

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON AMIN'S UGANDA

by

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Uganda. *Achievements of the Government of Uganda during the first year of the Second Republic*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972. 102 pp., 1 photo.

Uganda. *Background to the budget 1970-71*. Entebbe: Ministry of Finance, 1971. 81pp.

Uganda. *The birth of the Second Republic of Uganda*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1971. 44 pp., 16 photographs. An account of events leading up to the military coup, and proclamations. One of the appendices is the Lango Development Master Plan of 1967.

Uganda. *British Asians in Uganda: Background information on the issue*, 1972. Issued by the Ugandan government as a response to the growing criticisms of its action.

Uganda. *Commission of Inquiry into the allegations against Obote, Amin et al. on 4th February, 1966, see Uganda. Evidence and findings of the Commission....*, 1971.

Uganda. *Commission of Inquiry into the missing Americans*. Part I - Report: Part II - Government White Paper on the Report. Entebbe, 1972.

Also called the Jones Commission which in 1972 investigated the "disappearance" of two Americans. It is a testament to the fragile state of justice in Uganda. Jones feared for his own life and did not file his report until he was safely out of Uganda. Amin and the army tried to obstruct the work of the Commission, but Jones pursued his work with diligence, and revealed that a number of top army officers were responsible for the deaths of Stroh and Sidel (journalist and teacher) in June, 1971. *Africa Today* 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 17.

Uganda. *Evidence and findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the allegations made by the late Daudi Ocheng on 4th February 1966 (against Obote, Amin et al.)*. Kampala:

Uganda Publishing House for Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1971. 874 pp.

This Commission had in 1966 investigated the allegations of the late D. O. against Obote and Amin of corruption and sedition. Amin has in the early months of his regime released its evidence and findings. See *Africa Today*, 21, 1 (Winter 1974), pp. 75-76.

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The "Eighteen Points" are reproduced herein. See also Glentworth and Hancock. "Obote and Amin" *African Affairs* 72, 288 (July 1973), p. 250.

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II. Articles

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For divergencies of opinion, see the important essay by Garth Glentworth and Ian Hancock. "Obote and Amin: Change and Continuity in Modern Uganda Politics." *African Affairs*. 72, 288 (July 1973), pp. 237-55, especially, 249; see also Timothy M. Shaw. "Uganda under Amin: The Costs of Confronting Dependence." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 35.

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- Fawcett, J. E. S. "British Ugandans." *The World Today*. 28, 10 (Oct. 1972), pp. 421-23. Fawcett is the President of the European Commission of Human Rights.
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- Gertzel, C. "Leadership and institution building in Uganda." *The African Review*, 2, 1 (June 1972), pp. 175-87.

"Milton Obote's style of leadership, characterized to a high degree by his tendency to mediate, and reconcile the many interests in pluralistic Uganda had however since 1956 been in part his response to the existing institutions that linked the centre to locality in Uganda. In the beginning of the new state, the leader makes the institutions; later the institutions directly influence his style of leadership. But in Obote's case it is possible to argue that his style of reconciliation leadership,

so characteristic of his first ten years in national Ugandan politics, was determined by the institutions in existence, themselves a compromise with Uganda's plural society." *International Political Science Abstracts* XXIV, 1 (1974), p. 784.

Ghai, Y. P. "Constitutions and the political order in East Africa." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 21, 3 (July 1972), pp. 403-34. "Studies of African constitutions tend to focus on the legal rules, but as constitutions change rapidly, are suspended or overthrown, there is little interest in such studies. A more fruitful approach to the study of constitutions is through an exploration of the relationship between constitutions and politics. The theory of the constitution is that it sets out the framework within which political activity and competition take place; the constitution is both supreme and constant. A number of devices, like judicial review, entrenchment, second chambers, are established to maintain this role of the constitution. In practice, the constitution is neither supreme nor constant. It is the development of political factors which dictates the form of the constitution. A group in power uses, amends or disregards the constitution as it suits it; its basic fidelity seems to be its continuing power to rule. This thesis is demonstrated through an extensive examination of the relationship between politics and constitutions in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zanzibar, since their independence, about ten years ago. An attempt is made, however, to distinguish between the different long term objectives of constitution of constitutions, especially as regards institutionalization, as between these countries." *International Political Science Abstracts* XXIII, 4 (1973), 2979.

Gingyera-Pinyewa, A. G. G. "A. M. Obote, the Baganda, and the Uganda Army." *Mwazo*. 3, 2 (Dec. 1971), pp. 32-44.

