

Notes

1 Introduction

1. While Liberia became independent in 1847 and South Africa in 1910 (Ethiopia, while never colonized, broke free from a brief Italian invasion in 1941), a wave of independence movements from British, French, Belgian, and Spanish rule began with Sudan in 1956, Ghana in 1957, and continued through the 1970s. In the 1970s, several countries also achieved independence from Portugal. The most recent nations to achieve independence were Zimbabwe in 1980, Namibia in 1990, Eritrea in 1993, and South Sudan in 2011.
2. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is characterized as a long-range investment by a foreign direct investor in an enterprise resident in an economy other than that in which the foreign direct investor is based. The Foreign Direct Investment interrelation, consists of a parent enterprise and a foreign affiliate which together form a transnational corporation (TNC). In order to qualify as Foreign Direct Investment the investment must afford the parent enterprise control over its foreign affiliate. The UN defines control in this case as owning 10% or more of the ordinary shares or voting power of an incorporated firm or its equivalent for an unincorporated firm. (<http://www.investmentsandincome.com/investments/foreign-direct-investments.html>)
3. One reason a more comprehensive picture is difficult to provide is that while US Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) statistics on FDI in Africa are broken down by country, in the BEA database many Africa entries have suppressed data, in order to prevent revelations of company-specific data.
4. Greenfield Investments means the expansion of existing facilities or a direct investment in new facilities (in an area where no previous facilities exist)...Greenfield investments are the primary objective of a host nation's promotional efforts, due to create new production capacity and jobs, transfer technology and know-how, and can lead to linkages to the global marketplace.

Mergers and Acquisitions [are] transfers of existing assets from local firms to foreign firms. (<http://www.investmentsandincome.com/investments/foreign-direct-investments.html>)

3 The Cold War and the creation of institutions promoting private investment

1. This critical contingent included Chester Bowles who advocated supporting self-determination, investing in economic development, and building understanding

between the United States and African nations to enable mutual economic self-interest for profitable relations in the future and as an alternative to socialist influence.

2. The Bureau of International Business provided assistance to American businesses interested in trade and investment opportunities. Both were linked to commercial attaches and economic staff in the Foreign Service, from which they received information. Within the Bureau of International Programs, the Program of African Affairs hired 15 professional economists and had three regional section chiefs with desk officers who were available to assist private businessmen personally while publishing useful information in the World Trade Information Service (Blankenheimer 1962).
3. All OPIC finance and insurance information is drawn from OPIC annual reports (1974–1988) and the author’s calculations are based on this data, unless otherwise indicated.
4. The Soviets were acting assertive in Africa and the Cubans had troops in Angola and Ethiopia.

4 Global Economic Competition in the Post–Cold War Era

1. The other nine emerging markets were the Chinese Economic area (China, Hong Kong, Taiwan), India, ASEAN, South Korea, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Poland, and Turkey.
2. According to Steger (2002), the term ‘anti-globalization movement’ was coined by a journalist and the movement embodied a wide variety of political economic attitudes and ideas.
3. For a discussion of the criticism of development assistance and USAID in particular see Butterfield 2004; Berríos 2000; and Lancaster 2008.
4. The total number refers to Foreign Economic Assistance programs for four major categories: child survival and disease assistance, development assistance, food assistance under 480 Title II, and agricultural commodity assistance under 480 Title III.
5. All OPIC finance and insurance information is drawn from OPIC annual reports (1989–2000) and the author’s calculations are based on this data, unless otherwise indicated.
6. See note 5.

5 George W. Bush and Africa in the New Millennium

1. In response to the US efforts to freeze Al Qaeda assets after the 1998 attacks on US embassies in Africa, Al Qaeda operatives in Liberia and Burkina Faso bought diamonds to hold terrorist assets, partially in exchange for weapons. These efforts were uncovered by a European investigation and disclosed in *The Washington Post* in November 2001, but stimulated little follow-up from the CIA.
2. The United States’ largest military base in the region was on the island of Diego Garcia. Although the United States did not have military bases in Africa at that time, it had agreements with African countries to use local bases and military facilities in Djibouti, Kenya, Ghana, Senegal, Gabon, Namibia, Uganda, Zambia, and Mali in Sub-Saharan Africa.

3. It also took over responsibility for the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) and the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI). In addition to this, AFRICOM would oversee 'train and equip' programs such as the International Military Education and Training; Foreign Military Financing; and Foreign Military Sales. Also, it would take part in security sector reform efforts.
4. Africa Action was created in 2001 from a merger of three long-standing Africa advocacy groups, working for 'political, economic and social justice in Africa' (<http://www.africaaction.org/index.php>).
5. The Africa Society of the National Summit, <http://www.africasummit.org/mission.html>.
6. The June 12, 2002 IASPS sponsored press conference was attended by Africa Subcommittee Chairman Ed Royce (R-CA), House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman Billy Tauzin (R-LA), House Republican Conference Chairman J.C. Watts (R-OK), and Rep. William Jefferson (D-LA).
7. The Foreign Assistance Budget was to call for US\$1.3 billion to MCA in 2004, US\$2.6 billion in 2005, and US\$5 billion annually after that.
8. The African Global Competitiveness Initiative is a USAID program to 'Improve the Policy, Regulatory, and Enforcement Environment for Private Sector-led Trade and Investment; Improve the Market Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities of Workers and Private Sector Enterprises; Increase Access to Financial Services For Trade and Investment; Facilitate Investment in Infrastructure' (USAID, 'African Global Competitiveness Initiative' July 19, 2005, http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/initiatives/agci.html).
9. Of the 37 beneficiaries of AGOA, most oil producers are included.
10. This immediately ruled out several countries on the continent, including Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa. Countries that came close included Mozambique and Burkina Faso. Kenya and Malawi were deemed too corrupt. Djibouti, Sao Tome and Principe, and Uganda scored too poorly on political rights and civil liberties.
11. All OPIC finance and insurance information is drawn from OPIC annual reports (2000–2008) and the author's calculations are based on this data, unless otherwise indicated.
12. The Clinton administration had closed the US embassy in 1996 and withdrawn their ambassador, in reaction to human rights abuses. The last ambassador, John F. Bennet was also accused of practicing witchcraft and in his farewell address named the government's most notorious torturers.
13. The Kimberley Process is a multilateral effort to use certification of diamonds to try to prevent 'conflict diamonds', those used by rebels to fuel conflict, from entering the international market. According to Global Witness, the Kimberley Process was successful in developing a ground-breaking 'tripartite approach to solving international problems' and it did have a positive impact on some of the countries that were most affected by 'diamond-fueled wars' but it has not successfully addressed the cases of Zimbabwe, Cote d'Ivoire, and Venezuela (<http://www.globalwitness.org/campaigns/conflict/conflict-diamonds/kimberley-process>).

6 The Obama Administration in a Multipolar World

1. The congressional leaders on Africa legislation were Donald M. Payne (D-NJ), chair of the House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations between 2009 and 2010; and Christopher

- H. Smith (R-NJ), chair since 2011; and in the Senate Chris Coons (D-DE), chair of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights, and Richard J. Durbin (D-IL).
2. The bill passed with the support of three Republican votes in the House and three Republican votes in the Senate.
 3. Double Taxation Treaties are conventions between two countries that aim to eliminate the double taxation of income or gains arising in one territory and paid to residents of another territory. They work by dividing the tax rights each country claims by its domestic laws over the same income and gains. (<http://www.icaew.com/en/library/subject-gateways/tax/double-tax-treaties>)
 4. The CCA's 2013 *Promoting Shared Interests: Policy Recommendations on Africa for the Second Term of the Obama Administration* calls for 'a more integrated economic strategy', a list of general recommendations calling for greater government assistance and increased consultation with the private sector, the establishment of a 'one-stop shop' that would make government agencies more accessible, a focus on improving infrastructure and power supply in Africa, and greater efforts on the part of both the administration and Congress. The policy recommendations are then broken down by sectors: trade, finance, information and communication technology, agricultural development and agribusiness, energy, health, infrastructure, capacity building, and security. The report is available at <http://www.africacncl.org>.
 5. See http://www.buyusainfo.net/adsearch.cfm?search_type=int&loadnav=no
 6. By 2013 48 African countries were receiving assistance although there were only 23 bilateral missions in country.
 7. A fund of funds is 'a mutual fund that invests in other mutual funds' (<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/fundsoffunds.asp>).
 8. Although the AGOA had bipartisan support, approval was delayed by one Democratic Senator and one Republican over issues unrelated to Africa (Elliott 2012).
 9. Although the use of BITs has grown rapidly and UNCTAD has made efforts to promote them, research has found no clear link between the passage of investment rules and economic growth. Alec Johnson (2010) argues that BITs have failed to attract investment to Africa because most investment is still in the extractive sector and these industries are the most vulnerable to price fluctuation.
 10. The Global Impact Investing Network is a nonprofit 'dedicated to increasing the scale and effectiveness of impact investing' (www.thegiin.org).
 11. For a list of MCC countries, see <http://www.mcc.gov/pages/countries/region/africa>.
 12. For all MCC projects, the metrics are clearly laid out from projected results to actual results with some program funding allocated for monitoring and evaluation and auditing.
 13. The initiative advertises its use of more than 12 US government agencies working together with the private sector and civil society in efforts to attract new sources of investment. The two-step process starts with 'joint analysis of constraints to growth' (also based on MCC diagnostics) and continues with 'development of joint country plans' with a focus on addressing 'constraints to growth' (MCC 2012).
 14. Multiple US agencies are involved in the program. In addition to the various development agencies, the Department of Agriculture Foreign Agricultural Service provides analysis of global trade information, assistance in negotiations, and

provision of food aid export service programs. The FAS has ten officers in Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Ethiopia, and Kenya to help 'beneficiary [AGOA] countries improve their regulatory environments and assist them in meeting US and international Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards to foster increased exports' (Schneidman and Lewis 2012, 16).

15. The foreign companies that had also committed to Power Africa were Heirs Holdings, an African proprietary investment company chaired by Tony Elumelu and investing US\$2.5 billion; Aldwych International, a British company investing US\$1.1 billion in wind power; Husk Power Systems an Indian company that committed to install 200 decentralized biomass-based mini power plants in Tanzania.
16. The US Aid Transparency Report Card 2012 is found at <http://www.publishwhatyoufund.org/>.
17. As the Tax Justice Network explains it,

Transfer pricing happens whenever two related companies – that is, a parent company and a subsidiary, or two subsidiaries controlled by a common parent – trade with each other, as when a US-based subsidiary of Coca-Cola, for example, buys something from a French-based subsidiary of Coca-Cola. When the parties establish a price for the transaction, they are engaging in transfer pricing. Transfer pricing is not, in itself, illegal or necessarily abusive. What is illegal or abusive is transfer mispricing, also known as transfer pricing manipulation or abusive transfer pricing... It is estimated that about 60 percent of international trade happens within, rather than between, multinationals: that is, across national boundaries but within the same corporate group. (www.taxjustice.net)
18. All OPIC finance and insurance information is drawn from OPIC annual reports (2009–2012) and the author's calculations are based on this data, unless otherwise indicated.

7 Africa and Transformation in the Global Economy

1. The category of philanthropy includes foundations, corporations, private and voluntary organizations, volunteerism, universities, and religious institutions.

