Handbook of Political Science Research on Sub-Saharan Africa

TRENDS FROM THE 1960s TO THE 1990s

Edited by Mark W. DeLancey

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Horn of Africa

Peter J. Schraeder

The Horn of Africa is composed of a mosaic of peoples and cultures that have been interacting for centuries. As early as the first century, A.D., these relationships were documented by a Greek seafarer in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Since then, the region has witnessed the evolution of three political systems currently known as the People's Republic of Ethiopia, the Somali Democratic Republic, and the Republic of Djibouti, as well as the establishment in 1991 of two secessionist regimes in northern Somaliland and Ethiopia's northern province of Eritrea.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The most enduring aspect of the precolonial period is the traditional competition between the Amhara-ruled state of Ethiopia and the Somali peoples of the region as currently represented by Somalia. As early as the sixteenth century, this competition erupted in conflict as the Christian-ruled Ethiopian empire was beset by Muslim sultanates led by Axmed Gurey, a famed Islamic conqueror in Somali history.

A crucial aspect of this historical rivalry was, and remains, the determination of both Ethiopia and Somalia (as well as Djibouti) to pursue their regional agendas by seeking the support of the major international powers of their time. More recently, the external patrons of preference for both Ethiopia and Somalia have been the Soviet Union and the United States. As for Djibouti, a combination of French troops and economic aid has guaranteed the independence and financial solvency of this so-called minstate nestled between Ethiopia and Somalia.

The historical competition was exacerbated by the imperial partition of the region and the imposition of colonial rule during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Somali peoples found themselves divided into five separate territories: the British and Italian Somaliland colonies, which, in July 1960, merged
to form the current state of Somalia; the Northern Frontier District of the British colony and now independent Republic of Kenya; the southeastern portion of formerly French-ruled Djibouti; and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. In the case of Ethiopia, European involvement included occupation by Italian and, subsequently, British military forces during World War II, culminating in the renewal of Ethiopian sovereignty in 1944. As for Djibouti, independence was achieved in June 1977 under the current leadership of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon.

The postindependence period has witnessed a variety of political developments that periodically have served to focus international attention on the Horn of Africa. In addition to the 1974–1977 Ethiopian revolution, which led to the overthrow of Emperor Selassie in favor of a military-based government led by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, Somalia's nine-year (1960–1969) experiment with civilian rule ended on October 21, 1969, as a result of a military coup d'état led by General Maxammad Siyaad Barre. However, in each case growing popular discontent with the dictatorial practices of the regimes fueled increasingly costly civil wars that, ultimately, led to the downfall of both governments. Whereas Mengistu was forced to flee on May 20, 1991, as a result of growing guerrilla threats, a coalition of largely clan-based guerrilla insurgencies succeeded in overturning the twenty-one-year-old reign of General Siyaad on January 27, 1991. One of the most important products of these civil wars was the creation of two secessionist regimes in the region. On May 17, 1991, northern Somalia seceded and declared itself the Somaliland Republic. During that same month, Ethiopia's northern province of Eritrea also seceded and created a provisional government.

MAJOR WRITERS AND TRENDS

The study of politics within the Horn of Africa has undergone a steady transformation since that early Greek seafarer provided one of the first written records of the region. In a development paralleled throughout the African continent, scholarship has evolved as researchers of a variety of international heritages—including a growing number of locally born and largely foreign-trained scholars—have sought to understand the major political developments of their times. In the case of Somali studies, for example, the initial dominance of scholarship by highly respected (and sometimes controversial) foreign scholars, such as B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis, has been complemented by the rise of such notable (and, oftentimes, equally controversial) Somali scholars as Said S. Samatar and Ahmed I. Samatar. Similar developments have occurred in Ethiopian and, to a lesser degree, Djiboutian studies.

In an exercise that inevitably misses the contributions of numerous authors who have contributed in some fashion to the development of the field, the primary purpose of this chapter is to examine the general themes of the political science literature devoted to the Horn of Africa. Although primarily focused on major books published in the English language, some scholarly works written in Ger-
man, Italian, and, particularly, French are also included throughout the text. For
those seeking a much more comprehensive listing of English and non-English
language scholarly materials, several excellent bibliographies have been compiled
by such notable scholars as Colin Darch, Harold G. Marcus, Mohamed
Khalief Salad, W. Sheldon Clarke, and Gian Carlo Stella, as well as respected
research institutes, such as the Centre de Documentation du Centre Culturel
Français de Djibouti.2

The remainder of this chapter is roughly divided into four historical periods,
each of which is marked by the rise of a distinctive genre of literature. First, a
brief overview is offered of scholarship published prior to 1960, the year marking
Somali independence. This period is indicative of a shift away from the im-
pressionistic, but nonetheless important, musings of foreign travelers to a more
systematic analysis of the politics of the governments and peoples that comprise
the Horn of Africa.

The majority of the chapter is devoted to the postindependence period. Thus,
one section focuses on the fourteen years of scholarship that preceded the ini-
tiation in 1974 of the Ethiopian revolution. Among the topics treated within the
literature are the impacts of colonialism and the rise of nationalism, integration,
political anthropology, and modernization theory and development. Another
section is devoted to the remainder of the 1970s and the preeminence of studies
dealing with the causes of revolution, the politics of language reform, foreign
relations, and the dilemmas faced by ministates in the international system.
Another section focuses on the turbulent period of the 1980s and the beginning
of the 1990s. Among the major new topics treated within the scholarly literature
during this period are the nationalities problem and civil war and the politics of
famine. A final section offers general conclusions and prospects for the future.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP (PRIOR TO 1960)

Newly trained political scientists have a tendency to downplay the relative
importance of studies predating the arrival of the so-called behavioral revolution.
Yet, the cumulation of knowledge—the primary goal of researchers throughout
the social sciences—inevitably derives from, and builds upon, the subjective
and impressionistic writings of missionaries, traders, explorers, and colonial
administrators who offered the first observations of the peoples and politics of
the Horn of Africa. As rightfully noted by one observer of political science
research of the Horn of Africa, scholars of the region can “ill afford” to ignore
the significant reminiscences of these individuals, which span over 400 years.3

The early writings of travelers and explorers were most noted for their general
description of the customs and life-styles of various ethnic groups that served as
the precursors for the current fields of political ethnography and anthropology.
For example, in one of the most cited early works on the Horn of Africa, Richard
Burton, ed., First Footsteps in East Africa (1966, originally published in 1856),
describes the customs of the Somali peoples of the region as the result of treks to
Harar and Berbera while impersonating a Muslim. English-language sources are complemented by a rich body of French-language materials, such as Alphonse Lippman, Guerriers et sorciers en Somalie (1953), which provides a useful overview of the Afar and Issa Somali populations of Djibouti. Similarly, colonial officials contributed to an entire genre of works dealing with the colonial administration, which, although offering insights into the politics of the region, clearly portray procolonial and antinationalist biases. For example, in a book commissioned by the British Colonial Office, Douglas Jardine, The Mad Mullah of Somaliland (1923), describes military operations against the so-called Mad Mullah of Somaliland—Sayyid Maxammed Abdille Hassan—an anticolonial nationalist revered by many Somalis. In an effort not to be outdone by its British competitors, the Italian government commissioned a book by Francesco Caroselli, Ferro e fuoco in Somalia: Vent'anni di lotta contro mullah e dervisci (1931), which offers an Italian interpretation of colonial efforts directed against the Sayyid.