Gingyera-Pinyewa, A. G. G. "Political developments in Uganda." *Kroniek van Afrika*. no. 2 (1968).

Glentworth, Garth and Hancock, Ian. "Obote and Amin: Change and Continuity in Modern Uganda Politics." *African Affairs*. 72, 288 (July 1973), pp. 237-55. Very important source.

"In spite of his personal unpredictability Amin has in many ways conformed to the system he inherited; indeed his internal policies can be understood, and only understood, in relation to the past. The crucial point is

that he is no revolutionary; instead he has pushed the existing system to its extreme limit. This argument is developed in three stages: by trying to pinpoint Uganda's main political problems as illustrated by the events of 1962-1966; by examining Obote's efforts to solve these problems through the "Move to the Left", a programme which emerged out of the 1966 crisis; and by looking at Amin's activities to show how, in place of the Obote "revolution", the military government has become almost exclusively concerned with the extension and exploitation of the existing system." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIV, 3 (1974), 2744.

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Halbach, A. J. "Die Ausweisung der Asiaten aus Uganda: sieben Monate Amin'scher Politik." *Afrika Forschungsberichte*. 39 (1973), p. 281.

Hall, M. "The balance of payments of Uganda 1966-1971 ." *Uganda Economic Journal*. 1, 1 (Dec. 1971), pp. 58-79. 4 tables.

Hancock, I. R. "The Uganda Crisis, 1966." *Australian Outlook*. 20, 3 (Dec. 1966), pp. 263-77.

"The state of Uganda is dominated by one of its components, the kingdom of Buganda. Older-established, more politically and culturally sophisticated and more powerful than the other components of the nation, the influence of Buganda in the central government following independence was very great. Inevitably, a split developed between southerners (Bantu) and Buganda. The situation, however, was further complicated by the attachment of Buganda to their monarchy: an attachment which led to reluctance to accept the power of the State. Finally, in February, 1966, Obote, the Prime Minister, suspended and arrested a number of members of his cabinet and put down a rebellion in Buganda with considerable bloodshed. The Kabaka (king) fled into exile." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XVII, 2 (1967), p. 826.

Hansen, Holger Bernt. "Den nyere politiske udvikling i Uganda" (The modern political development in Uganda.) Foredrag holdt ved konferencen for hjemvendte "u-landsfrivillige" i Arhus 16. nov. 1968. Copenhagen 1969.

24 pp. (Duplic.) Mellemfokeligt Samvirke.

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Jacob, A. "Israel's military aid to Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 9, 2 (Aug. 1971), pp. 165-87.

Jacob, B. L. "The Autumn of Our Discontent: The Uganda Scene" *Africa Today*, 21, 1 (Winter 1974), pp. 73-82. An up-dating of the earlier article in *ibid.*, 20, 2(1973), pp. 47-57; Also important.

Jacobs, B. L. "Uganda's Second Republic: The First Two Years." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 47-57. This is an important source because Jacobs, who is Director of Studies at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, England; was formerly Director of Studies in Public Administration at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

Kabwegyere, Tarsus. "The Asian question in Uganda." *East Africa Journal*. 9, 6 (June 1972), pp. 10-13.

Kiwanuka, M. S. M. "MAWAZO and Obote." *MAWAZO*. 3, 2 (1971), pp. 45-46. MAWAZO is published by Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

Lamb, G. "The military and development in eastern Africa." *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin* 4, 4 (Sept. 1972), pp. 16-23.

Laporte, Didier. "Ouganda: Bilan d'un coup d'Etat." *Revue de Defense Nationale*. 28 (Feb. 1972), pp. 230-44.

"Le coup d'Etat du general Amin de janvier 1971 a mis en lumiere le mecontentement populaire a l'egard de la radicalisation du pouvoir precedent et de ses nationalisations abusives. Depuis la prise du pouvoir, le general Amin s'efforce de reconstituer une armee solide, de reconstruire une economie liberale et de combattre la corruption. Ses plus grandes difficultes sont cependant venues de l'exterieur: Soudan et Tanzanie particulierement, mais aujourd'hui, le general Amin

a pratiquement regle une situation exterieure difficile." *International Political Science Abstracts* XXII, 3 (1972), 2517.

- Legum, Colin. (ed.) *Africa Contemporary Record*. Refer to volumes III (1972) to VI (1974) for information on
- a) "Uganda's Coupt D'Etat: African Reactions;"
 - b) "Uganda Armed Forces Statement" (issued on taking power);
 - c) "Text proclaiming the Suspension of the Uganda Consitution;"
 - d) "Uganda Crisis I: Foreign and military Affairs;" and
 - e) "Uganda Crisis II: Expulsions of Asians."

