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# **AFRICA CONFLICT RESOLUTION ACT INTER-AGENCY PLAN**

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**U.S. Agency for International Development  
U.S. Department of State  
U.S. Department of Defense  
U.S. Information Agency  
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

**April 19, 1995**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Suffering is a way of life for far too many people in Africa. But not all of Africa is in crisis. In FY 1994, 87% of our emergency aid was concentrated in just eight countries: Angola, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, and Sudan. **Contrary to public perceptions fueled by gloom-and-doom media stories, most African countries are making progress.**

This progress is driven by the dramatic political and economic changes that have swept the African continent in the last few years, enhancing the opportunities for growth and development.

In 1993, U.S. exports to Africa (about \$4.7 billion) exceeded U.S. aid to Africa (\$1.7 billion) by more than two to one. During that same year U.S. businesses exported more to Africa than they did

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*"Africa is a bigger market for American exporters than Russia and the other former Soviet states combined."*

*-Senator Nancy Kassebaum, February 16, 1995,  
Federal News Service.*

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to the nations of the former Soviet Union, including Russia. Assisting African nations and their citizens to develop and maintain stable and secure environments makes a significant constructive contribution to security and peace, the prerequisites for economic growth and development. A vital and secure Africa, therefore serves the economic and political interests of the United States and the world.

In the past, most of our emergency responses in sub-Saharan Africa were to natural disasters, primarily drought. In recent years though, we have witnessed more complex disasters, rooted in domestic conflict and political instability. Poverty is also strongly linked to these man-made disasters -- both as a contributing cause, as people come into conflict over scarce resources, and as a barrier to crisis prevention and mitigation, since many countries are too poor to address the root causes of the economic and social problems they face.

Responding to these human emergencies created by man-made conflict has taxed the will and resources of the U.S. and our partners in the international community. We are seeing scarce resources that would more appropriately be used to support development being used instead to provide humanitarian relief on a long-term basis.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, positive trends in economic and political development are taking place on the continent as well. From unnoticed success stories in Benin and Mali, to the more notable signs of progress taking place in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Eritrea,

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<sup>1</sup> "As a result of violent internal conflicts and other disasters such as drought and famine, costs of providing humanitarian assistance have risen dramatically in recent years. In 1992, member governments of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD provided about \$4.7 billion (US) worth of humanitarian assistance (food, emergency and distress relief and refugee aid), an increase of more than 47 per cent over 1990. Meanwhile, development aid budgets are generally stagnant or declining...."

Kumar Rupesinghe, *Towards a Policy Framework for Advancing Preventive Diplomacy*, p. 15, International Alert, December 1994.

and Ethiopia, conflict is being managed and development is taking its place.

The following plan details USG efforts to support this progress and more specifically, the legislation enacted by Congress on October 19, 1994: the Africa Conflict Resolution Act PL 103-381. It identifies specific measures being undertaken jointly by the United States Agency for International Development, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the United States Information Agency, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to strengthen African regional, national and local institutions addressing issues of conflict in Africa. It also expands beyond solely USG inter-agency efforts to include our international network of allies, international donors, and African government and non-governmental institutions -- with whom we are jointly planning and carrying out strategies on peacekeeping and conflict resolution. In this regard, we continue to promote in our international exchanges the concepts of joint burdensharing, coordination, and training as essential to address comprehensively the issues of conflict in Africa.

Section I provides a short historical background of conflict. With over 2,000 ethnic groups in Africa, **ethnicity and religion** are powerful cultural elements that must be carefully considered when intervening in conflictive situations. **Poverty** is identified as a key root cause of conflict in Africa, where thirty-one of the lowest forty ranking countries in the United Nations human development index are found. Thus, **sustained economic growth and development** to reduce poverty is the single most important ingredient for the long-term prevention of conflict in Africa.

Section II presents an overview on the current status of conflict in Africa, African perspectives and initiatives taken to combat conflict, and a list of countries where conflict is in an incipient or acute stage and in need of attention. In this section, some important lessons about Africa's internal conflicts are considered in conflict resolution initiatives.<sup>2</sup>

- **Conflicts develop over a period of 10 to 15 years before escalating into violence. The first five-years are crucial for intervening, when the conflict is forming and responses can be cost-effective.**
- **Leaders of competing parties in Africa's internal wars often recruit troops from among their cultural (ethnic and/or religious) groups --e.g. as in the cases of Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sudan. Thus lasting solutions to disputes require utilizing local cultural institutions and indigenous knowledge.**

- Internal conflicts disrupt life and production within the countries in which they originate. And they often have regional impacts that threaten the security of neighboring countries--e.g. Liberia's impact on Sierra Leone; Sudan's on Uganda and Eritrea; and Rwanda's on Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire.
- Issues associated with a conflict in its early stages are likely to be replaced by more intractable ones as the dispute escalates and becomes violent.
- Successful approaches to resolve Africa's internal wars include diplomacy, timely and appropriate military interventions, and development investments. In addition, there must be overall recognition and support for African management of conflict.
- Providing adequate and appropriate inducements to conflict-prone countries to downsize their militaries and to increase investments in human resource development--particularly targeted to women and youth--is critical to prevention and resolution of conflict.

Section III outlines the countries of focus for U.S. Government assistance and details the inter-agency plan of action of current FY95 and planned FY96 programs that support African institutional capacity to resolve conflict. This section is expanded to include important development support for poverty reduction, as well as, democracy and governance support -- key elements that strongly contribute to reducing the root causes of conflict. Issues of conflict are complex and their resolution often requires the collaborative assistance of international donors with African governments. We discuss what USG efforts have been made this fiscal year to seek the participation of other countries and international organizations in supporting African conflict resolution initiatives. We further describe the Inter-Agency Working Group that manages, coordinates, monitors, and reports on USG program progress. Monitoring program impact and reporting progress with solid data and results will be important functions of field missions and our inter-agency working group in the future. Thus, Section III closes with a discussion of the need to develop indicators that can measure the impact and accomplishments of our support in addressing conflict situations, and especially those resulting in complex humanitarian relief situations.

## I. OVERVIEW AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

### A. Introduction

This report addresses the current state of conflict in Africa and provides a plan of action for US support to African institutions to resolve conflict. Consensus is growing throughout government and non-government circles that American initiatives must place greater emphasis on preventive action in addressing civil conflict in the future. The interagency action plan outlined here focuses on this idea of prevention, as well as the resolution of conflict, and identifies specific measures to be undertaken jointly by the United States Agency for International Development, the Department of State, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the U.S. Information Agency in response to legislation enacted by Congress on October 19, 1994: the Africa Conflict Resolution Act (PL 103-381).

This report provides background in Section I identifying the root causes and historical bases of conflict in Africa. In Section II we present an overview of the current status of conflict, including critical issues such as military expenditures, African perspectives and initiatives taken to combat conflict, and a listing of those countries and regions where conflict is in an incipient or acute stage and in need of attention. Finally, Section III lays out an inventory of those countries that have presently been targeted by the United States Government for assistance in stemming conflict and those that are designated for support in the coming year. Support mechanisms target those specific institutional structures and levels that are identified in the Africa Conflict Resolution Act and include:

1. the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
2. regional and sub-regional organizations
3. the PVO/NGO community

In summary, this report lists constraints and opportunities that will facilitate or impede the resolution of African conflict, and the contributions that the U.S. Government can make to encourage support under the legislative guidelines of the Africa Conflict Resolution Act.

### B. Historical Background and Root Causes of Conflict

Solutions to conflict in Africa can be found by identifying those factors that underlie the political turbulence affecting the continent at present. In recent years, the impoverished status of Africans has become increasingly politicized by local, regional, and national leaders with ambitions of securing or maintaining political power. **Ethnicity** and **religion** serve as the most common cultural markers used to mobilize the disenfranchised and the

poor. Most societies are multi-ethnic and multi-religious. However, cultural diversity is more pronounced in Africa, where there are approximately 2,000 ethnic groups. Ethnic group

membership and religious affiliations in the African context are important because membership often determines one's nearness to and/or distance from access to political, economic and development opportunities. Cultural ties have traditionally provided a safety net linking group members to emergency assistance in times of war, famine and other natural disasters. Cultural institutions contain mechanisms that can be used to facilitate the resolution of disputes at the local level before violence escalates.

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The social disharmony of Africa giving rise to conflict is rooted in economic deprivation, human poverty, and physical suffering.

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Pervasive poverty is a root cause of conflict that threatens the potential for peace.

In many African countries, joblessness and underemployment are the rule rather than the exception. Competition for scarce resources and the opportunity to eke out a living are severe. Certain ethnic and

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Thirty-one of the 40 lowest ranking countries on the UNDP's 1994 "human development index" are African. Among these many are experiencing internal conflicts and/or deemed to be at some level of risk to it.

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religious groups have benefitted over others in receiving control over natural resources and political and economic entitlement such as preferential opportunities in employment, education, and political office. The Development Fund for Africa is focused on sustained poverty reduction through its development programs in economic growth, health, education and family planning. Ultimately, **development** is the most important tool for addressing poverty on a sustained basis and, hence, resolving a key root cause of conflict in Africa.

### C. The Re-Emergence of Civil Society in Africa

Africa's colonial past and its impact on the evolution of contemporary structures of political governance and economic welfare is self-evident. Without belaboring a complex analysis of the historical factors undermining contemporary institutions in Africa, it suffices to say that the colonial record has left a lasting imprint on Africans and the institutions that govern them.

The re-emergence of civil society and movements towards democratic systems are significant features of contemporary African landscape. It is important that measures be taken by the U.S. to assure that the democratization process continues to

evolve in Africa. Thus, a critical factor in reducing conflict in Africa through time is an appropriate emphasis on preventive strategies that promote processes of democracy and civic governance across the continent.<sup>3</sup>

Another factor affecting the re-emergence of civil society from war is land mines. The indiscriminate and sheer number of land mines laid during war and civil conflict is rendering many environments insecure. The disastrous effects last long after peace has been achieved, by disrupting food production, and severely impeding efforts to reintegrate displaced populations.<sup>4</sup> Thus, rapid support for eliminating this constraint in affected countries is essential to promote timely reintegration and stability in civil societies emerging from the impacts of war.

Over the longer term, sustainable development is the foundation for re-emerging societies to stabilize and eventually prosper. However, humanitarian emergencies created by internal conflicts over the last several years have presented a formidable challenge to an international community trying to address competing priorities of relief and development. Over \$1 billion has been spent on humanitarian relief by international donors in Rwanda alone since April, 1994. Financing humanitarian relief in conflict emergencies is a missed opportunity to invest in sustainable development and longer-term stability for society. This reality has moved the U.S. and its partners to develop new responses to break the cyclical nature of internal conflicts and to resolve emerging ones before they become violent.

## II. CURRENT SITUATION

### A. Constraints

#### 1. Military expenditures

The World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, published by the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, shows that official military expenditures in Africa have levelled off through the 1980s and into the 1990s. However, analysis shows that Africa's ratio of military expenditures to GNP (measuring the economic burden of military expenditures), was higher than in other regions in Latin America and Asia, indicating a drag on economic development. (See Annexes I and II for data).

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<sup>3</sup>USAID is presently funding over \$140 million in Democracy and Governance programs Africa-wide through FY98 and plans another \$45 million in new programs in FY96.

<sup>4</sup> According to the World Disaster Report for 1994, 100 million land mines have been placed in the world today, an estimated 18 to 30 million of these are thought to be deployed in 12 mine-impacted countries in Africa. Land mines have a severe impact on economic and social structures. For example, in Angola thousands of hectares of agricultural land in the fertile Mavinga Valley are largely abandoned owing to the widespread use of mines. Meanwhile, USG food aid to Angola in FY94-95 totalled almost \$100 million.

Within Africa, countries involved in long, protracted conflicts had ratios as high as 20%, whereas countries with no conflicts had very low ratios of 2-3%. Another worldwide trend showed that multiparty democracies had the lowest ratios of all. Such a striking spread demonstrates that, within the continent, countries such as Angola and Botswana are worlds apart in terms of military priorities, democracy and development. However, as more African governments continue down the path of multiparty democracy, the U.S. and other donors need to continue urging a shift of priorities away from defense towards more development-oriented objectives.

## **2. African Armies**

While overall African military expenditures were on the decline during the 1980s, the size of their militaries continued to grow. However, in the 1990s, several governments, with the assistance of USAID and international donors, have taken positive steps to reverse this trend by downsizing their militaries. Since 1991 Eritrea has demobilized 26,000 soldiers, Uganda 32,000, Mozambique 91,000, and Ethiopia 250,000 soldiers. The reintegration process for these ex-soldiers is continuing today. The Administration has supported this process since FY93 and plans to continue funding these and other demobilization and reintegration efforts in the future. For example, as peace is established in war-torn countries like Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia, military downsizing will take on increasing importance. And, in other more stable countries, such as Botswana and Tanzania, long-term budget priorities under economic adjustment programs are dictating important shifts away from military expenditures toward economic development. These developments will present opportunities for further donor assistance.

## **3. Conflicts in Africa and the Arms Trade**

As difficult as it is to track the global arms trade, a recent paper<sup>5</sup> by Joseph Smaldone examined conflicts in Africa and arms imports to determine trends. He found that increased arms imports in African countries preceded nearly half of all conflicts. This analysis suggests that monitoring arms flows can help forecast where conflicts may erupt, allowing diplomats and others to initiate or step up conflict prevention activities. He also found that arms deliveries correlated strongly with measures of war-related deaths and refugee populations, suggesting that supplier restraint will also lower the human cost of conflict.

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<sup>5</sup>Smaldone, Joseph, "Arms Transfers and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa: Arms Control and Humanitarian Implications - A Preliminary Analysis." Presented at the November 1994 African Studies Association conference in Toronto, Canada.

During the Cold War era large quantities of military arms and costly defense systems were put into such places as Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique. The departure of the global superpowers has left these nations heavily armed with the potential for militarized civil conflict. Since 1990 however, U.S. lethal assistance to Africa has been limited to support of peacekeeping and fisheries protection programs. Through diplomatic efforts the U.S. has also sought to encourage conventional arms transfer restraint to the region.

## **B. Improvements**

Despite the factors mentioned above, positive steps toward democratization and peaceful transitions from military to civilian rule are now being witnessed in many parts of Africa. Historic change in the move toward democratization is taking place in South Africa, Namibia, Ethiopia, Benin, and Mali. Eritrea has successfully endured one of the most protracted civil wars on the continent to recently emerge as a newly independent nation. Mozambique has experienced decades of bloodshed. It has finally arrived at what hopefully will be lasting, genuine peace. Angola has a cease fire, the first step toward a tenuous peace. These are all countries that need strong international support to consolidate the gains that are being made in reducing conflict and in developing their fragile political and economic systems.

## **C. African Perspectives**

The long-term sustainability of building, making, and keeping peace on a continuing basis in the region can only occur by addressing conflict resolution through African understanding and leadership. How do Africans perceive the problems that contribute to conflict? What do African nations -- institutions and individual citizens -- believe is crucial to conflict resolution efforts on the continent? And how can the United States best support Africans in these efforts?

Disparities between those in grinding poverty and others who control wealth and resources are the triggers that heighten social tension, which can deteriorate into

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Africans believe that primary root causes of conflict in the region are poverty and the lack of access to resources.

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violent conflict. Describing conflicts as "ethnic", "tribal", or "political" do not fully explain the reasons behind the horrors that are displayed on Western television screens. Helping Africans address the disparities that are so much a part of modern Africa is crucial to peace on the continent.