Bibliography

- Abrahamsen, Rita. 2000. *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Action Aid. 2013. 'Enough Food for Everyone ... IF.' Accessed October 4, 2013. <http://www.actionaid.org.uk/campaign/enough-food-for-everyoneif>.
- Afrani, Mike. 1999. 'Cheer up Africa, Uncle Sam Is Here.' *New African*, July 1. Accessed July 6, 2006. <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-43321441.html>.
- AfricaAction. 2002. 'Bush Snubs Africa Again.' *Africa Policy E-Journal* 021223, December 23. Accessed July 8, 2013. <http://www.africafocus.org/docs03ej/pres0212.php>.
- Africa Confidential. 1962a. 'The U.S. Negroes in America's African Policy.' June 1.
- . 1962b. 'America in Nigeria.' November 30.
- . 1971a. 'U.S.A. African Priorities.' June 25.
- . 1971b. 'United States: African Attitudes.' December 17.
- . 1973. 'Africa and Nixon.' February 2.
- . 1976. 'Mr. Carter and the Cape Route.' December 3.
- . 1977a. 'US and Africa: The Business Dimension.' March 4.
- . 1977b. 'Carter and Africa: The American Right Reacts.' October 7.
- . 1980. 'Pointers.' August 13.
- . 1981. 'USA: Strategic Minerals and Africa.' June 17.
- . 1988. 'European Community: Lining up for Lome IV.' October 7.
- . 1989. 'France: African Calendar.' March 3.
- . 1993. 'The IMF and the World Bank: Arguing about Africa.' October 8.
- . 1994. 'Africa: Finding Oil in Troubled Waters.' June 3.
- . 1995. 'Swinging the Axe.' September 22.
- . 1996. 'Banking: Toes in the Water.' June 7.
- . 1997a. 'Zaire: Kabila Yaka.' April 11.
- . 1997b. 'Zaire: Business at War.' April 25.
- . 1997c. 'Great Satan Joins the Fray.' July 18.
- . 1997d. 'The Internet: On the Cybermap.' October 10.
- . 1997e. 'Franco-phoney War.' December 5.
- . 1997f. 'Congo-Kinshasa: Best Friends, Friends and Foes.' December 19.
- . 1998a. 'Congo-Kinshasa: Clinton likes it.' April 3, 1998.
- . 1998b. 'Angola: Oil-rich, and Poor.' May 15.
- . 2000. 'Quarrelsome Lobby.' March 3.
- . 2001. 'Washington's New Pragmatism.' October 26.
- . 2002a. 'Bear Markets.' January 25.
- . 2002b. 'African Energy.' March 8.
- . 2002c. 'Who's For the White House?' November 8.
- AfricaFocus. 2012. 'Africa: Reject "Terrorist" Designation for Boko Haram.' June 20. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201206210977.html>.
- Aidinfo. 2013. 'Aid Transparency Movement.' Accessed November 5, 2013. <http://www.aidinfo.org/about-us/aid-transparency-movement>.
- Alden, Chris. 2000. 'From Neglect to "virtual Engagement": The United States and Its New Paradigm for Africa.' *African Affairs* 99 (396): 355–371.

- Altman, Lawrence K. 2003. 'Clinton Announces Plan to Cut Cost of AIDS Drugs.' *The New York Times*, October 23.
- Alvarez, Jose E. 2008. 'The Evolving Foreign Investment Regime.' *American Society of International Law*. Accessed June 20, 2012. <http://www.asil.org/ilpost/president/pres080229.html>.
- Amsden, Alice H. 2007. *Escape from Empire: The Developing World's Journey through Heaven and Hell*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Anderson, Jon Lee. 2002. 'Our New Best Friend.' *New Yorker*, October 7.
- Anderson, Sarah. 2009. 'Clash on Investment.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, November 4. Available at www.fpi.org.
- . 2012. 'The New U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty: A Public Interest Critique.' *Institute for Policy Studies*, May 9. Accessed August 27, 2012. <http://www.ips-dc.org/reports>.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. 2002. 'The African Crisis.' *New Left Review*, 15: 5–36.
- Avril, Hillaire. 2009. 'Q&A: More Investment in Production Won't Cure African Food Crisis.' <http://www.ipsnews.net/2009/05/qa-more-investment-in-production-wonrsquot-cure-african-food-crisis/>.
- Baker, Raymond. 2012. 'Plundering a Continent.' *Bulletin* 87. Association of Concerned Africa Scholars. <http://concernedafricascholars.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/caploss10-baker-14th.pdf>.
- Banerjee, Neela. 2002. 'U.S. Oil still Pours from a Mideast Barrel.' *New York Times*, October 22.
- Barber, Ben. 1995. 'House Looks Again at Foreign-affairs Reorganization Bill: Veto Threat Doesn't Alter Key Ideas.' *The Washington Times*, June 7.
- Basu, Anupam, Evangelos A. Calamitsis, and Dhaneshwar Ghura. 2000. 'Promoting Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa: Learning What Works.' *Economic* (23). International Monetary Fund. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues/issues23/index.htm>.
- Baume, Maïa De La. 2012. 'For Obiang's Son, High Life in Paris Is Over.' *New York Times*, August 23.
- BBC. 2003. 'Africa's Mammoth Oil Project Comes of Age.' July 15.
- . 2004. 'Who Benefits from Africa's Oil.' April 19.
- . 2006. 'Chad Defies World Bank over Oil.' January 12.
- Becker, Elizabeth. 2003. 'World Bank Inaugurates Oil Pipeline in Africa.' *New York Times*, October 3.
- . 2005. 'Wealthiest Nations to Increase Aid to Poorest.' *New York Times*, February 23.
- Bellamy, William M. 2003. Testimony for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. *Hearing on Foreign Assistance Programs for Africa*. 108th Cong. 2nd sess., April 2.
- Berrios, Rubén. 2000. *Contracting for Development: The Role of For-Profit Contractors in U.S. Foreign Development Assistance*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Bertolin, Gordon. 1978. 'US Economic Interests in Africa: Investment, Trade and Raw Materials.' In *Africa and the United States: Vital Interests*, edited by Jennifer S. Whitaker, 21–59. New York University Press.
- Bieler, Andreas and Adam David Morton. 2008. 'The Deficits of Discourse in IPE: Turning Base Metal into Gold?' *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (1): 103–128.
- Billig, Neil B. 1996. 'The Corporate Council on Africa: Final Report to A.I.D.' PD-ABP-701 (March 19). Accessed February 11, 2006. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pdabp701.pdf.

- Biron, Carey L. 2013. 'Congo-Kinshasa: U.S. Courts Uphold Conflict Minerals Disclosure.' *Inter Press Service*, July 24. Accessed August 6, 2013. <http://www.globalissues.org/news/2013/07/24/17137>.
- Black, Ambassador Cofer. 2004. 'The Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa.' Remarks presented at the Second Intergovernmental High-Level Meeting on Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa, October 13, Algiers, Algeria. Accessed June 6, 2012. www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2004/37230.htm.
- Blankenheimer, Bernard. 1962. 'International Activities of the USDC with Particular Reference to Africa.' *African Studies Bulletin* 5 (3) (October): 3–12.
- Blas, Javier. 2012. 'UN Proposes Moves to Curb Farmland Grabs.' *Financial Times*, March 25.
- Bond, Patrick. 2005. 'Strategies for Social Justice Movements from Southern Africa to the United States.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, January 20. Available at www.fpif.org.
- . 2006. *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation*. London: Zed Books.
- Booker, Salih and Ann-Louise Colgan. 2004. 'Compassionate Conservatism Comes to Africa.' *Current History* 103 (673): 232–236.
- Booker, Salih, William Minter, and Ann-Louise Colgan. 2003. 'Africa Policy Outlook 2003.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, March 1. Available at www.fpif.org.
- Bowles, Chester. 1956. *Africa's Challenge to America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bowman, Megan. 2011. 'Laying the Foundation for Increased Investment in Africa.' *IGD Blog*. Accessed July 8, 2013. <http://www.igdleaders.org/igd-blog/>.
- Boyce, James K. and Leonce Ndikumana. 2012. 'Capital Flight from Sub-Saharan African Countries: Updated Estimates, 1970–2010.' Research Report, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: Political Economy Research Institute.
- Bracking, Sarah. 2009. *Money and Power: Great Predators in the Political Economy of Development*. London: Pluto Press.
- Brainard, Lael. 2001. 'Trade Policy in the 1990s.' The Brookings Institution, June 29. Accessed March 8, 2006. <http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/brainard/20010629.pdf>.
- Bratton, Michael, Robert B. Mattes, and Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi. 2004. *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brautigam, Deborah and Sigrid-Marianella Stensrud Ekman. 2012. 'Briefing Rumours and Realities of Chinese Agricultural Engagement in Mozambique.' *African Affairs* 111 (444): 483–492.
- Brookings Institution. 2012. 'U.S. Aid and Transparency for Global Development.' Transcript USAID-2012/01/19. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- . 2013a. 'BRICS Investing in Africa: Geopolitical and Economic Ramifications.' Transcript AFRICA-2013/03/28. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- . 2013b. 'Is Africa Rising or Not? A Discussion of Economic Opportunities and Development Challenges in Africa.' Transcript AGI-2013/04/25. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Brown, Michael Barratt. 1996. *Africa's Choices: After Thirty Years of the World Bank*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Brown, Stuart Scott. 2013. *The Future of US Global Power: Delusions of Decline*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bumiller, Elizabeth. 2002. 'Bush Proposes Doubling U.S. Support for Education in Africa.' *New York Times*, June 21.

- Burgis, Tom. 2013. 'Guinea Seeks Iron Ore Deal Despite Stand-off.' *Financial Times*, February 4.
- Burstein, Rachel and Janice C. Shields. 1997. 'A Probe Not Taken.' *Mother Jones*, August.
- Bush, George W. 2001a. 'September 11, 2001: Attack on America.' Remarks presented at the California Business Association Breakfast, October 17, Sacramento, CA. Accessed May 7, 2006. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/president_064.asp.
- . 2001b. 'U.S., Africa Strengthen Counter-Terrorism and Economic Ties.' Remarks presented at the African Growth and Opportunity Forum, October 29, Washington, DC. Accessed May 9, 2006. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-2.html>.
- Butcher, Goler T., Robert H. Bates, and Patrick Swygert. 1973. 'Congress and American Relations with South Africa.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 3 (4): 54–64.
- Butterfield, Samuel Hale. 2004. *U.S. Development Aid – an Historic First: Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century*. Contributions to the Study of World History, No. 108. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Callaghy, Thomas M. 2001. 'Networks and Governance in Africa: Innovation in the Debt Regime.' In *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power*, edited by Thomas M. Callaghy, Ronald Kassimir, and Robert Latham. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Callaghy, Thomas M., Ronald Kassimir, and Robert Latham. 2001. *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-local Networks of Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Callaghy, Thomas M. and John Ravenhill. 1993. *Hemmed in: Responses to Africa's Economic Decline*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Campbell, Bonnie K. 2009. *Mining in Africa Regulation and Development*. New York: Pluto Press.
- Carbone, Maurizio. 2004. 'The Millennium Challenge Account: A Marginal Revolution in US Foreign Aid Policy?' *Review of African Political Economy* 31 (101): 536–542.
- Carmody, Pádraig Risteard. 2011. *The New Scramble for Africa*. Cambridge, UK; Malden MA: Polity Press.
- Carpenter, Ted Galen. 1991. 'The New World Disorder.' *Foreign Policy* 84 (October 1): 24–39.
- Cason, Jim. 1997. 'The US: Backing Out of Africa.' *The Review of African Political Economy* 24 (71): 147–153.
- . 2003. 'Mauritius Court Declares Anti-AGOA, Anti-War Protest Legal.' *AllAfrica*, January 12. Accessed May 7, 2006. <http://allAfrica.com>.
- Cassin, Richard L. 2013. 'France's Total SA Cracks Our Top 10 List.' *FCPA Blog*, May 29. Accessed December 2, 2013. <http://www.fcpublog.com/blog/2013/5/29/frances-total-sa-cracks-our-top-10-list.html>.
- Chassany, Anne-Sylvaine and William Wallis. 2013. 'Less Risk Than Western Europe, Says Helios.' *Financial Times*, March 12.
- Chazan, Naomi, ed. 1992. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*, 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Clark, John F. 1998. 'The Clinton Administration and Africa: White House Involvement and the Foreign Affairs Bureaucracies.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 26 (2): 8–13.
- Clinton, Hillary. 2009a. 'Foreign Policy Address at the Council on Foreign Relations.' Foreign Policy Address presented at the Council on Foreign Relations, July 15,