Every year, the *Africa Contemporary Record* publishes Current Affairs Series as separate monographs of a number of studies from the above volumes. Among the 1973-74 additions, Current Affairs Series No. 12 is *General Amin's Uganda*.

Lofchie, M. F. "The Uganda coup - Class action by the military." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10,1 (May 1972), pp. 19-35. "The Uganda army can be best understood as a kind of economic class, an elite stratum with a set of economic interests to protect. The coup of January, 1971, was the army's political response to an increasingly socialist regime whose equalitarian domestic policies posed more and more of a threat to the military's economic privileges. No other explanation accounts adequately for two paradoxical aspects of the coup. Why should an army whose officers and rank and file were drawn overwhelmingly from sections of the society loyal to the regime, and which had in fact constituted one of the Government's principal bases of support, turn against political authorities with whom it had been closely identified? Secondly, how is it possible to understand the new social basis of political power in Uganda? - a coalition which joins an officer corps drawn from the economically less developed northern section of the country with a southern coffee-growing elite drawn from the most wealthy region of Uganda, the districts of Buganda. The class character of the Uganda military helps to answer both questions. Both groups (officers and wealthy coffee farmers) had one powerful interest in common - preservation of their high income status in a generally poor agricultural society. They shared a common interest in opposing a government intent

on redistribution of wealth on a more equalitarian basis." *International Political Science Abstracts* XXIII, 4 (1973), p. 3467. See also *Africa Today*, 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 35, Footnote 9.

Low, D. A. "Uganda Unhinged." *International Affairs*, 49, 2 (April 1973), pp. 219-28. "The direct relationship between the expulsion of the Asians from Uganda and the insidious collapse of the fundamental authority of Uganda's central government becomes palpable if the decision is set within the context of the political history of independent Uganda. Amin, like his predecessor was faced by the fundamental problem of the tenuousness of the political authority of the central government and the need for a new basis for its legitimacy." *International Political Science Abstracts*, XXIII, 6 (1973), p. 4537.

"Malice or immaturity?" *Africa*, 26 (Oct. 1973), pp. 29-31. Quotation: "In Uganda the question that haunts many of us now is where we are heading. Amin's caprice is real; whether it is from malice or mere political immaturity, it is confusing normally loyal Ugandans."

"Manifesto of the Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) of Uganda." *Africa Today*, 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 44-45.

FRONASA was organised by Yoweri Musveni, is now the leading guerilla group. Its Manifesto is concerned with regime violence and economic dislocation, the demise of good government and religious persecution. Its remedy is mass armed struggle to restore order, development and national status. That is why FRONASA has been founded, an organisation dedicated to do away with fascism, misgovernment, religious bigotry and corruption, and to ensure peace, security, dignity and enlightened government for the people of Uganda through armed struggle and any other necessary means.

Mazrui, Ali A. "The different Concepts of Revolution in East Africa." *The African Review*, 1, 4 (April 1971), pp. 28-51.

Mazrui, Ali A. "Leadership in Africa: Obote of Uganda." *International Journal* XXV, 3 (Summer 1970), pp 538.64.

Leadership in Africa might be said to fall into four major styles - intimidatory, patriarchal, reconciliatory,

and mobilizational. In East Africa Jomo Kenyatta has been a patriarchal leader, Julius Nyerere a mobilization leader, and Obote a reconciliation leader. Obote's initial policy on emerging into Independence was to retain some link with the residual pre-eminence of the Baganda. He concluded an alliance with the Kabaka Yekka party. But by August 1964, Obote felt strong enough to terminate his alliance with Kabaka Yekka. Yet, Obote's overall control within his own party started to decline in the succeeding months. Obote was about to be ousted from the leadership of the party - but he turned the tables on his opponents, detaining five of his Cabinet Ministers, suspending the Constitution, and declaring himself Executive President. In 1967 he introduced a new Constitution for Uganda, and abolished the kings. The succeeding period called forth from Obote skills of reconciliation not only between one political faction and another, but also between the soldiers and the politicians. But this also coincided with increasing intimidation in the political system of Uganda. On December 19, 1969, there was an attempt on Obote's life. If the attempt was by an ethnic opponent then the task of national survival was far from complete. If, however, the assassination attempt was the work of an ideological opponent, it could mean that Ugandans were beginning to feel passionately about political issues above and beyond tribal loyalties - and that political violence was moving from issues of national survival to issues of ideological preference. Meanwhile, Obote had begun to feel that a reconciliation style of leadership was not enough. He wanted to become a mobilization leader, aspiring towards national transformation rather than system maintenance. His National Service scheme, his *Common Man's Charter*, the partial nationalization of the industries in May 1970, and the proposed single party system for Uganda were all indications of an Obote who wanted to move from the conciliation to mobilization. Was Obote to be equal to the new task? Is the country ready to be led in that style? Only the future can reveal the full contribution of Milton Obote to the historical evolution of his nation." *International Political Science Abstracts*, XXII, 1 (1972), p. 757. See also 771. This no. of *International Journal* is a special issue on "Africa: leaders and lessons."