International efforts can be most supportive of African-led initiatives at conflict resolution when they take into account some important tenets that Africans have identified as fundamental to the peacemaking process. These following perspectives provide practical approaches to addressing conflict in Africa that should be considered in any USG or international donor support:

**1. Ownership of the conflict resolution process must be in the hands of Africans themselves.**

The United States' primary aim should be to strengthen and build African capacities to manage, resolve and mitigate conflict. It is essential that capacity-building be culturally based and draw upon indigenous institutions for mediating conflict whenever possible. Africans have a long history of dispute resolution through traditional institutions. In many instances, these structures are rapidly eroding or have already broken down as a result of social and technological change. Our support of traditional structures will serve to build greater confidence in traditional conflict resolution capabilities, increase local capacities, and heighten awareness of local needs for African communities.

**2. Support for conflict resolution must be interwoven within sustainable development.**

Conflict cannot be resolved without addressing the economic disparities between people in conflict or the often violent competition for scarce resources among people in poverty. In addition to negotiated settlements and disarming and demobilizing soldiers, issues of poverty alleviation, health, economic viability, and education must be addressed. Successful resolution of conflict can only be enduring if peace also brings sustainable development, increasing personal and community security.

**3. Conflict resolution is best achieved when implemented at all levels of society.**

Solutions to problems implemented by Africans themselves should be simultaneously supported at multiple levels -- local, regional, and national. This 'layered response' approach must be both top-down and bottom-up in nature, implemented at the local level through NGOs, cultural organizations and associations, and individuals, and replicated concurrently among subregional, regional, national, and pan-African organizations. The South Africa Peace Accord, implemented at the community level along with regional and national initiatives, is a success story for peace in Africa. Ultimately, multi-tiered conflict resolution

capacity-building will result in reduced expenditures by the international community, as resources will shift away from humanitarian crisis response toward sustainable development.

**4. Peace is facilitated by controlling the arms flow into Africa and by reducing military expenditures by African countries.**

Military expenditures internationally outstrip peacekeeping initiatives (of which prevention is a very small fraction) by a large margin. As a result of this process, the proliferation of arms in the developing world, especially in Africa, is supporting a culture of military youth violence and armed 'boy soldiers' who are destitute and without means of survival. Many Africans believe that international arms sales to Africa must be curbed now that geo-political strategies on the continent have changed. U.S. Diplomatic efforts have focused on conventional arms transfer restraint to the region, as well as encouraging reductions in African military budgets to free up resources for civilian initiatives of long-term economic growth and development. These efforts must continue.

**5. Broad-based participation by all groups within society and the respect of basic human rights ensure lasting conflict resolution.**

U.S. goals of promoting broad-based participation in civic governance should encourage equity in the representation of all groups affected by conflict. Decision-making in the conflict resolution process must accommodate the many diverse ethnic, religious, age, and gender-based communities in Africa. Care must be taken to address particularly the economic and developmental needs of women, who have a major stake and interest in peaceful solutions to community problems. Women's perspectives on conflict often differ from men's and frequently their views are more open to compromise and resolution. Youth, who are readily drawn into the deadly chain of violence when so few economic opportunities are available for them, must also be represented and given special consideration. Respect for human rights and the development of institutional structures of democratic law and governance are part of broad-based participation.

**D. African Initiatives Addressing Conflict**

Africans have already undertaken numerous initiatives to quell civil disputes--some which have succeeded, others which have not. U.S. conflict resolution efforts are not the first nor the largest in Africa. Africans themselves have always led the struggle toward peaceful resolution of violent conflict. It is imperative that we identify and learn from indigenous African initiatives at conflict resolution that have been effective and

help provide the technical and logistical support necessary to reinforce such positive outcomes.

African-led efforts at conflict resolution have already been undertaken at local, national, and regional levels. Throughout the continent individual men and women and local

indigenous NGOs and cultural institutions are working for the peaceful resolution to conflict at the grassroots community level. Both secular and religious-based NGOs have an invaluable role to play in bringing together disputing people from

neighboring communities. This local mediation approach should serve as a primary resource for those supporting conflict resolution in the future. For example, the NGO community in South Africa, which played a particularly important role in bringing about the peaceful transition to democracy in that country, should be tapped as an invaluable resource in conflict training and negotiation for other newly emerging African NGOs. These efforts could be strengthened and expanded by U.S. support.

African efforts at the **national** level have also been successful in promoting the peaceful resolution of conflict. South Africa's National Peace Accord, which involved individuals and organizations at all levels of society, from the grassroots community to the president of the country, achieved remarkable success in the peaceful transition from apartheid to free and fair elections. And in Mozambique, through negotiation and fair elections, that country has abandoned a long destructive civil war and is moving toward rehabilitation and a peaceful democracy.

In addition, **regional subgroups** are focusing on measures to address regional security through cooperation and dialogue. In 1991, a nongovernmental forum adopted a series of proposals to promote the establishment of a regional security dialogue. The "Kampala Document" set forth guidelines for the creation of a "Helsinki" process for the region and outlined the creation of a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa.

Later, in November 1994, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania agreed to establish a permanent secretariat to carry out regional economic goals. The Presidents of those countries recognized that the

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A local Somali women's reconciliation organization has sprung up in Mogadishu, as part of a grassroots attempt among women to build peace and reconciliation in Somalia, after seeing many failed attempts among Somali warlords to resolve conflict.

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A Catholic bishop in southern Sudan has started a Sudanese "Peace Corps," employing village youth trained in conflict resolution techniques, to monitor conflict in their communities and promote peaceful means to resolve disputes.

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existence of peace and stability was a prerequisite for the success of any development efforts, and they endorsed the recommendation to increase cooperation in the areas of border security, exchange of information, training, and coordination of security operations.

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Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa succeeded through intense diplomatic pressure in reinstalling the democratically-elected Lesotho Government, which had been displaced in early 1994. In another crucial regional intervention in Mozambique last year, Zimbabwe's President Mugabe prevailed upon RENAMO to participate in national elections.

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More recently, the Association of Southern African States (ASAS), the newly-formed political/security wing of the SADC, has held meetings in the region during the past year in an effort to ensure regional stability. In March 1995, ASAS held a meeting of SADC member state army chiefs of staff in Botswana. Four main issues were discussed: conflict prevention, causes and prevention of coups, subregional or regional approaches to peacekeeping, and the effect of refugees on regional stability. Many observers see South Africa as one of the driving forces behind this newly-formed organization. The next ASAS meeting, to be held at the ministerial level, is scheduled for June in South Africa. Pretoria's interest in conflict prevention and resolution is encouraging, and southern Africa has shown signs of significant progress in this field recently.

These and other activities are encouraging as African countries are seeking to strengthen bilateral and multilateral relations in order to establish greater regional stability.

#### **E. Summation of Situation**

Positive trends in economic and political development are taking place in Africa. The present state of African economic and political institutions ranges from the largely unnoticed success stories occurring in Benin and Mali to the more notable signs of economic and political progress that have taken place in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda. However, instability still exists on a wide scale, necessitating monitoring and attention.

Following is a ranking of African countries at varying levels of risk of civil violence prepared by USAID/AFR and reflecting the consensus of the Agencies preparing this report:<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Categories of alert are based upon a subjective review of 10 different sources currently monitoring political and civil events and the status of human rights in sub-Saharan Africa. High Alert indicates those countries already experiencing or at risk of large-scale violence and having the potential for state collapse. Moderate Alert refers to states where broad-scale violence is less immediate but there is some political unrest from internal and/or external influences that bears monitoring. Low Alert areas have small levels of political unrest but overall are experiencing relative stability.

High Alert

1. Angola
2. Burundi
3. Liberia
4. Nigeria
5. Rwanda
6. Sierra Leone
7. Somalia
8. Sudan
9. Zaire

Moderate Alert

1. Chad
2. Congo
3. Ethiopia
4. Eritrea
5. Gambia
6. Guinea
7. Kenya
8. Mali
9. Mozambique
10. Niger
11. Senegal
12. Tanzania
13. Togo
14. Uganda

Low Alert

1. Botswana
2. Burkina Faso
3. Cameroon
4. Cote d'Ivoire
5. Gabon
6. Ghana
7. Lesotho
8. Malawi
9. Mauritius
10. South Africa

Of the Sub-Saharan countries, nine could be considered to have a high risk of broad-scale civil conflict. Another 14 countries are at moderate risk of violence. And presently there are ten low alert countries that are experiencing incipient levels of civil unrest (often among two or more ethnic groups), that are nonetheless volatile and potentially a risk to society at large.

The listing reflects the magnitude of a rapidly changing political environment throughout Africa. Political and economic reform is setting the stage for new infusions of international donor support. As the African continent labors through this new transition to political freedom, we are learning some preliminary lessons about the gestation of Africa's internal conflicts. These following lessons, developed by International Alert, provide an appropriate and practical set of principles that we are integrating into our present and planned future interventions to address conflict in Africa:

- Conflicts develop over a period of 10 to 15 years before they escalate into violence. The best time to intervene is within the first five-years when the conflict is forming and responses can be made in a cost-effective manner.
- Leaders of competing parties in Africa's internal wars often recruit their troops from amongst the cultural (ethnic and/or religious) groups to which they belong--e.g. as in the cases of Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sudan). A major ingredient in any lasting solution to these disputes must be grounded in and utilize local cultural institutions and indigenous knowledge.
- Internal conflicts disrupt life and production within the countries in which they originate. And they often have regional impacts that threaten the security of neighboring countries--e.g. Liberia's impact on Sierra Leone; Sudan's on Uganda and Eritrea; and Rwanda's on Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire.
- Issues associated with a conflict in its early stages are likely to be replaced by more intractable ones as the dispute escalates and becomes violent.

- **Successful approaches to resolve Africa's internal wars include diplomacy, timely and appropriate military interventions, and development investments. In addition, there must be overall recognition and support for African management of conflict.**
- **Providing adequate and appropriate inducements to conflict-prone countries to downsize their militaries and to increase investments in human resource development--particularly targeted to women and youth--is critical to prevention and resolution of conflict over the longer-term.**

### III. INTER-AGENCY PLAN

#### A. Strategic Approach

The following sections describe the approach that the Administration plans to follow in support of PL103-381. The overall focus is to target interventions, where possible, that prevent or mitigate conflict, rather than pursuing more costly approaches of resolving conflict once violence has broken out. Priorities will be placed on addressing the specific capacity-building and demobilization requirements of the legislation. In addition, emphasis will continue on the broader developmental efforts to eradicate the root causes of conflict, such as poverty and food insecurity, and to strongly promote democracy, justice and equal participation in economic and political systems.

In the area of capacity-building for conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution, program support will be directed primarily toward "high and mid-alert" countries identified above, when conditions permit. However, we will use information from early warning systems, such as the Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and eventually from the Greater Horn Initiative (GHAI) and IGADD, to identify countries with the evolving symptoms of conflict and to support early preventative response, where needed.

A recent interagency conference identified improving peacekeeping coordination and training in Africa as a priority for the U.S. and major partners in global peacekeeping operations. As a result of that meeting, the Department of State launched a major initiative among key donor nations to explore ways to better coordinate their resources in support of training African peacekeepers, building on the existing expertise and tradition of many African nations and subregional organizations. The movement toward capacity building is in line with appropriate burdensharing among the principal countries engaged in supporting peacekeeping operations worldwide. This concept of burdensharing, coordination and training will be actively promoted in all future USG peacekeeping initiatives.

For demobilization and reintegration programs, support will be directed primarily toward the countries where active programs currently exist. Some 400,000 soldiers have been demobilized in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Uganda in the past few years, yet much remains to be done to successfully reintegrate these individuals back into productive civilian society. Other new opportunities will also be explored in "high alert" countries, such as Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, to reduce conflict and to lay the groundwork for larger-scale military downsizing when peace and stability become realities.

## **B. Strategy of Participating Agencies**

The Agencies and Departments within the Administration that have primary responsibility for supporting the legislation are coordinating efforts, where possible, to ensure the maximum impact of our foreign assistance. Each is taking the lead in certain program areas.

The **Department of State**, primarily through its Bureaus of Africa Affairs; Political-Military Affairs; and Population, Refugees and Migration will take the lead in programming and funding assistance to build capacity in conflict resolution in the Organization of African Unity and in sub-regional organizations in Africa. The Bureau of Political Military Affairs and DoD are working to identify particular operational peacekeeping needs of African countries to better coordinate donor support in these areas with the goal of enhancing African capabilities. The State Department also plays a major role in training assistance through the International Military Education and Training security assistance program (IMET).

**The Department of Defense:** The Office of the Secretary of Defense, through the Assistant Secretaries of Defense for Strategy and Requirements (S&R), International Security Affairs (ISA), and Special Operations/Low-Intensity Conflict (SO/LIC), will provide policy oversight and guidance to DoD components involved in peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and humanitarian assistance activities in Africa. The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), the Services, and relevant regional commands will continue their bilateral programs of conferences, exercises, training assistance, and other military-to-military contacts which may be related to enhancing the peacekeeping capabilities of African nations. All relevant DoD components are participating in a DoD Working Group which is examining ways to improve the capabilities of non-U.S. military forces, including those in Africa, to perform peacekeeping missions.

The **U.S. Information Agency** will target its programs on conflict resolution (workshops, personal and electronic information programs, academic and professional exchanges, and special grant programs) on American and African political, academic, media and civil institutions to increase individual and institutional capacity for conflict resolution in Africa.

The **U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency** will provide arms control support and appropriate assistance to facilitate and broaden arms control and nonproliferation initiatives. This support will seek to enhance understanding of the potential value of arms control as a component of national security strategy.

**USAID's** approach to conflict resolution involves several offices with different types of funding authorities and program activity.

- The Africa Bureau, **AFR**, through its Disaster Response Coordination Staff, is serving on the inter-agency working group overseeing implementation of the strategy. (See Section IIIIG for further description of the working group). The Bureau and its Missions support capacity-building of NGOs and regional institutions in conflict prevention-early warning, mitigation and resolution, and finance demobilization and reintegration programs. A range of AFR Democracy and Governance projects promote long-term political and social stability and build institutional capacity of NGOs and other groups involved in preventing and resolving conflict. Programs are development-oriented and focused on long-term sustainability.
- The Bureau of Humanitarian Response's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, **BHR/OFDA**, is involved in humanitarian assistance of a generally short-term relief nature. It will support demobilization programs by providing relief services to ex-combatants and their families and by short-term bridge funding for skills training and reintegration support. It also funds NGOs addressing short-term conflict prevention and mitigation issues.
- The Office of Food for Peace, **BHR/FFP**, oversees Title II emergency food aid in coordination with the Africa Bureau. It provides short-term food aid for ex-combatants in support of demobilization and reintegration programs. It focuses on food-deficit countries, with priority given to countries involved in civil conflict.
- BHR's Office of Transition Initiatives, **BHR/OTI**, assists in the rehabilitation of war-torn or conflict-ridden societies once an agreement exists that ends the fighting. OTI programs focus on short-term, high impact efforts which incorporate conflict resolution, political development, and demobilization-reintegration of former soldiers and combatants. Such projects are oriented towards preventing conflict, restoring basic services, and laying the foundation for longer-term development assistance.
- The Global Bureau, **G**, with Africa Bureau Development Fund for Africa (DFA) funding and Agency Development Assistance (DA) funds, addresses conflict through programs of rehabilitation and reintegration support for the victims of war. In addition, G with the AFR Bureau, support Democracy and Governance programs which improve political and judicial systems and build institutional capacity of NGOs and other groups involved in preventing and resolving conflict.
- The Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, **PPC**, will provide direction and guidance on overall Agency policy related to the elements of this plan. PPC will work with

the AFR Bureau on performance measurement reporting and managing for results, both important aspects of this program. In addition, PPC will assist in coordinating other donor inputs and activities to further capacity building in conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution, as well as demobilization and reintegration program support. Program coordination and collaboration with other donors dedicated to longer-term development efforts to eradicate the root causes of conflict will also be emphasized.