- Washington, DC. Accessed July 12, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm>.
- . 2009b. 'Remarks at the Corporate Council on Africa's Seventh Biennial US-Africa Business Summit.' October 1, Washington, DC. Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/10/130182.htm>.
- Clough, Michael. 1992. *Free at Last?: U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Colgan, Ann-Louise. 2001. 'Walter Kansteiner, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, April 1. Available at www.fpiif.org.
- . 2005. 'Africa Policy Outlook 2005.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, January 26. Available at www.fpiif.org.
- Collier, Paul. 2011. *The Plundered Planet: Why We Must and How We Can Manage Nature for Global Prosperity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Commission on Capital Flows to Africa. 2003. 'A Ten-Year Strategy for Increasing Capital Flows to Africa.' Accessed May 12, 2006. <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/africa-report.pdf>.
- Cooper, Frederick. 2002. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Copson, Raymond W. 2003. *The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy*. New York: Novinka Books.
- Cornelissen, Scarlett, Fantu Cheru, and Timothy M. M. Shaw. 2011. *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Corson, Catherine. 2010. 'Shifting Environmental Governance in a Neoliberal World: US AID for Conservation.' *Antipode* 42 (3): 576–602.
- Crocker, Chester A. 1981. 'The African Private Sector and U.S. Policy.' Address presented at the Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, November 19, Chicago, Illinois.
- CRS (U.S. Congressional Research Service). 1973. *Overseas Private Investment Corporation: A Critical Analysis*. (R99–341 September 4, 1973). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- . 1996. Appropriations for FY1997: Foreign Operations (October 1, 1996), by Larry Nowels.
- . 1997. Africa: Trade and Development Initiatives by the Clinton Administration and Congress (R97–494 October 22), by Theodoros Dagne.
- . 1998. The Trade and Development Agency: Background and Funding (98–924 November 9) by Susan B. Epstein and Chikako Ohara.
- . 2000. Debt Reduction: Initiatives for the Most Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (RL30214 February 1), by Larry Nowels.
- . 2009. U.S. Trade and Investment Relationship with Sub-Saharan Africa: The African Growth and Opportunity Act (RL31772 July 24), by Vivian C. Jones.
- . 2011. Foreign Assistance: Public–Private Partnerships (PPPs) (R41880 June 13), by Marian Leonardo Lawson.
- . 2012a. Export-Import Bank: Background and Legislative Issues (R42472 April 3), by Shayerah Ilias.
- . 2012b. U.S. Trade and Investment Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa and the African Growth and Opportunity Act. CRS Report for Congress (RL31772 November 14) by Vivian C. Jones and Brock R. Williams.
- Dao, James. 2002. 'In Quietly Courting Africa, U.S. Likes the Dowry: Oil.' *New York Times*, September 19.

- . 2003. 'With Rise in Foreign Aid, Plans for a New Way to Give It.' *New York Times*, February 3.
- Darlington, Charles and Alice B. Darlington. 1968. *African Betrayal*. New York: D. McKay Co.
- David, Steven R. 1991. 'Explaining Third World Alignment.' *World Politics* 43 (2): 233–256.
- Dennis, Margaret. 2008. 'A New Approach to Foreign Aid: A Case Study of the Millennium Challenge Account.' New York: *Institute for International Law and Justice Emerging Scholars Papers* 12. Available at <http://www.iilj.org/publications/documents/dennis.esp12-08.pdf>.
- Diamond, Larry Jay and Marc F. Plattner. 2010. *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat*. 2nd ed. A Journal of Democracy Book. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dickson, David A. 1985. *United States Foreign Policy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Douglas, Oronto, Von Kemedi, Ike Okonto, and Michael Watts. 2003. 'Alienation and Militancy in the Niger Delta: A Response to CSIS on Petroleum, Politics, and Democracy in Nigeria.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, July 1. Available at www.fpiif.org.
- Duflou, Esther, Michael Greenstone, and Rema Hanna. 2012. 'Up in Smoke: The Influence of Household Behavior on the Long-Run Impact of Improved Cooking Stoves.' NBER Working Paper No. 18033. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w18033>.
- Dugger, Celia W. 2007. 'Charity Finds That U.S. Food Aid for Africa Hurts Instead of Helps.' *New York Times*, August 14.
- Duignan, Peter and Lewis Henry Gann. 1987. *The United States and Africa: A History*. Cambridge; London; New York: Cambridge University Press; Hoover Institution.
- Duke, Lynne. 1997. 'Africa Inching to Renewal from Economic Stagnation; Foreign Investment, Growth Rates on the Rise.' *The Washington Post*, August 15. <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-737956.html>.
- Dunn, Kevin C. and Timothy M. Shaw. 2013. *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dyer, Geoff. 2011. 'US Seeks Assets of African Leader's Son.' *Financial Times*, October 26.
- Easum, Donald B. 1975. 'United States Policy Toward South Africa.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 5 (3): 66–72.
- Economist. 2000. 'Angola: America's Good New Friend.' October 5.
- . 2001. 'Economics Focus: Big Oil and Its Subsidies.' March 8.
- . 2003. 'Trade and Development: No Silver Bullet.' January 16.
- . 2004. 'Emerging Deals.' January 21.
- . 2013. 'Conditional Aid: Carrots All Round.' March 2.
- EITI. 2013. 'Record Levels of Resource Revenue Disclosure.' *Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative*, January 31. Accessed June 5, 2013. <http://eiti.org/news/record-levels-resource-revenue-disclosure>.
- EIU (Economist Intelligence Unit). 2012. *Into Africa: Institutional Investor Intentions to 2016*. An Invest AD report, January. Accessed August 13, 2013. http://www.investad.com/portal/africa_addons/InvestAD_EIU_Africa_Report_2012_EN.pdf.
- Elliott, Kimberley Ann. 2012. 'Latest AGOA Delay Comes from a Surprising Source.' *Center for Global Development Blog*, July 27. Accessed December 1, 2013. <http://www.cgdev.org/blog/latest-agoa-delay-comes-surprising-source>.

- Elms, Deborah Kay. 2004. 'Intellectual Property Rights, Drug Access, and the Doha Round.' Case 271, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Available at <http://faculty.guisd.org/index.cfm>.
- England, Andrew, Louise Lucas, and Vanessa Houlder. 2013. 'Food Group Denies Tax Avoidance in Zambia.' *Financial Times*, February 10.
- Erb, Guy F. 1978. Africa and the International Economy: A US Response. In *Africa and the United States: Vital Interests*, edited by Jennifer S. Whitaker, 60–87. New York University Press.
- Evans, Donald L. 2002. 'Growth and Opportunity for the People of Africa.' Remarks presented at the African Growth and Opportunity Act Business Roundtable, November 7, Washington, DC. Accessed February 12, 2006. www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/rm/2002/14981.htm.
- Eviatar, Daphne. 2004. 'Africa's Oil Tycoons.' *The Nation*, April 12.
- Fabricious, Peter. 2013. 'Africa's New Declaration of Independence.' *ISS Today*, May 30, Accessed October 20, 2013. <http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/africas-new-declaration-of-independence>.
- Fan, Victoria. 2013. 'China-Africa Health Cooperation: A New Era?' Center for Global Development Blog, August 23. Accessed September 5, 2013. www.cgdev.org/blog.
- FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization). 1996. *Rome Declaration on World Food Security*. World Food Summit, Rome (November). Available at http://www.fao.org/wfs/index_en.htm.
- Farah, Douglas. 2002. 'Al-Qaida Tied to Africa Diamonds Trade.' *Washington Post*, December 30.
- Fierce, Milfred C. 1982. 'Black and White American Opinions Towards South Africa.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 20 (4): 669–687.
- Fisher, Ian. 2001. 'Africans Ask If Washington's Sun Will Shine on Them.' *New York Times*, February 8.
- Fisher-Thompson, Jim. 2002. 'U.S. Official Looks Forward to African AGOA Conference.' *Washington File*, August 6.
- Flohr, Annegret. 2010. *The Role of Business in Global Governance: Corporations as Norm-Entrepreneurs*. Global Issues Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fontanella-Khan, James. 2012. 'BRICS Nations Threaten IMF Funding.' *Financial Times*, March 29.
- Ford, Neil. 2003. 'Nepad – MCA on Collision Course?' *African Business*, July.
- Foreign Policy. 2000. 'Think Again: Clinton's Foreign Policy.' November 1. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2000/11/01/think_again_clintons_foreign_policy.
- Frynas, Jędrzej George. 2009. *Beyond Corporate Social Responsibility: Oil Multinationals and Social Challenges*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallagher, Kevin P. 2008. 'Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round.' *Review of International Political Economy* 15: 62–85.
- GAO (U.S. General Accounting Office). 1991. *Foreign Assistance: Progress in Implementing the Development Fund for Africa*. GAO/NSIAD-91-127.
- . 1996. *Foreign Assistance: Status of USAID's Reforms*. GAO/NSIAD-96-241.
- . 2000. *Overseas Investment: The Overseas Private Investment Corporation's Investment Funds Program*. Briefing Report GAO/NSIAD-00-159BR.
- . 2003. *Foreign Assistance: Strategic Workforce Planning can Help USAID Address Current and Future Challenges*. Report to Congressional Requesters GAO-03-946.
- GAO and USAID. 2002. *Foreign Assistance: USAID Relies Heavily on Nongovernmental Organizations, but Better Data Needed to Evaluate Approaches*. GAO-02-471.