Mazrui, Ali A. "The lumpen proletariat and the lumpen militariat: African soldiers as a new political class (Uganda)." *Political Studies*. 21, 1 (March 1973), p.1-12.

"The history of modernization in independent Africa might well be a gradual transition from a political supremacy of those who hold the means of destruction to a future political supremacy of those who control the means of production. Modern military technology in a relatively backward society tends to widen the gap of power between the unarmed citizenry on one side and those who hold control over the new means of war, on the other. It is only after the society has become more technologically complex that the means of production become critical enough to the survival of national systems to provide a countervailing balance to the power exercised by the military. Those who control the means of production - workers, managers and owners - are at their most powerful in relations to the soldiers in situations of technological complexity. They are at their weakest in relation to the soldiers in situations of rudimentary technology. Political analysts so far have focused on the politicization of African armies. What needs to be observed from now on is the *economicization* of those armies. The consequences of soldiers becoming political animals are different from the consequences of their becoming significant economic agents. Specially instructive in this regard might be the aftermath of Amin's expulsion of the Asians from Uganda. When African soldiers become businessmen, an important process is initiated. It is this particular form of the economicization of African soldiers which constitutes the gradual *embourgeoisement* of the old lumpen militariat. In Uganda it is almost certain that one important consequence of the de-Indianization of the economy will be the rapid embourgeoisement of a significant section of the armed forces. If the politicization of an African army aggravates the crisis of professionalism, the economicization of that same army could gradually help to restore the balance. As soldiers become part of the bourgeoisie, the control of the means of destruction becomes coextensive with participation in the means of production." *International Political Science Abstracts*, XXIII, 6 (1973), p. 4322.

This article contains a significant revision of Chapter 16 in Mazrui's *Cultural engineering and nation-building in East Africa*, see *Africa Today*, 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 43, footnote 28.

Mazrui, A. A. "On Amin and Obote." *East Africa Journal*, 8, 6 (June 1971), pp. 3-5.

Mazrui, A. A. "Political Science and social commitment across two Republics of Uganda." Universities Social Sciences Council Conference Paper 79, presented at Kampala, Uganda, 1971. 28 pp.

Mazrui, A. A. "Political control and military power in East Africa." Universities Social Sciences Conference Paper 93, presented at Kampala, Uganda, 1971. 39 pp.

Mazrui, Ali A. "Racial self-reliance and cultural dependency: Nyerere and Amin in comparative perspective." *Journal of International Affairs*. 27, 1 (1973), pp. 105-121.

Mazrui, Ali A. "The Social Origins of Ugandan Presidents: From King to Peasant Warrior." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 8, 1 (1974), pp. 3-24.

Mazrui, Ali A. and Rothchild, Donald "The Soldier and the State in East Africa: Some Theoretical Conclusions on the Army Mutinies of 1964." *Western Political Quarterly*. XX, 9 (March 1967), pp. 82-96.

"There are two levels of sovereignty operating within African political thought - state sovereignty and racial sovereignty. By the criterion of state sovereignty, the Sultan Jamshid was a native of Zanzibar while Okello, the man who led a revolution against him, was a foreigner. But by the criterion of racial sovereignty, it was the other way round. Also, in their own way, the army mutinies of 1964 presented each East African government with a dilemma over the nature of sovereignty. What was supposed to be an implement of East African sovereignty could only be disciplined by a partial East African retreat from sovereignty itself, by calling in foreign troops. Such foreign military intervention was legitimate to the extent that it maintained law and order but morally suspect when it frustrated genuine political aspirations. In helping the East African governments in their hour of mutinous peril, British authorities might have done the right thing - but seemingly for the wrong reasons." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XVII, 3 (1967), p. 995. This mutiny phenomenon was approached clearly along political lines by Mazrui and Rothchild, says Michel L. Martin in *Ufahamu* 2, 3 (Winter 1972), p. 117, note 25.

