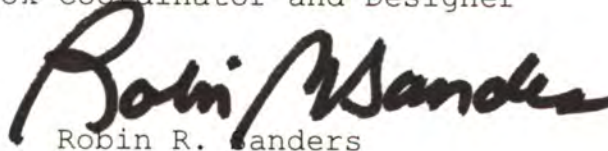


NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

This publication, "**Building the U.S.-Africa Partnership**" highlights all current U.S. Government agency programs and activities demonstrating this Administration's commitment to a new partnership with Africa. All U.S. Government agencies active in Africa provided information for this publication. On behalf of the interagency of the U.S. Government, we hope that you enjoy this publication as we build on the U.S.-Africa partnership hand-in-hand in the 21st Century.

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THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES:

Building the U.S.—Africa Partnership:

HAND-IN-HAND IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Eastern Africa



an annotated bibliography



National Foreign Affairs Training Center
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Foreign Affairs Training Center
U.S. Department of State

Eastern Africa

-an annotated bibliography

The School of Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute prepares area bibliographies for use in its training programs. In addition to this bibliography, the School publishes bibliographies of Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the Near East and North Africa, Latin America, South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia.

This bibliography was compiled by Krista Lessig, an intern for Spring 1995. Sections of the text were taken from the 1991 edition of *Sub-Saharan Africa: A Selected Functional and Country Bibliography*. This publication is not designed to be a comprehensive bibliography of the countries listed. Rather, it is intended to give the reader a place to begin further research by offering some of the best known, well-regarded, and accessible material available.

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General Material

*Agyeman, Opoku. *Nkrumah's Ghana & East Africa: Pan-Africanism & African Interstate Relations*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1992.

Agyeman's study looks at Nkrumah's influence outside of Ghana, in the states of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. His belief in continental unification, dismissed as impossible by many, placed him as a visionary known throughout the continent. The author's unique perspective allows the reader to sense Nkrumah's influence on the other Founding Fathers of the independent African continent.

Bennett, Norman Robert. *Arab Versus European: Diplomacy and War in Nineteenth-Century East Central Africa*. New York: Africana Publishing, 1986. [DT 431 .B46]

In this well-researched study of the diplomatic and cultural history of the Swahili Coast and East African interior, Bennett describes and analyzes the struggle for mastery between Muslim and Christian, and examines the impact of this struggle on the indigenous peoples of the region. A major scholarly achievement, the book is also a "good read," covering in detail or in passing areas now comprising Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, and Zaire. If you have read or plan to read the entertaining yet basically pro-Western book, *The Lunatic Express*, by Charles Miller, you should definitely balance your understanding through a study of this volume.

Berg-Schlosser, Dirk and Siegler, Rainer. *Political Stability and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.

With the failure of both modernization and dependency approaches to account meaningfully for the increasing differentiation among Third World countries in the last decade, more specific political factors and the role of the state in social and economic development have attracted renewed interest. In this context, this study explores why the three East African states, under similar regional and external conditions, have taken such differing development paths since their independence.

*Doornbos, Martin, Lionel Cliffe, Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed, and John Markakis, editors. *Beyond Conflict in the Horn: The Prospects for Peace, Recovery & Development in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea & Sudan*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1992.

This volume offers an assessment of the what is needed for recovery and development in East Africa after years of conflict. It provides a challenging agenda for the region to reach out of its current situation.

*Fukui, Katsuyoshi & Markakis, John., editors. *Ethnicity & Conflict in the Horn*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994.

This volume consists of eleven studies based on research by anthropologists and historians examining the role ethnicity plays in social conflict in Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia, and Kenya. This is an excellent compilation.

*Hansen, Holger Bernt and Michael Twaddle, eds. *Religion and Politics in East Africa: The Period Since Independence*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994.

This volume is divided into four parts; The Challenge of Islam; Christianity, Sectarianism and Politics in Uganda; Christians and Muslims in Kenyan Politics; and Cross-cultural Complications. The volume gives an overall examination of how governments has dealt with religious opposition and politicization.

Markakis, John. *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. [DT 367.75 .M37]

Especially valuable for its treatment of the Horn as a region, this very readable book focuses on the political movements seeking to establish states of their own or to change the structure of existing states. The detailed sections on Eritrea, as well as Oromo and Tigray, contribute to the strong presentation of the Ethiopian situation. Movements in Somalia, the Sudan, Djibouti, and Kenya are also discussed.

*Prendergast, John & Pauling, Sharon. *Peace, Development & People of the Horn of Africa*. Washington, D.C: Bread for the World Institute on Hunger and Development, 1992.

This study lays out a plan for relief on the Horn. It provides a policy framework addressing famine relief, assistance to grassroots development and conflict resolution. It addresses the question, "What role can outside donors play to aid peace in the Horn?"

1. Comoros

Bunge, Frederica, ed. *Indian Ocean: Five Island Countries. 2nd edition.* Washington: Foreign Area Studies, American University, 1983. [DS 349.8 .I5]

Newitt, Malyn. *The Comoro Islands: Struggle Against Dependency in the Indian Ocean.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. [DT 469 .C7 .N49]

Since this is one of the two major works in English on the Comoros, it is fortunate that it is well-researched, lucidly written, and comprehensive in scope.

*Ottenheimer, Martin & Ottenheimer, Harriet. *Historical Dictionary of Comoro Islands.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

This new edition in this excellent series gives the reader the most up-to-date information on the small islands and fills a gap that has been left in previous works.

2. Djibouti

Laudouze, Andre. *Djibouti: Nation-Carrefour.* Paris: Editions Karthala, 1982. [DT 411.22 .L38]

See Markakis, under ETHIOPIA.

*Shraeder, Peter J. *Djibouti.* Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1991.

Another volume in the "World Bibliographical Series", this work contains a good introductory essay which summarizes Djibouti's historical context and addresses its current political situation. This is the most recent, comprehensive bibliography available.

Tholomeier, Robert. *Djibouti: Pawn of the Horn of Africa.* Translation by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981. [JQ 3421 .A3]
SEE Tekle, Prouty, and Duffield, above

3. Eritrea

Cliffe, Lionel and Davidson, Basil, eds. *The Long Struggle of Eritrea for Independence and Constructive Peace*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1989.

This book looks at the history of the Eritrean struggle in the wider context of the history of northeastern Africa. Sympathetic to the Eritrean cause, it examines the legal standing of Eritrea's claim for independence, the character of the liberation movement and also looks at the task it has set for itself and evaluates its achievements.

Gebre-Medhin, Jordan. *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea: A Critique of Ethiopian Studies*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1989.

Using the resources of anthropology, political science, sociology, history, and Marxian political economy, Dr. Gebre-Medhin's book provides the most comprehensive analysis yet produced on the material basis and social background of Eritrean nationalism. For an erudite discussion of Eritrea's international case, see Bereket Selassie, *Eritrea and the United Nations*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1989.