- Gappert, Gary. 1971. 'American Economic Assistance to Africa.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 1 (1): 27–28.
- Gerth, Jeff. 2003. 'US and Oil Companies Back Revised Effort on Disclosure.' *New York Times*, September 19.
- Gerth, Jeff and Stephen Labaton. 2004. 'Shell Withheld Reserves Data to Aid Nigeria.' *New York Times*, March 19.
- Gibbs, David N. 1991. *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money, and U.S. Policy in the Congo Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1995. 'Political Parties and International Relations: The United States and the Decolonization of Sub-Saharan Africa.' *The International History Review* 17 (2): 306–327.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1975. *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gilpin, Robert and Jean M. Gilpin. 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Global Witness. 1999. 'A Crude Awakening.' Accessed February 20, 2006. <http://www.globalwitness.org/reports/show.php/en.00016.html>.
- Goldstein, Judith and Robert O. Keohane. 1993. *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gordon, David F., David C. Miller, and Howard Wolpe. 1998. *The United States and Africa: A Post-Cold War Perspective*, 1st ed. New York: Norton.
- Gowa, Joanna. 1985. 'Subsidizing American Corporate Expansion Abroad: Pitfalls in the Analysis of Public and Private Power.' *World Politics* 37 (2): 180–203.
- Grant, Jeremy. 2005. 'US States Eye Private Sector Role in Export Promotion and Marketing.' *Financial Times*, July 13.
- Greenbook. 2014. 'U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants.' Accessed April 20, 2014. <http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/about/>.
- Grosser, Stephanie. 2012. 'Igniting Africa's Tech Revolution.' *USAID Blog*. Accessed August 7, 2013. <http://blog.usaid.gov/2012/10/igniting-africas-tech-revolution/>.
- Guay, Justin. 2012. 'Obama's International Clean Energy Strategy: A Tale of Two Agencies.' *Think Progress*. Accessed September 7, 2013. <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/10/18/1041931/obamas-international-clean-energy-strategy-a-tale-of-two-agencies/>.
- Hagel, Chuck. 2004. Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. *Hearing on the Gulf of Guinea and U.S. Strategic Energy Policy*. 108th Cong., 2nd sess., July 15. Accessed June 7, 2006. <https://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp>.
- Ham, General Carter. 2013. *Statement of General Carter Ham, USA Commander United States Africa Command before the Senate Armed Services Committee*, March 7. Accessed July 9, 2013. <http://www.africom.mil/NEWSROOM/Transcripts>.
- Hansen, Peter C. 2013a. 'Unleashing the U.S. Investor in Africa: A Critique of U.S. Policy Toward the Continent.' Lecture 1219. The Heritage Foundation, February 4. <http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/2013/02/unleashing-the-us-investor-in-africa>.
- . 2013b. Testimony before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights and International Organizations. *Hearing on Increasing American Jobs through Greater Exports to Africa. 'Increasing U.S. Exports to Africa: Why U.S. Investment Is First Necessary'* 113th Cong., 1st sess., May 7.
- Hanson, Kobena T., George Kararach, and Timothy M. Shaw. 2012. *Rethinking Development Challenges for Public Policy Insights from Contemporary Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Harding, Robin. 2013. 'China Seeks to Water down Key World Bank Report.' *Financial Times*, May 6.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hayes, Stephen. 2013. 'President's Message: U.S. Should Heed Senators' Warning on Africa' *The Africa E-Journal*. Washington, DC: Corporate Council on Africa (April): 1, 7. Available at <http://www.africancl.org/africa-e-journal>.
- Helleiner, Eric. 1996. *States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From Bretton Woods to the 1990s*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Helleiner, Eric, and Andreas Pickel, ed. 2005. *Economic Nationalism in a Globalizing World*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hentz, James J. 2005. 'The Contending Currents in United States Involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa.' In *Africa in International Politics: External Involvement on the Continent*, edited by Ian Taylor and Paul Williams. London: Routledge.
- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 1992. *US Economic Policy Toward Africa*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Herring, George C. 1993. 'The Lyndon B. Johnson Security Files: Africa, 1963–1969.' www.lexisnexis.com/academic/guides/area_studies/nsf/lbjafkka.asp.
- Hesse, Brian J. 2005. 'Celebrate or Hold Suspect? Bill Clinton and George W. Bush in Africa.' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 23 (3): 327–344.
- Holsti, Kal J. 1986. 'Politics in Command: Foreign Trade as National Security Policy.' *International Organization* 40 (3): 643–671.
- Hook, Leslie and Michael Kavanagh. 2013. 'CNPC Taps East Africa's Offshore Gas.' *Financial Times*, March 15.
- Hook, Steven W. 2008. 'Ideas and Change in U.S. Foreign Aid: Inventing the Millennium Challenge Corporation.' *Foreign Policy Analysis* 4 (2): 147–167.
- Hormeku, Tetteh. 1997. 'U.S.-Africa Trade Policy: In Whose Interest?' Third World Network Africa Secretariat, September 11. Available at www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=644.
- Hudson Institute. 2013. 'Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances 2013.' Washington, DC: Hudson Institute Center for Global Prosperity. Available at <http://www.hudson.org/policycenters/13-center-for-global-prosperity>.
- Human Rights Watch. 2004. 'Angola: Account for Missing Oil Revenues.' Accessed March 7, 2006. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2004/01/11/angola-account-missing-oil-revenues>.
- IASPS. 2002. 'Changes in US Oil Policy: US Will Buy Less Oil from Saudis.' *Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies*. Accessed March 25, 2006. <http://www.israeleconomy.org/strategic/housepressconf.html>.
- IFC (International Finance Corporation). 2011. 'History.' Accessed October 9, 2013. [http://ifcext.ifc.org/ifcext/masterinternet.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/ifctFS.htm/\\$FILE/ifctFS.htm](http://ifcext.ifc.org/ifcext/masterinternet.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/ifctFS.htm/$FILE/ifctFS.htm).
- Iimi, Atsushi. 2007. 'Escaping from the Resource Curse: Evidence from Botswana and the Rest of the World.' *IMF Staff Papers* 54 (4) (December). Accessed August 20, 2012. <http://www.imf.org/External/Pubs/FT/staffp/2007/04/Iimi.htm>.
- Immigration Policy Center. 2012. 'African Immigrants in America: A Demographic Overview.' *Immigration Policy Center*, June 28. Accessed August 8, 2013. <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/african-immigrants-america-demographic-overview>.
- Jackson, Henry F. 1984. *From the Congo to Soweto: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Africa Since 1960*. New York: Quill.

- Jacqz, Jane W. 1977. *Africa Policy Update: Conference Report*. The African-American Conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, October 21–23. New York: African-American Institute.
- Johnson, Alec R. 2010. 'Rethinking Bilateral Investment Treaties in Sub-Saharan Africa.' *Emory Law Journal* 59 (4): 919–967.
- Kahler, Miles. 2009. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kansteiner, Walter H. and J. Stephen Morrison. 2004. 'Rising U.S. Stakes in Africa: Seven Proposals to Strengthen U.S.-Africa Policy.' *CSIS Africa Policy Advisory Panel*. Accessed May 20, 2006. <http://allafrica.com/sustainable/resources/view/00010230.pdf>.
- Kaper, Brian. 2004. 'AGOA Acceleration Act Extends Trade Package for Africa.' *Washington File*, July 23. Available at <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov>.
- Kar, Deve and Devon Cartwright-Smith. 2010. *Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: Hidden Resource for Development*. Washington, DC: Global Financial Integrity. Accessed August 20, 2012. <http://www.gfintegrity.org/content/view/300/154/>.
- Karl, Terry. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. and Nobuo Okawara. 2004. 'Japan and Asian-Pacific Security.' In *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency*, edited by J. J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Allen Carlson, 97–130. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. and Rudra Sil, ed. 2004. 'Rethinking Asian Security: A Case for Analytical Eclecticism.' In *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency*, edited by J. J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, Allen Carlson, 1–33. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kaye, Leon. 2011. 'With America behind in CSR Reporting, GRI Opens Wall Street Office.' *Triple Pundit*. Accessed July 22, 2012. <http://www.triplepundit.com/2011/02/america-behind-csr-reporting-gri-opens-wall-street-office/>.
- Keefe, Patrick Radden. 2013. 'Buried Secrets.' *The New Yorker*, July 8.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. 2012. *Power and Interdependence*. Boston: Longman.
- Kharas, Homi J. 2011. 'Transparency: Changing the Accountability, Engagement, and Effectiveness of Aid.' In *Catalyzing Development: A New Vision for Aid*, edited by Homi Kharas, Koji Makino and Woojin Jung, 233–259. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kimenyi, Mwangi S. 2012. Testimony presented at the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs. *Hearing on Economic Statecraft: Increasing American Jobs through Greater US-Africa Trade and Investment*. 112th Cong., 2nd sess., July 25.
- Kitchen, Helen A. 1983. *U.S. Interests in Africa*. The Washington Papers Vol. XI, 98. New York; Washington, DC: Praeger; Published with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.
- Kitissou, Marcel Labité. 2007. *Africa in China's Global Strategy*. London: Adonis & Publishers.
- Klare, Michael T. and Daniel Volman. 2004. 'Africa's Oil and American National Security.' *Current History* 103 (May): 226–227.
- Klotz, Audie. 1999. *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle against Apartheid*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Koehler, Mike. 2012. 'The Story of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.' SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 2185406. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. <http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2185406>.
- Koopman, Jeanne. 2012. 'Will Africa's Green Revolution Squeeze African Family Farmers to Death? Lessons from Small-scale High-cost Rice Production in the Senegal River Valley.' *Review of African Political Economy* 39 (133): 500–511.
- Kozul-Wright, Richard. 2013. 'African Economies Must Diversify and Stimulate Industrial Development.' Interview with Richard Kozul-Wright, September 16. Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://africanarguments.org/>.
- KPMG. 2013. 'Oil and Gas in Africa: Africa's Reserves, Potential and Prospects.' Accessed September 22, 2013. www.kpmgafrica.com.
- Krilla, Jeffrey R. 2010. 'Engaging Emerging Markets: Navigating African Opportunity.' *American Foreign Policy Interests* 32 (4): 237–241.
- Kyung-Sup, Chang, Ben Fine, and Linda Weiss. 2012. *Developmental Politics in Transition: The Neoliberal Era and Beyond*. International Political Economy Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lake, Anthony. 1995. 'Sustained U.S. Assistance to Africa.' Speech at the TransAfrica Forum, Washington, DC on June 29.
- Lake, Anthony, Christine Todd Whitman, Princeton N. Lyman, and J. Stephen Morrison. 2006. *More than Humanitarianism: A Strategic U.S. Approach Toward Africa*. Independent Task Force Report 56. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. http://www.cfr.org/publication/9302/more_than_humanitarianism.html.
- Lancaster, Carol. 1982. 'United States Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa.' *Current History* 81 (March): 97–100.
- . 2008. *George Bush's Foreign Aid: Transformation or Chaos?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lancaster, Carol, Kwaku Nuamah, Matthew Liber, and Todd Johnson. 2006. 'Foreign Aid and Private Sector Development.' Providence: Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. <http://www.watsoninstitute.org/pub/ForeignAid.pdf>.
- Lande, Stephen. 2013. Testimony presented at the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations. *Hearing on Increasing American Jobs through Greater Exports to Africa*. 113th Cong., 1st sess., May 7.
- Landler, Mark. 2012. 'Obama Extends the Export-Import Bank.' *New York Times*, May 30.
- Lavelle, Kathryn C. 2005. 'Moving in from the Periphery: Africa and the Study of International Political Economy.' *Review of International Political Economy* 12 (2): 364–379.
- Leanne, Shelly. 1998. 'The Clinton Administration and Africa: Perspective of the Congressional Black Caucus and TransAfrica.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 26 (2): 17–22.
- Leigh, David and Rob Evans. 2013. 'BAE Files: Secrets of al-Yamamah.' *The Guardian*. Accessed September 20. <http://www.theguardian.com/bae/files/page/0,,2095831,00.html>.
- Leke, Acha, Susan Lund, and Charles Roxburgh. 2010. *What's Driving Africa's Growth*. McKinsey & Company, June. Accessed November 12, 2013. http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/economic_studies/whats_driving_africas_growth.
- Lensing. 2010. 'Congress Discusses Ways to "Feed the Future".' *Food First, Institute for Food and Development Policy Blog*. Accessed November 12, 2013. <http://www.foodfirst.org/en/node/3035>.