Martin, Michel L. "The Uganda Military Coup of 1971: A Study of Protest." *Ufahamu*, 2, 3 (Winter 1972), pp. 81-121.

Important. Gives also a good background in modern sociological and political terms. And Idi Amin's records on page 121.

Ali A. Mazrui, Professor and Head of Political Science Department, Makerere University, in a letter to *Ufahamu*. 3, 2 (Fall 1972) p. 7:

"I read the article by Michel L. Martin, "The Uganda Military Coup of 1971: A Study of Protest with great interest. Apart from one or two errors, it is an article based on substantial research and sensitivity to the important issues in Uganda politics. It is so good that it is bound to feature in our reading lists at Makerere University from now on. I am grateful to you for drawing my attention to the article, and to the quality of your journal.

Mazrui, A. A. "Uganda's Asian policy." *South African Outlook*. 102, P. 1216 (September, 1972), pp. 150-151.

Mazrui, Ali A. "When Spain expelled the Jews and the Moors...A Lesson in History." *Africa Today*. 20, 1 (Winter 1973), pp. 73-75.

A thousand copies of this paper were distributed in Kampala in August, 1972 as a mimeographed circular and more copies were "pirated" and reduplicated

Mitchell, Alexander and Miller, Russell. "Amin: The Untold Story." *The Sunday Times Magazine*. October 29, 1972, pp. 49-63.

Mittelman, James H. "The Uganda Coup and the Internationalization of Political Violence." *American African Library Notes*, III, 1972-73, 14 (September 1972) 36 pp.

Mittelman, James H. "The anatomy of a coup: Uganda, 1971." *Africa Quarterly*, XI, 3 (October-December, 1971), pp. 184-202.

"Whereas 25 January 1971 marks the occasion with the foremost military significance in Ugandan history, it is a date which is symbolic of the failures and achievements of Africa at large. What are the immediate circumstances and events leading to this coup? What are the deeper socio-political causes responsible for the coup? Prescriptions are advanced concerning the future of military rule in Uganda, particularly in terms

of choices of action open to the military. The legacy of the civilian regime is the dilemma of how to provide firm control from the top in managing the tasks of development and, at the same time disperse participation in governmental responsibility without increasing the potential for disruption. The most viable course of action for the military is to establish a vanguard party which exercises strong control while gradually expanding its base of power." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIV, i (1974), p. 819.

Mixson, F. I. "Nationalisation as an aid to development: the case of Uganda." *Uganda Economic Journal*. 1, 1 (December 1971), pp. 31-41.

O'Brien, J. "General Amin and the Uganda Asians: doing the unthinkable." *Round Table*. 249 (January 1973), pp. 91-104.

"As pseudonymous Justin O'Brien has suggested, their (the Asians) superordinate position relative to most Africans meant that "The Asian demise was inevitable". Compared to their status in Kenya and Tanzania, "it was in Uganda that the Asians were most strongly entrenched." See Shaw, Timothy M. "Uganda under Amin: The Costs of Confronting Dependence." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 35 and 36.

Odhiambo, E. S. A. "The paradox of collaboration: the Uganda case." *East Africa Journal* 9, 10 (Oct. 1972), pp. 19-25.

"Africanists have often asserted that the concept of collaboration was a crucial apparatus in the process of colonization, but have tended to paint a rather simple image of the actual individuals that were involved. In Uganda the variety of personalities was quite impressive. What united them all was self-interest. The British used various sets of collaborators according to their needs, dropping alliance with those who had outlived their usefulness. The first collaborators were Sudanese soldiers then the Christian Baganda, and after them the generation of Kakungulul, Awich and Odora. By the 1920s and 1930s the educated elites were fast becoming the collaborators. All this array of men were wrestling with the fundamental problems of privilege in a changing world; they thus were not the simple collaborators that they appeared to be:

they were also rebels." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIV, 1 (1974), p. 828. A recent discussion of the ambiguous role of collaborators and rebels, see *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 33, note 4.

Oksalu, J. H. "Amin's Impact: The First Battle." *Christian Century*. 89, 44 (December 1972), pp. 1233-4.

Parson, Jack D. "Africanizing Trade in Uganda: the Final Solution." *Africa Today*. 20, 1 (Winter 1973), pp. 59-72. (See also *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 35)

Petrucci, Pietro. "Ou'est-ce que l'Aminisme?" *Afrique-Asie*, 51, 4 (March 1974), pp. 15-17.

