it has become commonplace that a list of demands is held up to any democracy along with the formal, constitutional legislation on the matter:

- Equal political rights at frequent elections (constitutional right).
- Freedom of thought and opinion (constitutional) and access to information
- Democratic participation
- Effective government rule

Gorm Rye Olsens book "Afrika – håb og tabte illusioner" is still the best introduction to Africa, despite being a few years old. In Africa, the president is more reminiscent of a pre-democratic European prince, who sees his country as his personal property.

Danish scientist Gorm Rye Olsen speaks of legitimate and illegitimate tyrants – in both cases he transgresses against the formal constitutional rules of the game, but in the former case he is recognized as legitimate by his subjects because he has the right ideology, was a war hero or hero of national liberation – or simply has sufficient charisma. Usually, we associate a sovereign nation with the conditions that it is recognized by neighbouring/other states, and is for example a member of the UN. But you can also talk about inner sovereignty. Rye Olsen means by this, that the government has public approval and support, and the ability to hold the reins of development.

Even though the African president might have a wider scope of powers and rights than his European equals, it is not the same as him having great power per se. Even an absolute, autocratic ruler can have limitations to his power when it comes to making his grand designs come to fruition. Not just because his influence might be waning once you get outside the capital, but also because his officials may be incompetent and corrupt. This is often the case in the so-called "frail states".

Insufficient nation building

When a lot of political leaders are lacking in democratic legitimacy, the reasons for this could also be found in a general lack of a sense of community, a topic covered in Topic 3 of this game. Nation building is one of the prime assignments of any fledgling nation. Even though many presidents like to portray themselves as distinctively African in local garb and by adhering to local customs, the political elite in African states is closely linked to the West. Foreign observers are present at every election, and demands of proper (Western) conduct of government is prevalent when the matter of foreign aid is on the table.

Western or Chinese experts contribute to excavations of natural resources. The educational system plagiarizes the ones we know from our own hemisphere, from the use of school uniforms to curriculums, with the elite sending their children to universities and boarding schools in Europe or the US. If conflicts arise, European or American armed forces intervene, such as was the case in the Ivory Coast and Libya quite recently.

Presidents build up cults of personality around themselves, as we see in the cases of Gaddafi in Libya and Mugabe in Zimbabwe. Those in power in the oil-rich nations can distance themselves from the general populace, relying only on their own ethnic group because they are not dependent upon the rest of the nation. Often these rulers employ foreign mercenaries and security firms, because they do not trust their own subjects. Nation building can in any case be seen as a sense of unity imposed on the populace from above. In topic 4, we will cover the frail communities of Africa.

The "grass roots" movement Afrika Kontakt states:

"We are of the opinion that a vivid democracy is the quintessential issue, that it is not just the whims of the president and his ministers that determine the direction and influence decisions. The civilian community has to be included in the process. But an active civilian community is not something that just emerges out of the blue. Many civilian organisations are frail, among other things because it is hard to be a critical voice in the African debate".

Herbst and Mills are of the opinion that Africa has to develop a distinct model of democracy that takes local customs and chieftains into consideration – even if this does not comprise democracy in the classical sense. "These leaders have an important local legitimacy" as they put it.

Clientism and nepotism

Rather than building up his political legitimacy, the president is in favour of his own family members, friends and "clients" when it comes to the allocation of government jobs. In our system the positions in the government are given to the most qualified – in Africa, it is considered common to pay special notice to your family or old friends in these cases.

In a country like Eritrea, it is public policy that those who fought in the war of liberation are rewarded with cushy, influential jobs in the political structure. If you even know the leader of the resistance movement, the current president, then you are untouchable no matter how incompetent you may be.

In opposition to this, the governments of Asia are largely manned by competent officials with a relevant degree. The students need to know that norms play a significant part in the political culture of a nation.

Taxes

In a Western country, the income and expenditures of a country is regulated by legislation. The state receives its income from taxes and duties, and the expenditures are stipulated by a national budget agreed upon by the parliament. In weak African nations, the matter is quite different. Often, the parliament suffers from low levels of transparency, and as a result has very little insight into the affairs of the state, so the government and president are free to enrich themselves and their beneficiaries. As a result, several African heads of state rank among the wealthiest in the world over the years. It is, however, not through taxation in the traditional sense that they enrich themselves.

Tax revenues in developing countries, especially those on the African continent is ineffective at best. Neither the tax officials or the rest of the administration has any registration in place of the income from taxation and might not want to have this.

Therefore, the state imposes a number of duties on imported goods, and sometimes even on the goods that is exported by the nation itself, an action that hampers the nation's ability to compete on the global market. These duties on goods are however easier to reap than tax per capita. On top of this, the president and the military often run a significant amount of companies with monopoly status, and the income from these are supported by the income from licensing deals with foreign oil and metal companies. A newer, lucrative trade is the selling of land to Arab and Chinese agricultural firms, with the profits often pocketed by leading politicians.

Foreign aid is another lucrative source of income. Back in the day, the aid was tied to specific projects, be it infrastructure, healthcare, education etc. Today, this has changed into a general financial aid for the intended benefit of the nation as a whole, channeled through the country's own administration. The reasoning being that you in this manner build up the professional capacity of the administration, although it also reduces fiscal transparency.