- Lewis, Peter M. 1996. 'Economic Reform and Political Transition in Africa: The Quest for a Politics of Development.' *World Politics* 49 (1): 92–129.
- . 2001. 'Pursuing U.S. Economic Interests in Africa.' In *Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration*, edited by J. Stephen Morrison and Jennifer G. Cooke Washington, DC: CSIS Press.
- Lipson, Charles. 1978. 'The Development of Expropriation Insurance: The Role of Corporate Preferences and State Initiatives.' *International Organization* 32: 351–375.
- Lowry, Annie. 2012. 'Jobs Bill Stalls as Congress Fights Over Agency.' *New York Times*, March 14.
- Luxnor, Larry. 2001a. 'Are US Investors Missing Out?' *African Business*, February.
- . 2001b. 'Equatorial Guinea: Africa's Kuwait.' *African Business*, December.
- Lyman, Princeton N. 2006. 'A Strategic Approach to Terrorism.' In *Africa-US Relations: Strategic Encounters*, edited by Donald Rothchild and Edmund J. Keller. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Lyman, Princeton N. and J. Stephen Morrison. 2004. 'The Terrorist Threat in Africa.' *Foreign Affairs*, January 1.
- Magyar, Karl P. 2000. *United States Interests and Policies in Africa: Transition to a New Era*. New York; Basingstoke: Saint Martin's Press; Macmillan Press.
- Management Systems International. 2010. *From Aid to Trade: Delivering Results. A Cross Country Evaluation of USAID Trade Capacity Building*. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACR202.pdf.
- Manji, Firoze, and Stephen Marks. 2007. *African Perspectives on China in Africa*. Oxford: Fahamu.
- Manson, Katrina. 2012. 'Central Africa: The Quest for Clean Hands.' *Financial Times*, December 18.
- . 2013a. 'Harsh Deal Climate in Sub-Saharan Africa.' *Financial Times*, March 11.
- . 2013b. 'Continent Takes Lead in Mobile Revolution.' *Financial Times*, May 15.
- Martin, Bill. 1998. 'Waiting for Oprah & the New US Constituency for Africa.' *Review of African Political Economy* 25 (75): 9–24.
- Maxwell, Simon. 2005. 'The Washington Consensus Is Dead! Long Live the Meta-narrative!' Working Paper 243. London: Overseas Development Institution. Available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2476.pdf>.
- MBDA. 2013. 'Historical Highlights.' Accessed September 30. <http://www.mbda.gov/print/main/mbda-history/historical-highlights>.
- Mbeki, Thabo. 2002. 'Africa's New Realism.' *New York Times*, June 24.
- MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation). 2006. 'Selection Criteria.' Accessed July 6. <http://www.mcc.gov/selection/indicators/index.php>.
- . 2011. 'Principles Into Practice: Focus on Results'. Department of Policy and Evaluation (February), by Sarah Lucas. Accessed October 1, 2013. www.mcc.gov/documents.
- . 2012. 'Partnership for Growth.' Fact Sheet. Accessed January 12, 2013. <http://www.mcc.gov/documents/press/factsheet-usg-032612-pfg.pdf>.
- McFate, Sean. 2008. 'US Africa Command: Next Step or Next Stumble?' *African Affairs* 107 (426): 111–120.
- McGroarty, Patrick. 2012. 'Emerging Investors in Africa: Africans.' *Wall Street Journal*, July 5.
- McMichael, Philip and Mindi Schneider. 2011. 'Food Security Politics and the Millennium Development Goals.' *Third World Quarterly* 32 (1): 119–139.

- Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005. 'Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation.' *Africa Development* 30 (1), 1–33.
- Minter, William. 1999. 'United States and Africa: Starting Points for a New Policy Framework.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 1, Available at www.fpiif.org.
- Mitchel, Paula. 2001. *Africa: Financial Sectors: A Guide to the Financial Infrastructure of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration.
- Modi, Renu. 2011. *South-South Cooperation: Africa on the Centre Stage*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Montgomery, John Dickey. 1961. *Aid to Africa: New Test for U. S. Policy*. Headline Series 149. New York: Foreign Policy Association World Affairs Center.
- Moose, George. 1995. 'On Trade/Investment in Sub-Saharan Africa.' Remarks presented at the Annual Trade and Investment Conference on Africa, April 4, San Francisco, California. Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/bureaus/afr/950404AfricaTrade.html>.
- Morris, David and Michael Lewis. 1993. 'Viewpoints; The Energy Tax: Its Time will Come.' *New York Times*, August 15.
- Morrison J. Stephen and Jennifer G. Cooke. 2002. 'Building an Ethic of Public Policy Discourse: An Appeal to the African Studies Community.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 30 (2): 63–68.
- Moss, Todd J. 2003. *Adventure Capitalism: Globalization and the Political Economy of Stock Markets in Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2007. *African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- . 2010. 'Too Big to Succeed? Why (w)hole-of-government cannot Work for U.S. Development Policy.' *The Huffington Post*, October 5.
- Moss, Todd J., Vijaya Ramachandran, and Manju Kedia Shah. 2005. 'Is Africa's Skepticism of Foreign Capital Justified? Evidence from East African Firm Survey Data.' In *Does Foreign Direct Investment Promote Development?* edited by Theodore H. Moran, Edward M. Graham, and Magnus Blomstrom, 337–366. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics; Center for Global Development.
- Moss, Todd J. and Ross Thuotte. 2013. 'Nowhere Left to Hide? Stock Market Correlation, Regional Diversification, and the Case for Investing in Africa.' Working Paper 316. Center for Global Development. <http://www.cgdev.org/publication/nowhere-left-hide-stock-market-correlation-regional-diversification-and-case-investing>.
- Motaroki. 2011. 'Launch of Working Group on Trade and Investment in Africa.' *AllAfrica*, November 2. www.allafrica.com.
- Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Mshomba, Richard E. 2000. *Africa in the Global Economy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Munene, Macharia. 1995. *The Truman Administration and the Decolonisation of Sub Saharan Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya: Nairobi University Press.
- Nasiripour, Shahien and Tom Burgis. 2012. 'US Regulators Require Groups to Disclose Use of "Conflict Minerals".' *Financial Times*, August 23.
- National Intelligence Council. 2004. 'The Role of the Private Sector in African Development.' NIC 2020 Project. Accessed June 7, 2006. www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2020_03_16_intro.html.
- Ndulu, Benno J., Stephen A. O'Connell, Robert H. Bates, Paul Collier, and Chukwuma C. Soludo. 2007. 'The Evolution of Global Development Paradigms and Their

- Influence on African Economic Growth.' In *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960–2000* (Vol. 1), edited by Benno J. Ndulu, Stephen O'Connell, Jean-Paul Azam, Robert H. Bates, Augustin K. Fosu, Jan Willem Gunning, and Dominique Njinkeu, 315–347. Cambridge University Press.
- Network for Justice in Global Investment. 2011. 'Alternative Proposals.' Accessed November 6. <http://justinvestment.org>.
- Nevin, Tom. 2003. '2003 Gains Offset 2002 Pains.' *African Business*, July.
- Newsom, David. 1972. 'American Interests in Africa and African Development Needs.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 2 (1): 44–48.
- New York Times. 1999. 'Mr. Clinton Wins on Riders.' November 21.
- Nielsen, Waldemar A. 1969. *The Great Powers and Africa*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Nossiter, Adam. 2011. 'In Equatorial Guinea, U.S. Engages with an Iron Leader.' *The New York Times*, May 30.
- . 2013. 'China Finds Resistance to Oil Deals in Africa.' *New York Times*, September 18.
- Obama, Barack. 2009. 'Remarks by the President to the Ghanaian Parliament.' July 11. Accessed August 5, 2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-ghanaian-parliament>.
- OECD. 1972. *Investing in Developing Countries: Facilities for the Promotion of Foreign Private Investment in Developing Countries*. Paris: OECD.
- . 1975. *Investing in Developing Countries: Facilities for the Promotion of Foreign Private Investment in Developing Countries*. Paris: OECD.
- . 2012. 'Mapping Support for Africa's Infrastructure Investment.' Accessed July 5, 2013. <http://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/investment-policy/MappingReportWeb.pdf>.
- Ofori-Atta, Prince. 2012. 'The Africa CEO Forum Talks Intra-Africa Trade.' *The Africa Report*, November 20. Accessed August 22, 2013. <http://www.theafricareport.com/North-Africa/the-africa-ceo-forum-talks-intra-africa-trade.html>.
- Ogene, F. Chidozie. 1983. *Interest Groups and the Shaping of Foreign Policy: Four Case Studies of United States African Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Onishi, Norimitsu and Neela Banerjee. 2001. 'The Perils of Plenty: Chad's Wait for Its Oil Riches May Be Long.' *New York Times*, May 16.
- OPIC. 1973–2008. *Annual Reports*. Washington, DC: OPIC.
- . 2001. *Opic Board Approves Africa Millennium Fund, Selects General Partners*. <http://www.opic.gov/>.
- . 2003. *Development Update: Expanding OPIC's Development Impact Assessment*. Accessed October 17, 2009. <http://www.opic.gov>.
- . 2004. 'Opic Board Approves \$250 Million for Two Investment Funds in Africa.' September 10. Accessed October 17, 2009. <http://www.opic.gov>.
- . 2012. *Building for Growth, Innovating for Change*. Annual Report, OPIC. Accessed July 24, 2013. <http://www.opic.gov/media-connections/annual-reports>.
- O'Sullivan, Diarmid. 2013. 'A New Lease of Life for the EITI?' June. *EITI Blog*. Accessed August 9, 2013. <http://eiti.org/blog/new-lease-life-eiti>.
- Oxfam. 1997. 'Oxfam Briefing For G7 Denver Summit: Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa: An Oxfam Response to the US Initiative.' Accessed November 23, 2013. http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent_Action/apic_61797.html.
- . 2007. 'Signing away the Future: How Trade and Investment Agreements between Rich and Poor Countries Undermine Development.' Oxfam Briefing Paper 101. <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/Signing%20Away%20the%20Future.pdf>.

- Parks, Bradley C. and Zachary J. Rice. 2013. 'Does the "MCC Effect" Exist?' *MCA Monitor*. Center for Global Development, February. Accessed July 25, 2013. http://www.cgdev.org/files/1426969_file_MCC_Effects_FINAL.pdf.
- Pendleton, Scott. 1992. 'Oilmen's Mixed Views on Clinton.' *Christian Science Monitor*, December 18.
- Pfeifer, Sylvia, Xan Rice, and Andrew England. 2013. 'Trial by Oil.' *Financial Times*, January 10.
- Picard, Louis A. and Terry F. Buss. 2009. *A Fragile Balance Re-examining the History of Foreign Aid, Security, and Diplomacy*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.
- Pilling, David and Shawn Donnan. 2013. 'Trans-Pacific Partnership: Ocean's Twelve.' *Financial Times*, September 23.
- Pistorius, Charlie. 2013. 'US Companies Remain Significant Players on the African Continent.' June 28. Accessed November 1, 2013. <http://www.howwemadeitinafrica.com/us-companies-remain-significant-players-on-the-african-continent/27784/>.
- Polgreen, Lydia. 2012. 'U.S. Seeks to Step Up Africa Investment.' *The New York Times*, August 8.
- Pope, Carl. 2005. 'White House Document Shows Oil Companies/Bush Administration Mised Public and Congress.' *Sierra Club News Release*, November 16. Accessed June 7, 2013. <http://www.great-lakes.net/lists/enviro-mich/2005-11/msg00150.html>
- Price, Robert. 1978. *U.S. Foreign Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: National Interest and Global Strategy*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California.
- Public Citizen. 1999. 'The Corporate Coalition behind the "Africa Growth and Opportunity Act".' *Public Citizen*, February 1. Accessed June 15, 2006. http://www.citizen.org/trade/article_redirect.cfm?ID=7687.
- Pycroft, Christopher. 1994. 'Angola- "The Forgotten Tragedy".' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (2): 241-262.
- Radelet, Steven. 2003. 'Will the Millennium Challenge Account Be Different?' *The Washington Quarterly* 26 (2): 171-187.
- Radelet, Steven. 2008. 'Bush Policies Have Made a Difference in Africa.' Interview with Bernard Gwertzman. Council on Foreign Relations, February 13. www.cfr.org.
- Raiford, William. 1979. 'South Africa: Foreign Investment and Separate Development.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 9 (1/2): 30-36.
- Ranis, Gustav. 2011. 'Giving Up On Foreign Aid?' *Cato Journal* 31 (1): 75-81.
- Ravallion, Martin and Shaohua Chen. 2007. 'China's (uneven) Progress against Poverty.' *Journal of Development Economics* 82 (1): 1-42.
- Reno, William. 1998. 'The Clinton Administration and Africa: Private Corporate Dimension.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* XXVI/1: 23-28.
- Reuters. 2013. 'U.S. Herakles Farms Halts Cameroon Palm Oil Development.' *Reuters*, May 22.
- Revenue Watch. 2013. 'Oil vs. the World.' *Revenue Watch*. Accessed October 4. <http://www.revenuewatch.org/issues/dodd-frank/oilsvsworld>.
- Rice, Susan E. 2003. 'Increasing Capital Flows to Africa.' Lecture, October 23, Cornell University. Accessed May 26, 2006. <http://www.brookings.edu/views/speeches/rice20031023.pdf>.
- Rice, Xan. 2012. 'Palm Oil Producers Face Africa Challenges.' *Financial Times*, September 23.
- . 2013. 'Brands Raise a Toast to Africa Expansion.' *Financial Times*, March 12.