Plender, Richard. "The Ugandan Crisis and the Right of Expulsion under International Law." *The Review of the International Commission of Jurists*. 9 (December 1972), pp. 19-32.

For a plea for the observation of customary and codified laws on expulsion and human rights, *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), 39, note 16.

Prewitt, K. "Perplexities of the political identity question: the case of Uganda." Essay in *Education and Political Values*. ed. by K. Prewitt. Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1971, pp. 199-242.

Rodney, Walter. "Problems of Third World Development. A Discussion of Imperialism and Underdevelopment." *Ufahamu*. III, 2 (Fall 1972), pp. 27-47. Especially on Socialism in Uganda, see pp 39-41.

Rollow, Jonathan. "Uganda's Amin's Economic Revolution." *Africa Report*. 20, 3 (May-June 1974), pp. 36-38.

Ryan, Selwyn D. "Uganda: a balance sheet of the revolution." *MAWAZO*. 3, 1 (June 1971), pp. 37-64. (Important source)

Ryan, Selwyn D. "Economic Nationalism and Socialism in Uganda." *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*. XI, 2 (July 1973), pp. 140-58.

Sathyamurthy, T. V. "Ugandan politics: Convuluted movement from tribe to nation." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 7, 42 (14 October 1972), pp 2122-2128.

"Obote, the former President of Uganda, showed himself to be adept in the art of orchestrating civilian political forces by delicately applying his consummate knowledge of tribal or ethnic calculus: but he was naive in his grasp of military-civil relationships and much too old-fashioned in his approach to realise the importance of effective control of the instruments of force. His successor, Amin, has demonstrated a capacity to bring the army, at least for some time to come, under his personal control by changing its ethnic composition and increasing its responsibilities. Will he also be able to develop the political skills necessary to contain the resurgent political tendencies within Ugandan society which are working towards a return to traditionalism and a dilution of national identity by a reassertion of tribal or ethnic particularities? Uganda needs a leadership which is capable of combining the skills of both Obote and Amin. It may well be that these types of skills cannot be combined in a single individual. In that case, Uganda may be in for a further political crisis out of which a suitable national political ideology may yet be born." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIII, 4 (1973), p. 3487.

Sauldie, M. "Ein Jahr Amin in Uganda." *Afrika Heute*. 10, 5 (February 1972), pp. 81-82.

Shaw, T. M. "Uganda under Amin: the costs of confronting dependence." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 32-45. (Important).

This article is a review of the goals and cost of Amin's economic strategy. It seeks to explain the "Economic war" of the Amin regime as a case study of an unplanned demolition of dependency, *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

This essay has been, in part, a comment on the established literature on international linkages and stratification. Its main theoretical point is that the structure of dependence between highly unequal international actors is perpetuated because incumbent elites in new states are able to extract status and resources from the relation. Until the distribution of resources in the international system is made more equal, changes or regimes in the Third World will lead to different sets of dependent relationships, not to their final elimination. The national development of new states takes place within the structure of an hierarchical international system. Any strategy designed to maximize national interest

and foreign policy choices requires a simultaneous attack on the interdependent domestic and external interests perpetuated by the structure of dependence. National self-reliance in Africa may be of the Tanzanian socialist or Ugandan populist varieties. It remains to be seen whether other African regimes will perceive these strategies to be real alternatives. The Ugandan guerillas have already made their choice. *Ibid.*, 45 (the conclusion of the article). See also 32, note 1.

Short, Philip. "Amin's Uganda." *Transition*. 40, 8, 3 (December, 1971), pp. 48-55.

Short, Philip. "Amin: an African experiment with 'bludgeon diplomacy'." *International Perspectives*. (Jan./Feb. 1973), pp. 43-45. (See also *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 35)

Short, Philip. "Putting it in perspective." *Africa Report*. 18, 2 (March/April 1973), pp. 34-41.

Tandon, Yash. "The expulsions from Uganda - the Asians' role in East Africa." *Patterns of Prejudice*. 6, 6 (Nov./Dec. 1972). (See also *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 35-36)

Twaddle, Michael. "The Amin Coup." *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*. 10, 2 (July 1972), pp. 99-112.

"M. T. convincingly shows the lack of tribal and political (let alone economic) cohesiveness of the Uganda armed forces at the time of the coup." Clentiworth and Hancock. "Obote and Amin!" *African Affairs*. 72, 288 (July 1973), p. 249, note 19.