### **C. Current FY95 Plan**

The following section details the program activities that the Administration has planned and/or is implementing in FY95 and FY96 in support of the legislation. This Plan is delineated by five areas that correspond to the major sections of the Africa Conflict Resolution Act.

**FY95 PLAN****1. IMPROVING THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)**

In 1993 the OAU established a conflict resolution mechanism to expand its mediation and peace-building efforts in Africa. The Administration fully supported this action and in FY1994 USAID allocated \$1.5 million in economic support funds (ESF) to the Department of State, which in turn contributed these funds to the OAU to provide for training, infrastructure and equipment support of the conflict resolution mechanism. The Department of State also provided \$2 million in FY94 peacekeeping operations funding to assist the OAU in further developing its capacity to plan and deploy peacekeeping operations.

The Africa Conflict Resolution Act highlighted the importance of further strengthening the mediation capabilities of this institution for fiscal years 1995 through FY1998. For FY95 the following support is planned:

**Department of State**

- Funding of \$650,000 to the OAU to further strengthen capacity of its conflict resolution mechanism.

**U.S. Information Agency**

- Study Tour for Dr. Chris Bakwesegha, head of the OAU unit on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. (\$3,000)

**U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

- ACDA has offered to support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to enhance regional security through arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures. ACDA is prepared to send experts to the OAU to discuss our relevant arms control experience which directly pertains to their efforts and interests, and to explore possible areas for further cooperation. ACDA has also offered to host an expert-level delegation to visit Washington for an in-depth workshop on arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures.

## **2. IMPROVING CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF MULTILATERAL SUB-REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

The Act provides that assistance, as may be necessary, should be provided to subregional organizations in fiscal years 1995 through 1998, to strengthen conflict resolution capabilities. Previous to passage of the legislation in FY94, the Department of State provided more than \$16 million to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was pursuing peacekeeping efforts in Liberia. This support continues in FY95 as follows:

### **Department of Defense:**

- Will provide twenty 1-1/4 ton trucks to Ghana for use in their peacekeeping/conflict resolution efforts in Liberia. These surplus vehicles (\$85,000), will be transferred under the Excess Defense Articles program.

### **Department of State**

- Under the President's Initiative in the Greater Horn of Africa, a Conflict Early Warning and Response System will be developed to provide timely information for identifying evolving crises so that preventive action can be taken by regional, national and local institutions.

### **U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

- ACDA has offered to support the efforts of the SADC to enhance regional security through arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures. ACDA is prepared to send experts to Southern Africa to discuss our relevant arms control experience which directly pertains to their efforts and interests, and to explore possible areas for further cooperation. ACDA has also offered to host a expert-level delegation to visit Washington for an in-depth workshop on arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures.
- ACDA is examining an initiative to address arms trafficking to regional and internal conflicts, particularly in Africa, where several states have asked for help. The issue has become a major concern of afflicted countries, NGOs, and academic experts. A concept paper will explore whether and where ACDA and other agencies can make a practical contributions to the problem.
- ACDA will also examine possible initiatives for multilateral conventional arms transfer restraint to support African efforts for demobilization and disarmament.

### **USAID**

- The President's Initiative in the Greater Horn, implemented through USAID, is developing a mechanism to prevent, mitigate, and resolve conflict in this important region of 10 countries. Technical assistance and training will be considered for improving regional capabilities in conflict prevention and resolution. (Funding to be determined).

- The Famine Early Warning Systems Project (FEWS) is exploring technical assistance and training for IGADD technicians to build capability in preventing conflict through early warning and response to evolving food security crises. (Funding to be determined).
- USAID/Ghana will provide \$570,000 to the Government of Ghana, which is the chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to support its efforts to negotiate peace in Liberia.

### 3. IMPROVING CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

The Act stipulates that such sums as may be necessary should be provided in fiscal years 1995-96 to NGOs engaged in mediation and reconciliation efforts. This process of reconciliation is a broad area that extends beyond simply dialogue and negotiation. It involves research, planning, training and other support to NGOs which undertake a range of activities that reduce political, social and economic tensions that lead to conflict. Over the past decade the USG has supported NGO conflict resolution and mediation efforts on a widespread basis. For example, in South Africa alone, USAID has funded more than \$15 million in such support since 1986. In FY95 this support continues.

#### US Information Agency

##### Africa-Wide:

- A multiregional project "Developing Strategies, Resources and Commitments in Conflict Resolution." Participants from Kenya (two, including one from the OAU), Lesotho, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zambia. March/April 95. \$48,000
- As a component of the Africa Rule of Law Initiative, USIA plans late in FY95, with cooperation from the American Bar Association and other American legal institutions, to conduct programs in Alternative Dispute Resolution techniques. \$90,000

##### Gabon:

- Project for Gabonese President of Human Rights League on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution. April 95. \$8,000.

##### South Africa:

- A single-country project for South Africa, "The Media and Conflict Resolution." Jan/Feb 95 (project conducted by USIA but funded by USAID South Africa).
- A grant to LeMoyne Owen College to develop non-violent conflict resolution training programs for community-based grassroots organizations with Sebokeng University. \$60,000

#### USAID

##### Africa-Wide:

- The President's Initiative in the Greater Horn will support a range of NGO efforts to prevent, mitigate and resolve conflict. (Programs and funding to be determined).
- The Africa Bureau and BHR/OFDA expended \$35,000 on the Conflict Mitigation Workshop in March 1995, which brought together with USAID over 30 Private Voluntary Organizations to develop a framework for supporting conflict mitigation by community-level NGOs in Africa.

Angola:

- The Africa Bureau is programming \$1,000,000 in funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to address the psycho-social development needs of unaccompanied children affected by the war.
- The Africa Bureau is programming \$1.5 million from the War Victims Fund for NGOs to provide rehabilitative services for civilian victims of war.

Burundi:

- USAID/Burundi has granted \$220,000 to Search for Common Ground which is working with local NGOs to promote conflict mediation through the media. The Mission is also considering an \$80,000 proposal with International Alert to support local NGO conflict prevention efforts.
- USAID/Burundi has granted \$150,000 to UNHCR which is supporting the reconciliation program of the Center for Human Rights.
- USAID/Burundi is strengthening local NGOs in dialogue and reconciliation under its Democracy and Governance Project.  
(Funding to be determined)

Eritrea:

- The Africa Bureau is providing \$250,000 from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to reunify unaccompanied children affected by war with natural or foster families.

Ethiopia:

- The Africa Bureau is programming \$500,000 from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to support the development of indigenous NGOs that are working with war-affected youth.

Gambia:

- USAID/Gambia will support NGO conflict resolution capabilities through its \$1.5 million Democracy and Governance program.

Liberia:

- USAID/Liberia has granted \$750,000 to the Carter Center to promote grass roots rehabilitation of civil society, peace-building initiatives, and civic education.
- USAID/Liberia has granted \$750,000 to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems to support election preparations among local communities through national level organizations.

Mozambique:

- The Africa Bureau is programming \$250,000 from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to support the development of indigenous NGOs that are working with war-affected youth.
- The Africa Bureau is programming \$2.5 million from the War Victims Fund for NGOs to provide rehabilitative services for civilian victims of war.

Niger:

- USAID/Niger will support a conflict resolution project to develop institutional capacity among NGOs and others in resolving conflict through dialogue among conflicting ethnic groups. (\$150,000)

Rwanda:

- The Africa Bureau is programming \$1,000,000 in funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to address the psycho-social development needs of unaccompanied children affected by the war and to reunify them with natural or foster families.

Southern Africa:

- The Africa Bureau's \$10 million Southern Africa Initiative Democracy Fund will support organizations that strengthen democratic values, processes and institutions in the region. It will be demand-driven and can support the NGO capacity-building and civilian training aspects of the legislation. Future funding and activities to be determined.

South Africa:

- The Africa Bureau is providing \$250,000 in funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to strengthen NGOs in addressing conflict issues leading to family dissolution.
- USAID/South Africa is planning to incrementally fund an additional \$1.8 million of activities initiated previously to continue conflict resolution training, conflict intervention, and labor mediation activities of local NGOs.

Uganda:

- USAID/Uganda is assisting (\$190,000) local NGOs in their efforts to develop human rights and conflict resolution programs as part of an overall effort to develop a constitutional culture.
- The Global Bureau is providing \$150,000 to fund research on "Conflict Resolution at the Grass-Roots Level." This will identify local NGOs and lessons-learned from their experiences that can be applied to future efforts to resolve conflict.
- The Africa Bureau is programming \$750,000 from the War Victims Fund for NGOs to provide rehabilitative services for civilian victims of war.

#### 4. SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION EFFORTS

In order to facilitate reductions in the sizes of African militaries, the Act stipulates that assistance should be provided in FY95 and FY96 for demobilization activities, such as encampment, and for reintegration programs that enable ex-military to return to their communities to become productive members of civilian society. Previously, USAID has actively supported demobilization and reintegration programs in several countries. In FY93, USAID obligated \$33 million towards such programs in Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, and Uganda. Another \$14.5 million in assistance was allocated to similar programs in six countries in FY94. Also in FY94, the Departments of State and Defense provided almost \$7 million for humanitarian/demining programs in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Mozambique, and Namibia. These programs are supporting demobilization and reintegration efforts in these countries.

##### a) Country priorities and reasons for assistance:

The Administration has targeted a large number of countries for assistance in FY95-96, which include Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Uganda. Some of these countries, such as Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Mozambique have come out of major wars in the past few years and have implemented large military downsizing and reintegration programs for almost 400,000 soldiers, which require donor assistance. These and others have also requested crucial demining assistance to support their programs of reintegrating ex-soldiers and war-affected populations back into the countryside. There are other countries, such as Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia where peace is very tenuous or not yet achieved, yet where preliminary demobilization assistance can be an important contributor to reducing tensions and conflict and setting the stage for a larger effort later. Finally, more stable governments, such as in Uganda and Mali, have recognized the importance of downsizing the military to meet important development needs and have requested support for these efforts.

##### b) Other Donors:

US government support to demobilization and reintegration programs has formed a part of a much larger international assistance effort in all of the countries mentioned above. The number of other donors is extensive and includes international organizations, such as the World Bank, the United Nations (and several of its agencies, including UNICEF and UNDP), the Overseas Development Agency, the International Organization for Migration, the European Union; bilateral donors: Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, South Africa, Japan, and Canada; and several international private voluntary organizations. Donor coordination has been the

rule in all of the countries in which USG assistance has been rendered, thus allowing for broad support for the range of demobilization and reintegration activities being implemented. Donor coordinators vary from country to country. For example, in Uganda the World Bank initially took the lead; the United Nations in Mozambique (later the Swiss and US); and in Ethiopia, the government's demobilization commission has provided this coordination role.

c) FY95 Planned Assistance:

**Department of Defense**

Angola:

- The European Command (EUCOM) will conduct an in-country assessment to determine how to appropriately assist the GOA with its demining needs. \$80,000 has been released to date for support.
- For the initiation of country program activities identified by EUCOM, \$3million is projected for support this fiscal year.

Eritrea:

- Liaison personnel are developing an infrastructure to coordinate forthcoming communication and mine awareness training. \$2.79 million in humanitarian demining support has been released to date.

Ethiopia:

- Liaison personnel are developing an infrastructure to coordinate forthcoming communication and mine awareness training. \$2.14 million in humanitarian demining support has been released to date.

Mozambique:

- Is in the process of providing 75 2-1/2 ton trucks to the GOM to transport equipment and supplies in support of integration of the armed forces under arrangements to bring peace to the country. The estimated value of these surplus vehicles, transferred under the Excess Defense Articles program, is \$351,000.
- EUCOM staff have deployed to conduct mine awareness training. \$825,000 in humanitarian demining support have been released to date.

Namibia:

- The EUCOM program: mine detector purchase, training in mine awareness and mine clearance, and medical instruction has begun. An Operations team is establishing a Namibian Demining Liaison Committee within the Defense and Police Forces. \$1.57 million in humanitarian demining support has been released to date.

Rwanda:

- A EUCOM program of training and assistance in establishing a Rwanda Demining Office has begun. \$4.58 million in humanitarian demining support has been released to date.

Other Support and Unprogrammed Initiatives:

- Funds released for other administrative and travel expenses for humanitarian demining activities total \$100,000. In addition, funding for FY95 unprogrammed activities is projected at \$1.9 million.

**Department of State**Ethiopia:

- \$300,000 to be spent on demining to assist reintegration efforts.

Eritrea:

- \$460,000 for demining assistance to support reintegration of ex-soldiers and refugees.

Liberia:

- STATE/USAID team conducted field assessment of possibilities for disarmament and demobilization.

Namibia:

- \$270,000 in demining support to assist reintegration.

Rwanda:

- \$300,000 in demining support to assist reintegration.

Sierra Leone:

- Consultations with Heads of State and Military on planning and implementing military downsizing.
- Financed the participation of two senior GOSL military officers in the OAU Conference on Post-Conflict Demobilization in Africa, Kampala, Nov '94.

**U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

- Financed \$3,400 to support efforts on demobilization and conventional arms control in sub-Saharan Africa.

**U.S. Information Agency**Angola/Mozambique:

- A two country International Visitor Program in summer 1995 on "The Role of the Military in a Democracy" for twelve military officers. Program will focus on demobilization and the integration of militaries, as well as military-civilian relations. \$96,000

**USAID**Africa-Wide:

- The Africa Bureau has set aside \$2.9 million in complementary funding to support Mission demobilization and reintegration programs in FY'95.
- The Africa Bureau provided \$75,000 to fund the OAU Conference on Post-Conflict Demobilization in Africa, Kampala 1994, which shared experiences of demobilization programs from over 15 countries and developed lessons-learned for use in future demobilization programs.

Angola:

- BHR/OTI is considering funding activities this fiscal year, if the peace accord holds and internal stability is maintained. Possible activities include demining (\$1.5 million) and demobilization/reintegration (\$3-4 million).
- USAID/AFR is considering funding up to \$2.5 million of conflict resolution and reintegration programs, if the peace accord is maintained. This assistance would be integrated with BHR/OTI's programs in a comprehensive program.

Ethiopia:

- USAID/Ethiopia is planning to expend up to \$1 million (earlier fiscal year funding) on procurement of agricultural supplies and other equipment for reintegrating ex-soldiers into civilian life.

Liberia:

- USAID/Liberia is considering funding (\$250,000) the development of a demobilization plan for the country if peace is achieved and the UN's planning process progresses.
- BHR/OFDA is considering funding food-for-work activities that employ demobilized soldiers in community infrastructure rehabilitation.
- BHR/FFP is providing \$200,000 in food-for-work to support demobilization of 3,000 ex-combatants, in anticipation of a peace accord and future demobilization efforts.

Mozambique:

- USAID/Mozambique is obligating an additional \$5 million to the country's reintegration program. (USAID support to date totals almost \$24 million). Primary activities include an information and referral service for finding employment and accessing services, skills training, counseling, and small reintegration projects.
- USAID/Mozambique will probably fund a comparative study on the war to peace transition and research on the progress of reintegration efforts (\$200,000).
- USAID/Mozambique and the Embassy are heavily involved in policy dialogue with the GOM to reduce military and security-related expenditures. This has led to progress as the new 1995-96 GOM budget projects a 30% reduction in the military budget in real terms. Concurrently, the GOM proposes an increase in education and health expenditures by 44% in real terms for the same period.

