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to the government payroll annually. By 1978, the bureaucracy had swelled to 1.9 million souls, with another 1.3 million employed in government-owned corporations. [Egypt's 1979 population: 41 million.]

Overstaffing has reached monumental proportions: The Central Auditing Agency, for example, has no fewer than 72 undersecretaries of state. Other "bureaupathologies," Ayubi notes, include inefficiency and poor performance. Only 15 percent of government employees regularly report to work on time. Cabinet ministers, whose tenures average only 18 months, seldom gain control over their departments.

Some civil servants—teachers, policemen, staffers in prestigious ministries—do work hard, Ayubi notes. But spreading limited funds throughout the bureaucracy keeps salaries low. Annual inflation averaging 30 percent exacerbates the problem. Corruption is common.

The bureaucracy has been mushrooming ever since the 1952 revolution. Egypt's leaders have regularly sought reforms—in vain. Refusing to guarantee jobs for the educated would create a politically formidable disaffected group; hiring them deepens Egypt's bureaupathologies and makes the country less attractive to foreign investors.

The situation has its comic touches: Work schedules are so lax that rush hour occurs not in the morning or evening, but in the middle of the day, when "most people are either going to or coming from their offices." But it is a demoralizing problem that President Hosni Mubarak's government will have to solve.

Why African Nations Don't Go Under

"Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood" by Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, in *World Politics* (Oct. 1982), Princeton Univ. Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648.

Despite war, civil strife, and weak governments, none of the 40-odd (depending on how they are counted) nations of black Africa has disintegrated or even lost significant territory. The explanation, argue Jackson and Rosberg, political scientists at the universities of British Columbia and California at Berkeley, respectively, lies in the force of international organizations and homemade rules.

Black Africa's states appear ripe for catastrophe. Deep ethnic divisions have sparked civil disorders or wars in 10 nations since 1956. Forty-one governments in 22 countries fell victim to military coups between 1958 and 1981. The chronic weakness and inefficiency of these national governments also characterize their military forces. In 1981, the authors say, the governments of Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, and Uganda could not claim a "monopoly of force" inside their own borders.

Jackson and Rosberg trace the instability of today's black African states to the late 19th century, when European colonialists carved up the continent without regard to existing kingdoms. But the new African

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Direct foreign intervention in sub-Saharan Africa is rare. But in the late 1970s, Cuba dispatched some 40,000 troops to Angola and Ethiopia; French troops were sent to former colonies in 1964 and 1979.

nations accepted the arbitrary boundaries as they began to achieve independence during the late 1950s, making such recognition a cornerstone of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in May 1963. Indeed, when in 1960 the old African kingdom of Buganda declared its independence from Uganda, then a British colony, all other states refused it diplomatic recognition.

In part, pan-African ideology, which calls for a united front against colonialism and white rule, kept (and keeps) the new rulers from serious quarrels among themselves. Fear also played a role: Because each ruler was weak, each had a stake in abiding by OAU rules. With a few exceptions—notably, Tanzania's 1978–79 war against Uganda's Idi Amin and Somalia's attacks on Ethiopia—the OAU has successfully mediated most of the disputes among its members.

Pressure from the United Nations and other international organizations, meanwhile, keeps intervention by outsiders to a minimum. While French, Cuban, and Soviet forces have been active on the continent, the authors argue, most foreign involvement comes "in response to solicitations by African governments or revolutionary movements fighting against colonial or white minority regimes."

Jackson and Rosberg call the survival of black Africa's states "an international achievement." Yet survival has not ended the perpetuation of incompetent or corrupt governments.