Papstein, Robert. *Eritrea: Revolution at Dusk: A Pictorial Rendering*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1990.

A stunning coffee-table book of photographs taken in the rugged, dramatic mountains of Eritrea. A visual inspiration that shows the depth of human commitment to liberation.

Pateman, Roy. *Eritrea: Even the Stones are Burning*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990.

A useful review of the origins and evolution of the Eritrean conflict by a longtime, sympathetic observer, this work also includes an emphasis on expectations for an independent Eritrea.

*Tesfagiorgis, Gebre H., editor. *Emergent Eritrea: Challenges of Economic Development*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1993.

This volume resulted from a University of Asmara conference on economic policy options held in July 1991. It is a highly valuable source of information dealing with the problems faced by the new Eritrean state.

*Yohannes, Okbazghi. *Eritrea, a Pawn in World Politics*. University Press of Florida, 1991. [DT 195.3 .O38 1991]

Highly critical of the role of the United Nations during the Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict, this book offers an intriguing, although openly biased view, of the Eritrean state. Yohannes blames the UN of denying the Eritrean people their right to nationhood, and feels the region was caught up in the United States' Cold War games. This book offers a challenging but interesting thesis and is worth pursuing.

4. Ethiopia

*Abegaz, Berhanu, ed. *Essays on Ethiopian Economic Development*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994.

This work contains seven essays which delve into how the Ethiopian Revolution which occurred from has affected the region economically. Topics include agricultural and industrial development, small-scale industry, and hopes for economic reform.

*Abraham, Kinfu. *Ethiopia: From Bullets to the Ballot Box: The Bumpy Road to Democracy & the Political Economy of Transition*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1994.

This book provides a historical chronicle of Ethiopia from events leading to the 1974 upheaval and again in the 1991 conflict. The author feels the 1991 upheaval "revived the hope and optimism of the late 1960s and early 1970s" for a democratic change within the nation rather than a military one.

*Agyeman-Duah, Baffour. *The United States & Ethiopia: Military Assistance & the Quest for Security, 1953-1993*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994.

According to the author, Ethiopian reliance on an external source for military strength created a false sense of security among the rulers. The reliance on external support allow the rulers to ignore popular interests. This eventually led to the downfall of U.S.-backed Haile Selassiel's and Soviet-backed Menghistu Haile Mariam's governments.

This book provides an excellent look into how American policy affects the inner workings of a nation.

*Araia, Ghelawdewos. *Ethiopia: The Political Economy of Transition*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995.

Clapham, C. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Highly recommended as a balanced book seeking to compare and contrast the current situation in Ethiopia with the essential nature of the former empire.

Druce, Nell and Hammond, Jenny, eds. *Sweeter Than Honey: Ethiopian Women and the Revolution: Testimonies of Tigrayan Women*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1990.

This is a collection of testimonies by women who have been fighting in the 15-year war against the ruling party in Ethiopia. Their accounts focus on not only the war against Mengistu's army but also the fight against male domination, celebrating their culture and realizing a vision for a new country in the midst of starvation and incredible hardship.

*Erlikh, Hagai. *Ethiopia and the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

Erlikh examines the Middle Eastern dimensions of Ethiopia's political history and foreign relations from the seventeenth century to the present. Also examines the effect of Islam and Christianity on Ethiopian society.

Giorgis, Dawit W. *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1988.

The author, now in exile in the United States, was the Deputy Chief of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission during the Ethiopian famine of 1983-1985. In this powerfully written book he offers strong and controversial positions on Ethiopia's crisis points: the history of the Ethiopian revolution, the Eritrean war, the question of nationalities, the character of Mengistu Haile Mariam, and the possibility of change.

*Griffin, Keith., editor. *The Economy of Ethiopia*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

By examining the causes of Ethiopia's poor economic performance since the revolution, this volume attempts to provide some insight into a new direction for Ethiopian development. This book is better for the reader with some economics background, and who is interested in learning in greater detail the ways in which Ethiopia's living standard can be improved.

Harbeson, J. *The Ethiopian Transformation: The Quest for the Post-Imperial State*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.

An important contribution to the study of contemporary Ethiopian politics. It provides a detailed analysis of the fall of Haile Selassie and of the rising power of the military under Mengistu Haile Mariam's leadership. The book is also a valuable theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of revolution.

*Jalata, Asafa. *Oromia & Ethiopia: State Formation & Ethnonational Conflict, 1868-1992*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Jalata examines another side of Ethiopian tumultuous times in the past twenty years when ethnic conflicts have prevailed. The Oromia, a group not as well-known as the now-independent Eritreans, are attempting to assert their own independence. Although Jalata is not an unbiased observer, his study is an excellent work, highlighting the growing global difficulties raised by concepts of ethnicity and ethnic conflict.

Kaplan, Robert D. *Surrender or Starve: The Wars Behind the Famine*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.

According to the author, the Ethiopian famine of 1983-1985 was a by-product of the drift toward Soviet-style communism in Ethiopia, and a lethal weapon in a war in which "surrender or starve" was the choice that Ethiopia's Amhara-dominated government offered its rebellious minorities. Based on eyewitness accounts and interviews with refugees in Ethiopia and the Sudan, this book documents the conditions of strife, conquest, and forced population movements of which the famine was just a part.

Keller, Edmond J. *Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Dr. Keller shows that Emperor Haile Selassie, although a politically astute statesman, was unable to cope with the economic, social, and political crises that came

about during the modernization of his bureaucratic state, and that eventually precipitated the 1974 revolution. Keller examines in detail the ensuing socialist regime's largely unsuccessful efforts to reconstitute Ethiopian society on the foundations of new social, economic, and political institutions and a new social myth.

Korn, David A. *Ethiopia: The United States and the Soviet Union*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986.

Written by an American Foreign Service Officer (Chargé d'affaires in Addis Ababa, 1983-85) in a clear and understated style, this is a highly recommended survey and analysis of the interaction between the Ethiopian Revolution and the policies of the two superpowers.

*Marcus, Harold G. *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

From the foremost Ethiopian scholar comes this volume provides an extensive background of Ethiopia and is an excellent place to begin one's research.

Markakis, John. *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. [DT 367.75 .M37]

Especially valuable for its treatment of the Horn as a region, this very readable book focuses on the political movements seeking to establish states of their own or to change the structure of existing states. The detailed sections on Eritrea, as well as Oromo and Tigray, contribute to the strong presentation of the Ethiopian situation. Movements in Somalia, the Sudan, Djibouti, and Kenya are also discussed.

Mottern, Nicholas. *Suffering Strong: The Journal of a Westerner in Ethiopia, the Sudan, Eritrea and Chad*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1987.

Mottern's journal tells readers much about the underlying causes of hunger in Africa. He draws readers in to experience both the embarrassment of seeing a starving child and the thrill of accomplishment of irrigated fields in Eritrea.