Niger:

- USAID/Niger is planning a program to support reintegration of ex-combatants through training, rural credit, preventive health care, and primary education, as well as through agriculture, small trade, legal clinic, and job creation interventions. (\$150,000).

Rwanda:

- USAID/Rwanda is considering implementation of a demining program (with DOD funds and support) which would build local institutional capacity to effectively demine the country, thereby aiding reintegration efforts for ex-military and civilian communities. (Funding to be determined).

Sierra Leone:

- USAID/Sierra Leone planning up to \$500,000 for the first year of a rehabilitation and training program that would facilitate reintegration of ex-military and dependents through technical and management skills training, trauma counselling, and followup assistance.
- BHR/OFDA is funding an Emergency Relief Coordinator (\$269,000) who is supporting the government's Liaison Office for the Resettlement of Demobilized Soldiers.
- BHR/OFDA funded development of a data bank on demobilized soldiers and their dependents to support current and future reintegration and resettlement. (\$7,774).
- BHR/OFDA considering funding for a PVO proposal to provide vocational training for several hundred demobilized soldiers. Funding to be determined.
- BHR/FFP providing \$52,600 in food-for-work to assist the demobilization of 1,500 ex-soldiers.

Somalia:

- USAID/Somalia exploring possibilities of designing a Northern Somalia Reintegration/Demobilization Support Project (up to \$1 million first year) which would promote employment activities and skills development through public works and infrastructure initiatives.

Uganda:

- USAID/Uganda is planning to continue supporting (\$1 million) the successful demobilization and reintegration program through agricultural development and credit activities.

Zimbabwe:

- The GOZ is considering a demobilization program as part of its economic adjustment program and planned reduction in military expenditures. The USAID Mission is exploring opportunities to support any demobilization and reintegration of ex-soldiers that might take place.

## 5. TRAINING FOR AFRICANS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEKEEPING

This involves building capacity of military and civilians in peacekeeping and conflict resolution through training, technical assistance and other educational-support initiatives. A variety of military and civilian support activities have been initiated this fiscal year to train Africans continent-wide. These include:

### Department of Defense

#### Africa-Wide:

- DOD presentations to military audiences in Mauritania and Sierra Leone on the issue of the role of the military in a democracy.

### Department of State

#### Africa-Wide:

- Expanded IMET training worth \$375,000 in Conflict Resolution Training/Peacekeeping and Democracy for military and civilian personnel in Benin, Botswana, Burundi, C.A.R., Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.
- \$50,000 funding to support a regional conference in Benin in May 1995 on the role of the military in a democracy.
- Held consultations with 10 donor nations and the OAU on enhancing peacekeeping training among African nations and sub-regional organizations, particularly those with peace operations experience.
- Planning May 1995 International Conference on African Peacekeeping to develop specific coordination in training, equipment and exercises to strengthen African peacekeeping capabilities.
- STATE/AF presentations to military, academic, and civic audiences on the role and responsibilities of the military institution in a democratic state. Presentations made in Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, and Mozambique, and scheduled for Mauritania and Togo.

#### Burundi

- STATE/PolMil discussions with military, government, and academic leaders in Burundi on conflict resolution and reconciliation.

#### Ghana:

- \$2.7 million in voluntary peacekeeping funds to enhance Ghanaian capability to effectively participate in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

#### Sierra Leone:

- Funded seminar on "The Role of the Military in a Democracy."

**U.S. Information Agency**Africa-Wide:

- Multi-country regional project in civil-military relations. Aug/Sep 95. \$48,000.
- Joint Mozambique and Angola sub-regional project, "The Role of the Military in A Democracy, " Sep/Oct 95. \$48,000.
- A Young African Leaders project on conflict resolution -- representatives from Gabon, Nigeria, Liberia, Cameroon, Tanzania, South Africa, Togo, Uganda, The Gambia, Sao Tome, Zaire and Congo. May/June 95. (\$104,000).
- Citizen exchange program for conflict resolution in Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia and Ghana. Administered by Iowa State University. \$125,000.
- Interactive WORLDNET broadcasts on conflict resolution (\$156,000):
  - Democracy and Ethnic Conflict; Ouagadougou, Lome.
  - Resolving Conflict in Africa; Lagos, Addis Ababa.
  - Veterans Policies and Downsizing the Army; Harare.
  - Conflict Resolution; Accra.
  - Conflict Resolution Issues; Bujumbura, Kinshasa, Lagos
  - Africa Year in Review, Year Ahead; Ouagadougou.
  - Commemorating Dr. M.L.King Jr.: Peaceful Resolution of Conflict; Gaborone, Johannesburg.
  - Role of Civil Society in National Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution; Kigali
  - Promoting Human Rights at the Community Level; Bujumbura
  - The Character of 21st Century Conflict.
  - NGOS: New Conflict Managers?
  - Averting Chaos: Preventive Diplomacy in Africa.
  - Intervention in Violent Internal Conflicts.
  - The New Diplomacy.

Burundi:

- International Visitor programs focused on conflict resolution and civic society. Includes ten members of Parliament and up to 20 leaders from NGOs and other private organizations. USIA will conduct this program with USAID funding. \$250,000
- An International Visitor Program for ten members of Parliament and the Director of Burundian National television focusing on civil society and dispute resolution. \$88,000
- Journalism workshops in May 1995 with broadcasters and editors of Burundian National Radio on professional standards and responsibilities in broadcast news and reporting. \$15,000

Mozambique:

- Two International Visitor Programs in June 1995 of six people each, focused on civic society for newly-elected Mozambican Members of Parliament. (USIA to conduct the program with funding from USAID). \$96,000

Rwanda:

- Two International Visitor Programs on Conflict Resolution in the summer of 1995 for ten Rwandan civic leaders, including five members of Parliament and five others from NGOs and private organizations. \$80,000

South Africa:

- Grant to Search for Common Ground for training South African police in peaceful resolution of conflict. \$120,000
- Grant to University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to conduct a program in conflict resolution on four South African traditionally black campuses. (\$250,000)

**U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

- Will share expertise and experiences with African civilian and military officials on strategic arms control, conventional arms control, confidence and security building measures, nonproliferation, and verification through workshops conducted in Washington and/or in Africa. ACDA is also prepared to send experts to brief countries on arms control techniques and measures.

**USAID**

Burundi:

- USAID/Burundi is granting \$300,000 to UNICEF to place a "peace curriculum" in all primary and middle schools in the country.
- USAID/Burundi will grant \$75,000 to the Center for Non-Violent Communication to provide training of trainers in non-violent communication.

**FY96 PLAN**

**1. IMPROVING THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)**

**Department of State**

- \$5.0 million of support planned to the OAU and its conflict resolution mechanism.

**2. IMPROVING CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF MULTILATERAL SUBREGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**Department of State**

- Under the President's Initiative in the Greater Horn of Africa, the Conflict Early Warning and Response System will provide timely information and data for identifying evolving crises so that preventive and effective action can be taken by regional, national and local institutions.

**USAID**

- The President's Initiative in the Greater Horn, implemented through USAID, will continue any technical support started in FY95 to improve regional capacity in conflict prevention and resolution. (Funding to be determined).
- The Famine Early Warning Systems Project (FEWS) will continue any technical assistance and training, started in FY95, to continue building capacity in early warning and response to evolving food security crises. (Funding to be determined).

### 3. IMPROVING CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITIES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

#### USAID

##### Africa-Wide:

- The President's Initiative in the Greater Horn will support a range of NGO efforts to prevent, mitigate and resolve conflict. (Programs and funding to be determined).

##### Angola:

- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to address the psycho-social development needs of unaccompanied children affected by the war. (Funding to be determined).
- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the War Victims Fund for NGOs to provide rehabilitative services for civilian victims of war. (Funding to be determined).

##### Eritrea:

- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to reunify unaccompanied children affected by war with natural or foster families. (Funding to be determined).

##### Ethiopia:

- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to support the development of indigenous NGOs that are working with war-affected youth. (Funding to be determined).

##### Gambia:

- USAID/Gambia will continue support for strengthening NGO conflict resolution capabilities through its \$1.5 million Democracy/Governance Project started in FY95. Funding to be determined.

##### Liberia:

- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to reunify unaccompanied children affected by war with natural or foster families. (Funding to be determined).
- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the War Victims Fund for NGOs to provide rehabilitative services for civilian victims of war. (Funding to be determined).

##### Niger:

- USAID/Niger will continue its support to its conflict resolution project to develop institutional capacity among NGOs and others in resolving conflict through dialogue among conflicting factions. (\$150,000)

##### Rwanda:

- The Africa Bureau plans to provide funds from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs to address the psycho-social development needs of unaccompanied children affected by the war and to reunify them with natural or foster families. (Funding to be determined).

South Africa:

- USAID/South Africa is exploring support to NGOs to address conflicts over broad resource allocations. Of special immediate concern are mediation activities over the restitution of land, land reform, and the resolution of disputes over land, water and other scarce resources. Conflict among special groups such as youth and other groups may be a target for future funding if appropriate concepts and activities can be developed. Future funding and activities to be determined.

Southern Africa:

- The Africa Bureau's \$10 million Southern Africa Initiative Democracy Fund will support organizations that strengthen democratic values, processes and institutions in the region. It will be demand-driven and can support the NGO capacity-building and civilian training aspects of the legislation. Future funding and activities to be determined as NGO proposals are received.

#### 4. SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION EFFORTS

##### The Department of State:

- Has requested \$10 million in appropriations for demining assistance programs. Much of this could be allocated to Africa and would provide needed support for reintegration programs.

##### The Department of Defense:

###### Angola:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$2 million.

###### Eritrea:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$1.5 million

###### Ethiopia:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$1.5 million

###### Mozambique:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$250,000.

###### Namibia:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$250,000.

###### Rwanda:

- For the continuation of humanitarian demining activities, projected support is \$1.5 million.

###### Other Support and Unprogrammed Initiatives:

- Funds projected for other administrative and travel expenses in support of humanitarian demining activities are \$100,000. In addition, funding for FY96 unplanned initiatives is projected at \$4.9 million.

#### USAID

##### Africa-Wide:

- The Africa Bureau has set aside \$6.0 million in complementary funding to support Mission demobilization and reintegration programs in FY'96.

Angola:

- The Africa Bureau is tentatively planning assistance between \$3-4 million to support conflict resolution and reintegration programs, if conditions permit.

Liberia:

- USAID/Liberia is considering funding (\$250,000) the development of a reintegration plan for the country if peace is maintained and a demobilization process is on-going.
- USAID/Liberia has proposed a PVO Umbrella Project to support reintegration, funded at a level between \$5-10 million, over a two-year period if peace is maintained and conditions permit. The activities would be community-oriented, rural public works, credit, agricultural support and micro-enterprise development.

Niger:

- USAID/Niger is planning support to reintegration of ex-combatants through training, rural credit, preventive health care, and primary education, as well as through agriculture, small trade, legal clinic, and job creation interventions. (\$850,000 FY'96-97)

Rwanda:

- USAID/Rwanda is considering implementation of a demining program (with DOD funds and support) which would build local institutional capacity to effectively demine the country, thereby aiding reintegration efforts for ex-military and civilian communities. (Funding to be determined).

Sierra Leone:

- USAID/Sierra Leone planning up to \$500,000 for follow-on assistance to a rehabilitation and training program that would facilitate reintegration of ex-military and dependents through technical and management skills training, trauma counselling, and followup assistance.
- BHR/OFDA will consider funding (\$200,000) Emergency Relief Coordinator position in support government's demobilization office, if required.

Uganda:

- USAID/Uganda will implement its new \$25 million Private Enterprise Support, Training, and Organizational Development Project. Some part of this life-of-project funding will be allocated to loans for ex-combatants who are engaged in small enterprise development.

**5. TRAINING FOR AFRICANS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEKEEPING**

**Department of State**

- Requesting FY96 budget of \$18 million for training and equipping of selected African militaries to participate effectively in peacekeeping operations.
- Planning an estimated \$400,000 in IMET courses focussing on peacekeeping/conflict resolution for military personnel in various African countries

**U.S. Information Agency**

- Will continue to use all its program tools - academic and professional exchanges, workshops, American speaker and specialist programs and other personal and electronic dialogues - to address conflict resolution and peace keeping issues across Africa.

**USAID**

- USAID/Burundi intends to promote the improvement and reform of the judicial system so that it can be an effective deterrent of violence and reduce conflict in society. Funding to be determined.

## **E. Other Administration Support for Preventing, Mitigating, and Resolving Conflict in Africa.**

In addition to the above programs, there is a far larger range of program support that must be mentioned in this plan because it directly contributes to the prevention, mitigation, and resolution of conflict in Africa. This substantial assistance includes:

### **Department of State**

#### Africa-Wide:

- A recent interagency conference identified improving **peacekeeping** coordination and training in Africa as a priority for the U.S. and major partners in global peacekeeping operations. As a result of that meeting, the Department of State launched a major initiative among ten key donor nations to coordinate their resources in support of training African peacekeepers, building on the existing expertise and tradition of many African nations and sub-regional organizations.

The movement toward capacity building is in line with appropriate **burdensharing** among the principal countries engaged in supporting peacekeeping operations worldwide. To more effectively develop the concept of burdensharing, coordination and training, the Department hosted an April 18 planning meeting with representatives from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the UK. That meeting will be followed by a May 17 international Conference on African Peacekeeping Operations at the National Defense University. Several donor country representatives have been invited. In addition, Spain -- soon to assume chairmanship of the European Union -- and Germany are invited to attend. One representative from the UN Peacekeeping Operations, engaged in reviewing conflict resolution proposals and peacekeeping efforts worldwide, will also attend.

Consultations with the OAU and African representatives have occurred, and once levels of donor coordination and support are determined, additional exchanges will occur. This effort will be complementary to those underway at the UN, the OAU and elsewhere. A concrete proposal on capacity-building will be presented to the international community following the May International Conference.

- Assistant Secretary Moose meets quarterly with European Union Troika to discuss and coordinate efforts in conflict resolution in Africa.
- Deputy Secretary's October travel to Africa, which included discussions with leaders in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana, and Ivory Coast on conflict resolution.
- PM/DAS level participation in discussions in Burundi with government, civic and military leaders, as well as OAU and UN representatives on conflict resolution and reconciliation.
- PM staff consultations with Security Assistance and Defense Cooperation staff in EUCOM AOR concerning peacekeeping and conflict resolution needs and training.
- Continuing high-level mediation efforts which include:
  - Ambassadorial-level meetings in support of the IGADD peace process in Sudan and other peace initiatives in Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi.

## Department of State

### Africa-Wide cont':

- STATE Staff actively participating in conferences on conflict resolution in Africa including:
  - UK-hosted conference on African Conflict Resolution, held in Accra, Ghana;
  - UK-hosted conference on Africa Conflict Resolution, held in Cairo, Egypt;
  - UK and Zimbabwe-hosted conference on Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution in Africa, held in Harare, Zimbabwe;
  - OAU/African Leadership Forum-hosted conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution in Africa, held in Durban, South Africa;
  - OAU-hosted conference on Military Downsizing in Africa, held in Kampala, Uganda.

### Senegal:

- There are presently no formal USG programs. However, the Embassy has reported that the Post Democracy Committee is actively exploring opportunities to assist the peace initiative in the Casamance and to address the issue of small arms trafficking in the region.

