

行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫 成果報告
 期中進度報告

一九九〇年代非洲民主化經驗的檢視與評估：民主轉型、民主鞏固、或民主倒退

**Examination of Democratization Experiences of Africa in 1990s: Democratic
Transition, Democratic Consolidation or Democratic Reversal**

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一、中文摘要

第三波民主化的浪潮在一九九〇年代初期臨到漠南非洲，許多原先是軍人專政或是一黨獨大的國家在召開國是會議後，逐步解除黨禁，開放民主選舉。在這些民主選舉中，有放棄參選機會而備受尊崇的領導人（如馬利的杜瑞），也有部份長期執政的威權統治者卻是在開放民主選舉後失去權位（如馬拉威的班達、尚比亞的孔達、剛果共和國的沙壽—恩桂索、貝南的克瑞寇等）。這些發展和選舉結果，使得長期關心非洲政治發展的觀察家，樂觀地宣稱非洲正經歷了第二次的獨立。

不過，在我們研究的五個西非國家中，一九九〇年代民主化的成績並不理想。奈及利亞曾一度抗拒民主選舉；賴比瑞亞長期處於內戰狀態；甘比亞發生了該國獨立以來第一次的軍事政變；獅子山則是歷經了內戰、軍事政變、和民主選舉；只有迦納的民主化過程尚稱平順，不單已順利完成三次民主總統選舉，並在二〇〇〇

年完成政黨輪替。這些國家的民主化經歷包括了民主轉型和民主鞏固，但也有民主倒退的情形。

關鍵詞：民主化、民主轉型、民主鞏固、民主倒退

Abstract:

The Third Wave of Democracy came to Sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s. Many countries rule by military or one dominant party began to call for National Affairs Conference paving the way for lifting of ban on political parties and holding of open democratic elections. Among these developments, there were those who oversaw the transition without contesting for office and were thus highly respected, e.g., Amadou Toumani Touré of Mali. Some long time autocratic rulers lost their hold of powers when open and free elections were held, e.g., Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Denis

Sassou-Nguesso of the Republic of Congo and Mathieu Ahmed Kerekou of Benin. These developments and election results instilled a sense of optimism among long term observers of Africa to the extent that they claimed such as "The Second Independence" of the continent.

However, among the five Western African countries under studied in this research project, the report card is a mixed and basically not positive one. Nigeria's military leaders had resisted democratization and even annulled a free presidential election before finally return the country to civilian rule. Liberia has been basically under a state of civil war since 1989. In 1994, the first military coup took place in the Gambia since its independence. Sierra Leone has experience democratization, military coup, and civil war throughout most of the decade. Only the democratization experience in Ghana can be considered to a successful one. Not only has it completed three successive presidential elections, Ghana also went through its very first of alternation of party in power. The democratization experiences in these five West African nations include democratic transition, democratic consolidation and democratic reversal.

Keywords: Democratization, Democratic Transition, Democratic Consolidation, Democratic Reversal

二、緣由與目的

一九五〇年代末期是非洲脫離殖民統治的開始，隨著一九九〇年納米比亞的獨立建國，這個非殖民化的過程算是告一段落。有學者將反殖民統治稱之為第一次的獨立運動，而將一九九〇年代初期的民主化運動稱之為第二次的獨立運動。二〇〇〇年十二月，迦納舉行總統大選，反對黨的候選人獲勝，為九十年代非洲民主運動劃下一個成功的句點。不過，在這十年當中，非洲民主運動並非完全平順，民主轉型及民主鞏固的進展緩慢，並有民主倒退的情況發生，值得研究非洲及民主政治的學者作一個評估，探討各個國家不同發展的背後因素。

在一九九〇年代以前，非洲國家的民主經驗相當有限，僅有少數幾個可以算是持續實施民主的國家，部份國家則是有過民主的經驗，但這些經驗並不能持續；其他的非洲國家雖在獨立之初有意實施民主政治，但大部份的非洲國家若不是為淪為軍人統治，就是一黨獨大的威權政府、或民粹社會主義的獨裁政權。

不過，隨著第三波民主化的風潮由南歐傳到拉丁美洲，以至於東亞及東歐後，非洲國家也開始經歷自由化及民主化。非洲各國對民主化的回應可大致分為三類：(一)政府領導人順應潮流，舉行多黨民主選舉，成功地完成民主轉型；(二)年邁的威權政府個人領導者持續抗拒民主風潮；(三)一些政