"To theorists of the British right the military coup of January 25, 1971, seemed part of a general pattern in post-colonial Africa: uneasy parliament corrupt and repressive dictatorship to cleaning army rule. To theorists of the left, it was a 'Latin American' phenomenon that changed nothing. But in fact both theories are found wanting. The Amin coup is best understood not as a military takeover of civilian government, but as an internal war led by an army general whose network of followers managed to seize the national armour before anyone else." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIII, 3 (1974), p. 2757.

Twaddle, Michael. "Order and Disorder in Uganda." *The World Today*. 29, 10 (Oct. 1973), pp. 449-54.

"The key to President Amin's actions since seizing power probably lies in the political culture of the lower-income urban groups from which the bulk of his support appears to be drawn." *International Political Science Abstracts*. XXIV, 2 (1974), p. 1925.

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"Uganda - A Lawless State." *International Commission of Jurists*. 9 (Dec. 1972), p. 18. The Review.

"The Crisis of the Ugandan Asians." *Race Relations Bulletin*. 35 (September 1972), Special Feature.
Ibid., nos. 36-39 have good chronologies of the events. Published by the Runnymede Trust, London.

"Behind the rhetoric in Uganda - the expulsion of the Asians." *International Perspectives*. (Jan./Feb. 1973), pp. 39-43.
Quoted in Shaw. "Uganda under Amin." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), p. 36.

"Uganda: Folgen einer Politik der Gewalt." *Länderbericht. Internationales Afrika Forum*. 2/3 (Feb./März 1973), pp. 110-120. With a good chronology.

"Uganda under Military Rule." *Africa Today*. 20, 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 11-31. Important source by a Special Correspondent. The writer of this article, for reasons which become apparent in the text, cannot at present be identified, but has a long, intimate and continuing relationship with the Ugandan scene.

United Nations. *Mr. Iringira's (Uganda's ambassador at U.N.) defence of Uganda's position in the Asian issue*. U.N. A/PV. 2057 (6th October 1972), pp. 77-90. Quoted in *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law In Uganda*. A Study by the International Commission of Jurists prepared by Michael Posner.

Weinstein, Warren. "Military Rule in Africa." *Africa Today*, 20, 4 (Fall 1973), pp. 77-80.

West, Richard. "Africa and Amin: What Africa thinks of Amin." *New Statesman*, 15,9 (1972), p. 345.

III. Books and Pamphlets

Ghai, Dharan P. and Ghai, Yash P. *Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa*. OUP, 1970. 227 pp.

"This revised edition has been brought out to incorporate "contemporary issues and dilemmas facing the Asian community", and to examine the consequences of the latest developments in East Africa and elsewhere, this minority. Since 1967-8, events in Britain and East Africa have been periodic reminders of the "Asian problem", as Yash Ghai calls it (p. 227). The Asians' extreme unpopularity, the East African governments' Africanization policies and most Asians' preference for Britain over India for settlement - these are some of the many pertinent questions usefully tackled by the seven contributors. The editors have greatly improved the historical introduction..." From the review by Nizar A. Motani, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, in *African Affairs*, 287 (April 1973), pp. 215-16.

Ghai, Y. and Ghai, D. P. *The Asian minorities of East and Central Africa*. Report No. 4, April 1971. London: Minority Rights Group, 1971. 39 pp.

Hveem, Helge. *Uganda - en politisk bversikt*. ("A political survey.") Stockholm, 1971. 90 pp.

Hveem, Helge. *Uganda. Beskrivning av ett u'land*. ("Uganda - a description of a developing country.") Stockholm, 1973. 105 pp.

Lester Anthong. *Citizens without Status*. A Runnymede Trust Publication, 1972, 16 pp.

Listowel, Judith. *Amin*. Irish U. P., 1973. 188 pp. Maps.
"The best things in this book are the stories about East Africa that Lady Listowel obtained from British army officers whom Idi Amin befriended at earlier stages of his career. These are mostly tales of athletic prowess - this powerful chest, those incredible eyes - but there are also several references to the Ugandan army mutiny

of January 1964 (pp. 30-41), and a poignant story about that abortive embassy to Idi Amin by Geoffrey Rippon in August last year: so different were the sorts of English employed by the two men in this exercise that Amin did not understand anything of consequence said by Rippon (p. 152). Otherwise this book is not worth serious attention as a political biography. There are too many errors of fact..... As an example of contemporary ephemera, this book reveals more about its author than it does about its subject and is worth reading for that reason, if for none other." Review by Michael Twaddle (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London) in *African Affairs*. 72, 288 (July 1973), pp. 344-45.