## USAID

### Africa-Wide:

- BHR/OFDA will be funding (\$65,000) two research efforts, "Humanitarianism and War" and "Vulnerability Assessment Guidelines", that will provide information for assessing future proposals on preventing and mitigating conflict.

### Rwanda:

- BHR/OTI provided \$900,000 of funding for human rights monitors in FY95 to reduce conflicts and human rights abuses in this volatile situation.
- USAID/Rwanda will invest \$4.0 million in the Administration of Justice Project which will reduce conflict by improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the Rwandan justice system; promoting alternative dispute resolution practices; establishing land tenure/property regulations; formalizing legal codes and generally encouraging fair and efficient practices.

### Africa-Wide:

Poverty is a primary cause of complex disasters. It often leads to intense competition in society for scarce resources which can then bring about conflict. Governments, too poor to seriously address their economic and social problems, are ill-equipped to prevent or mitigate the resulting conflicts. Sustainable development programs of USAID and other donors are meant to address the root causes of poverty, so that through time, this major contributor to conflict is reduced. The Africa Bureau's annual \$800 million development program, emphasizing economic growth, health, education, population control, and democracy is crafted to address the primary issue of poverty reduction on a sustainable and lasting basis. As such, it is the **singlemost important asset** in our foreign assistance package for preventing, mitigating and eventually reducing the widespread levels of conflict in Africa related to unending poverty.

Within this development package, the portfolio of activities under **Democracy and Governance** are specifically supportive of the Africa Conflict Resolution legislation, and are targeted on developing strong judicial and political systems, along with improved capacity in local and national institutions to effectively address conflict. USAID'S present funding for such activities totals over \$140 million through FY98. Another \$45 million of new multi-year programs are being planned for fiscal year 1996.

#### **F. Efforts to Seek the Participation of Other Countries and International Organizations**

Through donor working groups and in regular business interaction at the Mission and international levels, USAID, STATE, USIA, and DOD are in close collaboration with other bilateral donors and international organizations in all of the countries in which the US government is supporting programs in conflict resolution, demobilization and reintegration. Through this interaction our various agencies encourage and integrate the participation of other donors in supporting conflict resolution interventions. In all of the countries in which we work, there is very active and coordinated support with other international agencies and bilateral donors.

In the international area, senior U.S. officials are in contact with diplomats worldwide drawing attention to the crisis areas on the continent and searching for appropriate resolutions. For example, the Department of State has launched an International African Peacekeeping Initiative with the first major consultations held on April 18 in Washington. Ten major donors - - Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom -- participated in the meeting. The main issues identified were better donor coordination, as well as discussion of training, equipment and exercises during an international conference in May, 1995. Participants from capitals are invited to the May meeting. Spain and Germany, as well as the UN/Peacekeeping Operations representative are also invited to attend.

Once the donors have exchanged information on their training resources and programs (for example, through African staff colleges or Mobile Training teams in individual countries or under the auspices of subregional organizations), a report of these discussions will go forward to the UN and member states. This may include potential meeting schedules for a donor coordination mechanism and future multilateral organization discussions on African Peacekeeping operations. Initial consultations with the OAU and other African representatives have occurred. This initiative will be complementary to the excellent work being done in New York, Addis Ababa and elsewhere on improving all aspects of peacekeeping in Africa and by Africans.

Another recent example of results-oriented, regional donor and African collaboration involves the development of the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative (GHAI). Over the past six months, donors and Africans have been broadly consulted regarding the need to take a more proactive, regional approach to food security issues in the Horn of Africa. This consultative process has resulted in general agreement that existing donor and African bilateral coordination mechanisms can be highly effective if focused on the common objective of food security and organized in a regional donor and African forum.

Strategic coordination among and between these partners could facilitate faster, cheaper, more efficient food security in the region, as well as prevent or resolve crisis; and integrate national development and humanitarian efforts, programs and policies. The Africans have taken positive steps to enhance regional coordination. At a recent Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) meeting in Addis Ababa, Heads of State indicated that they are committed to a revitalization and overhaul of IGADD in order to make it a more effective regional mechanism for dealing with developmental and political problems.

This provides an opportunity to use a new framework and partnership for regional donor and African coordination, particularly through IGADD, to establish a process that integrates humanitarian and development assistance with conflict prevention and resolution.

#### **G. Inter-Agency Mechanism for Management, Coordination, Monitoring and Reporting**

An inter-agency working group, composed of staff from the Department of State, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the U.S. Information Agency, U.S. Arms Control Disarmament Agency, and the U.S. Agency for International Development will continue to meet quarterly to discuss and coordinate in support of the Africa Conflict Resolution legislation, to monitor and report on progress in the implementation of programs, and to revise and update plans, as necessary.

In this group the Department of State is represented by staff from its Bureaus of Africa Affairs and Political-Military Affairs. They maintain contact with other relevant STATE offices, such as country desks and senior policymakers.

The Office of the Secretary of Defense is represented by staff from its divisions of International Security Affairs/Africa Region, and Strategy and Requirements/Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement Policy. These staff maintain links to other appropriate OSD Department of Defense offices, such as the Joint Chiefs, Humanitarian Assistance and Refugee Affairs.

The U.S. Arms Control Disarmament Agency is represented by its Bureau for Non-Proliferation and Regional Arms Control, Weapons and Technology Control Division.

The U.S. Information Agency is represented by its Office of African Affairs staff, who oversee information, and cultural and exchange programs at field posts in thirty-five African countries.

The U.S. Agency for International Development is represented in the working group by the Africa Bureau's Disaster Response Coordination Office. This office maintains direct links with the primary offices supporting the legislation: senior Africa Bureau management, country desks and field missions, the Bureau for Humanitarian Response's offices of OFDA, FFP, and OTI, the Global Bureau, and the Agency's policy-making branch, PPC.

#### **H. Measuring Impact and Results**

The development of performance indicators to measure progress towards achieving results, based on the specific measures outlined in this document, is a critical next step in the design and implementation of this Interagency action plan. Performance indicators will serve to better assess the results of our combined USG, Africa and other donor efforts and provide insight into why and under what circumstances certain approaches best work.

Through the existing Interagency Working Group mechanism, the Agencies and Departments with primary responsibility for supporting the legislation will work together to formulate performance indicators at two levels: (1) the overall strategic objective level of the Plan, and (2) in each of the five areas that correspond to the major sections of the Africa Conflict Resolution Act. At the macro level, performance indicators will focus on the impact and overall effect of USG contributions to support resolution of Africa conflict at the local, national and sub-regional levels. It will also focus on the strengthening of specific institutional structures identified in the Act, including the Organization of African Unity (OAU), regional and sub-regional organizations and the PVO/NGO community.

At the Agency/Department level, performance indicators will be developed to report on the progress and results of the specific activities and programs identified in the FY 95/96 Plan. Measuring progress toward strategic and agency specific objectives will better enable us, the African and other development partners to better identify approaches and programs that are effective and successful in achieving their targets.

Performance indicators and preliminary results will be developed by the Working Group within the next three to four months and

reported to the Steering Group at the bi-annual meeting. This rather complex analytical task, will focus on progress towards targets.

The findings will be incorporated in next year's progress report. A corporate information system that includes indicators and targets, in addition to the most current information on progress toward these targets will also be installed. This will add efficiency, increase our ability to analyze and report on program performance, allow managers and others to make better informed decisions based on progress and lessons learned, and permit more rapid dissemination of results. We plan to have this operational for reporting in FY 96.

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# Annex I

## Military Expenditures, Armed Forces, GNP, Central Government Expenditures, and Population, 1983-1993 --- continued

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME) Billion Dollars		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) Billion Dollars		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (COE) Billion Dollars		PEOPLE Millions	ME/GNP %	ME/COE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993	Constant	1993						
<b>-- SUBSAHARAN AFRICA</b>													
1983	2.5	3.5	1026	84	119	30.9	375.7	3.0	11.5	9	2.7	316	
1984	2.7	3.7	1004	87	118	30.6	386.8	3.1	12.1	10	2.6	306	
1985	2.8	3.6	1055	94	122	31.3	398.5	3.0	11.6	9	2.6	307	
1986	3.2	4.1	1134	101	128	35.2	410.4	3.2	11.6	10	2.8	313	
1987	3.5	4.3	1164	106	131	36.5	423.0	3.3	11.7	10	2.8	310	
1988	3.5	4.1	1111	115	136	37.9	435.9	3.0	10.9	9	2.5	312	
1989	3.5	3.9	1131	124	141	34.8	449.3	2.8	11.3	9	2.5	314	
1990	4.0	4.3	1183	133	145	38.8	463.2	3.0	11.2	9	2.6	313	
1991	4.4	4.7	1094	141	148	41.1	477.2	3.1	11.3	10	2.3	310	
1992	4.5	4.6	1032	146	149	45.0	491.5	3.1	10.2	9	2.1	303	
1993	4.0	4.0	1032	150	150	40.8	506.3	2.7	9.8	8	2.0	296	
<b>-- CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN</b>													
1983	2.3	3.2	442	58	83	31.1	49.4	3.9	10.4	65	8.9	1677	
1984	2.3	3.2	522	61	82	30.0	50.3	3.9	10.5	63	10.4	1636	
1985	2.3	3.0	537	66	86	28.3	51.4	3.5	10.7	59	10.5	1675	
1986	2.3	2.9	538	69	88	30.3	52.4	3.3	9.5	55	10.3	1683	
1987	2.3	2.8	544	74	91	26.4	53.5	3.1	10.8	53	10.2	1707	
1988	2.2	2.6	531	76	90	26.3	54.5	2.9	10.0	48	9.7	1652	
1989	2.3	2.6	527	80	90	26.3	55.7	2.8	9.8	46	9.5	1626	
1990	2.1	2.3	495	81	88	26.0	56.9	2.7	9.0	41	8.7	1546	
1991	1.8	1.9	492	77	81	22.2	58.1	2.4	8.7	33	8.5	1387	
1992	1.1	1.1	356	78	79	20.7	59.2	1.4	5.2	18	6.0	1340	
1993	1.0	1.0	356	78	78	19.1	60.4	1.3	5.3	17	5.9	1299	
<b>-- SOUTH AMERICA</b>													
1983	12.8	18.2	1175	543	769	232.4	257.6	2.4	7.8	71	4.6	2985	
1984	14.0	19.0	1148	590	800	211.9	263.0	2.4	9.0	72	4.4	3041	
1985	12.8	16.8	1138	628	821	281.1	268.2	2.0	6.0	62	4.2	3062	
1986	15.0	19.1	1155	705	899	282.2	273.6	2.1	6.8	70	4.2	3285	
1987	14.2	17.6	1194	757	934	335.3	279.0	1.9	5.2	63	4.3	3349	
1988	14.8	17.6	897	782	930	260.5	284.4	1.9	6.8	62	3.2	3271	
1989	15.3	17.4	912	809	920	272.4	289.8	1.9	6.4	60	3.1	3174	
1990	15.9	17.3	917	836	912	238.5	294.9	1.9	7.3	59	3.1	3092	
1991	14.8	15.6	896	906	951	194.5	299.9	1.6	8.0	52	3.0	3173	
1992	15.1	15.4	913	960	981	205.4	304.8	1.6	7.5	51	3.0	3220	
1993	14.8	14.8	913	1036	1036	203.9	309.6	1.4	7.3	48	2.9	3346	

TABLE 1. Military Expenditures, Armed Forces, GNP, Central Government Expenditures, and Population, 1983-1993 --- continued

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME) Billion Dollars		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) Billion Dollars		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Billion Dollars		PEOPLE Millions	ME/GNP %	ME/CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993	Constant	1993						
-- EAST ASIA													
1983	80.5	114.0	8262	3005	4257	847.5	847.5	1618.7	2.7	13.5	70	5.1	2630
1984	84.2	114.1	8546	3342	4532	873.0	873.0	1641.9	2.5	13.1	70	5.2	2760
1985	91.8	120.1	8307	3720	4868	918.2	918.2	1665.6	2.5	13.1	72	5.0	2923
1986	95.7	121.9	8561	3988	5081	980.8	980.8	1690.8	2.4	12.4	72	5.1	3005
1987	98.9	122.1	8052	4371	5398	994.0	994.0	1718.6	2.3	12.3	71	4.7	3141
1988	104.3	124.1	8349	4885	5809	1019.6	1019.6	1746.3	2.1	12.2	71	4.8	3326
1989	112.1	127.6	8735	5362	6101	1087.8	1087.8	1772.7	2.1	11.7	72	4.9	3442
1990	121.9	132.9	8316	5872	6403	1123.0	1123.0	1798.8	2.1	11.8	74	4.6	3560
1991	125.5	131.8	8149	6426	6749	1154.7	1154.7	1823.7	2.0	11.4	72	4.5	3701
1992	134.9	137.8	7909	6921	7072	1200.2	1200.2	1847.4	1.9	11.5	75	4.3	3828
1993	140.0	140.0	7813	7381	7381	1246.5	1246.5	1870.6	1.9	11.2	75	4.2	3946

Source:  
World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1983-1994, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, pp. 44-46  
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**Subsaharan Africa Military Expenditures, Armed Forces, GNP, Central Government Expenditures, and Population, 1983-1993**

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE)	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	
	Million dollars			Million dollars									Million dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993								Constant 1993
<b>SUBSAHARAN AFRICA, TOTAL</b>													
1983	5767	8169	1103	152500	216100	60520	408.5	3.8	13.5	20	2.7	529	
1984	5882	7976	1101	162900	220900	62230	420.5	3.6	12.8	19	2.6	525	
1985	5723	7489	1150	171100	223900	64480	433.1	3.3	11.6	17	2.7	517	
1986	6325	8059	1224	180200	229600	69650	446.0	3.5	11.6	18	2.7	515	
1987	7192	8881	1266	190700	235500	73180	459.5	3.8	12.1	19	2.8	512	
1988	7430	8835	1211	206600	245700	75270	473.4	3.6	11.7	19	2.6	519	
1989	7796	8870	1231	221900	252500	71590	487.8	3.5	12.4	18	2.5	518	
1990	8434	9197	1268	233400	254600	77250	502.7	3.6	11.9	18	2.5	506	
1991	8280	8696	1174	245500	257800	75590	517.8	3.4	11.5	17	2.3	498	
1992	7718	7886	1104	250800	256200	80860	533.2	3.1	9.8	15	2.1	481	
1993	6879	6879	1104	258600	258600	76130	549.1	2.7	9.0	13	2.0	471	
<b>Angola</b>													
1983	E 330	E 467	54	2340 E	3315 E	1626	7.3	14.1	28.8	64	7.4	457	
1984	NA	NA	60	2948 E	3998 E	NA	7.4	NA	NA	NA	8.1	540	
1985	NA	NA	66	3138	4106	NA	7.6	NA	NA	NA	8.7	542	
1986	685	872	70	3682	4691	NA	7.8	18.6	NA	113	9.0	605	
1987	NA	NA	74	4363	5388	NA	7.9	NA	NA	NA	9.4	681	
1988	NA	NA	107	4605	5476	2116	8.1	NA	NA	NA	13.2	677	
1989	NA	NA	107	4757	5413	NA	8.2	NA	NA	NA	13.0	656	
1990	NA	NA	115	NA	NA	2566	8.4	NA	NA	NA	13.6	NA	
1991	NA	NA	150	NA	NA	NA	8.7	NA	NA	NA	17.3	NA	
1992	NA	NA	128	NA	NA	2996	9.1	NA	NA	NA	14.1	NA	
1993	NA	NA	128	NA	NA	NA	9.5	NA	NA	NA	13.4	NA	
<b>Benin</b>													
1983	28	39	6	1098	1555	358	3.7	2.5	11.0	11	1.6	415	
1984	29	39	6	1233	1672	385	3.9	2.4	10.2	10	1.6	433	
1985	33	44	6	1368	1790	426	4.0	2.4	10.3	11	1.5	449	
1986	32	40	4	1438	1832	428	4.1	2.2	9.4	10	1.0	446	
1987	34	41	4	1464	1807	369 E	4.2	2.3	11.3	10	.9	426	
1988	38	45	5	1576	1874	254	4.4	2.4	17.7	10	1.1	428	
1989	35	40	5	1584	1803	207	4.5	2.2	19.4	9	1.0	398	
1990	35	38	6	1719	1875	NA	4.7	2.0	NA	8	1.3	401	
1991	NA	NA	7	1878	1972	375 E	4.8	NA	NA	NA	1.4	408	
1992	26	26	6	1989	2032	NA	5.0	1.3	NA	5	1.2	407	
1993	NA	NA	6	2119	2119	NA	5.2	NA	NA	NA	1.2	410	
<b>Botswana</b>													
1983	29	40	3	1123	1591	656	1.0	2.5	6.2	41	3.0	1600	
1984	35	48	3	1243	1686	806	1.0	2.8	6.0	47	2.9	1644	
1985	34	45	3	1334	1745	771	1.1	2.6	5.8	43	2.8	1650	
1986	50	64	4	1489	1897	861	1.1	3.4	7.4	59	3.7	1741	
1987	95	117	4	1668	2060	1080	1.1	5.7	10.9	104	3.6	1834	
1988	108	129	4	1955	2325	1245	1.2	5.5	10.3	111	3.5	2010	
1989	106	120	6	2393	2722	1204	1.2	4.4	10.0	101	5.0	2287	
1990	123	134	6	2760	3010	1533	1.2	4.4	8.7	109	4.9	2458	
1991	153	161	7	3174	3333	1641	1.3	4.8	9.8	128	5.2	2649	
1992	161	164	6	3033	3099	1599 E	1.3	5.3	10.3	127	4.6	2398	
1993	196 E	196 E	6	3297	3297	1813 E	1.3	5.9	10.8	148	4.5	2486	