Horror stories

More often than not, the portrayal of Africa in Western media comprises horror stories of incompetent, violent regimes.

A president will not simply accept defeat in the manner we are used to in the West, and it is not just the president who loses his power when he resigns. The same is the case for any officials appointed by him for reasons of family or tribal ties, as well as any "clients" who might have been endorsed by the president in one way or the other. Thus, the skillful president knows how to give the impression of free elections, whilst still maintaining his position of power.

Often, the process is more violent, and manifests itself in the form of coups or revolts. According to the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, 90% of sub-Saharan Africa has seen despotic rule within the last three decades. In 1965, Colonel Bokassa seized power in the Central African Republic after a military coup, after 22 years of service in the French armed forces. In 1977, he arranged his own coronation as Emperor in a ceremony copied meticulously from the coronation of Napoleon. A mere two years later, he himself was deposed by the former president who was supported by French troops.

In 1996, rebel forces forced Congolese dictator Mobutu Sese Seko from power after 22 years of rule. But the civil war continued in the vast country comprising 200 different tribes. The new president, Laurent Kabila, who changed the name of the country to Democratic Republic of the Congo (Usually shortened to DR Congo), had the support of several neighbouring countries, but the same was the case for his opponents. In 2001, he was murdered and succeeded by his son. Out of the 107 African presidents to be deposed from 1960-2007, two thirds were murdered, imprisoned or driven into exile, but most of the African nations hold occasional elections.

From the political top, a lot of precious time and human lives, have been wasted denying the spread of HIV/AIDS. The former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, is adamant that the virus does not spread through sexual contact, and his minister for health issues actually suggested without batting an eyelid that the consumption of plenty of garlic, lemon juice and red beets could prevent the disease. Mbeki's successor was not great either, however, claiming that taking a shower after sex was better protection than using contraceptives.

The official serial of Danida, Udvikling, lists in its second issue of 2011 "the worst presidents of the world". On the Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, they write "he rose to power after a 1989 coup. Has some of the worst humanitarian disasters of the recent years on his conscience: the 21 years of civil war between North and South Sudan that cost more than two million lives, as well as the massive ethnic cleansings in the Darfur region. The international war crimes tribunal in The Hague has an arrest warrant out for him, on the grounds of "exterminating, raping, torturing and expulsion by force of a large number of civilians, in order to plunder their possessions".

Wealth

The office of president in Africa means untold wealth, and the presidents are with certain exceptions, adept at adopting extravagant lifestyles. When president Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast passed away in 1993, his fortune was estimated at between 7 and 11 billion dollars. Gabon is a striking example of the extravagant lifestyle of a president reflecting his ego. President Bongo has, among other things, built a hospital, a university, an airport and a stadium in his own honour, as well as renaming his home town Bongoville.

The African Union, comprising 54 member states, are very discrete when it comes to the greed of presidents. The emphasis is heavier on democracy and human rights than the predecessor OAU (Organisation of African Unity), and it has intervened militarily on several occasions. It was, however, silent when it came to Gadaffi, choosing instead to criticize the Western intervention on the side of the anti-Gadaffi rebels.

According to worldwide newspapers, Gadaffi was, when he died, the wealthiest man in the world with a fortune estimated at around 180 billion \$.

The president of Equatorial Guinea spent billions on an AU summit held in the impoverished country back in 2011. Each dignitary had a small, newly built palace at his or her disposal, and the president had imported a thousand luxury cars for the purposes of transportation during the two-day summit.

According to Amnesty International, he had, just to be safe, arrested more than a hundred dissidents to spoil the mood of a meeting in an organisation that was formed for the purpose of strengthening and promoting democracy and human rights. President Obiang, who has ruled since he seized power in a 1979 coup, is as such Africa's longest-ruling dictator. The country holds extensive oil fields, but the majority of the populace lives in abject poverty.

Presidents for life

African presidents like Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya were in power for years. Moi, however, stepped down voluntarily in 2002 after 24 years in charge. Robert Mugabe has held the reins of Zimbabwe since 1980, and in the following decades he has run the country, formerly a textbook example of a well-run country, into the ground.

The grass roots organisation AfricanDictator has listed the longest-serving african presidents. 10 presidents surpassing 20 years in charge.

Good leadership

The gist of the Africa assignments is of course to turn the horror stories into success stories so that Africa can move on. Robert Rothberg states in Foreign Affairs, July/August 2004 issue, that the best example of good leadership in Africa comes from Botswana.

Long before diamonds were discovered in the soils of the country, this former desert protectorate, neglected under English colonial rule, has shown a strong affinity for immersive democracy, integrity, tolerance, innovation, law and order. It has remained democratic since gaining independence in 1966 – an achievement unmatched by any other country in Africa.

Rothberg reaches the conclusion that this comes down to the democratic culture of the first president and his successors. He also mentions Ghana, Lesotho, Mali and Senegal as good examples, but in many other countries the leaders started out as democrats, only to turn into corrupt autocrats – with the most drastic example found in Zimbabwe.

In President for a day, we have chosen to look upon the president as the good leader who fights to solve the issues of the country.



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