The largely descriptive nature of scholarship really did not begin to change until the end of World War II. For example, Margery Perham wrote a seminal work, The Government of Ethiopia (1948), which, for the first time, systematically analyzed the structure and evolution of Ethiopia's governmental institutions. In the field of history, J. Spencer Tringham, Islam in Ethiopia (1952), offered important initial insights into the historical nature of regional competition and conflict between Christianity and Islam. In anthropology, Lewis wrote a path-breaking work, Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Soho (1955), which served as a basic primer for ethnographic research on the peoples of the Horn of Africa, a field that was well represented in the European literatures. Among the most notable of these was Marcel Chailley, Notes sur les 'Afar de la region de Tadjoura: Tadjoura, Sismo, Djibouti, Novembre 1935-Septembre 1937 (1980); Enrico Cerulli, Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti (1957–1964); and E. Haberlandt et al., eds., Altvolker Sud-Athiopiens (1959).

EXPANDING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP (1960–1974)

The birth of an independent Republic of Somalia on July 1, 1960, ushered in an era of scholarly interest in the politics of the Somali peoples. The works of this period centered on the colonial period and Italian administration under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) trusteeship system. In an excellent study based on Italian-language sources and extensive research at the Rome archives of the Comitato per la Documentazione dell'Opera dell'Italia in Africa, or the successor to Italy's Ministry of Italian East Africa (1937–1943), Robert L. Hess, Italian Colonialism in Somalia (1966), details the historical evolution of Italian colonial efforts in northeast Africa. Complementary research by Giuseppe A. Costanzo, Problemi costituzionali della Somalia nella preparazione all'indipendenza: 1957–1960 (1968), focused on the constitutional aspects of the Somali merger. The political-constitutional focus of this early research was
complemented by an authoritative economic analysis provided by Mark Karp, *The Economics of Trusteeship in Somalia* (1960). Offering the first comprehensive analysis of the Somali economy as the country entered independence, Karp underlines the necessity of understanding that the economics and politics of Somalia are inextricably intertwined.

The two most important themes of this early period, as best represented by Lewis, *A Pastoral Democracy: A Study of Pastoralism and Politics Among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa* (1960), were the egalitarian nature of traditional Somali democracy, which, it was hoped, would ensure the continuation of a democratic polity during the postcolonial period; and the potential political divisions engendered by the Somali lineage system, a form of social organization in which kinship ties are based on "clan" descent through competing male lines. According to Lewis, clan divisions would remain the predominant factor in contemporary Somali politics.

A focus on Somali clan politics was at the center of early analyses of Somalia's multiparty political system, as demonstrated by Alphonso A. Castagno, Jr., "Soamali Republic" (1964). Specifically focusing on the 1941–1963 period, Castagno discusses the impact of clan politics on Somali political parties and, particularly, the Somali Youth League (SYL).

The focus on clan divisions was complemented by serious research on the growth and unifying nature of Somali nationalism. Two major works, Saadia Touval, *Somali Nationalism: International Politics and the Drive for Unity in the Horn of Africa* (1963), and Lewis, *A Modern History of Somalia* (1965), analyze the growth of Somali nationalism and the Pan-Somali dream of unifying all the Somali peoples of the Horn of Africa within one state, inclusive of those found in Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Touval's study includes a brief chapter on Djibouti in which he wrongly assumed, similar to the majority of scholars at this time, that ethnic divisions between the Afar and Issa Somali peoples—the two dominant ethnic groups of current-day Djibouti—would lead to the partition of the territory at the hands of Ethiopia and Somalia.

The study of Somali nationalism was further strengthened by research focusing on Somalia's unique experiment in integration. In the first major work of its kind, Paolo Contini, *The Somali Republic: An Experiment in Legal Integration* (1969), analyzes the integration of the legal systems of the former British and Italian Somaliland territories and the establishment of the Somali constitution, legislature, and regional and local governments, as well as the civil service. Contini's focus on the legal system is complemented by a more general survey of the integration process by Lewis, "Integration in the Somali Republic" (1967). Lewis describes the political and institutional obstacles, such as different educational, administrative, and legal traditions, which potentially hinder the integration process. Consistent with his earlier work, Lewis's analysis includes a discussion of clan politics.

An important component of early studies on Somalia was an emphasis on so-called modernization theory. This body of research as applied to Somalia was best exemplified by Christian P. Potholm, *Four African Political Systems* (1970).
Adopting a "structural-functional" approach, Pothelm offers a comparative analysis of the political systems of the Ivory Coast, South Africa, Tanzania, and Somalia. An important aspect of this period was a sense of optimism that Somalia would continue on the path toward greater democratization and economic development—the two key themes of modernization theory.

However, the optimism of this earlier period was called into question in the aftermath of the 1969 military coup d'état and the adoption of "scientific socialism" by Siyaad and the ruling members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. Indeed, the dramatic change in the Somali political system—most noted by General Siyaad's officially stated goal of eradicating and replacing clanism with nationalism and socialist internationalism—spawned a number of works indicating the beginning of an intellectual shift within Somali studies. Whereas traditional scholars, such as Lewis, "The Politics of the 1969 Coup" (1972), rejected government claims that it was leading a "revolution" and, instead, continued to emphasize the continued reality of clan-based government and corruption, others, such as Basil Davidson, "Somalia: Towards Socialism" (1975), turned to class analysis and emphasized the positive achievements of the Siyaad regime. Among these were the adoption of a written script for the Somali language, literacy campaigns, and nomadic resettlement schemes. An important, albeit highly sympathetic, analysis indicative of this new trend was written by Luigi Pestalozza, a music critic for Rinascita, the weekly organ of the Italian Communist Party. Pestalozza's Somalia: Cronaca della Rivoluzione (1973), like much of the early scholarship on the Siyaad regime, is highly descriptive and overly clouded by ideological concerns, although both French- and English-language translations have guaranteed a wide readership.10

The underlying assumptions of scholarship on Ethiopia during the 1960–1974 period were the unquestioned legitimacy of central government control over the disparate ethnic groups comprising the Ethiopian "empire" and the importance of Emperor Selassie as a modernizing leader who slowly, but surely, was bringing Ethiopia into the twentieth century. The starting point for this period was a wealth of studies focusing on Ethiopia's role in World War II as both a victim of European aggression and a rallying point for African nationalism. In a highly readable, journalistic account embracing the political mythology of Emperor Selassie as the "conquering lion," Leonard Mosley, Haile Selassie I: The Conquering Lion (1964), describes a politically active and dominating ruler who delivered his country from Italian fascist occupation and was restored to the throne in 1941. In a more scholarly work, Brice Harris, Jr., The United States and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis (1964), through an exhaustive survey of declassified documents and a variety of other primary and secondary diplomatic source material, examines international and, particularly, U.S. involvement in the 1935–1936 Italo-Ethiopian crisis.