府領導人提出部份回應，用拖延方式來緩和民主的要求。

民主轉型成功的例子極多，如迦納、貝南、聖多美普林西比、南非、馬拉威等國家，但民主轉型並不代表民主政治就能鞏固。在歷經十年及許多國家至少有兩次的民主選舉後，非洲民主化的成績單並不亮麗。有長期為文人民主政府的國家竟然發生了軍事政變者(如甘比亞及象牙海岸)，也有政治人物在民主選舉失利後，選擇進行武力抗爭者(如剛果共和國及安哥拉)；有軍事獨裁政府不接受民主選舉的結果，不但拒絕交出政權並逮捕總統當選人者(如奈及利亞)，亦有民選總統被軍人推翻，必須靠外國勢力恢復其職位者(如獅子山)。因此，民主化及民主鞏固這個在拉丁美洲、東歐、及東亞地區被視為不太可能倒退的趨勢，並不見得能適用於非洲。

我們選擇西非的奈及利亞、賴比瑞亞、甘比亞、獅子山和迦納五個國家做為研究對象，主要是因為它們都是英語系國家，且地理位置較為接近，並屬於同一區域組織，各國的民主政治發展也相互有所影響。個人雖然具有法語閱讀能力，但是口語表達尚無法進行訪談，因此未將區域內的法語系國家納入研究對象。

此外，這五個國家的民主化也有不同的經歷，民主轉型、民主鞏固、和民主倒退的情況都曾發生在這幾個國家中，提供了民主經驗強烈的對比，並可藉由對它們的觀察，更多認識整個漢南非洲的民主發展歷程。

三、結果與討論

在這五國中，奈及利亞的民主化過程最具戲劇性發展。該國自一九八三年軍事強人布哈瑞推翻第二共和的民選文人政府後，就表示要回歸民主選舉，但時間表一再延後，直到一九九三年另一位軍人巴班吉達執政時，才正式舉行大選。很可惜的是，當選舉結果並非軍事政府所預期時，軍事政府竟然宣佈選舉結果無效，使得選政於文人的時間又再延後。一九九八年的總統大選，因為有當時擔任國家領導人的軍事強人阿巴查之參選，被視為是其專制政權的延續，並不是一個被看好的民主選舉。不過，由於阿巴查在選前數月突然暴斃死亡，而使得奈國民主進程峰迴路轉，有了新的生機。

賴比瑞亞自一九八九年爆發內戰後，民主化的理想自然被擱置一旁，期間雖成立過文人的過渡政府，但是畢竟是暫時性質。賴國內戰各方在經過七年多的動亂後，達成協議，於一九九七年舉行總統大選。或許是因為賴國人民亟盼和平安定，擔憂若不讓內戰中實力最強的泰勒將軍當選，將會引起更多的紛擾，他們選擇支持這位聲名狼藉的軍事強人成為總統。不過，賴比瑞亞的情勢並未因泰勒當選總統而穩定下來，反倒再度進入內戰的狀況，甚至泰勒第一任總統任期尚未結束，就被迫流亡奈及利亞，讓賴比瑞亞未來民主化的工作，留給了過渡政府去完成。

甘比亞是少數自一九六五年獨立以來就持續有多黨競爭的非洲民主國家之一，但是在一九九〇年代非洲各國經歷民主化的同時，甘比亞卻發生了該國的第一次成功的軍事政變，讓該國的民主政治發展蒙上陰影。在軍事政變後掌權的賈梅，於一九九六年脫下軍裝參選總統獲勝，並於二〇〇一年連任成功。由於賈梅年紀尚輕，是否會在二〇〇六年任期結束後交出政權，尚無法逆料，使得甘比亞的民主政治發展仍有變數。

獅子山是一九九〇年代經歷最多政治變化的西非國家。一九九〇年該國通過新憲，預備在一九九二年舉行多黨民主選舉，但大選尚未舉行就發生內戰。由於該國政府未能有效應付叛軍，而遭軍事政變推翻。即使是在持續內戰中，獅子山仍在一九九六順利舉行總統大選，卡巴在兩輪選舉後當選總統。一九九七年獅子山再度發生政變，卡巴總統被迫流亡，還是靠著西非經濟共同體的維和部隊，方能再度取回政權，並逐漸透過和平談判，於二〇〇二年結束內戰，卡巴總統也於內戰後的總統選舉中，順利連任。卡巴並非威權統治的獨裁者，若是獅子山各政黨能夠遵行民主機制的遊戲規則，應可逐漸完成民主鞏固。

迦納是西非五個英語國家中，民主化轉型最為平順與成功的案例。自迦納軍事政權於一九九〇代初期開放民主選舉後，長期執政的軍事強人羅林斯在一九九二年的民主選舉中獲勝，並於一九九六年贏得連任。不過，他所支持的候選人在二〇〇〇年卻敗