- Robinson, William I. 1996. *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations 48. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2008. *One Economics – Many Recipes Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Romero, Simon. 2003. 'Coup on Tiny African Islands Felt in Texas Oil Offices.' *New York Times*, July 19.
- Rotberg, Robert I. 1988. *Africa in the 1990s and beyond: U.S. Policy Opportunities and Choices*. A World Peace Foundation Study. Algonac, MI: Reference Publications.
- Rothchild, Donald S. 2009. 'The U.S. Role in Promoting Peaceful African Relations.' In *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*, edited by John Harbeson and Donald S. Rothchild. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rothchild, Donald S. and Edmond J. Keller. 2006. *Africa-US Relations: Strategic Encounters*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Royce, Edward. 2002. 'Changes in U.S. Policy: US Will Buy Less Oil from Saudis.' Comments presented at the Press conference on Changes in U.S. Policy, June 12, IASPS, Washington, DC. Accessed May 7, 2006. <http://www.israeconomy.org/strategic/housepressconf.html>.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1982. 'International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order.' *International Organization* 36 (02): 379–415.
- Rupert, Mark. 1995. *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Russell, Alec. 2013. 'Zuma Warns West's "colonial" Corporates.' *Financial Times*, March 3.
- Ruttan, Vernon W. 1996. *United States Development Assistance Policy: The Domestic Politics of Foreign Economic Aid*. Johns Hopkins Studies in Development. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ryberg, Paul. 2012. Statement before the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations. *Joint Hearing on African Growth and Opportunity Act*. 112th Cong., 2nd sess., June 20.
- Sahle, Eunice Njeri. 2010. *World Orders, Development and Transformation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sanusi, Lamido. 2013. 'Africa Must Get Real about Chinese Ties.' *Financial Times*, March 11.
- Sastry, Shubha. 2011. 'Aid-for-Trade Case Study, United States.' World Trade Organization. Accessed July 15, 2012. <http://www.oecd.org/aidfortrade/47435008.pdf>.
- Scannell, Kara. 2012. 'DoJ and SEC Clarify Law on Bribery.' *Financial Times*, November 15.
- Schmidt, Eric. 2003. 'Pentagon Seeking New Access Pacts for Africa Bases.' *New York Times*, July 5.
- Schneidman, Witney and Zenia A. Lewis. 2012. 'The African Growth and Opportunity Act: Looking Back, Looking Forward.' *Africa Growth Initiative (June)*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Schraeder, Peter J. 1994. *United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1995. 'From Berlin 1884 to 1989: Foreign Assistance and French, American, and Japanese Competition in Francophone Africa.' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (4): 539–567.

- . 1998. 'Guest Editor's Introduction: Trends and Transformation in the Clinton Administration's Foreign Policy Toward Africa (1993–1999).' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 26 (2): 1–7.
- . 2000. 'Cold War to Cold Peace: Explaining U.S.-French Competition in Francophone Africa.' *Political Science Quarterly* 115 (3): 395–419.
- Seay, Laura E. 2012. 'What's Wrong with Dodd-Frank 1502? Conflict Minerals, Civilian Livelihoods, and the Unintended Consequences of Western Advocacy.' Washington, DC: Center for Global Development Working Paper 284. <http://www.cgdev.org/>
- Segal, Aaron. 1972. 'United States–African Relations.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 2 (1): 49–51.
- Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. 'Turning the Tide on Somali Piracy.' October 26, Washington, DC. <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rm/199927.htm>.
- Shatz, Sayre P. 2002. 'Structural Adjustment.' In *Contested Terrains and Constructed Categories: Contemporary Africa in Focus*, edited by George C. Bond and Nigel C. Gibson. 87–104. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Shaw, Timothy M. 2012. 'Africa's Quest for Developmental States: "renaissance" for Whom?' *Third World Quarterly* 33 (5): 837–51.
- Shaxson, Nicholas. 2011. *Treasure Islands: Uncovering the Damage of Offshore Banking and Tax Havens*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shields, Janice C. 1997. 'Overseas Private Investment Corporation.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, January 1.
- Shiner, Cindy. 1997. 'U.S. Firms Stake Claims in Zaire's War; Investors Woo Rebels in Mineral-Rich Area.' *Washington Post*, April 17.
- Sil, Rudra, and Peter J Katzenstein. 2010. 'Analytic Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics: Reconfiguring Problems and Mechanisms across Research Traditions.' *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2): 411–431.
- Silverstein, Ken. 2002. 'U.S. Oil Politics in the "Kuwait of Africa".' *The Nation*, April 22.
- . 2004. 'From Government to Business Connections Work for Ex-trade Official.' *L.A. Times*, March 2.
- Simpkins, Gregory. 2010a. 'Where Is U.S. Policy Toward Africa Heading?' *Africa Rising Blog*. Accessed July 12, 2012. <http://africarising2010.blogspot.com/2010/03/where-is-us-policy-toward-africa.html>.
- . 2010b. 'Heroes of the AGOA Struggles.' *Africa Rising Blog*. Accessed May 10, 2011. <http://africarising2010.blogspot.com/2010/05/heroes-of-agoa-struggles.html>.
- Smyth, Frank. 1998. 'A New Game: The Clinton Administration on Africa.' *World Policy Journal* 15 (2) (July 1): 82–92.
- Snyder, Charles. 2004. Remarks presented at the American Enterprise Institute, April 13, Washington DC, April 13.
- Steger, Manfred B. 2002. *Globalism: The New Market Ideology*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Stevenson, Richard. 2003. 'New Threats and Opportunities Redefine U.S. Interests in Africa.' *New York Times*, July 7.
- Stopford, John M. and Susan Strange. 1991. *Rival States, Rival Firms: Competition for World Market Shares*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Straus, Scott. 2012. 'Wars Do End! Changing Patterns of Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa.' *African Affairs* 111 (443): 179–201.
- Stremlau, John. 1994. 'Clinton's Dollar Diplomacy.' *Foreign Policy* no. 97: 18–35.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- TDA (Trade and Development Agency). 2006. 'Welcome.' Accessed August 11. <http://www.tda.gov/>.
- Third World Network. 2012. 'BITs, FTAs and Damaging Effects of their Investment Chapters.' <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title2/FTAs/info.service/2012/fta.info.238.htm>.
- Thomas, Caroline. 2004. 'The International Financial Institutions' Relations with Africa: Insights from the Issue of Representation and Voice.' In *Africa in International Politics: External Involvement on the Continent*, edited by Ian Taylor and Paul Williams, 174–194. Abingdon & New York: Routledge.
- Thompson, Carol. 2004. 'US Trade with Africa: African Growth & Opportunity?' *Review of African Political Economy* 31 (101): 457–474.
- . 2012. 'Statement by the ACAS Food Sovereignty Taskforce.' ACAS Food Sovereignty Task Force. Accessed August 11, 2013. <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue88/statement/>.
- Tilton, Douglas. 1998. 'U.S.-Africa Economic Initiatives.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, May 1, Available at www.fpif.org.
- Timmons, Heather. 2004. 'Angola Set to Disclose Payments from Big Oil.' *New York Times*, May 13.
- Tujan, Antonio. 2004. 'The Millennium Development Goals: Reducing Poverty or Deodorizing Neoliberal Globalization?' Talk presented at the IGNIS Conference, September 4, Oslo, Norway. Accessed May 11, 2006. <http://www.rorg.no/Artikler/717.html>.
- Turkisch, Edouard. 2011. OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 303 (Sept). Available at <http://www.oecd.org/dev/48748381.pdf>.
- UNCTAD. 2009. 'Transnational Corporations, Agricultural Production and Development.' World Investment Report 2009, July. Available at <http://unctad.org>.
- . 2012a. 'Towards a New Generation of Investment Policies.' World Investment Report 2012, July 5. Available at <http://unctad.org>.
- . 2012b. 'SADC Moving Forward on Model Bilateral Investment Treaty Template.' August 6. Accessed October 15, 2013. <http://unctad.org/en/pages/newsdetails.aspx?OriginalVersionID=210>.
- USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development). 2012. 'Partnering with USAID: Building Alliance for Sustainable Solutions.' USAID. Accessed September 21, 2013. [http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1880/Partnering_with_USAID_Diasporas\(GDF2012\).pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1880/Partnering_with_USAID_Diasporas(GDF2012).pdf).
- . 2013a. 'Africa.' July 31. Accessed September 20, 2013. <http://www.usaid.gov/where-we-work/africa>.
- . 2013b. 'Results and Data.' Accessed October 2. <http://www.usaid.gov/results-and-data>.
- USDC (U.S. Department of Commerce). 2002. 'U.S. Commerce Secretary Leads U.S. Business Development Mission to Ghana and South Africa.' Commerce Business Brief. <http://www.osec.doc.gov/africatrademission/>.
- . International Trade Administration. 2003. 'US-African Trade Profile.' <http://www.africa.org.tw/upload/TRDPROFL03.pdf>.
- U.S. Department of State. 1968. *Message to Africa: Vice President Humphrey's Mission to the Africa Nations*. Africa Series 46. Washington, DC: USGPO.
- . 1970a. *U.S. and Africa in the '70s*. Department of State Publication 8523. Washington, DC: Office of Media Services.
- . 1970b. *Africa: This New Dialogue: Secretary of State William P. Rogers' Trip to Africa*. Department of State Publication 8511, African Series. Washington, DC: USGPO.

- . 1989. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Africa*. Vol. XXIV. http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xxiv/index.html.
- . 1999a. 'Report for the Task Force on the Review of African Development Policies and Programs, Washington, July 22, 1966.' Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Africa Document 215. Available at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v24/d215>
- . 1999b. 'Fact Sheet: State Department on Foreign Affairs Budget.' Office of International Information Programs EPF503 10/22/99.
- . 2009. 'Release of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) Fifth Annual Report to Congress.' January 12.
- . 2012a. 'State and USAID – FY 2013 Budget.' Fact Sheet, February 13. Accessed March 17, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/02/183808.htm>.
- . 2012b. 'Model Investment Treaty.' April 20. Accessed July 20, 2012. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/04/188199.htm>.
- . 2013. 'Investing in Sub-Saharan Africa.' Accessed October 2. <http://www.state.gov/p/af/rt/investing/>.
- . n.d.a. '15. Africa.' Office of the Historian Bureau of Public Affairs. Accessed March 5, 2104. <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/8531.htm>.
- .n.d. b. 'The Clinton Administration Record in Sub-Saharan Africa.' Office of International Information Programs. Accessed March 5, 2014. http://www.econedlink.org/lessons/docs_lessons/20_em20_clinton1.pdf.
- U.S. House. 1970. Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on Policy Toward Africa for the Seventies*. 91st Cong., 2nd sess., March 17, 18, 19, 23–24, May 19–21, June 4, September 30, October 1, November 18, December 3.
- . 1973. Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on Overseas Private Investment Corporation*. 93rd Cong., 1st sess, May 22.
- . 1977. Committee on International Relations. *Extension and Revision of Overseas Private Investment Corporation Programs*. 95th Cong., 1st sess.
- . 1979. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on U.S. Interests in Africa*. 96th Cong., 1st sess., October 16, 18–9, 22, 24–25, 29, November 13–14, 1979.
- . 1980. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Report on Sub-Saharan Africa: Its Role in Critical Mineral Needs of the Western World* (H. Doc 442). 96th Cong., 2nd sess., Washington: Government Printing Office.
- . 1982. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on Economic and Security Assistance Programs in Africa*. 97th Cong., 2nd sess., April 21.
- . 1987. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade. *Hearing on United States – Africa Trade and Investment Opportunities*. 100th Cong., 1st sess., September 29, 1987.
- . 1989. *Foreign Relations of the United States: Africa, 1955–1957* (H.Doc. 477, Vol. XVIII). Report by the Vice President. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- . 1992. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittees on International Economic Policy and Trade and Africa. *Hearing on the Role of Private Sector Development in Africa*. 102 Cong., 2nd sess., March 18, 1992.
- . 1995. Committee on International Relations, Subcommittees on International Economic Policy and Trade and Africa. *Trade and Investment Opportunities in Africa*. 104th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 1995.
- . 1997a. Subcommittee on Trade, Committee on Ways and Means. *Expanding U.S. Trade with Sub-Saharan Africa*. 95th Cong., 1st sess., April 29, 1997.