The most notable aspect of scholarship on Ethiopia was a variety of studies heavily grounded in the theoretical approaches that comprised modernization theory. In a classic work initially carried out under the supervision of Perham
as a doctoral dissertation, Christopher Clapham, *Haile-Selassie’s Government* (1969), builds upon Perham’s work to give a very systematic and sophisticated overview of the modernization of Ethiopian government institutions, as well as the relevant political personalities and groupings that took part in this process. As usual in such studies, Emperor Selassie is portrayed as both a facilitator and an impediment to the modernization process; willing to adopt a variety of reforms, such as greatly expanding educational opportunities and the scope of government, he was, nonetheless, constrained by an imperial system of government that largely retained its “traditional” form.

One of the most heavily referenced scholars within the political modernization genre during this period was Donald N. Levine. In a seminal work on political culture, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture* (1965), Levine demonstrates how the “traditional” nature of Amhara culture—described as the dominant culture in Ethiopia—frustrated rapid movement toward the preferred end goal of political modernization. Drawing heavily from sociological theories, such as the traditional-modern “pattern” variables of Talcott Parsons and the intellectual heritage of Max Weber, Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society* (1974), further discusses how the modernization process contributed to the creation of a “common culture area,” or a new cultural unity among Ethiopia’s disparate ethnic groups. This focus on the dominance of Amhara culture is nicely complemented by Allan Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara of Ethiopia: The Dynamics of Cognitive Descent* (1973). Hoben demonstrates how the structure of Amhara peasant social organization and, particularly, kinship ties affect land tenure, rural development, and, thus, the possibilities of future development.

Despite an emphasis on the various factors constraining the modernization process, the above-noted works shared an underlying assumption that this process was both preferable and moving forward, albeit at a very slow pace. In what was correctly labeled a growing “intellectual shift” against the political “facade” of Emperor Selassie’s modernization efforts, a more critical genre of works focusing on the economic shortcomings of the imperial regime began appearing in 1974. For example, Patrick Gilkes, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia* (1975), attributes rising dissent within the peripheral areas (such as Tigre and Bale provinces) to the failure of a “forced state capital policy” that “almost completely bypassed the highland economy.” Adopting the more critical dependency approach of noted Africanist Samir Amin and his focus on the process of “unequal exchange” within the “world capitalist system,” Michael Stahl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development* (1974), examines the political contradictions of governmental efforts to impose a capitalist mode of agricultural production in the southern and western portions of the country.

The most sophisticated example of the critical trend toward class-based analyses during the latter part of the 1960–1974 period is John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (1974). Based on research carried out during
1965–1969 while teaching at Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa, Markakis downplays the importance of particular ethnic groups in the Ethiopian political process and, instead, emphasizes that ethnicity is both "conditioned" by, and usually "subordinated" to, class considerations. "In the process of power distribution," notes Markakis, "ethnicity constitutes an intervening variable interacting with class to determine a pattern of allocation which has remained relatively stable for some time" (1974: 7). Markakis's work served as a prelude to the growing influence and acceptability of class-based analyses that would become increasingly important in the post-1974 period.

Whereas political science research within Somali and Ethiopian studies significantly expanded during the 1960–1974 period, the same cannot be said for scholarly research devoted to the French-administered colony of Djibouti. Indeed, a major turning point within what, as of 1991, still constitutes a "nascent" field of Djiboutian studies was the publication in 1968 of Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, Djibouti and the Horn of Africa (1968), the first book-length, albeit descriptive, overview in the English language of the customs, politics, and peoples of Djibouti. Similarly, Philippe Oberlé, Afars et Somalis: Le dossier de Djibouti (1971), marked a significant contribution by offering the most comprehensive and readable French-language history of Djibouti. However, the majority of studies published during this period were impressionistic pieces dealing with topics such as Djibouti's strategic location. (See, for example, Georges Malécot, "Raisons de la présence française à Djibouti," 1973.) One of few exceptions of the vast number of brief and journalistic examinations of Djiboutian politics was Nancy A. Shilling, "Problems of Political Development in a Mini-State: The French Territory of the Afars and Issas" (1973). Adopting an approach that centers on the theoretical implications of being a "mini-state" within the international system, Shilling discusses the domestic and international factors that both aided and hindered political development in Djibouti.

As demonstrated by the above-noted division of the discussion into single-country studies, a major aspect of this period was the dearth of works transcending individual case studies. One exception was a classic general history by noted French historian Jean Doreste, Histoire sommaire de la Corne Orientale de l'Afrique (1971). Although somewhat dated, the majority of the volume is devoted to developments in the region prior to the beginning of World War II. Chapters follow a chronological approach as they describe Ethiopia's impact on regional politics from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, the arrival of Portuguese influence within the region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the commercial precursors of European colonialism from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and the colonial partition of the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The role of religion within the societies comprising the Horn of Africa constituted another topic of growing research interest during the 1960–1974 period that also somewhat transcended country-specific studies. In addition to Vincent Monteil, L'Islam noir: Une religion à la conquête de l'Afrique (1964), one of
the most important French studies of Islam in Africa, two other works by noted scholar Trimingham also appeared in print: *Islam in East Africa* (1964) and the more general *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* (1968). Although all of these works are somewhat broad in scope, each deals with Islamic practices in the Horn of Africa and, particularly, among the Somali peoples of the region.

**STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP**


The shift in political science research dealing with Ethiopia and already evident at the beginning of the 1970s was solidified by the unfolding of the 1974–1977 Ethiopian revolution and the rise to power of an African-Marxist regime headed by Mengistu. Specifically, as it became clear that Ethiopia was experiencing a major social event with important ramifications for the politics of the Horn of Africa, scholars increasingly began analyzing the origins and causes of what variably has been referred to as a “creeping coup” and a revolution “led from above.” For example, the team of Marina and David Ottaway, both of whom worked in Addis Ababa during the 1974–1977 period (the former a sociologist teaching at Addis Ababa University and the latter a foreign correspondent for the *Washington Post*), used their unique vantage points to write an important initial analysis entitled *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution* (1978). Among the major themes are the importance of the military as the “prime mover” of the revolution and the “heightening” of ethnic tensions. In sharp contrast, Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* (1978), adopt a Marxist approach based on class analysis and the overthrow of what they perceive as a decidedly “feudal” regime. Clearly open about their ideological sympathies for the initial socioeconomic and politicomilitary objectives of the Dergue—the military body that initially led and assumed control over the disparate social forces opposed to Emperor Selassie’s rule—the authors, nonetheless, paint a picture of a “Bonapartist” military leadership that, in the end, suppressed the efforts of its natural allies who desired a more populist-based government.