*Ofcansky, Thomas., editor. *Ethiopia, a Country Study*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C: Library of Congress. 1992. [G59 .E83 1993]

An update from 1981, this volume follows the Ethiopian Revolution through the fall of Mengistu's regime in mid-1991 and discusses the nature of Ethiopian society.

*Pankhurst, Alula. *Settlement & Famine in Ethiopia: The Villagers' Experience*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

By living in a resettlement village and through extensive surveys of villagers, anthropologist Pankhurst provides a new perspective of the Ethiopian government's resettlement program of the mid-1980s. This work is important in further understanding the different viewpoints which affect the development process.

*Prouty, Chris & Rosenfeld, Eugene. *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia & Eritrea*. 2nd ed. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994. [DT381 .R57 1994]

This updated edition provides excellent background material on these two countries, and the conflict between them.

*Tiruneh, Andargachew. *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

This is an interesting account of the Ethiopian Revolution which highlights the causes leading to the change in Ethiopian governance. Tiruneh provides an objective and absorbing view into look turbulent time.

Wubneh, Mulatu and Yohannis Abate. *Ethiopia: Transition and Development in the Horn of Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.

One of the more prosaic volumes in the series of introductory surveys of African states, this book is, nonetheless, of value to the general reader seeking a comprehensive overview of the country's history, geography, politics, culture, economy, and international relations.

5. The Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict

*Connell, Dan. *Against All Odds: A Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1993.

A more novelistic approach to the Eritrean Revolution, journalist Connell offers a view of the war from a unique perspective.

*Duffield, Mark & Prendergast, John. *Without Troops & Tanks: Humanitarianism Intervention in Ethiopia & Eritrea*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press: 1994.

This volume provides an analysis of the role of internal political forces within a conflict such as the Ethiopia-Eritrean War, as well as the role of NGO humanitarian efforts while attempting to remain a neutral force. This is an excellent overview of a complex situation.

*Tekle, Amare., editor. *Eritrea & Ethiopia: From Conflict to Cooperation*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1994.

Based on conferences held in 1989, this study attempts to identify the root causes of the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict and offers recommendations for eliminating these causes. The essays deal with political affiliation between the two countries, as well as the role of the United States. An excellent study which represents many conflicting views.

*Wilson, Amrit. *The Challenge Road: Women & the Eritrea Revolution*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1991.

Wilson offers a view into a part of the Eritrea Revolution that is not often examined, the role of women during the thirty year long conflict. Through interviews of the participants, the author offers a look into these women's lives.

6. Kenya

*Berman, Bruce and John Lonsdale. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1992.

This volume is a collection of papers written by a historian and a political analyst. The work covers Kenya from colonialism through independence and includes an in-depth look at the Mau-Mau revolt.

Coughlin, Peter and Ikiara, Gerrishon K., eds. *Industrialization in Kenya*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1989.

The studies in this book focus on the dominant issues for industrialization in Kenya, with extended examples from Tanzania and Zambia. The studies advocate strong national policies to develop local technological capabilities and a well-linked, robust industrial base. Vivid case studies illuminate the issues in this practical, policy-oriented book.

Davison, Jean, and the Women of Mutira. *Voices From Mutira: Lives of Rural Gikuyu Women*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

Voices From Mutira allows rural women to speak for themselves, to describe the ways they view the historical and sociocultural changes influencing their individual and collective lives. Seven Gikuyu women representing three life stages share their insights. Together, their life histories illuminate critical moments in Kenya's turbulent history. This book is a must for scholars interested in cross-cultural comparisons of women's lives, of women's history, and of women in development.

Downing, Thomas E., Gitu, Kangethe W., and Kamau, Crispin M. *Coping with Drought in Kenya: National and Local Strategies*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

Using the 1984/85 food crisis as a natural experiment, this book documents national and local strategies in Kenya for coping with drought. Part 1 provides an overview of the drought. Parts 2-4 present approaches to drought forecasting and monitoring; assess drought vulnerability, impacts, and coping strategies among small holder agriculturists and pastoralists; and describe institutional experiences in drought management. The final part discusses food policy in Kenya and Africa in relation to drought as a recurrent feature of the environment.

Edgerton, Robert B. *Mau Mau: An African Crucible*. New York: Free Press, 1989.

A detailed history of the mostly Kikuyu struggle against British colonial rule in the 1950s -- a movement that came to be known as the Mau Mau revolt. Edgerton utilizes testimony from both sides of the fight to chronicle the brutal, years-long conflict, which not only took the lives of 11,000 people, but also branded the Mau Mau in the western press as savages and terrorists and did not end in immediate success. Edgerton sweeps away the myths of the unilateral butchery by the black warriors, detailing the atrocities perpetrated by the British troops. This narrative benefits from Edgerton's wider portrayal of Kenya's multinational society and the black citizens' clamor for jobs and land reform.

*Fadiman, Jeffrey *When We Began There Were Witchmen: An Oral History from Mount Kenya*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Fadiman tells the history of the Meru up until colonial time by extensively interviewing elders. While covering almost every aspect of Meru life, this work specifically addresses the supernatural.

Goldsworthy, David. *Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982. [DT 433.582 .M35 .G64]

For the serious student of Kenyan politics, this is an excellent choice as a sequel to a general history, to bring to life the human dimension of the complex and crucial 1950s and 1960s. Goldsworthy has done his homework and it will be some time before a better book appears on one of the most influential and controversial architects of the modern Kenyan political system.

Grosh, Barbara. *Public Enterprise in Kenya: What Works, What Doesn't, and Why*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991.

After examining the records of some one hundred public and private enterprises in Kenya between 1963 and 1988, the author concludes that in certain cases parastatals can be made to perform efficiently if limited reforms are implemented. This empirical study suggests that privatization is not the panacea for Africa's economic difficulties.

*Himbara, David. *Kenyan Capitalists, the State, & Development*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

This thought provoking book examines the economic development of Kenya and its causes. Himbara feels that the Kenyan state was not the catalyst for development, but rather the entrepreneurs caused this growth. He specifically address the role of Indian capitalists who have been ignored by other scholars. This excellent volume looks at the African business community as a whole, and is highly recommended.

*House-Midamba, Bessie. *Class Development & Gender Inequality in Kenya, 1963-1990*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.

The author analyses the role of women in the development process by using traditional class theory and by focusing on urban women's economic and political roles. She provides an overview of women's role in society from pre-colonial to post-colonial

times, and examines the changing gap between women's legal status and their actual attainment of rights. This is an excellent edition to the recent growth of works dealing specifically with women's issues.

*Kabira, Wanjiku Mukabi, and Elizabeth Akinyi Nzioki. *Celebrating Women's Resistance: A Case Study of Women's Groups Movement in Kenya*. Nairobi: Association of African Women for Research & Development, 1993.

This compilation arose out of the strong women's movement in Kenya, which is one of the key nations in Africa where the role of women in development is fast being recognized. Although the work is not particularly well-organized, it is very valuable to see the effect women have on development.