給了反對黨的郭佛，讓迦納經歷了該國首次的政黨輪替。

綜合我們對這五國民主化經驗的觀察，可以歸納出它們民主轉型的幾個基本特徵，包括(一)一黨獨大支配形式的結束；(二)反對黨合法地位受到確認；(三)言論、結社及集會自由的恢復；及(四)憲政改革後具競爭性的選舉。

儘管來自國內與國際方面對民主化要求極高，並對各國政府造成了相當大的壓力，我們研究的幾個案例卻並非都能順利轉型成為民主國家。其民主化障礙有許多的因素，而這些因素也能適用於其他漢南非洲國家，它們包括(一)一些重要國家的領導人拒絕向政治權利及民主程序等要求的壓力屈服，由於這些國家經濟表現還不錯，因此政治抗爭比較難獲得大多數民眾的支持；(二)某些國家仍然持續使用高壓手段對抗重要的政治變遷；(三)即使在一些開放人民擁有政治權利、允許反對黨成立的國家，執政黨仍然利用政府資源保持其優勢；(四)許多國家存在了族群衝突和地域矛盾，甚至引發內戰，影響了民主轉型的機會；即使實施民主政治後，族群衝突不但無法完全化解，反而會因選舉的動員更加激化；(五)民主政府對最有可能引發政治反對勢力的多重經濟危機之處理能力，並不見得優於威權政府，特別是在降低財政開支、實施市場經濟方面，民主政府往往缺乏魄力及決心，也讓民選總統在採取一些民主倒退的專斷措施時，不但有藉口、甚至具說服力，成為民主鞏固的

隱憂。

四、計畫成果自評

個人在選擇作此研究計劃時，已觀察非洲政治好幾年的時間，並且曾到南部和中部非洲多次，進行訪談。根據此研究計劃，個人有機會造訪西非國家，並實地觀察奈及利亞的總統大選和迦納的民主發展進程，可以說是極為豐碩的收穫。

在奈及利亞的總統大選中，個人是唯一來自亞洲的國際觀選團成員，也曾接受英國廣播電台的訪問，發表觀選感言。在奈及利亞研究期間，有機會與反對黨和新聞媒體接觸，不但是有助於瞭解該國的民主轉型之崎嶇坎坷，也對奈及利亞的族群衝突和地域矛盾有了更深的體驗。

基本上，非洲的學術研究主要是仰賴客觀的國際媒體報導和田野調查訪談的觀察，非洲國家本身由於並沒有充分可靠的相關數據統計，因此所能提供可作量化的資料非常有限，這也是個人對此研究計畫覺得較為不足之處。

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國科會出國研究報告

嚴震生

政治大學國際關係研究中心第一所研究員

研究過程

這次的國科會專題研究計畫是研究西非英語系國家的民主轉型。在五個研究對象的國家中，賴比瑞亞飽受內戰所苦，動亂不安，但在剛達成和平協議後，又與我國斷交，因此原有的訪問計畫無法進行。獅子山則剛走出內戰的陰影，簽證較為煩瑣，行程安排不易。甘比亞則是由於在奈及利亞和迦納飛機航班無法銜接，因此沒有成行。

個人是在去年四月到奈及利亞作研究訪問，並透過代表處的安排，成為該國總統大選時的國際觀選團中，唯一來自亞洲的成員，並接受BBC電台和當地新聞媒體採訪，發表對奈國總統大選的看法。除了觀察選舉外，個人曾拜會該國的獨立選舉委員會、執政黨和反對黨的黨部、國防部次長、國會議員，及奈國前國家領導人高溫(Yakubu Gowon)將軍，並多次和一般不同宗教信仰和族群背景的奈國百姓接觸，對該國民主轉型的潛在危機有極為深刻的瞭解。

去年十二月，個人透過前助理阿敏(Ibrahim Amin)的聯絡與安排，前往迦納進行田野調查。除了與迦納大學國際事務中心(Legon Centre for International Affairs)的C. E. K. Kumado教授交換意見外，也和總統府副秘書長會晤，此外並與當地支持前總統羅林斯(Jerry Rawlings)的民間團體有所接觸，因此對該國經歷政黨輪替的過程，和目前成立調查羅林斯的真相委員會(Truth Commission)有較為全面的認識。

研究感想

儘管我國目前與迦納沒有邦交，也未設代表處，但簽證的取得並不困難，這是到非邦交國作研究時所無須過於擔憂者。不過，相對而言，到設有代表處的奈及利亞的確是有許多的方便，特別是安排行程方面比較能夠有所掌握。

奈國舉行總統大選前一週，該國也舉行了國會議員和州長的選舉，在兩次的選舉中，該國人民都是用手蓋印來投票，極為不便。雖然我國與奈及利亞沒有邦交，但是應可致贈台灣選舉用的塑膠筆，成本不高，但若是在筆上加註文字，可說是物美價廉、促進邦誼的媒介。