Luttwak, E. *Coup d'etat: A Practical Handbook*. London: Penguin Press, 1968. "As far as the process of infiltration is concerned, see 62-63. The plot against Amin failed, because the officers loyal to Amin who infiltrated the different battalions, could alert Amin." Michel L. Martin in *UFAHAMU*. 2, 3 (Winter 1972), 112 and 121

Maliri, E. W. *Uganda at last free*. Kampala: Published by the author, 1971, 48 pp. 16 photos.

Mangat, J. S. *A History of the Asians in East Africa c. 1886 to 1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. Pp. XV +216.

"It claims to be the first historical study in depth on the subject. Dr. Nangat has consulted a wide range of primary sources and declares that the "result has been a study that is largely sympathetic towards the Asian community". But in this the author seems to have overreached himself, as reflected in the narrative, which suffers from repetition and poor organisation of valuable material...." From the review by Sukhi Singh in *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 7, 4 (Dec. 1969), p. 763. See also the review by James S. Read, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in *African Affairs*, 71, 282 (January 1972), pp. 98-100.

Martin, David. *Amin*. London, 1974. Martin, David, is of the London Observer.

Mazrui, Ali A. *Cultural engineering and nation-building in East Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern U. P., 1972. 301 pp.

Morgan, E. Philip. "Military intervention in politics: The case of Uganda." Waltham, Mass., 1971. 35 pp. (mimeographed.) Fourteenth annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Denver, November 3-6. 1971.

Morris, H. S. *The Indians in Uganda*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968. xi + 230 pp.

"The book is based on reaserch carried out between 1952 and 1955. Although the study ends historically in 1955, it will be relevant for a long time to come, for it is mainly concerned with the problem of the Asians' place in the newly **emergent society** of Uganda. The book is written in a lucid style and deals with each aspect systematically. The summaries and conclusions at the end of most chapters are of immense help, particularly concerning the complex subjects of caste, sect, and religion. What emerges clearly from this study is that any discussion on the Asian minority presupposes a thorough knowledge and understanding of the sociological relationships among the various "communities" withing the Asian population. It also follows that the larger issues concerning the place of Asians in the new societies will be determined by the degree of transformation that occurs in intercommunal relationships among the Asians. It is questionable whether the melting-pot of schools and universities will produce a new generation of Ugandans free from ethnic and cultural barriers so long as existing family, kinship, and communal ties remain undiminished...." From the review by Sukhi Singh, London, in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 7,4 (December 1969), pp762-63. See also the review by James S. Read, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in *African Affairs*, 71, 282 (Jan. 1972), pp. 98-100.

O'Brien, Justin. *Brown Britons: The crisis of the Ugandan Asians*. A Runnymede Trust Publication, 1972. 23 pp + Appendices, 17 pp. Appendix 1: Speech by His Excellency the President of Uganda, General Amin, to the Asian Conference held on 8th Dec., 1971, in the Uganda International Conference Centre - Appendix 2: Memorandum by the Asian Leaders to His Excellency the President of the Second Republic of Uganda, General Amin Dada, in response to His Excellency's speech dated 8th Dec., 1971.

Parson, J. "Africanization of trade in Uganda: background and perspectives on government policy." Makerere

University, Political Science Department, 1971. 37 pp.
(Cyclostyled)

Patel, Hasu H. *Indians in Uganda and Rhodesia - Some comparative Perspectives on a Minority in Africa.* Studies in Race and Nations, 5, 1. 1973-74 series. Denver.

Posner, Michael. *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda.* California: University of California, Berkeley, 1974. 63 pp.

The study deals with the events since the military coup on January 25, 1971, when General Amin came to power. Part I deals with the expulsion of the Asians from Uganda; Part II deals with the political and legal structure within which the violation of human rights have occurred; Part III presents a chronological account of the reign of terror that has taken place in Uganda since January 1971.

Southall, A. "Amin's military coup in Uganda; great man or historical inevitability?" Paper presented at the International Congress of Africanists on Political Development of Society, Addis Ababa, 1973. 27 pp.

Strate, J. T. "Post-military coup strategy in Uganda: Amin's early attempts to consolidate political support." Papers in International Studies Africa Series No. 18, Ohio University Center for International Studies Africa Program, 1973, 58 pp.

Tandon, Yash. *Problems of a Displaced Minority: The New Position of East Africa's Asians.* London: Minority Rights Group, 1973. 31 pp.

Wakhweya, E. B. *Budget Speech, June 15, 1972, delivered in the National Assembly Chamber.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972. 27 pp.

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