- . 1997b. Committee on International Relations. *Hearing on the Extension and Revision of Overseas Private Investment Corporation Programs*. 95th Cong., 1st sess., June 21, 23, July 19–21, September 8, 12, 16, 1997.
- . 1998. Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on Africa in the World Economy*. 105th Cong., 2nd sess., May 7, 1998.
- . 1999a. Committee on Ways and Means. *Hearing on U.S. Trade Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa*. 106th Cong., 1st sess., February 3, 1999.
- . 1999b. Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on America's Stake in Trade and Investment in Africa*. 106th Cong., 1st sess., February 9, 1999.
- . 2003. Committee on International Relations. *Hearing on Renewing OPIC and Reviewing its Role in Support of Key U.S. Objectives*. 108th Cong., 1st sess., June 10.
- . 2004. Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Africa. *Hearing on Fighting Terrorism in Africa*. 108th Cong., 2nd sess., April 1.
- . 2012a. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights. *Hearing on Assessing China's Role and Influence in Africa*. 112th Cong., 2nd sess., March 29, 2012.
- . 2012b. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights. *Hearing on the Increasing American Jobs through Greater Exports to Africa Act*. 112th Cong., 2nd sess., April 17, 2012.
- USINFO. 2002. 'First U.S. Trade Rep. for Africa Cites AGOA as Greatest Success Rosa Whitaker Looks Back at Record of Accomplishment.' <http://usinfo.state.gov/>.
- USITC (U.S. International Trade Commission). 1999. 'U.S.-African Trade Flows and the Effects of the Uruguay Round Agreements and U.S. Trade and Development Policy.' Fifth Annual Report 3250. Investigation No. 332–362. Washington, DC: USITC.
- . 2000. 'U.S. Trade and Investment with Sub-Saharan Africa.' First Annual Report 3371. Investigation No. 332–415. Washington, DC: USITC.
- . 2001. 'U.S. Trade and Investment with Sub-Saharan Africa: Second Annual Report.' Second Annual Report 3476. Investigation No. 332–415. Washington, DC: USITC.
- . 2002. 'U.S. Trade and Investment with Sub-Saharan Africa.' Third Annual Report 3552. Investigation No. 332–415, Washington, DC: USITC.
- . 2008. 'Sub-Saharan Africa: Factors Affecting Trade Patterns of Selected Industries.' Second Annual Report 3989. Investigation No. 332–477. Washington, DC: USITC.
- U.S. Senate. 1960. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Hearing on United States Foreign Policy-Africa*. 86th Cong., 2nd sess., January 28, February 11, March 16, 1960.
- . 1973. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. *Multinational Corporations and United States Foreign Policy: Part 3*. 93rd Cong., 1st sess., March 30–April 2.
- . 1977a. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Hearing on OPIC Authorization*. 95th Cong., 1st sess.
- . 1977b. Committee on Foreign Relations Ambassador, Subcommittee on African Affairs. *Hearing on Young's African Trip*. 95th Cong., 1st sess., June 6, 1977.
- . 1978. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on African Affairs. *Hearing on US Policy Toward Africa*. 95th Cong., 2nd sess., May 12.
- . 1995. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on African Affairs. *Hearing on Trade and Investment in Africa*. 104th Cong., 1st sess., February 16, 1995.
- . 1999. Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on African Affairs. *Hearing on Barriers to Trade and Investment in Africa*. 106th Cong., 1st sess., July 27, 1999.

- . 2003. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Hearing on the African Growth and Opportunity Act*. 108th Cong., 2nd sess., June 25, 2003.
- . 2004. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Gulf of Guinea and U.S. Strategic Energy Policy*. 108th Cong., 2nd sess., July 15.
- . 2012. 'Africa: Durbin-Boozman Coons Bill Seeks to Increase U.S. Exports to Continent.' *AllAfrica*, March 20. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201203201448.html>.
- USTR (U.S. Trade Representative). 1997. 'Second Africa Trade Report.' http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent_Action/apic_3197.html.
- . 2005. '2005 Comprehensive Report on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa and Implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.' Accessed September 23, 2013. <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rt/agoa/2005/49711.htm>
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2003. 'A Comment on the MCA Proposals.' CGD Brief. Washington: Center for Global Development (January 9). www.cgdev.org/briefs/vandewalle_20030109.pdf.
- . 2010. 'US Policy Towards Africa: The Bush Legacy and the Obama Administration.' *African Affairs* 109 (434): 1–21.
- Van Niekerk, Phillip. 2013. 'New Revolution in Africa Is Wrought by Oil, Gas Industry.' *Business Day Live*, April 24. Accessed September 4. <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2013/04/23/new-revolution-in-africa-is-wrought-by-oil-gas-industry>.
- Veen, A. Maurits van der. 2011. *Ideas, Interests and Foreign Aid*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vesely, Milan. 1998. 'What Are the Yanks Doing in Africa.' *African Business*, February.
- . 1999. 'USA Ready to Launch Investment Invasion.' *African Business*, June.
- Villalón, Leonardo Alfonso and Phillip A. Huxtable, ed. 1998. *The African State at a Critical Juncture: Between Disintegration and Reconfiguration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Vogl, Frank. 2012. *Waging War on Corruption: Inside the Movement Fighting the Abuse of Power*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Volman, Daniel P. 1998. 'The Clinton Administration and Africa: Role of Congress and the Africa Subcommittees.' *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 26 (2): 14–16.
- . 2006. 'U.S. Military Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa 2005–2007.' *Association of Concerned Africa Scholars*, March 1. Accessed June 20, 2006. www.prairienet.org/acas/military/military06.html.
- . 2010. 'Obama Expands Military Involvement in Africa.' *InterPress Service*, April 2. Accessed September 23, 2013. www.ipsnews.net/africa/nota.asp?idnews=50898
- Wallis, William. 2010. 'Chinese Investment has Put Africans in the Driving Seat.' *Financial Times*, January 27.
- . 2011. 'Helios Sets Record for African Private Equity.' *Financial Times*, June 14.
- . 2013. 'China Shoemaker Thinks on Its Feet with Ethiopian Expansion.' *Financial Times*, June 4.
- Walsh, Declan, Rick Lyman, and Michael Shear. 2013. 'Obama, En Route to South Africa, Says He Bears Message of "Profound Gratitude" to Mandela.' *New York Times*, June 29.
- Watts, Michael, Von Kemedt, Ike Okonto, and Oronto Douglas. 2003. 'Alienation and Militancy in the Niger Delta: A Response to CSIS on Petroleum, Politics, and Democracy in Nigeria.' *Foreign Policy in Focus*, July 1, Available at www.fpfif.org.

- Weiss, Linda. 2012. 'The Myth of the Neoliberal State.' In *Developmental Politics in Transition: The Neoliberal Era and Beyond*, edited by Chang Kyung-Sup, Ben Fine, and Linda Weiss (27–42). International Political Economy Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Whitaker, Jennifer Seymour. 1978. *Africa and the United States: Vital Interests*. New York: New York University Press.
- Whitehead, Eleanor. 2012. 'Africa: U.S. Strategy for Africa.' *This Is Africa*, August 31. Accessed September 23, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201209030328.html>.
- White House (U.S.). 1992. *National Security Directive 75: American Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s*. December 23, Available at <http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research>.
- . 2003. 'President Bush Concludes Week Long Trip to Africa.' Accessed June 20, 2006. www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/07/20030712.html.
- . 2005. 'African Global Competitiveness Initiative Fact Sheet.' July 19. Accessed July 2006. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050719-6.html>.
- . 2012. *U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: The White House. Accessed December 1, 2013. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf.
- Whitlock, Craig. 2013. 'U.S.-trained Congolese Troops Committed Rapes and Other Atrocities, U.N. Says.' *The Washington Post*, May 14.
- Wigglesworth, Robin. 2012. 'Chase for Yields Lures Investors to Frontier Bonds.' *Financial Times*, September 4.
- Williams, G. Mennen. 1969. *Africa for the Africans*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Williamson, John. 2000. 'What Should the World Bank Think about the Washington Consensus?' *World Bank Research Observer* 15 (2) (August): 251–264.
- World Bank. 2013. 'Africa's Pulse: An Analysis of Issues Shaping Africa's Economic Future.' Vol 7 (April). Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Zachary, Pascal G. 2003. 'Searching for Dial Tone in Africa.' *New York Times*, July 5.

Index

Note: Letter 'n' followed by the locators refer to notes.

- Act for International Development, 29
- Africa Action, 94, 163n4
- African-American influence, 16, 38, 47, 52, 60
- African Development Bank, 70
- African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), 9, 54, 55, 59, 76, 83, 86, 110, 115, 121, 131
 - assessment, 132–3
 - creation of, 71–3
 - investment promotion, 112, 133
 - programs, 61, 100, 104, 105, 117, 129
 - renewal, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 100–2, 120
- African Union, 24, 93, 106, 118
- Africare, 62
- AFRICOM, 9, 85, 89, 90, 118
- agribusiness, 9, 18, 41, 50, 82, 123, 132, 139, 140, 147, 148, 149, 150
- agriculture
 - assistance, 30, 36, 46
 - investment, 37, 48, 50, 101, 111, 112, 129, 133, 137–40, 148–9, 154
 - protectionism, 6, 7, 22, 94, 134
- Alliance for a Green Revolution, 139
- Al-Qaeda, 8, 9, 14, 85, 90, 118, 162n1
- American Committee on Africa, 62
- analytical eclecticism, 19–20
- Angola, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 60, 73, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 87, 93, 99, 100, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 130, 146
- Anti-Apartheid Act, 52
- Atlantic Charter, 28
- Attwood, William, 38

- Baker, James, 61
- Bandung Conference, 33
- Belgium, 34, 39
- Benin, 51, 87, 112, 138
- Berlin Conference, 28–9
- Big Emerging Markets Initiative, 59, 82
- bilateral investment treaty (BIT) 70, 117, 133–5, 164n9

- Black, Eugene, 32
- Black Leadership Conference, 43
- Botswana, 37, 51, 59, 69, 82, 87, 93, 99, 111, 112, 129
- Bowles, Chester, 33, 161n1
- Brazil, 4, 12, 152
- Bretton Woods, 21, 31, 39
- BRICS, 126, 152, 153, 159
- Britain, 21, 28, 29, 34, 39, 80, 89, 143, 152
- Brookings Institute, 96, 124, 126
- Brown, Ron, 58, 59, 69
- Bunche, Ralph, 32
- Bureau of African Affairs, 32, 42, 67, 127, 154
- Bureau of International Programs, 36, 162n2
- Bureau of International Business Operations, 36
- Bureau for Private Enterprise, 50
- Burkina Faso, 4, 51, 90, 102, 138
- Bush, George W., 9, 85–114, 135, 137, 140
- Bush, George H. W., 54–8, 61, 64, 68, 70, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83
- business lobbies, 15, 61, 72, 121, 123
- Byrd Amendment, 16, 42