The internal social upheavals that accompanied the Ethiopian revolution also spawned a number of works specifically dealing with the Eritrean civil war and the growth of Eritrean nationalism. In addition to journalistic accounts, several scholars sympathetic to the Eritrean cause sought to examine Ethiopia’s illegal annexation of the territory and the growth of Eritrean nationalism. One of the most notable studies of this genre, edited by Davidson, Lionel Cliffe, and Bereket Habte Selassie, *Behind the War in Eritrea* (1980), examines Eritrea’s historical claims to “nationhood,” the nature of the “liberation” struggle, and how the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) has sought a major program of social transformation in the “liberated” areas while in the midst of continuing the guerilla war. Other publications of significance also appearing in 1980 were Richard Sherman, *Eritrea: The Unfinished Revolution*, which utilizes extensive UN documentation to describe the political struggle during the 1940s, and David
Pool, *Eritrea: Africa’s Longest War*, an excellent work that pays particular attention to the internal conflicts that weakened the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) during the 1960s.

The events of 1974–1977 also spawned a number of works focusing on unique aspects of the Ethiopian revolution. For example, a noted observer of African law, Jacques Vanderlinden, *Le droit de la révolution éthiopienne* (1978), examines the nature and impact of revolutionary law. (See also his general work on Ethiopia, *L’Éthiopie et ses populations*, 1977.) Similarly, Fred V. Goericke, *Revolutionäre agrarpolitik in Ethiopiien: Traditionelle agrarverfassungen und ihre veränderung durch die landreformgesetzgebung von 1975* (1977), focuses on agrarian reform. Andrzej Bartnicki and Joanna Mantel-Niecko’s (with Renate Richter as editor) *Geschichte Athiopiens (Von den Anfängen bis zur gegenwart in 2 teilen)* (1978) constitutes a highly fascinating and updated German translation of a Polish-language work, an excellent Marxist interpretation of the political history of Ethiopia from the rise of the Axumite empire to the immediate aftermath of the initial stages of the Ethiopian revolution. Of particular interest is the authors’ extensive use of Ethiopian source material.

Fictional literature in Ethiopian studies also received a major boost by the publication of Beidulf Knut Molvaer, *Tradition and Change in Ethiopia: Social and Cultural Life as Reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature ca. 1930–1974* (1980). Focusing on the works of twelve authors deemed representative of Amharic literature, Molvaer delineates the social concerns of this body of literature and its portrayal of class, family, and individual relations. Of particular interest is part two, which centers on writers’ perceptions of changes in traditional ways of living.

As concerns Somali studies, the 1974–1980 period witnessed a growth in literature that sought critically to assess the socialist experiment occurring in Somalia after the military coup d’état of 1969. Although some scholars, such as Charles Geshekter, “Socio-Economic Developments in Somalia” (1979), and Philip Decrane, *L’expérience socialiste somalienne* (1977), continued to emphasize such positive developments as the promotion of equality for women, the establishment of a written orthography for the Somali language, and literacy programs, others offered an increasingly negative assessment of the Siyad regime and the so-called Somali revolution. In “Somalia’s Military Government and Scientific Socialism” (1979), David D. Laitin presents five criteria (such as social equality) by which to judge the accomplishments of socialist-oriented African regimes and, in this case, Somalia. “In terms of theory, ‘scientific socialism’ in Somalia is rather a mishmash,” explains Laitin. “Some of the leading socialist ideologues have been purged since the revolution, and ‘socialism’ as a guide for action becomes more meaningless with every Siyad speech” (1979: 177). Echoing this view in “Kim-II-Sung in Somalia: The End of Tribalism” (1979), Lewis compares General Siyad’s self-promotion of the “cult of the personality” with that of Kim-II-Sung of North Korea, as well as criticizing continued clan conflict, rising levels of corruption, and economic stagnation.
One of the most notable and unique works of this period in terms of both theory and substance was Laitin, *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience* (1977). Appearing in the aftermath of the Somali government's 1972 decision to adopt the Latin script for the Somali language, Laitin offers a theoretical analysis of the relationship between language and politics in the Somali context. More specifically, Laitin analyzes the linkages between language policies and Somali concepts of democratic participation and political equality, as well as political thought and political culture. As such, Laitin's work has wide implications not only for Somalia and northeast Africa but for Africa as a whole. Laitin's book will be a landmark work for many years to come.

The independence of Djibouti in 1977 constituted a final important event of the 1974–1980 period that contributed to the growth in attention to the politics of this ministate. Unfortunately, the majority of material published during this period constituted journalistic and descriptive accounts that focused on three major themes: the debate over independence, strategic location, and future viability as an independent entity. As concerns the independence debate, a volume—*Encore la France coloniale: Djibouti, Antilles, Guyane, Mayotte, Nouvelle-Calédonie, Réunion, Tahiti* (1976)—published by the France-based Collective of Christians for Self-Determination of Overseas Departments-Overseas Territories (DOM-TOM) offers the classic arguments for ending colonial rule and granting independence. Similarly, Thomas A. Marks, "Djibouti: France's Strategic Toehold in Africa" (1970), and Robert Tholomier, "La place du Territoire Français des Afars et des Issas entre Afrique et Asie" (1976), describe the reasons for strategic interest in Djibouti. Said Yusuf Abdi, "The Mint-State of Djibouti: Problems and Prospects" (1978), offers a unique look at the future viability of the country.

Yet, one also finds the beginnings of serious scholarship in several areas as concerns Djibouti. For example, Thomas M. Franck and Paul Hoffman, "The Right of Self-Determination in Very Small Places" (1976), explore the issue of self-determination as it applies to ministates. Similarly, Kassim Shehim and James Scaring, "Djibouti and the Question of Afar Nationalism" (1980), analyze what they perceive to be the dismal prospects for the future viability of this multiethnic state in the face of rising Afar political nationalism during the post-independence period. Fanter Agonafer, "Djibouti's Three-Front Struggle for Independence: 1966–77" (1979), in a very insightful doctoral dissertation, offers a good analysis of the internal and external political factors that affected Djibouti's quest for independence during the 1967–1977 period.