*Khasiani, S.A. and Njiro, E. I., eds. *The Women's Movement in Kenya*. Nairobi: Association of African Women for Research and Development, 1993.

This volume is a collection of essays dealing with many aspects of women's groups and women's roles in Kenyan society. It is a superb work on how Kenyan women see themselves, and how this view has changed from traditional society to modern day.

Leo, Christopher. *Land and Class in Kenya*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. [HD 983 .L46]

This is a some-what dated contribution to the "Kenya debate," the essence of which is summarized clearly in the first chapter. Leo's empirical data are drawn from the "Million-Acre" land settlement scheme generally, and the experience by 1971-72 of one group of African farmers specifically. Other major figures in this class analysis school include Colin Leys, Michael Cowen, Gavin Kitching, and Nicola Swainson.

Lofchie, Michael F. *The Policy Factor: Agricultural Performance in Kenya and Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

Thoroughly researched and logically organized, this book examines the specifics of agricultural policies and production in Kenya and Tanzania as illustrative examples of the complexity and diversity which is masked by broad generalizations on declining per capita food production in Africa. Kenya's great success in dramatically boosting the production of both food and exportable crops during the period of independence is thoroughly documented; Tanzania, conversely, is shown to have suffered precipitous declines in both crop categories. Lofchie traces the reasons for this variation to differences in policy toward the agricultural sector.

*Maloba, Wunyabari O. *Mau Mau & Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.

This book offers a unique perspective on Kenya's Mau Mau revolution. Maloba asserts the proposition that Mau Mau was more than a Kikuyu-based revolt, but was fueled by nationalist sentiment created by the colonial situation. He studies the revolt through present day Kenya and how Kenyans own view of Mau Mau has changed.

Miller, Norman N. *Kenya: The Quest for Prosperity*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

An eminently readable and comprehensive introduction to Kenya, this work provides the general reader with a sympathetic but not uncritical assessment of the Kenyan system. An excellent choice if one can read only one book on the country, and "must" reading as a counterpoint to the class analysis so popular among other Kenya scholars (see Leo above).

Mirza, Sarah and Strobel, Margaret, eds. *Three Swahili Women: Life Histories from Mombasa, Kenya*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Ominde, S.H., ed. *Population and Development in Kenya*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1985. [HB 3662.5 .A3]

An excellent introduction to the relationship between population growth and economic development in Kenya, this slim but research-rich volume should be consulted by every serious student of contemporary Kenya.

*Presley, Cora Ann. *Kikuyu women, the Mau Mau rebellion, and social change in Kenya*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

Presley's study examines in depth the role of women in the Mau Mau rebellion and offers an excellent view into a side of the story which was previously ignored.

Schatzberg, Michael G., ed. *The Political Economy of Kenya*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1987.

Spear, Thomas. *Kenya's Past: An Introduction to Historical Method in Africa*. London: Longman, 1981. [DT 433 .S65 .S68]

Recommended particularly for those who seek to go beyond the basic outline of historical patterns in Kenya and into the methods by which Africa's past is reconstructed. An even more advanced work is Derek Nurse and Thomas Spear, *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

*Widner, Jennifer A. *The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo!* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

An excellent study which examines the transformation of KANU (Kenya African National Union) from a loose independence group into a Daniel Arap-Moi dominated party state. This transformation is represented by the change over time from the unifying slogan "Harambee!" (let's pull together) to today's "Nyayo!" (let's follow in the footsteps).

7. Madagascar

*Allen, Philip M. *Madagascar: Conflicts of Authority in the Great Island*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995.

Bloch, Maurice. *From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. [DT 469 .M3B7]

While most of this complex anthropological book is not for the general reader, the first two chapters offer the best single introduction to the essence of the Merina people available anywhere.

*Bradt, Hilary. *Madagascar*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1993.

Excellent bibliography which includes many French entries. Also includes an introduction which summarizes Madagascar's history.

Brown, Mervyn. *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History from Early Times to Independence*. Hamden, CT: Shoe String, 1979. [DT 469 .M3B7]

Written by a former British Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic with a command of the Malagasy language, this popular history is suitable for the general reader. At its best in its lively descriptions of the diplomatic intrigues attending Madagascar's late nineteenth century relations with Europe, the book is woefully inadequate on the social, economic, and cultural environment of Malagasy politics. Enjoy the charming and fluent narrative, but remember that the Europeans were not the only source of change and the Merina are not the only people on the island.

Covell, Maureen. *Madagascar, Politics, Economics and Society*. New York: Frances Pinter, 1987. [DT 469 .M343 .C68]

This meticulously-detailed compendium of facts about political life of the 1970s and 1980s is couched in a somewhat tedious analysis of "an African Marxist regime."

Ellis, Stephen. *The Rising of the Red Shaws: A Revolt in Madagascar, 1895-1899*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Recommended for the advanced student who has prior familiarity with the general history of the Malagasy, this scholarly work uses Malagasy archives and other original sources to present a Madagascar-centered analysis of the causes and consequences of the complex civil war set off by the imposition of French colonial rule in the 1890s. The fundamental problems which modernization poses for Madagascar's Afro-Asian society were not resolved in the 1890s and Ellis's examination of them is highly relevant to contemporary Madagascar.

Huntington, Richard. *Gender and Social Structure in Madagascar*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

The author examines patterns of sexual experience, categories of gender definition, forms of social institution, and the worldview among the Bara of Madagascar. Case studies stress the pivotal position of women within a patrilineal structure, and marriage values are considered in the context of Bara folktales. A very interesting work, particularly for persons with a background in anthropology or social science.

Murphy, Dervla. *Muddling Through in Madagascar*. New York: Overlook Press, 1990.

Traveling with her 14-year-old daughter, Murphy makes her way through the rain forests of the island, threading through her narrative the fascinating history of the island and its peoples.

*Sharp, Lesley A. *The Possessed & the Dispossessed: Spirits, Identity, & Power in a Madagascar Migrant Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

This book offers a unique perspective on Madagascar by focusing on a multiethnic migrant community rather than on one ethnic group. The author's presents the thesis that spirit possession is a responses to the external effects of the global economy.

8. Mauritius

Alladin, Ibrahim. *Education and Neocolonialism: A Study of Educational Development in Mauritius*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990.

Bunge, Frederica, ed. *Indian Ocean: Five Island Countries, 2nd edition*. Washington, DC: Foreign Area Studies, American University, 1983. [DS 349.8 .I5]

*Bowman, Larry W. *Mauritius: Democracy & Development in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

An excellent synopsis of Mauritius which encapsulates all aspects of the nation.

Bowman, Larry W. *Mauritius: Diversity and Democracy in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

One of the best books on Mauritius, this survey strikes a good balance between recognition of the island-state's stability, democracy, and prosperity, and the underlying tensions which could undo all these impressive achievements. This comprehensive introduction to the country (numerous photos, maps, tables, bibliographic references) is among the very best of the Westview series.