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1983 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1983 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1983		Current	Constant 1983							

Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta)

1983	35	50	9	1476	2090	243	7.5	2.4	20.7	7	1.2	280
1984	37	50	9	1520	2061	280	7.7	2.4	17.7	6	1.2	269
1985	38	49	9	1717	2246	263	7.9	2.2	18.7	6	1.1	285
1986	55	70	9	1850	2357	318	8.1	3.0	22.1	9	1.1	292
1987	49	60	9	1934	2388	348	8.3	2.5	17.3	7	1.1	287
1988	53	63	8	2125	2527	362	8.5	2.5	17.5	7	.9	296
1989	NA	NA	8	2291	2606	346	8.8	NA	NA	NA	.9	297
1990	71 E	78 E	10	2397	2614	NA	9.0	3.0	NA	9	1.1	289
1991	96 E	101 E	10	2629	2761	NA	9.3	3.7	NA	11	1.1	297
1992	NA	NA	9	2717	2776	NA	9.6	NA	NA	NA	.9	290
1993	60 E	60 E	9	2785	2785	NA	9.9	2.2	NA	6	.9	283

Burundi

1983	18	25	7	479	679	160	4.5	3.7	15.7	6	1.5	150
1984	16	22	8	499	676	94	4.7	3.3	23.8	5	1.7	145
1985	17	22	9	576	753	107	4.8	3.0	20.8	5	1.9	156
1986	21	26	10	610	777	113	5.0	3.4	23.3	5	2.0	156
1987	22	27	10	660	815	128	5.1	3.3	21.0	5	2.0	159
1988	22	27	11	722	859	138	5.3	3.1	19.3	5	2.1	163
1989	20	22	11	769	875	156	5.4	2.6	14.3	4	2.0	162
1990	20	22	12	833	909	162	5.6	2.4	13.6	4	2.2	163
1991	22	23	12	911	957	166	5.7	2.4	13.9	4	2.1	168
1992	NA	NA	7	960	980	190	5.8	NA	NA	NA	1.2	168
1993	NA	NA	7	968	968	NA	6.0	NA	NA	NA	1.2	162

Cameroon

1983	146	206	15	7253	10270	2512	9.5	2.0	8.2	22	1.6	1078
1984	154	209	15	8001	10850	2633	9.8	1.9	7.9	21	1.5	1106
1985	177	232	15	8928	11680	2778	10.1	2.0	8.3	23	1.5	1153
1986	206 E	263 E	15	10030	12780	2906	10.5	2.1	9.0	25	1.4	1223
1987	205	253	15	10230	12630	3008	10.8	2.0	8.4	23	1.4	1173
1988	154	183	21	9638	11460	NA	11.1	1.6	NA	16	1.9	1033
1989	150	170	21	10200	11600	2568	11.4	1.5	6.6	15	1.8	1019
1990	161	176	23	9718	10600	2404	11.7	1.7	7.3	15	2.0	906
1991	150	157	24	9286	9731	2345	12.0	1.6	6.7	13	2.0	808
1992	158	161	12	9009	9205	1881	12.4	1.8	8.6	13	1.0	743
1993	181	181	12	8618	8618	NA	12.8	2.1	NA	14	.9	676

Cape Verde

1983	NA	NA	4	138	196	NA	0.3	NA	NA	NA	12.8	627
1984	NA	NA	6	154	208	NA	.3	NA	NA	NA	18.8	652
1985	NA	NA	6	173	226	NA	.3	NA	NA	NA	18.3	691
1986	NA	NA	4	186	236	NA	.3	NA	NA	NA	11.9	705
1987	NA	NA	4	204	252	NA	.3	NA	NA	NA	11.6	732
1988	NA	NA	3	228	271	178	.4	NA	NA	NA	8.5	766
1989	NA	NA	3	256	291	NA	.4	NA	NA	NA	8.2	800
1990	NA	NA	1	271	296	NA	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.7	789
1991	4	4	1	289	303	135	.4	1.2	2.8	10	2.6	784
1992	3	3	1	307	313	NA	.4	1.0	NA	8	2.5	787
1993	NA	NA	1	327	327	NA	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.4	796

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1983 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1983 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1983		Current	Constant 1983							

#### Central African Republic

1983	15	22	4	790	1118	NA	2.4	1.9	NA	9	1.6	461
1984	NA	NA	5	902	1223	301	2.5	NA	NA	NA	2.0	489
1985	NA	NA	5	969	1268	356	2.6	NA	NA	NA	1.9	493
1986	NA	NA	5	1022	1302	340	2.6	NA	NA	NA	1.9	497
1987	18 E	22 E	5	996	1229	347	2.7	1.8	6.4	8	1.9	460
1988	NA	NA	5	1062	1263	329	2.7	NA	NA	NA	1.9	462
1989	18	21	5	1141	1298	313 E	2.8	1.6	6.6	7	1.8	464
1990	20	22	4	1201	1309	NA	2.9	1.6	NA	8	1.4	457
1991	NA	NA	4	1224	1285	320 E	2.9	NA	NA	NA	1.4	438
1992	26 E	27 E	7	1229	1256	NA	3.0	2.1	NA	9	2.3	418
1993	NA	NA	7	1210	1210	NA	3.1	NA	NA	NA	2.3	394

#### Chad

1983	7	10	NA	541	766	261 E	4.4	1.3	3.8	2	NA	173
1984	10	13	16	571	774	240 E	4.4	1.7	5.5	3	3.6	175
1985	15	19	16	726	949	313 E	4.4	2.0	6.1	4	3.6	215
1986	21	26	22	712	907	197	4.5	2.9	13.3	6	4.9	201
1987	29	36	30	716	885	281	4.7	4.1	12.7	8	6.5	190
1988	41	49	33	859	1021	359	4.8	4.8	13.6	10	6.9	214
1989	57	65	33	942	1071	388	4.9	6.0	16.6	13	6.7	219
1990	NA	NA	50	983	1071	348	5.0	NA	NA	NA	10.0	213
1991	59	62	50	1109	1164	373	5.1	5.3	16.6	12	9.7	227
1992	31	32	30	1141	1166	382 E	5.2	2.7	8.3	6	5.7	223
1993	NA	NA	30	NA	NA	NA	5.4	NA	NA	NA	5.6	NA

#### Congo

1983	50	71	11	1358	1924	815	1.8	3.7	8.7	39	6.1	1065
1984	NA	NA	15	1489	2019	956	1.9	NA	NA	NA	8.0	1072
1985	61 E	80 E	15	1521	1991	874	1.9	4.0	9.2	41	7.7	1028
1986	81 E	104 E	13	1459	1859	924	2.0	5.6	11.2	52	6.5	934
1987	79	98	14	1527	1886	777	2.0	5.2	12.6	48	6.8	923
1988	NA	NA	15	1589	1889	825	2.1	NA	NA	NA	7.1	900
1989	NA	NA	15	1694	1928	701	2.2	NA	NA	NA	6.9	894
1990	76	83	9	1801	1964	750	2.2	4.2	11.1	37	4.1	887
1991	132	138	9	1944	2041	NA	2.3	6.8	NA	61	4.0	898
1992	123	125	10	2117	2163	NA	2.3	5.8	NA	54	4.3	928
1993	NA	NA	10	2040	2040	NA	2.4	NA	NA	NA	4.2	854

#### Djibouti

1983	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	0.3	NA	NA	NA	7.6	NA
1984	NA	NA	3	432	585	214	.3	NA	NA	NA	9.3	2022
1985	NA	NA	5	451	590	215	.3	NA	NA	NA	15.2	1987
1986	33	42	4	421	536	197	.3	7.9	21.4	138	13.8	1761
1987	38	46	4	432	533	NA	.3	8.7	NA	148	13.4	1707
1988	39	46	4	445	529	161	.3	8.7	28.6	140	12.8	1609
1989	28	32	4	480	546	NA	.4	5.8	NA	90	11.9	1547
1990	33	36	4	465	507	179 E	.4	7.1	20.1	97	11.3	1369
1991	41	43	3	454	476	225 E	.4	9.1	19.2	113	8.9	1252
1992	39	40	8	472	482	NA	.4	8.3	NA	103	20.5	1234
1993	28	28	8	467	467	NA	.4	6.0	NA	69	19.9	1162

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993							

#### Equatorial Guinea

1983	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	0.3	NA	NA	NA	6.7	NA
1984	NA	NA	3	NA	NA	19	.3	NA	NA	NA	9.5	NA
1985	NA	NA	3	70	91	20	.3	NA	NA	NA	9.2	281
1986	NA	NA	2	84	107	25	.3	NA	NA	NA	6.0	320
1987	NA	NA	2	88	108	26	.3	NA	NA	NA	5.9	317
1988	NA	NA	1	94	112	27	.4	NA	NA	NA	4.0	319
1989	NA	NA	1	100	114	29	.4	NA	NA	NA	3.9	317
1990	NA	NA	1	109	118	27	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.7	321
1991	NA	NA	1	111	117	28 E	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.6	309
1992	NA	NA	1	127	129	31 E	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.6	333
1993	NA	NA	1	148	148	34	.4	NA	NA	NA	2.5	371

#### Ethiopia

1983	184 E	261 E	240	2233	3163	1119	38.9	8.2	23.3	7	6.2	81
1984	199 E	270 E	190	2278	3089	907	40.1	8.7	29.7	7	4.7	77
1985	197 E	257 E	240	2189	2865	935	40.7	9.0	27.5	6	5.9	70
1986	205	261	300	2475	3153	1043	41.6	8.3	25.0	6	7.2	76
1987	227	280	300	2796	3453	1105	43.0	8.1	25.3	7	7.0	80
1988	NA	NA	250	2956	3515	1279	44.6	NA	NA	NA	5.6	79
1989	405	461	250	3141	3574	1490	46.4	12.9	31.0	10	5.4	77
1990	706 E	770 E	250	3227	3519	1477	48.3	21.9	52.1	16	5.2	73
1991	NA	NA	120	3341	3509	1204	49.8	NA	NA	NA	2.4	70
1992	NA	NA	120	3180	3249	1419 E	51.1	NA	NA	NA	2.3	64
1993	151	151	120	3474	3474	1386 E	52.6	4.4	10.9	3	2.3	66

#### Gabon

1983	75	106	7	3184	4510	2009	0.9	2.4	5.3	112	7.4	4763
1984	72	97	7	3559	4826	1998	1.0	2.0	4.9	99	7.1	4903
1985	100	131	7	3588	4695	1978	1.0	2.8	6.6	129	6.9	4624
1986	164 E	209 E	9	3641	4640	2735 E	1.0	4.5	7.6	202	8.7	4473
1987	142	176	9	3074	3796	NA	1.0	4.6	NA	167	8.6	3616
1988	173 E	206 E	8	3689	4386	1347	1.1	4.7	15.3	195	7.4	4143
1989	145 E	165 E	10	4045	4602	1308	1.1	3.6	12.6	155	8.9	4309
1990	142 E	155 E	9	4208	4589	1137	1.1	3.4	13.7	144	8.4	4258
1991	NA	NA	10	4733	4970	1706	1.1	NA	NA	NA	9.2	4558
1992	NA	NA	7	4586	4686	1418 E	1.1	NA	NA	NA	6.3	4235
1993	NA	NA	7	4756	4756	NA	1.1	NA	NA	NA	6.2	4237

#### Gambia, The

1983	NA	NA	1	169	239	NA	0.7	NA	NA	NA	1.4	345
1984	NA	NA	1	178	242	NA	.7	NA	NA	NA	1.4	340
1985	NA	NA	1	190	249	NA	.7	NA	NA	NA	1.4	340
1986	NA	NA	1	194	247	NA	.8	NA	NA	NA	1.3	328
1987	1 E	1 E	1	212	262	NA	.8	.5	NA	2	1.3	338
1988	NA	NA	1	236	280	NA	.8	NA	NA	NA	1.3	351
1989	1	2	2	260	295	77 E	.8	.5	2.0	2	1.8	359
1990	NA	NA	2	285	310	81	.8	NA	NA	NA	2.4	366
1991	NA	NA	2	300	316	77 E	.9	NA	NA	NA	2.3	361
1992	5 E	5 E	1	331	338	NA	.9	1.5	NA	6	1.1	375
1993	3 E	3 E	NA	352	352	NA	.9	.8	NA	3	NA	378