Research on the Horn of Africa during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s included the reconsideration of interpretations of past events, as well as the emergence of new research directions, both in terms of topics and methods. In Ethiopian studies, the largest amount of attention seemingly continued to be
focused on the causes and effects of the 1974–1977 Ethiopian revolution. This trend is nicely demonstrated by the publication of Marina Ottaway, ed., *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (1990). A host of recognized specialists on Ethiopia focus on various theoretical issues associated with the “crisis of the Ethiopian state” (1990: 8). In this regard, the concepts of “state autonomy” and “social revolution” as presented in Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, & China* (1979), strongly influenced the debate among scholars. In a class-based Marxist analysis, for example, Fred Halliday and Maxime Molyneux, *The Ethiopian Revolution* argue that events in Ethiopia since 1974 “merit its inclusion in the list of social revolutions” described by Skocpol (1981: 12). Despite a radically different approach that derives from the modernization heritage of Samuel Huntington and rejects what is perceived as the overly deterministic class analysis of authors such as Halliday and Molyneux, Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, nonetheless, notes a “genuine coincidence of theory and data” between his research and that of Skocpol (1988: 16). An important corollary of this debate was the growing recognition of the “hypocritical” or “heretical” nature of the Ethiopian revolution. For two excellent works that center on this theme, see Stefan Brune, *Ethiopien-unterenwicklung und radikale militarherrschaft zur ambivalenz einer schienheitigen revolution* (1986), and René Lefort, *Éthiopie: La révolution hérétique* (1981).

The shortcomings of the Ethiopian state were highlighted by the emergence of the 1983–1985 famine, an event that attracted worldwide attention and, subsequently, contributed to an outpouring of scholarship. In addition to journalistic accounts, such as Peter Gill, *A Year in the Death of Africa: Politics, Bureaucracy and the Famine* (1986), several scholarly works sought to examine systematically the relationship between politics and famine in Ethiopia. For example, a U.S. historian, James McCann, *From Poverty to Famine in Northeastern Ethiopia: A Rural History 1900–1935* (1987), sought to explore the historical antecedents of the famine conditions currently confronting Ethiopian leaders. Writing from the perspective of a political insider who served as the UN assistant secretary-general for emergency operations in Ethiopia, Kurt Janson, Angela Penrose, and Michael Harris, *The Ethiopian Famine* (1987), detail the inner workings—inclusive of negotiations with the Ethiopian government—of the international famine relief effort. However, it is important to note that the vast number of works on famine and relief efforts in Ethiopia are highly uneven in quality and prone to ideological assessments, especially as both proponents and opponents of the Mengistu regime sought to assess its response to the growing crisis.

Scholarship within Ethiopian studies also included attempts at more comprehensively assessing the nature and impact of the leadership of Emperor Selassie within the broad scheme of Ethiopian history. Indeed, in a welcome addition to the field, Marcus, the most renowned U.S. historian of Ethiopian studies, turned out *Haile Selassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936* (1987), the first of what
is intended to be a multivolume set designed to document Selassie’s reign. The historical nature of Marcus’s work was complemented by the appearance of works written by two noted French specialists on Ethiopia: Joseph Cuq, *L’Islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIe siècle* (1981), who charts the historical evolution of Islamic influences within Ethiopia; and Jacques Bureau, *Éthiopie: Un drame impérial et rouge* (1987), who seeks to explore/dramatize the myths and contradictions of Ethiopian society and development.

In the broad field of Somali studies, scholars continued to analyze and debate the prospects and shortcomings of the Siyaad regime and its experiment with “scientific socialism.” The most hotly debated work within this genre is Samatar, *Socialist Somalia: Rhetoric & Reality* (1988). Adopting a structurally based class approach to the understanding of Somali politics, Samatar argues that, due to the inability of a “petty bourgeois” state to expand the forces of production, Somalia has descended into a “deep authoritative coma” and, thus, remains an underdeveloped state within the world capitalist system. In sharp contrast, Daniel Compagnon, a French specialist on Somalia, has adopted a politically inspired approach that embraces the “personal rule” paradigm put forth by Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant* (1982). In an article representative of ongoing doctoral research, Compagnon, “Political Crisis in Somalia: The Legacy of an Exhausted Personal Rule” (1990a), demonstrates how the survival-oriented Siyaad regime marshaled political resources to silence opposition, prevent dissidence, and dominate the whole polity of Somalia as the country went through the successive trials of drought, the Ogaden War, economic crisis, and, finally, civil war. For a more detailed and historically based summary of this topic by the same author, see his “De l’état en formation à l’état en pointillé, la crise de la régulation politique en Somalie” (1991).

Similar to developments within Ethiopian studies, scholars within the field of Somali studies increasingly recognized the importance of centering on the role of the Somali state. For example, Ali K. Galaydh, “Notes on the State of the Somali State” (1990), blames the fraying of state-society relations on the “predatory” nature of Siyaad’s personal rule. Similarly, Gérard Prunier, “Structures de clan et pouvoir politique en Somalie” (1985), argues that the Somali state headed by Siyaad has successfully pursued “divide-and-rule” policies among the competing clan groups to maintain itself in power. Most notable is Prunier’s argument that, as of the 1980s, the state itself has become a major player within clan rivalries and feuds, by supporting one segment against another.

In sharp contrast, other scholars have sought to understand the “crisis” of the Somali state, utilizing the tools of class analysis and the capitalist world system. Ahmed I. Samatar, “Somalia Impasse: State Power and Dissent Politics” (1987), outlines the shortcomings of the Somali state that have led to the rise of political dissent. In another article, Abdi Samatar and Ahmed I. Samatar, “The Material Roots of the Suspected African State: Arguments from Somalia” (1987), discuss how the Somali state is no longer connected or is “suspended”
in terms of its relationship to Somali society. However, one of the most unique and comprehensive analyses of the state from a critical perspective is Samatar, *The State and Rural Transformation in Northern Somalia, 1884–1986* (1989). Samatar examines the impacts of the colonial and postcolonial Somali states in contributing to agrarian change and underdevelopment in northern Somalia over a period spanning roughly one hundred years.

Abdi Ismail Samatar's research is also indicative of growing attention to the political economy of rural development. As indicated by two panels at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association (1989), a new generation of scholars has carried out field research with important implications for the evolution of the field. For example, Kenneth Menkhaus, "Development Ideologies and Land Expropriation in the Lower Juba Valley" (1989), presented the findings from his doctoral dissertation, "Rural Transformation and the Roots of Underdevelopment in Somalia's Lower Juba Valley" (1989), which documents the expropriation of land in southern Somalia. Similarly, Michael Cullen, "Smallfarm Households and Rural-Urban Linkages in Somalia" (1989), presented the initial findings of doctoral research primarily focused on the microlevel (i.e., household). For an analysis from an Italian viewpoint, see Marco Guadagni, *Xeerka beeraaha ditirto fondiario somalo: Le terre agricole dal regime consuetudinario e coloniale verso la riforma socialista* (1981). A specialist on Somali land tenure and agriculture, Guadagni offers a detailed comparative study of three agricultural dynamics at work in rural Somalia: the family farm, colonial plantation agriculture, and state-led socialist agricultural programs.