*Eriksen, Thomas H. *Us & Them in Modern Societies: Ethnicity & Nationalism in Mauritius, Trinidad & Beyond*. Oslo, Norway: Scandinavian Press, 1992.

Eriksen brings the island-nation of Mauritius into the debate occurring on the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, what truly is the role of ethnicity and nationalism in these societies. This study is especially intriguing due to the pluralism Mauritius' society.

*Lutz, Wolfgang, ed. *Population-Development-Environment: Understanding Their Interactions in Mauritius*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1994.

Lutz examines the role of population growth on environmental degradation. Mauritius surprised everyone by lowering their fertility rate to replacement level in a thirty year period, thus supporting a booming economy. Now the government is attempting to preserve the tiny island's environment, and the author examines how this goal intermixes with the goal of development.

*Selvon, Sydney. *Historical Dictionary of Mauritius, 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1991.

Excellent and extensive bibliography which includes a thorough history of this island state.

Simmons, Adele. *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982. [DT 469 .M47 .S55]

Strongly recommended as an introduction to Mauritius, this volume is essentially straightforward political history, with tangential references to social and economic issues.

9. Seychelles

*Bennett, George. *Seychelles*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1993.

This bibliography contains virtually all the written material on Seychelles, including highly obscure items. Good reference for the serious reader.

Bunge, Frederica, ed. *Indian Ocean: Five Island Countries, 2nd edition*. Washington, DC: Foreign Area Studies, American University, 1983. [DS 349.9 .I5]

Franda, Marcus. *The Seychelles: Unquiet Islands*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982. [DT 469.54 .F72]

Highly recommended as the best single introduction to the Seychelles.

Mancham, James R. *Paradise Raped: Life, Love, and Power in the Seychelles*. London: Methuen, 1983. [DT 469 .S483 .M35]

*Vine, Peter. *Seychelles*. London: Immel Publications, 1992.

Vine, Peter. *Seychelles*. Portland, OR: International Specialized Book Services, 1989.

10. Somalia

Cassanelli, Lee V. *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. [DT 402.3 .C37]

For the serious student of Somalia, this work offers an overview of historical evolution in southern Somalia over three centuries, along with enlightening insights into a pastoral society which result from examining Cassanelli's "methodologies of ethnohistory." For those ready to go further, the next step would be *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Mahammad Abdille Hasan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) by Said S. Samatar, in which an effort is made to interpret the Somali worldview by focusing on the political use of poetic oratory by the father of Somali nationalism.

*Ghalib, Jama M. *The Cost of Dictatorship: The Somali Experience*. New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1995.

The fascinating book provides the reader an insider's view into the Somali situation. Ghalib, a rural peasant, eventually became Minister of the Interior in the 1970s and recorded the human rights violations that occurred in his country.

Laitin, David D. and Samatar, Said S. *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987. [DT 403 .L33]

An empathetic yet critical introduction to Somali ecology, history, kinship, economy, government, and foreign relations, this book contains a wealth of information, analysis, and insight. There is an emphasis on the period since 1960.

Lewis, I.M. *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*. 4th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. [DT 403 .L395]

This is a standard introduction to Somali history and culture by a leading social anthropologist and specialist on Somalia. In this book Lewis surveys the past from a decidedly pro-Somali perspective. Despite criticism by other historians and non-Somalis, this expanded, updated, and revised version of earlier works is certain to be cited as the standard history in English on the country.

Loughran, Katherine, et al., eds. *Somalia in Word and Image*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986.

A beautifully illustrated introductory survey of the main themes in Somali art and culture.

*Makinda, Samuel M. *Seeking Peace from Chaos: Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Makinda's study examines both the internal and external causes of the Somali conflict. While laying some of the blame on Cold War maneuvers, the author also acknowledges the usefulness of U.S. peacekeeping forces within the region.

Massey, Garth. *Subsistence and Change: Lessons of Agropastoralism in Somalia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987. [DT 402.4 .R35 .M37]

Based upon survey and ethnographic research carried out among the Rahanweyn of south-central Somalia, this study pays particular attention to economic activities, linking them with environmental factors as well as with history, culture, the division of labor and women's roles, family structure, demography, and herding and agriculture. How change can best be introduced into such a society is the central question of the book.

*Metz, Helen C., editor. *Somalia: A Country Study*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C: Library of Congress, 1993. [G59 .G43 1993]

Another volume in the Library of Congress' exemplary series of country studies.

Puglielli, Annarita, ed. *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies*. Rome: Il Pensiero Scientifico Editore, 1988.

Over fifty articles, primarily in English, on topics ranging from folklore to medicine to livestock production. A comprehensive introduction to the range of specialists writing about Somalia.

*Samatar, Ahmed I., ed. *The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

This volume contains a collection of paper from a conference held in Geneva in 1992 to discuss the situation in Somalia. It is a well-rounded work and covers all the bases pertinent to the conflict, including the lessons to be learned from the Somali experience.

Samatar, Abdi I. *The State and Rural Transformation in Northern Somalia, 1884-1986*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Despite its turgid Marxian jargon, this volume is included because the bibliography is excellent, and Samatar, a northern Somali, does emphasize issues -- class formation, gender inequalities, international capital -- which are ignored or neglected in other works on the Somali people.

11. Tanzania

*Bagachwa, Mboya S.D. and A. Naho. *A Review of Recent Development in the Second Economy in Tanzania*. Nairobi: African Economic Research Consortium, 1994.

The authors attempt to accurately gage the second economy and judge it's percentage of the whole Tanzanian economy. Their goal is to provide more accurate statistics than have been available in the past in order to avoid faulty policy analysis. This method is very useful in Africa, where the informal economy is fast outpacing growth in the formal sectors.

*Buchert, Lene. *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919 - 1990*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994.

This study investigates changes and continuity within Tanzanian education system from pre-colonial times to after independence. Buchert questions how well the debt-ridden nation has been able to accomplish its goals.

*Campbell, Horace & Stein, Howard., editors. *Tanzania & the IMF: The Dynamics of Liberalization*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992. [HC885 .T363 1992]

Yet another highly critical view development agencies in Tanzania, these authors feel that IMF imposed policies contradict the government's socialist ideals known as "Ujamaa".

Clayton, Anthony. *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath*. Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1981. [DT 435.75 .C58]

This is a comprehensive account of the Zanzibari Revolution and its aftermath, and it represents the best introduction to the island. Clayton draws on extensive oral sources and journalistic evidence to develop his well-organized narrative; he has little to say on the deeper social and economic consequences of the revolution.

Coulson, Andrew. *Tanzania: A Political Economy*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1982. [HC 885 .C68]

This outstanding book, although somewhat dated, is an excellent work. Clearly written, highly informative, and analytically compelling, this general work emphasizes Tanzania's structural continuity since World War I. Coulson writes from a sympathetic yet critically honest understanding of the concrete conditions of real life in Tanzania; he does not get bogged down in the nature of Nyerere or European political theory.