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993							
<b>Ghana</b>												
1983	8 E	12 E	8	2339	3313	276	11.9	0.4	4.3	1	0.7	280
1984	16	22	15	2644	3585	369	12.5	.6	5.8	2	1.2	286
1985	29	38	15	2869	3754	533	12.9	1.0	7.2	3	1.2	291
1986	29	36	9	3088	3934	578	13.5	.9	6.3	3	.7	292
1987	31	38	11	3336	4120	608	13.9	.9	6.2	3	.8	297
1988	16	20	16	3666	4359	638	14.3	.4	3.1	1	1.1	305
1989	24 E	27 E	16	4036	4592	669	14.7	.6	4.0	2	1.1	312
1990	25 E	27 E	9	4332	4724	604 E	15.2	.6	4.4	2	.6	311
1991	25 E	27 E	9	4735	4973	654 E	15.7	.5	4.1	2	.6	317
1992	35 E	36 E	7	5059	5169	723 E	16.2	.7	5.0	2	.4	319
1993	NA	NA	7	5433	5433	NA	16.7	NA	NA	NA	.4	325
<b>Guinea</b>												
1983	32 E	46 E	28	991 E	1404 E	579	4.6	3.3	7.9	10	6.1	306
1984	33 E	44 E	28	1047 E	1420 E	NA	4.8	3.1	NA	9	5.8	296
1985	NA	NA	28	1139 E	1491 E	NA	5.1	NA	NA	NA	5.5	294
1986	NA	NA	24	1767	2251	491	5.2	NA	NA	NA	4.6	431
1987	NA	NA	24	1897	2342	547	5.4	NA	NA	NA	4.5	437
1988	24	29	15	2076	2468	570	5.5	1.2	5.1	5	2.7	450
1989	NA	NA	15	2234	2541	542	5.6	NA	NA	NA	2.7	452
1990	28	31	15	2421	2639	607	5.9	1.2	5.1	5	2.5	445
1991	31	32	15	2611	2742	NA	6.2	1.2	NA	5	2.4	440
1992	43	44	15	2826	2887	NA	6.2	1.5	NA	7	2.4	463
1993	NA	NA	15	3049	3049	NA	6.2	NA	NA	NA	2.4	489
<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>												
1983	10	14	9	123	174	86	0.8	7.9	16.1	16	10.6	206
1984	5	7	11	135	183	107	.9	4.0	6.9	9	12.7	212
1985	4	6	11	145	190	118	.9	3.0	4.7	6	12.4	214
1986	4	5	11	148	188	77	.9	2.7	6.6	6	12.1	207
1987	4	5	11	158	195	114	.9	2.4	4.1	5	11.8	210
1988	NA	NA	10	176	209	113	1.0	NA	NA	NA	10.5	220
1989	5	6	10	193	219	133	1.0	2.7	4.4	6	10.3	225
1990	NA	NA	12	199	217	125	1.0	NA	NA	NA	12.0	218
1991	NA	NA	12	198	208	97	1.0	NA	NA	NA	11.7	203
1992	7 E	7 E	11	222	227	98	1.0	3.3	7.6	7	10.5	217
1993	NA	NA	11	227	227	NA	1.1	NA	NA	NA	10.3	212
<b>Ivory Coast</b>												
1983	74 E	105 E	8	5806	8224	NA	9.5	1.3	NA	11	0.8	869
1984	83	113	8	6163	8358	NA	9.8	1.3	NA	11	.8	849
1985	83	108	8	6676	8736	NA	10.7	1.2	NA	11	.8	853
1986	98 E	125 E	8	6855	8734	NA	10.7	1.4	NA	12	.8	820
1987	135	167	8	7255	8959	NA	11.1	1.9	NA	15	.7	809
1988	155	184	8	7329	8715	NA	11.5	2.1	NA	16	.7	757
1989	115	131	8	7401	8421	NA	11.9	1.6	NA	11	.7	705
1990	126	137	15	7419	8090	NA	12.4	1.7	NA	11	1.2	652
1991	123	129	15	7613	7996	NA	12.9	1.6	NA	10	1.2	622
1992	134	137	15	7817	7987	NA	13.3	1.7	NA	10	1.1	599
1993	NA	NA	15	7851	7851	NA	13.8	NA	NA	NA	1.1	569

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE)	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	
	Million dollars			Million dollars									Million dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993								Constant 1993
<b>Kenya</b>													
1983	95	135	18	2670	3782	1004	18.7	3.6	13.5	7	1.0	202	
1984	92	125	19	2829	3836	1001	19.4	3.2	12.4	6	1.0	197	
1985	71	92	19	3054	3996	1095	20.0	2.3	8.4	5	.9	198	
1986	76	96	20	3361	4282	1106	21.0	2.2	8.7	5	1.0	204	
1987	97	120	21	3666	4527	1344	21.8	2.6	8.9	6	.9	208	
1988	136	162	20	4025	4786	1336	22.6	3.4	12.1	7	.9	212	
1989	116 E	132 E	20	4412	5020	1608	23.4	2.6	8.2	6	.8	215	
1990	138	150	20	4747	5177	1534	24.2	2.9	9.8	6	.8	214	
1991	143	150	20	4968	5217	1635	25.1	2.9	9.2	6	.8	208	
1992	173 E	177 E	24	5105	5216	1607 E	26.2	3.4	11.0	7	.9	199	
1993	179 E	179 E	24	5172	5172	2054 E	27.4	3.5	8.7	7	.9	189	
<b>Lesotho</b>													
1983	22	31	2	677	960	230	1.5	3.2	13.3	21	1.4	659	
1984	53	71	2	730	990	265	1.5	7.2	26.9	48	1.0	662	
1985	NA	NA	2	733	959	243	1.5	NA	NA	NA	1.0	624	
1986	39	50	2	742	945	NA	1.6	5.3	NA	32	1.3	599	
1987	NA	NA	2	770	951	341	1.6	NA	NA	NA	1.2	587	
1988	NA	NA	2	818	973	339	1.7	NA	NA	NA	1.2	585	
1989	36	41	2	968	1102	386	1.7	3.7	10.7	24	1.2	644	
1990	59 E	64 E	2	1113	1214	375	1.8	5.3	17.1	36	1.1	691	
1991	NA	NA	2	1115	1171	379	1.8	NA	NA	NA	1.1	650	
1992	37	38	2	1131	1156	NA	1.8	3.3	NA	20	1.1	625	
1993	NA	NA	2	1224	1224	348	1.9	NA	NA	NA	1.1	646	
<b>Liberia</b>													
1983	35	50	5	1257	1781	672	2.1	2.8	7.5	24	2.4	851	
1984	29	40	6	1267	1718	564	2.2	2.3	7.0	18	2.8	795	
1985	37	48	6	1375	1800	552	2.2	2.7	8.8	22	2.7	806	
1986	48 E	61 E	6	1375	1752	514	2.3	3.5	11.8	26	2.6	759	
1987	53 E	65 E	6	1405	1735	461	2.4	3.8	14.2	27	2.5	727	
1988	56 E	67 E	7	NA	NA	NA	2.5	NA	NA	27	2.8	NA	
1989	NA	NA	7	NA	NA	NA	2.6	NA	NA	NA	2.7	NA	
1990	NA	NA	8	NA	NA	NA	2.3	NA	NA	NA	3.5	NA	
1991	NA	NA	5	NA	NA	NA	2.1	NA	NA	NA	2.4	NA	
1992	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	2.5	NA	NA	NA	.8	NA	
1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2.9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
<b>Madagascar</b>													
1983	36 E	51 E	29	2015	2855	500 E	9.5	1.8	10.2	5	3.1	301	
1984	44 E	60 E	28	2102	2851	585 E	9.8	2.1	10.3	6	2.9	291	
1985	43 E	56 E	27	2215	2898	705 E	10.1	1.9	8.0	6	2.7	287	
1986	44 E	56 E	26	2312	2946	684 E	10.4	1.9	8.2	5	2.5	283	
1987	44 E	54 E	26	2365	2921	NA	10.7	1.9	NA	5	2.4	272	
1988	39 E	46 E	21	2528	3006	560	11.1	1.5	8.2	4	1.9	271	
1989	38	43	21	2744	3122	573	11.4	1.4	7.5	4	1.8	273	
1990	37	41	21	3031	3306	491	11.8	1.2	8.2	3	1.8	280	
1991	35	37	21	2915	3061	492	12.2	1.2	7.5	3	1.7	251	
1992	34 E	35 E	21	3085	3152	NA	12.6	1.1	NA	3	1.7	250	
1993	36 E	36 E	21	3237	3237	NA	13.0	1.1	NA	3	1.6	249	

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YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993							
<b>Malawi</b>												
1983	19	27	6	1002	1420	430	6.7	1.9	6.2	4	0.9	212
1984	18	25	6	1110	1506	434	6.9	1.7	5.7	4	.9	218
1985	24	31	6	1204	1576	530	7.1	2.0	5.8	4	.8	221
1986	29	37	7	1231	1568	563	7.4	2.4	6.6	5	.9	212
1987	25	30	7	1298	1603	549	7.9	1.9	5.6	4	.9	204
1988	23	27	7	1399	1664	512	8.4	1.6	5.3	3	.8	199
1989	24	28	7	1545	1758	478	8.8	1.6	5.8	3	.8	199
1990	21 E	23 E	7	1700	1854	487	9.3	1.2	4.8	2	.8	200
1991	21 E	22 E	8	1887	1982	509 E	9.6	1.1	4.4	2	.8	206
1992	21 E	21 E	10	1942	1984	NA	9.8	1.1	NA	2	1.0	202
1993	21 E	21 E	10	1988	1988	NA	9.8	1.0	NA	2	1.0	202
<b>Mali</b>												
1983	33	46	8	1281	1814	586	7.1	2.5	7.9	6	1.1	255
1984	34	46	8	1380	1871	588	7.2	2.4	7.8	6	1.1	258
1985	36	47	8	1467	1920	579	7.4	2.4	8.1	6	1.1	259
1986	39	49	8	1716	2187	607	7.6	2.3	8.1	7	1.1	289
1987	42	52	8	1824	2253	613	7.7	2.3	8.4	7	1.0	291
1988	43	51	8	1780	2117	646	7.9	2.4	7.9	6	1.0	269
1989	47	54	8	2144	2439	626 E	8.1	2.2	8.6	7	.9	303
1990	NA	NA	13	2389	2605	NA	8.2	NA	NA	NA	1.6	316
1991	NA	NA	13	2395	2515	NA	8.4	NA	NA	NA	1.5	298
1992	61 E	62 E	12	2547	2602	658 E	8.6	2.4	9.4	7	1.4	301
1993	58 E	58 E	12	2636	2636	NA	8.9	2.2	NA	6	1.4	297
<b>Mauritania</b>												
1983	34	48	16	524	743	230	1.6	6.5	20.9	30	10.2	471
1984	NA	NA	16	527	714	NA	1.6	NA	NA	NA	9.9	441
1985	38 E	50 E	16	552	722	198 E	1.7	6.9	25.0	30	9.6	433
1986	35	44	16	592	754	NA	1.7	5.9	NA	26	9.3	440
1987	28	34	16	624	771	NA	1.8	4.4	NA	19	9.1	436
1988	NA	NA	14	667	793	NA	1.8	NA	NA	NA	7.4	436
1989	33	37	16	741	843	232	1.9	4.4	15.9	20	8.6	449
1990	32 E	35 E	17	762	831	NA	1.9	4.2	NA	18	8.8	430
1991	30 E	32 E	17	815	856	NA	2.0	3.7	NA	16	8.5	429
1992	37 E	38 E	16	850	869	NA	2.1	4.4	NA	19	7.8	422
1993	37 E	37 E	16	899	899	NA	2.1	4.1	NA	18	7.5	423
<b>Mauritius</b>												
1983	3	4	1	1114	1579	509	1.0	0.3	0.8	4	1.0	1575
1984	3	4	1	1213	1644	472	1.0	.3	.9	4	1.0	1625
1985	3	4	1	1346	1761	480	1.0	.2	.8	4	1.0	1723
1986	3	4	1	1519	1935	480	1.0	.2	.8	4	1.0	1874
1987	3	4	1	1754	2166	502	1.0	.2	.8	4	1.0	2078
1988	4	5	1	1948	2316	561	1.1	.2	.8	4	1.0	2201
1989	5	6	1	2160	2458	630	1.1	.2	.9	5	.9	2313
1990	8	8	1	2415	2634	640	1.1	.3	1.3	8	.9	2463
1991	9	10	1	2645	2778	661	1.1	.4	1.5	9	.9	2561
1992	11	11	1	2891	2954	726	1.1	.4	1.5	10	.9	2695
1993	11	11	1	3104	3104	702	1.1	.4	1.6	10	.9	2805

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME) Million dollars		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) Million dollars		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME	ME	ME	ARMED FORCES PER 1,000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP	
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993			Constant 1993	%	%		Constant 1993 dollars	Constant 1993 dollars
Mozambique													
1983	NA	NA	32	630	892	NA	13.1	NA	NA	NA	2.4	68	
1984	NA	NA	34	628	851	NA	13.4	NA	NA	NA	2.5	63	
1985	64	83	35	643	841E	219	13.8	9.9	38.0	6	2.5	61	
1986	NA	NA	65	622	793	NA	14.1	NA	NA	NA	4.6	56	
1987	61	75	65	673	832	216	14.1	9.0	34.6	5	4.6	59	
1988	73	87	65	784	932	214	14.0	9.3	40.7	6	4.6	66	
1989	81	92	65	839	955	NA	14.2	9.6	NA	7	4.6	67	
1990	84	92	65	932	1017	NA	14.4	9.0	NA	6	4.5	70	
1991	116	121	65	1009	1060	NA	14.8	11.5	NA	8	4.4	71	
1992	95 E	98 E	50	969	990	NA	15.5	9.9	NA	6	3.2	64	
1993	91	91	50	1206	1206	NA	16.3	7.6	NA	6	3.1	74	
Namibia													
1990	42	46	NA	2025	2209	849	1.4	2.1	5.4	33	NA	1592	
1991	64 E	67 E	8	2173	2283	1024	1.4	3.0	6.6	47	5.6	1588	
1992	63 E	65 E	8	2435	2488	1148 E	1.5	2.6	5.6	43	5.4	1671	
1993	57	57	8	2496	2496	1050 E	1.5	2.3	5.4	37	5.2	1619	
Niger													
1983	11 E	16 E	5	1659	2351	387 E	6.3	0.7	4.1	3	0.8	375	
1984	10 E	14 E	5	1437	1948	336 E	6.5	.7	4.2	2	.8	301	
1985	13 E	17 E	5	1538	2012	337 E	6.7	.8	5.0	3	.7	301	
1986	13 E	17 E	4	1687	2150	NA	6.9	.8	NA	2	.6	311	
1987	NA	NA	5	1694	2092	422	7.2	NA	NA	NA	.7	293	
1988	18	21	4	1845	2194	505	7.4	1.0	4.2	3	.6	297	
1989	23	26	4	1869	2126	NA	7.6	1.2	NA	3	.5	279	
1990	NA	NA	5	2079	2267	455	7.9	NA	NA	NA	.6	288	
1991	29	30	5	2203	2313	359 E	8.1	1.3	8.4	4	.6	286	
1992	28 E	29 E	5	2117	2163	414 E	8.4	1.3	7.0	3	.6	258	
1993	32 E	32 E	5	2193	2193	NA	8.7	1.5	NA	4	.6	253	
Nigeria													
1983	292	413	144	14990	21240	3715	71.2	1.9	11.1	6	2.0	298	
1984	267	362	144	14230	19300	3197	72.6	1.9	11.3	5	2.0	266	
1985	235	307	134	15790	20660	3258	74.7	1.5	9.4	4	1.8	277	
1986	206	262	138	16930	21570	4867	76.6	1.2	5.4	3	1.8	282	
1987	147 E	181 E	138	17760	21930	6075	78.9	.8	3.0	2	1.7	278	
1988	197 E	234 E	107	20500	24380	7307	81.3	1.0	3.2	3	1.3	300	
1989	NA	NA	107	23160	26350	5033	83.9	NA	NA	NA	1.3	314	
1990	214 E	233 E	94	25280	27560	6853 E	86.6	.8	3.4	3	1.1	318	
1991	218	229	94	28390	29820	NA	89.3	.8	NA	3	1.1	334	
1992	189	193	76	30390	31060	11980 E	92.1	.6	1.6	2	.8	337	
1993	210	210	76	32300	32300	7881 E	95.1	.6	2.7	2	.8	340	