Another important development within Somali studies revolved around the publication of Lee V. Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People: 1600–1900* (1982). This book is valuable in terms of both substantive and methodological contributions. As concerns substance, Cassanelli balances the "northern" bias of earlier published historical, anthropological, and sociological studies with a focus on the history of the southern Somali peoples. Moreover, Cassanelli adopts a "regional approach" designed to avoid the narrowness of clan-based approaches and the too-expansive category of the Somali people as a whole. Most important is the author's unique method of reconstructing the Somali past based on oral histories of people from the region. This method is also evident in Shehim, "The Influence of Islam on the Afar" (1982), a doctoral dissertation representing the first major study on the influence of Islam on the Afar pastoralists inhabiting Ethiopia and Djibouti.

The growing importance during the 1980s of the "oral" source as a legitimate research tool in Somali studies was demonstrated further by the appearance of Said Sheik Samatar, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan* (1982). In addition to basing his research on the recording of hundreds of Somali poems, Samatar's work is also unique in that it represents the first comprehensive attempt in the English language at examining the interplay between Somali poetry and politics. Specifically, Samatar analyzes how the oratory skills of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hassan were instrumental
in fostering the Dervish nationalist struggle and the acquisition of his political power. (For another interpretation also written by a Somali, see Yaasîn Cismann Keengudid, Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attivita letteraria, 1984.) In this regard, Peter J. Schraeder's "The Novels of Nuruddin Farah: The Sociopolitical Evolution of a Somali Writer" (1988) explores the relationship between political events in Somalia and the political content of the first six novels of the renowned Somali author, Nuruddin Farah. Both this work and that of Samatar underscore the importance of using literature as a unique, albeit highly subjective, means of understanding the politics of a country.

The fastest growing body of literature within the field of Somali studies revolves around the downfall of Siyaad and, particularly, the prospects of continuing conflict and the creation of some sort of legitimate political system within the country. An important indicator of this trend—which also nicely demonstrates how events often drive scholarship—was the publication in 1990 of a double issue of Horn of Africa devoted specifically to the Somali civil war. Among those articles of particular relevance are Compagnon, "The Somali Opposition Fronts: Some Comments and Questions," which offers a historical overview of the opposition movements and their lack of a unified national front; Lewis, "The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism," which examines the future of Pan-Somaliism in light of the Ogaden question; and Laitin, "A Consociational Democracy for Somalia," which offers one form of democracy as the basis for a post-Siyaad political system. These studies build on a general resurgence of interest in Somali multiparty democracy and, particularly, the 1960–1969 period, as demonstrated by the appearance of Mohammed Haji Mukhtar, "The Emergence and Role of Political Parties in the Inter-River Region" (1989). Moreover, these studies emphasize the continued importance of clan conflict.

The so-called nationalities question in the Horn of Africa constituted another area of growing scholarship during the 1980s. In addition to case studies that center on one ethnic group or particular region, such as Huggai Erlich, The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978 (1983), this subject increasingly has been examined from a comparative perspective. In this regard, studies largely are split between those emphasizing the importance of the ethnic factor and those favoring a class approach. The ethnic approach is best represented by Lewis, ed., Nationalism and Self-Determination in the Horn of Africa (1983). In this volume, the various contributors examine the concepts of nationalism and self-determination, both of which can be applied to states comprising one or more ethnic groups, as well as individual ethnic groups within a particular state. As concerns the class approach, the example par excellence is Markakis, National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa (1987). Markakis is particularly interested in the growth of what he terms "dissident nationalisms" and the subsequent rise of political movements whose goals are to change the structures of the states of the Horn of Africa. Markakis's work is complemented by Tamene Bitima and Jurgen Steuber, Die ungeloste nationale Frage in Äthiopien: Studie zu den
befreiungsbevogung der Oromo und Eritreas (1983), which focuses on the Eritrean and Oromo resistance movements.

The politics of refugees also received much attention during the 1980s. Drawing upon the theoretical framework offered by Art Hansen and Anthony Oliver-Smith, *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People* (1982), Schraeder, "Involuntary Migration in Somalia: The Politics of Resettlement" (1986), analyzes how Somali domestic politics, the conflicting nature of the Somali-Ethiopian relationship, and the politics of donor relationships have guided the formulation and limited the successful implementation of three major resettlement schemes: the fisheries projects, the Central Rangelands Development Scheme, and the Save the Children Fund Programme. However, the majority of works appearing during this period constituted descriptive analyses as published by a variety of nonprofit organizations. Among the vast number of works falling under this category are those published by Africa Watch, such as "Djibouti, Ill Treatment of Somali Refugees: Denial of Refuge, Deportations and Harsh Conditions of Detention" (1989), as well as Hiram A. Ruiz, *Beyond the Headlines: Refugees in the Horn of Africa* (1988).

The political economy of the region constituted another area of research interest that transcended individual case studies, as demonstrated by the unpublished doctoral dissertation written by Thomas Charles Killion, "Workers, Capital and the State in the Ethiopian Region, 1919–1974" (1985). Killion argues that the development of workers’ organizations in the Ethiopian region—culminating in the "high water mark" of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution and the 1984 creation of the Workers’ Party of Ethiopia—is the result of differing patterns of relations among capital, the Ethiopian state, and precapitalist socioeconomic regions. Included in the designation of an "Ethiopian region" or "Ethiopian political economy" are the Ethiopian empire and the former European political enclaves of Italian-ruled Eritrea, French Somaliland (Djibouti), and British Somaliland.

Similar to the 1960–1974 period, English-language scholarship on the politics of Djibouti largely was restricted to journalistic and descriptive accounts, such as Tholomier, *Djibouti: Pawn of the Horn of Africa* (1981). Translated from the French language and abridged by Thompson and Adloff (who, in addition, wrote a postscript dealing with the 1977–1980 period), the book deals with the 1967–1977 period of Djibouti’s political history. Although somewhat dated, the book, which won the prestigious Prix Maréchal Lyautey from the French Académie des Sciences d’Outre-Mer, constitutes the standard English-language introduction to Djiboutian politics and society.