Feierman, Steven. *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

This work focuses on social thought in recent history among the farmers of the Shambaa-speaking region of Tanzania. Not a book about Tanzania so much as it is a thoughtful inquiry into the intellectual basis of the relationships between cultural systems and rural politics.

*Havnevik, Kjell J. *Tanzania: The Limits to Development from Above*. New York: Coronet Books. 1993.

By examining the responses of peasants to development attempts in Tanzania, Havenik concludes that the socialist experiment failed because the peasants were not consulted, and the government and international aid agencies were concerned more about short-term interests than long-term development.

Hodd, Michael, ed. *Tanzania After Nyerere*. New York: Frances Pinter, 1988. [DT 448.2 .T29]

A collection of informative articles, some by Tanzanians, reflecting the achievements and limitations of Nyerere's governance as well as policy options for the future. Not an introduction, by any means, but worth dipping into for brief discussions on such topics as rural development, industrialization, trade and aid, education, and urbanization.

Hyden, Goran. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980. [HD 1339 .T34 .H93]

This book is well worth examining for a good summary of Tanzania's development strategies since independence and an original and provocative interpretation of reasons for their lack of success. Hyden's thesis is that theoreticians and development planners in Dar es Salaam have seriously underestimated the extent to which Tanzanian farmers can evade and resist both capitalist and socialist orientations in order to remain within their world of economic activities dominated by social relationships.

Lofchie, Michael F. *The Policy Factor: Agricultural Performance in Kenya and Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

Thoroughly researched and logically organized, this book examines the specifics of agricultural policies and production in Kenya and Tanzania as illustrative examples of the complexity and diversity which is masked by broad generalizations on declining per capita food production in Africa. Kenya's great success in dramatically boosting the production of both food and exportable crops during the period of independence is thoroughly documented; Tanzania, conversely, is shown to have suffered precipitous declines in both crop categories. Lofchie traces the reasons for this variation to differences in policy toward the agricultural sector.

*Lugalla, Joe. *Crisis, Urbanization, & Urban Poverty in Tanzania: A Study of Urban Poverty & Survival Politics*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995.

*McHenry, Dean E., Jr. *Limited Choices: The Political Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

McHenry examines Tanzania's attempt to build a socialist society as opposed to its current acceptance of IMF conditionalities. A good interpretation of the difficulties the Tanzanian government has faced.

*Sarris, Alexander H. & Van Den Brink, Rogier. *Economic Policy & Household Welfare During Crisis & Adjustment in Tanzania*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Excellent for those readers with some economics background, this work examines the effect different policies had on the Tanzanian population and concludes that the majority of people saw little change despite wide policy shifts.

*Shao, Ibrahim. *The Political Economy of Land Reforms in Zanzibar: Before and After the Revolution*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1992.

Shao study gives a historical overview of the region and examines British and Arab influences.

*Shao, Ibrahim, ed. *Structural Adjustment in a Socialist Country: The Case of Tanzania*. Harare: SAPES Books, 1992.

This work covers the economic history of Tanzania from before the implementation of structural adjustment, through the origin of economic crisis and the impact of structural adjustment, and offers a suggestions for Tanzania to resolve the economic situation. This is a great book if you already have some economics background, yet it not so technical as to be too difficult for the general reader.

*Spear, Thomas and Waller, Richard, eds. *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. London: James Currey Ltd, 1993.

This excellent study delves into the truth behind the popular misconceptions of the Maasai people.

Swantz, M.L. *Women in Development: A Creative Role Denied? The Case of Tanzania*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. [HD 6211.3 .S93]

This engaging study of women in rural areas and among the low-paid wage earners of the towns provides historical background to the position of women in Tanzania today. Somewhat technical anthropology in some places, but a fascinating addition to the usual literature in which gender issues are seldom treated.

Wilson, Amrit. *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania*. London: Pluto Press, 1989.

This book sets out an interpretation of United States policy at the time of the Zanzibar Revolution, the East African army mutinies and the formation of Tanzania, 1964-65. The book's chief value will be the disturbing light that it does throw on the American government procedures, intelligence evaluation, obfuscating jargon, and rigid attitudes of twenty-five years ago; it is a work for students of American rather than African history.

Yeager, Rodger. *Tanzania: An African Experiment, 2nd edition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. [DT 438 .Y4]

Well researched and highly readable, this succinct survey offers the general reader an ideal introduction to Tanzania and, through its extensive and annotated bibliography, to Tanzanian studies.

12. Uganda

Avirgan, Tony and Honey, Martha. *War in Uganda: The Legacy of Idi Amin*. Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1982; and London: Zed Press, 1982. [DT 433.283 .A94]

An interesting and well-written book by two journalists with East African experience who won exceptional access to documents and other evidence left in the wake of the collapse of the Amin regime. Unfortunately, the authors are not without bias (generally pro-Tanzania, pro-Obote, and anti-Western), yet the work does contain a useful index, glossary, and maps.

Bunker, Stephen G. *Peasants Against the State: The Politics of Market Control in Bugisu, Uganda, 1900-1983*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987. [HD 984 .Z8 .B843]

Not easy reading, but an important book based on extensive field work over a 13-year period. Bunker argues that much of the decline in agricultural production in Africa is due to the fact that the state thinks it must suppress peasant organizations in order to get the peasantry to increase production and market produce to the state. This

richly-detailed micro-level case study shows how local leaders have been able to create "political space" for themselves under colonial rule and the Obote and Amin regimes.

*Hansen, Holger B. & Twaddle, Michael., editors. *Changing Uganda: The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment & Revolutionary Change*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1991.

An excellent, comprehensive book which covers an amazingly wide area of subjects dealing with many aspects of the Uganda nation.

Hansen, Holger B. and Twaddle, Michael, eds. *Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 1988.

This significant book provides informed, up-to-date essays appraising Uganda's quarter century since independence. The essays indicate that the case of Uganda presents, in aggravated form, the crises common to many other African countries: infrastructure breakdown, mounting foreign debt, military rule, and waves of refugees.

*Jamison, Martin., editor. *Idi Amin & Uganda: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, Inc., 1992.

Very descriptive bibliography containing more than 400 items chronicling Amin's rule in Uganda.

Jorgensen, Jan Jelmert. *Uganda, A Modern History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. [HC 870 .J67]

This is probably the best example of the Ugandan case as perceived in the structural dependence paradigm, in which historical trends are explained primarily as the adaptation and development of the country's resources and social system to meet the needs of the United Kingdom. Other examples of this approach, with even more recondite jargon, are the recent works of D. Wadada Nabudere, *Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda* (London: Onyx Press, 1980) and Mahmood Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda* (London: Heinemann, 1983).

*Kasozi, A. B. K. *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda, 1964-1985*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

*Mutibwa, Phares. *Uganda Since Independence*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992.