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YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993							
Rwanda												
1983	23	33	5	1052	1491	236	5.8	2.2	14.0	6	0.9	257
1984	NA	NA	5	1053	1429	NA	6.0	NA	NA	NA	.8	237
1985	20 E	26	5	1140	1491	275 E	6.2	1.7	9.4	4	.8	239
1986	NA	NA	5	1234	1572	NA	6.5	NA	NA	NA	.8	243
1987	26	32	5	1268	1566	271	6.7	2.1	12.0	5	.7	234
1988	23 E	27 E	5	1324	1575	271	6.9	1.7	10.0	4	.7	227
1989	22 E	25 E	6	1388	1579	313	7.2	1.6	8.0	3	.8	220
1990	24 E	26 E	6	1459	1591	351	7.4	1.6	7.4	4	.8	215
1991	107 E	113 E	30	1483	1558	363	7.7	7.2	31.1	15	3.9	203
1992	111 E	114 E	30	1561	1595	414	7.9	7.1	27.5	14	3.8	202
1993	114 E	114 E	30	1435	1435	474 E	8.1	8.0	24.1	14	3.7	176
Sao Tome and Principe												
1983	NA	NA	2	84	119	NA	0.1	NA	NA	NA	19.6	1171
1984	NA	NA	2	85	116	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	19.1	1105
1985	NA	NA	2	86	113	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	18.6	1044
1986	NA	NA	1	88	113	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	9.0	1017
1987	NA	NA	1	90	111	31	.1	NA	NA	NA	8.8	979
1988	NA	NA	1	95	113	17	.1	NA	NA	NA	8.6	967
1989	NA	NA	1	103	117	18	.1	NA	NA	NA	8.3	978
1990	NA	NA	1	105	114	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	8.1	928
1991	NA	NA	1	111	116	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	7.9	921
1992	NA	NA	1	114	116	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	7.7	896
1993	NA	NA	1	118	118	NA	.1	NA	NA	NA	7.5	889
Senegal												
1983	88	125	18	3287	4657	1298	6.3	2.7	9.6	20	2.9	744
1984	88 E	119 E	18	3251	4408	1368	6.4	2.7	8.7	18	2.8	684
1985	96	126	18	3491	4568	1425 E	6.6	2.8	8.8	19	2.7	688
1986	100 E	128 E	18	3765	4797	1713 E	6.8	2.7	7.5	19	2.6	702
1987	89 E	110 E	18	4034	4981	1645 E	7.0	2.2	6.7	16	2.6	707
1988	91 E	108 E	14	4409	5243	1783	7.3	2.1	6.1	15	2.0	722
1989	93 E	106 E	15	4624	5262	1677	7.5	2.0	6.3	14	1.9	703
1990	100 E	109 E	18	5004	5456	NA	7.7	2.0	NA	14	2.3	707
1991	102 E	107 E	18	5268	5533	NA	8.0	1.9	NA	13	2.3	695
1992	151 E	155 E	18	5582	5704	1126 E	8.2	2.7	13.7	19	2.2	695
1993	134 E	134 E	18	5580	5580	NA	8.5	2.4	NA	16	2.1	659
Sierra Leone												
1983	4	5	6	389	552	133	3.5	1.0	4.0	1	1.7	156
1984	3	4	4	420	570	101	3.6	.7	4.2	1	1.1	158
1985	3 E	4 E	4	411	538	82	3.7	.8	5.0	1	1.1	146
1986	NA	NA	4	416	530	56	3.8	NA	NA	NA	1.1	140
1987	4 E	5 E	6	454	561	159	3.9	.8	2.9	1	1.6	145
1988	3 E	4 E	4	484	576	96	4.0	.7	4.0	1	1.0	145
1989	NA	NA	4	518	589	97	4.1	NA	NA	NA	1.0	145
1990	6	7	5	560	611	67 E	4.2	1.1	9.9	2	1.2	144
1991	16 E	17 E	5	596	626	137 E	4.4	2.7	12.3	4	1.1	142
1992	15 E	15 E	6	587	599	122 E	4.5	2.5	12.5	3	1.3	134
1993	14 E	14 E	6	604	604	NA	4.5	2.2	NA	3	1.3	134

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE)	PEOPLE	ME		ME PER CAPITA	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE	GNP PER CAPITA		
	Million dollars			Million dollars				Million dollars	GNP				CGE	Constant 1993 dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Thousands	Current			Constant 1993	Constant 1993				%	
Somalia														
	E	E												
1983	23	32	48	610	864	142	6.0	3.7	22.7	5	8.0	143		
1984	19	26	43	628	852	94	6.2	3.0	27.5	4	6.9	136		
1985	NA	NA	43	704	921	NA	6.5	NA	NA	NA	6.6	142		
1986	23	30	50	737	939	100 E	6.8	3.2	30.0	4	7.4	139		
1987	NA	NA	50	811	1002	NA	7.0	NA	NA	NA	7.1	143		
1988	NA	NA	47	833	991	NA	7.0	NA	NA	NA	6.7	141		
1989	12	13	47	862	981	NA	6.9	1.3	NA	2	6.8	142		
1990	8	8	47	869	948	NA	6.8	.9	NA	1	7.0	140		
1991	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
1992	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
1993	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
South Africa														
1983	3266 E	4627 E	77	68630	97210	29600	32.8	4.8	15.6	141	2.3	2962		
1984	3161 E	4287 E	97	75570	102500	31640	33.7	4.2	13.5	127	2.9	3039		
1985	2940	3847	95	77500	101400	33210	34.6	3.8	11.6	111	2.7	2927		
1986	3114	3967	90	79430	101200	34460	35.6	3.9	11.5	112	2.5	2845		
1987	3721 E	4595 E	102	84440	104300	36660	36.5	4.4	12.5	126	2.8	2856		
1988	3970	4721	100	92070	109500	37370	37.5	4.3	12.6	126	2.7	2920		
1989	4340	4938	100	97960	111500	36770	38.5	4.4	13.4	128	2.6	2895		
1990	4446 E	4848 E	85	100300	109400	38420	39.5	4.4	12.6	123	2.1	2767		
1991	3840 E	4033 E	80	104500	109700	34490	40.6	3.7	11.7	99	2.0	2703		
1992	3236	3306	72	105000	107300	35900	41.7	3.1	9.2	79	1.7	2573		
1993	2896 E	2896 E	72	108700	108700	35320 E	42.8	2.7	8.2	68	1.7	2540		
Sudan														
	E	E				E								
1983	78	110	86	3368	4772	NA	21.8	2.3	NA	5	4.0	219		
1984	103	140	65	3202	4342	NA	22.6	3.2	NA	6	2.9	193		
1985	101	132	65	3144	4113	NA	23.5	3.2	NA	6	2.8	175		
1986	91	116	59	3390	4319	NA	24.2	2.7	NA	5	2.4	178		
1987	145	179	59	3652	4510	NA	24.8	4.0	NA	7	2.4	182		
1988	187	223	65	3592	4272	NA	25.2	5.2	NA	9	2.6	170		
1989	224	255	65	4070	4631	414	25.8	5.5	61.5	10	2.5	180		
1990	171	187	65	4247	4631	NA	26.5	4.0	NA	7	2.4	174		
1991	465	488	65	4502	4728	278	27.4	10.3	175.4	18	2.4	173		
1992	882	901	82	5159	5272	NA	28.1	17.1	NA	32	2.9	188		
1993	NA	NA	82	5641 E	5641 E	NA	28.7	NA	NA	NA	2.9	196		
Swaziland														
1983	7	10	3	370	524	163	0.7	1.9	6.0	15	4.5	792		
1984	7	9	3	414	561	160	.7	1.6	5.6	13	4.4	823		
1985	7	9	3	451	590	180	.7	1.6	5.2	13	4.3	838		
1986	8	10	3	505	644	186	.7	1.6	5.4	14	4.1	884		
1987	8	10	3	588	726	195	.8	1.4	5.0	13	3.9	952		
1988	8	10	3	681	810	184	.8	1.2	5.3	12	3.8	1027		
1989	9	10	4	667	759	221	.8	1.3	4.5	12	4.9	933		
1990	14	15	3	805	877	286	.9	1.7	5.2	18	3.5	1029		
1991	12	13	3	864	907	309 E	.9	1.4	4.2	15	3.4	1026		
1992	16	16	3	857	876	NA	.9	1.9	NA	18	3.3	978		
1993	21 E	21 E	3	892	892	NA	.9	2.4	NA	23	3.3	984		

YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE)	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	
	Million dollars			Million dollars									Million dollars
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993								Constant 1993
Tanzania													
1983	42	59	43	1144	1621	438	20.4	3.6	13.5	3	2.1	79	
1984	39	52	43	1250	1695	390	21.0	3.1	13.4	2	2.0	81	
1985	40	52	43	1299	1700	404	21.7	3.1	12.8	2	2.0	78	
1986	NA	NA	40	1379	1757	356	22.3	NA	NA	NA	1.8	79	
1987	47	59	40	1447	1787	397	23.0	3.3	14.8	3	1.7	78	
1988	56	67	40	1598	1900	458	23.8	3.5	14.6	3	1.7	80	
1989	74	84	40	1782	2027	569	24.5	4.2	14.8	3	1.6	83	
1990	93	101	40	1958	2135	648	25.2	4.7	15.6	4	1.6	85	
1991	NA	NA	40	2109	2215	701	25.9	NA	NA	NA	1.5	86	
1992	94	96	46	2228	2277	779	26.6	4.2	12.3	4	1.7	86	
1993	90	90	46	2349	2349	NA	27.3	3.8	NA	3	1.7	86	
Togo													
1983	20	28	6	865	1225	407	2.9	2.3	6.8	10	2.1	427	
1984	22	30	7	953	1293	482	3.0	2.3	6.2	10	2.4	435	
1985	27	36	7	1038	1358	520	3.1	2.6	6.9	12	2.3	442	
1986	32	41	7	1102	1404	546	3.2	2.9	7.6	13	2.2	441	
1987	41	51	8	1147	1416	460	3.3	3.6	11.1	16	2.4	429	
1988	NA	NA	6	1275	1516	334 E	3.4	NA	NA	NA	1.7	443	
1989	46 E	52 E	6	1394	1586	320 E	3.5	3.3	16.3	15	1.7	447	
1990	46 E	50 E	8	1468	1601	362 E	3.7	3.1	13.8	14	2.2	435	
1991	45 E	47 E	8	1510	1586	408 E	3.8	3.0	11.7	12	2.1	416	
1992	43 E	44 E	6	1405	1435	NA	4.0	3.1	NA	11	1.5	363	
1993	48 E	48 E	6	1240	1240	NA	4.1	3.9	NA	12	1.5	302	
Uganda													
1983	37	53	13	1946	2756	370	13.3	1.9	14.3	4	1.0	208	
1984	36	48	15	1948	2642	290	13.7	1.8	16.6	4	1.1	193	
1985	27	35	15	2034	2662	223	14.2	1.3	15.6	2	1.1	188	
1986	39	50	15	2130	2714	202	14.7	1.8	24.7	3	1.0	185	
1987	75	93	25	2343	2893	147	15.2	3.2	63.2	6	1.6	190	
1988	35	42	35	2628	3125	165	15.8	1.3	25.4	3	2.2	197	
1989	46	52	40	2935	3340	204	16.4	1.6	25.8	3	2.4	204	
1990	64	70	60	3187	3475	373	16.9	2.0	18.8	4	3.5	205	
1991	91	96	60	3424	3596	602	17.4	2.7	15.9	5	3.4	206	
1992	64	65	70	3630	3709	584	18.0	1.8	11.1	4	3.9	206	
1993	54	54	70	3969	3969	609 E	18.6	1.4	8.8	3	3.8	214	
Zaire													
1983	NA	NA	42	5855	8293	944	30.5	NA	NA	NA	1.4	272	
1984	118	160	60	6244	8468	1172	31.3	1.9	13.6	5	1.9	271	
1985	78	102	62	6380	8348	1042	32.3	1.2	9.8	3	1.9	259	
1986	159	203	53	7038	8967	1114	33.3	2.3	18.2	6	1.6	269	
1987	NA	NA	53	7532	9301	NA	34.4	NA	NA	NA	1.5	270	
1988	225	268	51	7927	9426	2014	35.5	2.8	13.3	8	1.4	265	
1989	NA	NA	51	8144	9266	1380	36.7	NA	NA	NA	1.4	253	
1990	NA	NA	55	8180	8920	2180	37.9	NA	NA	NA	1.5	235	
1991	NA	NA	60	8125 E	8533 E	1858	39.1	NA	NA	NA	1.5	218	
1992	NA	NA	55	NA	NA	NA	40.2	NA	NA	NA	1.4	NA	
1993	NA	NA	55	NA	NA	NA	41.3	NA	NA	NA	1.3	NA	

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YEAR	MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ME)		ARMED FORCES Thousands	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP)		CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (CGE) Million dollars	PEOPLE Millions	ME GNP %	ME CGE %	ME PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars	ARMED FORCES PER 1000 PEOPLE Soldiers	GNP PER CAPITA Constant 1993 dollars
	Million dollars			Million dollars								
	Current	Constant 1993		Current	Constant 1993							
Zambia												
	E	E										
1983	NA	NA	16	1976	2799	1010	6.3	NA	NA	NA	2.5	442
1984	135	183	16	2003	2717	933	6.6	6.7	19.6	28	2.4	412
1985	NA	NA	16	2099	2747	1145	6.8	NA	NA	NA	2.3	401
1986	NA	NA	17	1996	2543	1423	7.1	NA	NA	NA	2.4	357
1987	NA	NA	17	2171	2681	1108	7.4	NA	NA	NA	2.3	361
1988	69	83	17	2584	3073	1048	7.7	2.7	7.9	11	2.2	399
1989	88	100	17	2859	3253	699	8.0	3.1	14.4	13	2.1	409
1990	77	84	16	2905	3168	NA	8.2	2.7	NA	10	1.9	385
1991	NA	NA	16	NA	NA	NA	8.5	NA	NA	NA	1.9	NA
1992	45	46	16	NA	NA	NA	8.7	NA	NA	5	1.8	NA
1993	56	56	16	NA	NA	NA	8.9	NA	NA	6	1.8	NA
Zimbabwe												
1983	202	286	46	3210	4547	1714	8.1	6.3	16.7	35	5.7	563
1984	222	302	46	3343	4533	2013	8.4	6.7	15.0	36	5.5	542
1985	210	275	46	3661	4790	1903	8.7	5.7	14.4	32	5.3	553
1986	238	303	45	3744	4770	1940	9.0	6.4	15.6	34	5.0	532
1987	293	362	45	3887	4800	2243	9.3	7.5	16.1	39	4.8	516
1988	273	324	45	4317	5134	2168	9.6	6.3	15.0	34	4.7	533
1989	302	343	51	4700	5347	2295	9.9	6.4	15.0	35	5.1	539
1990	266	290	45	5067	5526	2225 E	10.2	5.2	13.0	28	4.4	542
1991	294 E	309 E	45	5477	5753	2211 E	10.4	5.4	14.0	30	4.3	551
1992	249 E	255 E	48	5168	5280	1622 E	10.7	4.8	15.7	24	4.5	495
1993	231 E	231 E	48	5392	5392	1542 E	10.8	4.3	15.0	21	4.4	498

E Estimate based on partial or uncertain data. NA Not available. 0 Nil or negligible.

Source: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1993-1994*. February 1995.

g/ "Subsaharan Africa" here includes South Africa; in the cited source it is excluded from that grouping. Also, in order to reduce distortions caused by data gaps for individual countries and years (shown as "NA"), the total for "Subsaharan Africa" includes rough approximations for the gaps.

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