Within the French-language literature, one finds a small but growing body of political science literature. In addition to general introductions and more mass-oriented books, such as Andre Laoudouze, *Djibouti: Nation-carrefour* (1989), and Olivier Weber, ed., *Corne de l’Afrique* (1987), one finds more in-depth analyses of various political topics. For example, Gacouad Farah, *La République de Djibouti: Naissance d’un état, chronologie* (1982), a member of Djibouti’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs who served at its embassy in Tunis, prepared a
chronology of the “important events” in Djibouti’s national, regional, and international politics from 1977 to 1981. In the field of history, Oberlé and Pierre Hugot, *Histoire de Djibouti: Des origines à la république* (1985), published an updated version of Oberlé’s 1971 work, which continues to be the most comprehensive and readable French-language history of Djibouti. Similarly, Abisheh Omar Warsame and Maurice Botbol, *Djibouti: Les institutions politiques et militaires* (1986), provide an invaluable reference. The Djiboutian government reacted angrily to the book, apparently because it deals with the “taboo” topic of political tensions that have resulted from the ethnic makeup of the government. Also, one sees the appearance of works by political insiders. For example, Omar Osman Rabeh, a former Pan-Somali nationalist during the 1960s and founder of the Djiboutian Popular Party (DPP), an opposition party that was formed in 1981 and subsequently banned by Djibouti’s one-party state, wrote an autobiography highly critical of the Gouled regime, *Le cercle et le spiral* (1984), as well as a highly critical account of Djibouti’s foreign policy, *République de Djibouti ou route de secours d’Éthiopie?* (1985). Of particular interest is growing research on traditional Djiboutian political organizations. For example, noted Djiboutian scholar Ali Moussa Iyé, “Le Xeer Issa: Étude d’un contrat social” (1986), offers an intriguing analysis of the Issa xeer: the social, political, and economic code that both organizes and polices the Issa subgrouping of this Somali people found in Djibouti. Similarly, Aramis Houmed Soule, “Un exemple du pouvoir traditionnel Afar: Le Sultanat de Tadjoura” (1986), offers a much-needed description of traditional power and organization among Djibouti’s Afar population.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Although early scholarship on the foreign relations of the Horn of Africa was largely descriptive in nature, some works written by former diplomats stood out as the precursors of the dramatic expansion of studies in this field beginning in the 1970s. For example, F. Alverez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia* (1881), offers an invaluable account of Portuguese relations with Ethiopia during the sixteenth century. Similarly, Robert P. Skinner, *Abyssinia of Today: An Account of the First Mission Sent by the American Government to the Court of the King of Kings* (1903–1904) (1906), offers an important account of the establishment of U.S.-Ethiopian diplomatic relations.

The most written about topic in the field of foreign relations during the 1960s and early 1970s was the Pan-Somali dream of uniting all the Somali peoples in the Horn of Africa under one state and the conflicts that this caused between Somalia and its neighbors. In addition to diplomatic accounts, such as that written by John Drysdale, *The Somali Dispute* (1964), a member of the British Overseas Civil Service who served as an adviser to the Somali prime minister, and highly polemical tracts, such as those published by the Somali Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example, *French Somaliland: A Classic Colonial Case: Events Lead-
ing to the Referendum March 19th 1967 (1967), this topic also received much scholarly attention. For a useful introduction, which was originally designed as a text for an international relations course at the University College, Dar es Salaam, see Catherine Hoskyns, ed., *Case Studies in African Diplomacy (II): The Ethiopia-Somalia-Kenya Dispute: 1960–1967* (1969). Although Hoskyns neglected to deal with the Franco-Somali dispute over the disposition of Somalis living under colonial rule in Djibouti during the 1960s, this volume is essential for a full understanding of the evolving nature of international relations in the Horn and, specifically, initial attempts at dealing with the question of ethnicity during the 1960s. Documents reproduced include journal and newspaper extracts, government publications, and contributions by scholars in the field. Especially valuable are texts of speeches made by concerned parties at numerous meetings of the Organization of African Unity.

A turning point in scholarship occurred as the result of the 1977–1978 Ogaden War between Ethiopia and Somalia. This bloody event, most notable for its transition into a superpower flashpoint, spawned an increase in works analyzing the international politics of regional conflict in the Horn of Africa. Although many of the early treatments are highly polemical, such as Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, *Somalia: The Problem Child of Africa* (1977), others, such as Tom J. Farer, *War Clouds in the Horn of Africa: The Widening Storm* (1979), are highly sophisticated in their treatment of events. An updated and revised version of the author’s acclaimed *War Clouds in the Horn of Africa: A Crisis for Détente* (1976), the 1979 volume describes the interlocking nature of regional conflict and superpower involvement, as well as the effects that these have had in undermining superpower détente and contributing to greater instability in the Horn of Africa. For a German perspective on this topic, see Volker Matthias, *Das Horn von Afrika in den internationalen beziehungen: Internationale aspekte eines regionalkonflikts in der Dritten Welt* (1976). Similarly, a work by the renowned Eritrean scholar, Bereket Habte Selassie, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa* (1980), centers on the “forgotten colonial struggles” of Eritrea, Oromo, and Tigrean national liberation organizations and Somalia and its “lost” territories. In one of the more interesting approaches, Raman G. Bhardwaj, *The Dilemma of the Horn of Africa* (1979), argues that regional tensions may be resolved only through some type of confederation of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Djibouti in which the Ogaden and Eritrea apparently would be equal, separate partners. John H. Spencer, *Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and U.S. Policy* (1977), who worked for over twenty years as a foreign policy advisor to Emperor Selassie, offers a highly critical analysis of what he perceives as U.S. abandonment of the Selassie regime and the growth of Soviet influence.

Scholarship within the field of foreign policy analysis and, particularly, superpower intervention in the Horn of Africa continued to grow during the 1980s and the 1990s. In addition to case studies that focused on one country of the Horn, such as Marcus, *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States, 1941–
1974: The Politics of Empire (1983), or the involvement of one superpower, such as Robert G. Patman, The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa: The Diplomacy of Intervention and Disengagement (1990), foreign policy analysis has been dominated by a comparative approach that usually includes discussion of both Somalia and Ethiopia (and, unfortunately, only minor or passing reference to Djibouti), as well as the two superpowers. Among the numerous good examples of such comparative analyses are Marina Ottaway, Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa (1982); Robert F. Gorman, Political Conflict on the Horn of Africa (1981); Samuel M. Makinda, Superpower Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa (1987); Cao Huy Thuan et al., La Corne de l’Afrique: Questions nationales et politiques internationales (1986); and Horn of Africa: From ‘Scramble for Africa’ to East-West Conflict. (Das Horn von Afrika, vom Scramble for Africa zum Ost-West Konflikt) (1983). Perhaps the most systematically organized comparative study in terms of matching theory with substance is Schraeder, “Speaking with Many Voices: Inclementism, Crisis & Change in U.S. Intervention in Africa During the Post-World War II Period” (1990), an unpublished doctoral dissertation in which one of the case studies examined is U.S. intervention in Ethiopia and Somalia from 1945 to 1991. Schraeder’s conclusions are based on interviews with members of the U.S. policy-making establishment, documents, Congressional Record, public reporting, and the memoirs of relevant officials.

A welcome addition was the appearance of several diplomatic accounts written by former “players” and political “insiders.” For example, Spencer, Ethiopia at Bay: A Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years (1987), offers a diplomatic history of Ethiopia’s foreign relations. Similarly, former U.S. diplomatic personnel have made excellent contributions to an understanding of the evolution of U.S. foreign policy in the Horn of Africa. David Korn, in Ethiopia, the United States and the Soviet Union (1986), wrote an account of the events that led to the rupturing of the U.S.-Ethiopian relationship. Former U.S. Ambassador Donald K. Peterson wrote a brief chapter, “Somalia and the United States, 1977–1983: The New Relationship” (1985). Although largely descriptive in nature, these studies by former insiders offer invaluable insights into the diplomatic process.

