Contents

List	ist of Tables and Figures					
List	List of Abbreviations and Acronyms					
I	Int	troduction	17			
II	Ea	ast Africa: Uganda, Tanzania and Zanzibar				
	1	Overview	25			
	2	Uganda	26			
		2.1 General overview and pre-independence period	26			
		2.2 1962-1971: Severe conflicts and violence during the first Obote				
		Presidency	30			
		2.3 1971-1979: Large-scale state repression and general insecurity				
		under Amin	33			
		2.4 1979-1986: Changing presidents and large-scale civil war	37			
		2.5 1986-present: Under Museveni, absence of large-scale violence				
		nationally, continuation of violence in northern Uganda	41			
		2.6 Summary	50			
	3	Tanzania	51			
		3.1 General overview and pre-independence period	51			
		3.2 1961-1967: Consolidation of the state's political authority and				
		control	55			
		3.3 1967-1992: Socialist transformation of society, partly through state				
		coercion	56			
		3.4 1992-present: Largely non-violent conflicts within multi-party				
		system	59			
		3.5 Summary	61			
	4	Zanzibar	62			
		4.1 General overview and pre-independence period	62			
		4.2 The 1964 Revolution	67			
		4.3 1964-1992: State repression in a one-party system	67			
		4.4 1992-present: Political liberalization and small-scale violence	70			
		4.5 Summary	73			
	5	Comparative summary, and selected pairs of observations	73			
Ш						
		rica	77			
	1	Lack of democracy	77			
	2	Identity conflict and horizontal inequalities	84			
	3	Conclusions	92			

IV	The Collier/Hoeffler model and its application to East Africa		95			
	1 2	The Collier/Hoeffler model and theory Application of the model to East Africa	95 97			
	2	2.1 Applying the model to the post-independence period	98			
	3	2.2 Applying individual greed variables (focus on 1980 to 1984) Conclusions	102			
	3	Conclusions	118			
\mathbf{V}	A modified, rational-choice framework to explain East African variation					
		violence	121			
	1	Theoretical framework	121			
		1.1 Peace results from 'stationary banditry' as opposed to social				
		contracts	122			
		1.2 Small, identity-based elite groups facilitate stationary banditry	127			
		1.3 Different pathways to identity-based stationary banditry	133			
		1.4 Summary: A preponderant, identity-based elite contributes to peace	137			
	2	Application of modified, rational-choice framework to East African				
		variation in large-scale violence	138			
		2.1 Uganda before Museveni	139			
		2.2 Museveni's Uganda	148			
		2.3 Northern Uganda after 1986	158			
		2.4 Tanzania	164			
		2.5 Zanzibar	183			
	3	Conclusions	192			
VI	Future scenarios and policy implications					
	1	Uganda	195			
	2	Tanzania	203			
	3	Zanzibar	208			
VII	Fir	nal conclusions	217			
Post	Postscriptum					
Bibl	Bibliography					
Ann	Annex: Interviewees					