Mutibwa, a Ugandan scholar, offers insight in Uganda's problems and its hope for recovery. The author feels that Uganda's difficulties can not simply be blamed on foreign influence or on bad leadership (Obote, Amin) alone; there are other internal factors which have to be examined to truly understand the nation's hardships.

Omara-Otunnu, Amii. *Politics and the Military in Uganda, 1890-1985*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

This book relates both precolonial and colonial military organization and culture to intra-military and civil-military relations in independent Uganda. Omara-Otunnu argues that continuity has characterized Uganda's tragic history: an enduring pattern of political manipulation of language and ethnicity, especially in military recruitment, promotion, organization, and deployments. The Uganda military has become highly politicized, personalized, and socially fractionalized; neither class, profession, nor ideology are important to its identity. This book updates and complements such works as Ali A. Mazrui's *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda* (1975) and James H. Mittelman's *Ideology and Politics in Uganda* (1976).

*Pirouet, M. Louise. *Historical Dictionary of Uganda*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

Another excellent volume in this series.

*Rita M., editor. *Uganda: A Country Study, 2nd ed.* Washington, D.C: Library of Congress, 1992. [G59 .U32 1992]

Another excellent addition to the Library of Congress' Country Study series.

Rupesinghe, Kumar, ed. *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. London: Currey, 1989.

This is a compilation of 36 papers (all but one written by Ugandans) that discuss the traumas that have affected Uganda since 1966. The topics of these papers range from an analysis of the colonial roots of internal conflict in Uganda to a discussion of the "northern question" to analyses of the roles of the military and the paramilitary in the post-independence period. The papers are not all equal in quality but overall the editor and his associates are to be congratulated on bringing together a remarkably coherent and readable, often eloquent, collection.

Uzoigwe, G. N., ed. *Uganda: The Dilemma of Nationhood*. New York: NOK Publishers, 1982. [DT 433.27 .U36]

This well-edited volume is focused primarily on the historical background to Uganda's fundamental political problems, using such themes as the Buganda issue, traditionalism versus modernism, African lingua franca, ethnicity, the appeal of socialism, and the emergence of military politics.

Weibe, Paul D. and Dodge, Cole P. *Beyond Crisis: Development Issues in Uganda*. Atlanta, GA: Crossroads Press, 1987.

This book examines prospects for the future in Uganda through essays that explore political crises and state destruction, problems of institution building, economics, the military, agriculture, health care, women's issues, and the family.

U.S. Policy Toward Africa

TWO OVERARCHING GOALS

- **Integrating Africa into the Global Economy**
- **Defending the U.S. against Transnational Security Threats Emanating from Africa**





Resources for Africa Focus in FY 2000

FY 2000 Objectives

- **Economic Integration**
 - Launch Initiatives
 - Raise assistance levels
- **Transnational Threats**
 - Initiate programs
- **Diplomatic Readiness**
 - Embassy Security, Staff, Funds



Advancing Our Strategic Partnership: Recent Progress

- The President's 1998 Trip to Africa
- Raising Assistance to Historic Highs
- The African Growth and Opportunity Act
- U.S.-Africa Ministerial 1999
- SADC Forum 1999
- Debt Relief Initiative 1999
- Potential U.S.-Africa Summit 2000



FY 2001 Resources for Africa: Finishing Unfinished Business...

FY 2001 Priorities

- **Economic Integration**

- Sustain **presidential initiatives**/programs
- Support **Nigeria's** transition
- Increase regional stability: **PKO, FMF, CIPA, IMET**
- Support **post-conflict rehabilitation**

- **Transnational Threats**

- Expand **counter-terrorism, crime, and narcotics** programs
- Increase **HIV/AIDS** efforts

- **Diplomatic Readiness**

- Basics: **Embassy security, staffing, innovations, funding**



Advancing Our Strategic Partnership for the 21st Century

“ In Africa...resources are scarce. But that is no excuse for disengaging or giving up. Instead, it is a challenge, as President Clinton has suggested, to use the lessons of Kosovo to help us do better in Africa.”

**-- Secretary Albright
Address to the NAACP
July 13, 1999**



Integrating Africa into the Global Economy

U.S.-African Economic Prosperity

(Millions)

2000 * **2001**

Partnership for Growth/Opportunity	32	32
Education for Development/Democracy	45	45
Safe Skies	2	2
SADC	1	1
Regional Organizations	1	1
Debt Relief/HIPC Trust Fund + Bilateral	<u>TBD</u>	<u>TBD</u>
* Request level	TOTAL	
	81	81



Integrating Africa into the Global Economy

Democracy/Human Rights

(Millions)

	<u>2000*</u>	<u>2001</u>
Africa Regional Democracy	9	20
Countries in Transition	28	30
Great Lakes Justice	10	10
Radio Democracy	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	52	65

* Request level



Integrating Africa into the Global Economy

NIGERIA'S TRANSITION

(Millions)

	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001</u>
• Current/Projected Resources	30	20-40	40-45
• <u>Assessment Team Recommendations</u>			
Building Democratic Institutions	25	23	29
Economic Development	9	49	62
Health and Population	20	34	49
Civil/Military Relations	1	11	11
FMF/IMET	-	3	11
TOTAL NEEDS	55	120	162



Integrating Africa into the Global Economy

<u>Conflict Resolution</u>	<u>1999</u>	(Millions) <u>2000*</u>	<u>2001</u>
African Crisis Response	20	20	20
Voluntary Peacekeeping Support	4	13	20
African Regional Stability-FMF	5	5	25
OAU	1	2	2
Small Arms Moratoria	0.2	-	2.5
IMET	<u>8.1</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>11</u>
* Request level	TOTAL	38.3	48.5
			80.5



Peacekeeping: Projected Needs for CIPA Funding

<u>Personnel Needed</u>	CIPA (Millions)	
	<u>2000*</u>	<u>2001</u>
Sierra Leone: up to 3,200 troops	0	35 - 46
Dem Rep of Congo: up to 15,000 troops	0	180 - 225
Ethiopia/Eritrea: up to 1,500 troops	<u>0</u>	<u>30 - 50</u>
	0	245 - 321

* Request



Reconstruction/Rehabilitation

(Millions)

	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001</u>
Sierra Leone	30	31	?
Dem Rep of Congo	25	26	?
Ethiopia/Eritrea	<u>94</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>?</u>
TOTAL	149*	147*	?
NEED	166	183	?
		?	