One shortfall is the lack of scholarly attention to the impact of regional powers and, particularly, Saudi Arabia. In a first step toward systematically examining this neglected topic, John Creed and Menkhaus, “The Rise of Saudi Regional Power and the Foreign Policies of Northeast African States” (1986), chart the rise of Saudi Arabian regional preeminence since 1967 and its effects on the foreign policy behavior of northeast African countries. The framework of analysis is what has been termed the “world system approach,” in which nations are divided into “core” (e.g., France), “semiperiphery” (e.g., Saudi Arabia, and “periphery” (e.g., Djibouti) countries. The authors conclude that Saudi Arabia has successfully used its oil wealth to influence weaker neighbors in the region.
CONCLUSIONS

Scholarship devoted to understanding the politics of the Horn of Africa has expanded significantly during the post-World War II period in terms of substance and method. The primary factors driving this expansion are twofold: dramatic political events and general trends within the individual subfields that comprise the broader field of political science. As concerns events, for example, the Ethiopian revolution and the Ogaden War contributed to growth in theoretical studies of the causes and effects of revolutions and the nature of foreign interventionism in the Horn of Africa. If this trend of event-driven research continues, one most assuredly will witness the growth of studies dealing with the causes and effects of revolution in Somalia and Ethiopia as a result of the overthrow of both Siyaad and Mengistu in 1991. Moreover, with the issue of single-versus-multiparty democracy increasingly coming into vogue within African studies, the prospects for the establishment of multiparty systems within both countries will be analyzed closely within the literature.

Equally important as concerns the nature of political science scholarship on the Horn of Africa have been broader trends within the field of political science. From the 1960s to the 1990s, one can see the rise and gradual questioning of the dominant modernization approaches characteristic of the 1950s and the 1960s with the dependency and class-based analyses of the 1970s and the 1980s, approaches that, subsequently, have been overshadowed by a growth of interest during the 1980s and the 1990s in the important role of the “state.” As a result, projected studies of the causes and effects of revolution in Somalia and Ethiopia undoubtedly will highlight the role of the state. Indeed, one most assuredly will witness the rise of studies dealing with the “failure” of the state if secessionist movements in Ethiopia and Somalia are successful in obtaining international recognition.

Despite the gradual growth of scholarship, the broad fields of Ethiopian, Somali, and, particularly, Djiboutian studies remain wide open to both new and established scholars within political science. In this regard, rather than provide a long laundry list of the numerous remaining gaps within the field, two suggestions are offered as potential starting points for further research and analysis.

The issues of regional cooperation and conflict resolution largely remain untapped. Indeed, the majority of research instead has centered on describing and explaining regional conflict, whether in the form of revolution in one country or disputes between two or more countries, as well as the deleterious impacts of foreign involvement. What are the prospects and historical antecedents for regional cooperation, such as that embodied in the Djibouti-based Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development? What are the processes by which one can further the permanent resolution of the Ethiopian-Somali conflict and the Eritrean civil war? What role, if any, can be played by the superpowers in resolving these conflicts, especially now that the Cold War competition between the Soviet Union and the United States seemingly is giving way to increased
levels of cooperation within the international system? These types of questions—if the Horn of Africa is ever to break out of its underdeveloped status and break the vicious cycle of drought, famine, and political instability—need to be pursued. Indeed, political science, as well as specialized studies on the Horn of Africa, would benefit greatly from the rise of policy-relevant studies of direct application to problems faced by policymakers both within and outside the Horn of Africa. Although these questions have not been completely ignored within the literature, they clearly have not emerged as central issues of concern.

As concerns the "method" of attacking these and other issues, the promising trend of greater emphasis on comparative analysis during the 1980s—especially within studies devoted to foreign policy and the nationalities questions—needs to be strengthened and expanded. Rather than focusing on simply one country or time period, research must transcend the often artificial dividing lines between Ethiopian and Somali studies. Instead, greater attention must be paid to the commonality of the problems (such as famine) facing each of the countries of the Horn, as well as the similar experiences (such as revolution) that have been experienced by both Ethiopia and Somalia. Indeed, the interlocking nature of politics in the Horn of Africa suggests that comparative analyses are not only illuminating but necessary. In this regard, Djibouti clearly ranks as one of the least studied countries in Africa, particularly as concerns the growing wealth of studies devoted to its two larger neighbors. Although it will never achieve the levels of scholarship and attention focused on Somalia and Ethiopia, Djibouti, nonetheless, plays an important role in the politics of the region and, thus, demands inclusion in comparative studies devoted to the Horn of Africa.

NOTES


2. Researchers are also directed to the annotated bibliographies on Djibouti (Schrader, 1991) and Somalia (Mark DeLancey et al., 1989) published as part of Clio Press's World Bibliographical Series (the volume on Ethiopia is scheduled for publication in 1992), as well as the comprehensive *Bibliography of Djibouti*, compiled by Clarke and scheduled to appear in 1992.


4. Clearly beyond the scope of this chapter, this body of Francophone literature is nicely summarized in Jean-Pierre Diehl, *Le regard colonial ou il y a peu de coloniaux qui n'aient fait escale à Djibouti au moins une fois dans leur vie* (1986); Marie-Christine Aubry, *Djibouti l'ignoré: Récits de voyage* (1988); and Georges Maldon, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870* (1972), which specifically explores the evolution of Franco-Ethiopian relations. Similarly, Italian travelers contributed to a smaller but, nonetheless, important body of Italian-language materials, such as the three-volume work of Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zelila alla frontiere del Caffa* (1885–1887).
5. Classic French-language works that paint a highly sympathetic picture of French colonial efforts in Djibouti include Alfred Martineau, *Clône française des Somalis* (1931); Henri le Pointe, *La colonisation française au pays des Somalis* (1914); and Denis de Rivoyre, *Les Française à Obock* (1889).

6. See also Trimingham, *The Christian Church and Missions in Ethiopia (including Eritrea and the Somaliland)* (1950).

7. Although written during the 1930s, the manuscript was reviewed, corrected, and subsequently published in 1980 under the editorship of E. Chedeville and Robert FERRY.


9. The integration of French Cameroon with the British Southern Cameroons to form the current Republic of Cameroon constitutes the only other African example during the postindependence era.


11. For a good review of this and similar works, see James C. Paul, "Understanding Ethiopia" (1971).


13. Ibid., 709.

14. This is how I termed the state of the field in Schraeder, *Djibouti* (1991).

15. For a good review of this scholarship, see Markakis, "No Longer a Hidden War: Recent Writing on the Eritrean Nationalist Struggle" (1981).

16. For a good review of this literature, see Ahmed I. Samatar (1987).


18. A work from the comparative politics literature that was even more important to the intellectual underpinnings of this volume was Ellen Kay Trimberger, *Revolution from Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt and Peru* (1978).

19. As concerns modernization theory, Clapham notes that his "account of revolution" drew "much of its inspiration" from Huntington.

20. For an excellent review essay of this topic, see Markakis, "The Aetiology of Famine" (1988).


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