*Estimated current projections

Defending Against Transnational Threats

Anti - Terrorism

- Assessments, Training,
Secure Borders

NADR-ATA	
<i>(Millions)</i>	
<u>2000 *</u>	<u>2001</u>
7	14

* Request level





Defending Against Transnational Threats

Anti-Crime and Counter-Narcotics

- Computerization at points of entry
- Expanded FBI training
- Technical assistance
- International Law Enforcement Academy
- Exchange programs

* Request level

	INC	
	<i>(Millions)</i>	
	<u>2000*</u>	<u>2001</u>
Crime	4	25
Drugs	<u>1.5</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	5.5	34



The Exploding HIV/AIDS Threat

- **Africans dead of HIV/AIDS:**

12.8 million (1.3 million so far this year)

25 million will be dead by 2005

- **Africans infected with HIV/AIDS:**

36.5 million (2.5 million so far this year)

56 million will be infected by 2005

Defending Against Transnational Threats

**Africa
HIV/AIDS**



KOSOVO

\$74 Million

1999



\$1.3 Billion

12.8 Million dead

**36.5 Million
will die**

10,000 dead

**1.3 Million
displaced or refugees**



Defending Against Transnational Threats

HIV/AIDS Initiative: Partnership for L.I.F.E.

Four pronged strategy:

- Prevention and education
- Home and community-based care
- Caring for AIDS orphans
- Infrastructure/capacity development

(Millions)	
<u>2000*</u>	<u>2001</u>
114	200

* Request level



Diplomatic Readiness

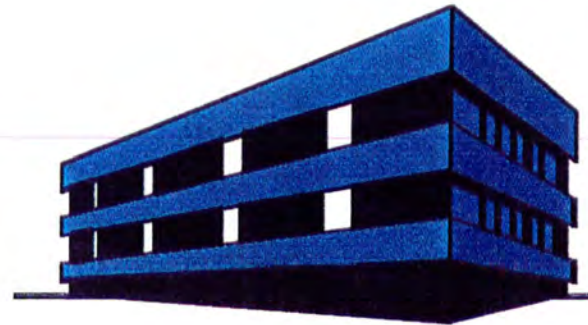
THREE BASICS

- New Chanceries & Security Enhancements
- Innovative Solutions for Developing State's Future Workplace
- New Positions & More Money

Diplomatic Readiness Security Issues...

- **Commit to build 6 NOB's by 2001:**

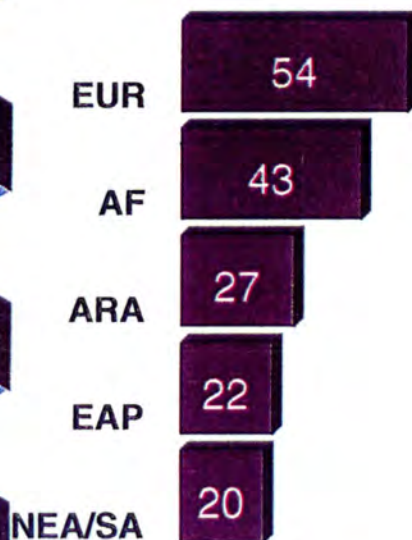
- Kinshasa
- Antananarivo
- Harare
- Cape Town
- Bamako
- Conakry



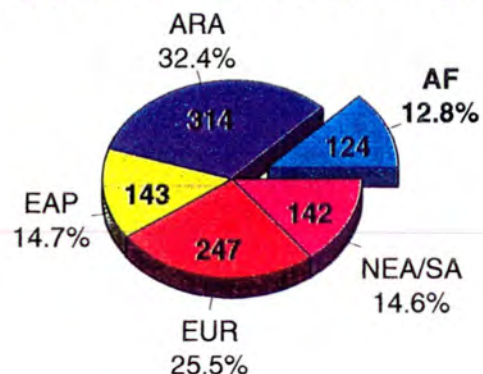
- **Security Enhancements for
AF Embassies - \$11.8 Million**

Diplomatic Readiness CHRONIC STAFFING PROBLEMS...

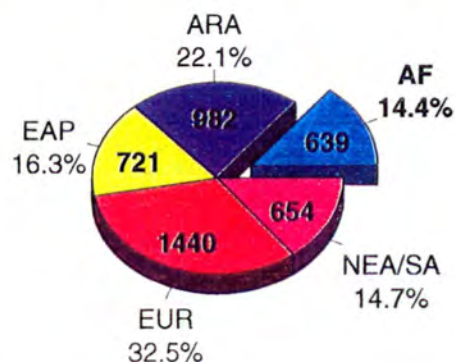
NO. OF EMBASSIES SUPPORTED



DOMESTIC POSITIONS



OVERSEAS POSITIONS



WHAT DOES THIS TELL US?

- AF has the fewest, **ONLY 3**, Domestic Positions to support each Embassy.
- AF has the fewest number of Overseas Positions to support 43 Embassies.

CURRENT AF BUREAU STAFFING



Diplomatic Readiness LET'S BE VISIONARY...

Implement Solutions for System-wide Recruitment & Staffing Problems

- **Open Recruiting System**
- **Interchangeable FS/CS jobs**
- **Use of All Foreign Affairs Personnel**
- **Technology to replace people**
- **American Presence Post (Diplomat in a Briefcase) Mission Operations out of CONUS**
- **Hardship posts - Incentives that mean something**

***Diplomatic Readiness
IF NOT VISIONARY - BAD BUSINESS PRACTICES
CONTINUE...***

AF spends \$2.2 Million augmenting
Embassy staffing, only \$300,000 less
than combined operations of:

**Namibia
Lesotho
Mauritius
Swaziland**



Diplomatic Readiness TODAY'S NEEDS ARE...

6 IM Communicators

Nouakchott

Banjul

Bangui

Asmara

Windhoek

Port Louis

5 Consular JO's

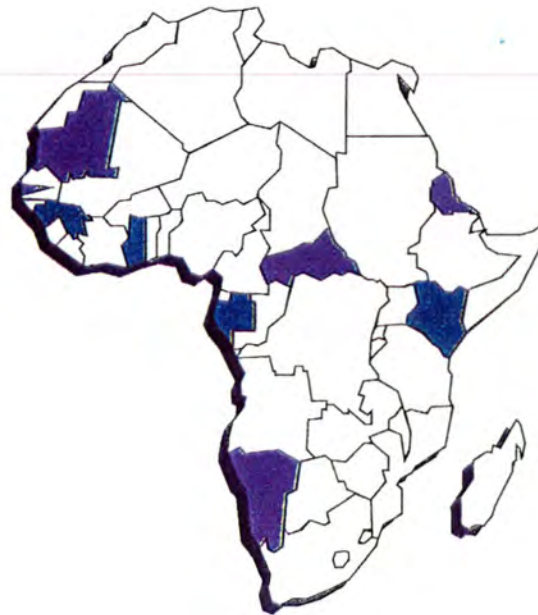
Accra

Conakry

Nairobi

Praia

Libreville





Summary: 2001 Priorities

What's New ...

Global Economic Integration

- . Democracy - **Nigeria's Transition** \$162 M
- . Conflict Resolution - **Regional Stability Programs** \$325-401M

Transnational Threats

- . **Terrorism, Crime, Narcotics** \$48 M
- . Global Issues - **HIV/AIDS** \$200 M

Diplomatic Readiness

- . **Embassy Security, Staffing Innovations, Staffing Funds**

Bureau of African Affairs 2001 Strategic Plan

**Assistant Secretary
Susan E. Rice**