- Cameroon, 45, 50, 51, 70, 79, 109, 147, 148
- Cape Verde, 138
- capital flight, 7, 23, 143–4, 147, 153, 157
- Carlyle Group, 61
- Carter, Jimmy, 44–8
- Center for Global Development, 122
- Center for International Private Enterprise, 49
- Central African Republic, 119
- Chad, 70, 109, 110, 154
- Chad-Cameroon Pipeline, 79, 109
- Chambers of Commerce, 36, 49, 60, 61, 80, 99, 102, 123, 126, 130, 143

- Chase Manhattan, 34, 47
- China, 1, 4, 12, 20, 21, 74, 76, 77, 79, 109, 116, 120, 125, 126, 130, 132, 133, 138, 145, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157
- Church, Frank, 47
- Citibank, 47, 82
- Clark, Dick, 43
- Clay, Henry, 36
- clean energy, 130, 131, 149, 157
- Clinton, Bill, 16, 54–5, 58–84, 88, 92, 96, 109, 110
- Clinton Foundation, 106
- Clinton, Hillary, 59, 117, 120, 128, 135, 136, 146
- Cohen, Herman, 61, 80, 94
- Commission on Capital Flows to Africa, 95–6
- Communism, 1, 14, 44, 53
- Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), 47, 48, 57, 62, 64, 65, 73, 92
- constructivism, 12, 17
- Corporate Council on Africa (CCA), 60, 61, 65, 66, 72, 81, 93, 95, 100, 110, 123, 125, 164n4
- corporate social responsibility, 127, 128, 143, 150, 154
- corruption, 14, 48, 91, 99, 123, 143
- Cote D'Ivoire, 4, 69, 99, 163n
- Crocker, Chester, 48, 52, 62, 80
- Darlington, Charles, 38
- Davis, Nathaniel, 43
- debt, 12, 22, 53
regime, 3, 14
relief, 7, 9, 14, 24, 30, 55, 58, 59, 62, 70, 73, 75–6, 83, 89, 92, 93
- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 62, 70, 80, 81, 112, 113, 119, 142
- democratization, 5, 10, 24, 49, 55, 57, 59, 66, 72, 105, 109, 110, 116, 119, 128, 154, 158, 160
- Department of Commerce (USDC), 32, 36, 46, 49, 50, 51, 58, 61, 67–8, 69, 82, 99–100, 117, 128, 129–30
trade missions, 36, 49, 50, 69, 99, 100, 123, 130
- Department of Defense, 32, 88, 91, 93, 94, 128, 141
- Development Fund for Africa, 52, 64
- diaspora (African), 10, 113, 120, 123, 124, 127, 135, 136, 151
investment, 16
networks, 4, 5, 151
- Diggs, Charles, 42, 43, 44
- Djibouti, 119
- Dodd-Frank, 9, 121, 142, 146, 157, 159
- economic diversification, 5, 6, 23, 25, 133, 155
- economic freedom, 48, 104, 105
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 16, 31–5
- environmental conditions on policy, 14, 20, 22, 46, 47, 50, 59, 74, 84, 94, 153
- Environmental Defense Fund, 47
- Environmental Protection Act, 47
- Equatorial Guinea, 67, 73, 78, 79, 108, 110, 116, 143, 146
- Eritrea, 51, 102
- Ethiopia, 3, 4, 40, 42, 51, 69, 82, 87, 98, 99, 113, 116, 118, 119, 133
- Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im), 29, 65, 70, 78, 80, 81, 100, 109, 110, 114, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, 129, 130, 140, 145, 157
- Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), 9, 105, 106, 117, 142, 152, 157, 159, 160
- Feed the Future, 9, 115, 117, 122, 129, 131, 138–40, 149, 150
- Firestone, 34
- Food for Peace, 32, 37
- food sovereignty, 139, 160
- Ford Foundation, 33
- Ford, Gerald, 39–44, 47, 61
- foreign commercial service officers (FCSO), 129–30
- Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), 47, 146
- France, 28, 29, 39, 45, 52, 69, 70, 77, 79, 80, 107, 126, 143, 145, 146
- Gabon, 28, 38, 43, 51, 87, 113, 154, 155, 159
- Gates Foundation, 106, 139
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 3, 57, 70

- Germany, 30, 75, 77, 90
- Ghana, 38, 39, 46, 49, 51, 59, 61, 70, 82, 87, 94, 99, 100, 101, 107, 112, 113, 115, 117, 129, 130, 131, 137, 138, 140, 146, 147, 148, 155, 159
- Global Alliance for Clean Cook Stoves, 135
- Global Coalition for Africa, 58
- Global Financial Integrity, 5
- global governance, 1, 7, 13, 14, 105–6, 114, 127, 141–4, 156–8
- Global Reporting Initiative, 143
- Global Witness, 80, 106, 121, 125, 143
- greenfield investments, definition, 161n4
- Guinea, 38, 39, 43, 45, 50, 51, 107, 110, 116, 142, 146
- Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, 60, 71, 75
- human rights, 9, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 44, 62, 73, 78, 79, 87, 90, 91, 92, 109, 110, 119, 121, 131, 132, 144, 159
- Human Rights Watch, 109, 110
- Ibrahim, Mo, 160
- India, 4, 12, 77, 106, 126, 140, 145, 152, 162n1, 165n15
- inequality, 5, 20, 102, 158
- infrastructure
investment, 58, 63, 79, 81, 100, 105, 112, 132, 137, 138, 145, 149, 154
needs, 5, 7, 64, 65, 66, 71, 73, 74, 78, 93, 108
- International Aid Transparency Initiative, 106, 141
- International Development Association, 51
- International Finance Corporation, 24, 33, 104, 132
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 3, 7, 14, 21, 30, 51, 56, 71, 75, 76, 79, 104, 109, 111, 151, 152, 153
- International Trade Administration, 50, 77, 100
- Japan, 30, 45, 49, 59, 70, 146
- Johnson, Lyndon, 35–9, 41
- Jubilee 2000, 75, 91, 102
- Kagame, Paul, 116, 154
- Kansteiner, Walter, 65, 72, 88, 94, 97
- Kasson, John, 29
- Katzenbach, Nicholas, 37
- Kennedy, John, 16, 35–9
- Kenya, 46, 50, 51, 69, 81, 82, 87, 92, 95, 98, 99, 101, 112, 113, 116, 129, 130, 131, 133, 140, 147, 149
- Kimberley Process Certification Scheme, 111, 163n13
- Kissinger, Henry, 39, 43
- Korry, Edward, 36
- labor rights, 7, 9, 14, 62, 71, 73, 92, 94, 102, 126, 131, 132, 135, 153, 154
- labor unions, 6, 30, 36, 134, 138, 147
- land grabs, 148, 154
- Lesotho, 133, 138
- liberalization, 22, 43, 49, 51, 63, 68, 88, 107, 115, 134, 151, 159
- Liberia, 4, 33, 34, 39, 46, 51, 87, 90, 113, 131, 137, 146, 149
- Lome Convention, 45, 51
- Madagascar, 81, 107, 116, 148
- Malawi, 93, 103, 112
- Mali, 81, 112, 116, 118, 119, 138, 148, 149
- manufacturing, 5, 10, 24, 46, 48, 50, 51, 73, 74, 77, 78, 82, 100, 105, 107, 108, 113, 116, 132, 133, 144, 145, 149, 150
- Marxists, 13
- Mauritius, 101, 133
- Mbeki, Thabo, 108
- McDermott, Jim, 71, 101, 121
- Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), 86, 98, 103
- Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 9, 85, 86, 88, 98, 113, 117, 122, 137–8
agriculture support, 137, 148–9
creation of, 91, 93, 103–4
trade support, 129, 137
- Millennium Development Goals, 23, 92
- Minority Business Development Agency, 100
- Mobil Oil, 38, 79
- Mobutu, Joseph, 3, 52, 81
- Moose, George, 66, 80, 82

- Mozambique, 43, 45, 49, 51, 57, 81, 100, 112, 130, 138, 146, 149, 154, 160
- Museveni, Yoweri, 62, 116
- Mutual Security Act, 29, 32
- Mutual Security Agency, 29
- Nalen, Craig, 49
- Namibia, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 101, 111, 138
- National Security Council, 32, 33, 62
- National Summit on Africa, 62, 97
- NATO, 35, 38
- Natural Resources Defense Fund, 47
- Network for Justice in Global Investment, 134
- New Directions, 40, 45
- New International Economic Order, 43, 152
- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), 24, 93, 96, 104, 107
- Newsom, David, 40
- Niger, 4, 51, 119, 154
- Nigeria, 16, 24, 32, 36, 38, 40, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 58, 62, 69, 70, 76, 77, 79, 87, 94, 99, 107, 110, 111–13, 116, 118, 119, 129, 130, 131, 146, 147, 150, 153, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160
- Nixon, Richard, 31, 32, 39–44, 57
- Non-Aligned Movement, 38
- norms, 7, 10, 13, 17, 126, 144, 158
- Obama, Barack, 9, 16, 115–50, 158
- OPEC, 30, 31
- Open Government Directive, 141
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 10, 121, 128, 129, 140, 143, 146, 152, 154, 156
- Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), 8, 41, 49, 54, 55, 73–4, 96, 104–5, 117, 124, 131–2
- finance and insurance, 41–2, 50, 69, 78, 82–3, 105, 110–15, 131, 147–50
- funds, 50, 71, 105, 131–2, 147–50, 156
- monitoring of, 9, 48, 50, 105, 132, 145, 157
- Oxfam, 94, 125
- Partnership for Growth Initiative, 122, 127, 131, 138
- Peace Corps, 36, 42
- Peterson, Rudolf, 40
- pharmaceutical investment, 50, 82, 83, 89, 113, 147, 158
- philanthropy, 136, 156, 165n1
- Portugal, 35, 38, 40, 42, 161
- Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), 56
- Powell, Colin, 87, 108
- Power Africa Initiative, 9, 115, 117, 140, 149, 165n15
- President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), 9, 85, 86, 88, 91, 93, 98, 106, 113, 141
- private equity, 104, 105, 155
- privatization, 21, 23, 49, 54, 56, 60, 61, 62, 65, 68, 72, 81, 82, 88, 94, 95, 102, 112, 113, 117, 138, 148, 149, 150
- promotion of market institutions, 3, 55, 59, 64
- Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), 10, 96, 102–3, 113, 116, 135–7, 157, 158
- Publish What You Fund, 141
- Publish What You Pay, 106
- Reagan, Ronald, 21, 31, 47, 48–52
- Revenue Watch, 146
- Rice, Susan, 62, 79, 96
- Robinson, Leonard, 62
- Rogers, William, 39, 46
- Roosevelt, FDR, 28, 29
- Rwanda, 4, 51, 59, 65, 87, 112, 113, 116, 133, 148, 154
- Sahel Regional Program, 68, 90
- Santini Report, 44, 49
- Sao Tome and Principe, 67, 111, 163n10
- Scowcroft Group, 61, 65, 72, 88, 94
- Senegal, 58, 59, 70, 87, 99, 117, 120, 129, 137, 149, 154, 155
- Seychelles, 67, 119
- Sierra Club, 132, 180
- Sierra Leone, 4, 146
- Somalia, 57, 62, 91 118

- South Africa, 17, 24, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 77, 81, 82, 87, 94, 99, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 117, 119, 129, 130, 145, 147, 149, 152, 153, 155, 152
- Southern African Customs Union, 100
- sovereign wealth funds (SWF) 151, 156
- Soviet Union, 8, 14, 27, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 44, 48, 49, 52
- stock markets, 5, 24, 76, 155, 157
- strategic minerals, 12, 14, 43, 49
- structural adjustment programs (SAPs), 3, 21, 23, 53, 54, 56, 76, 83, 151
- Sudan, 16, 34, 70, 86, 92, 118, 119
- Sullivan, Leon, 61, 86
- Sullivan Principles, 47
- sustainable development, 6, 7, 55, 62, 67, 71, 94, 106, 125, 128, 148, 150, 157, 160
- Sutton, Francis, 33, 34
- Swaziland, 82, 102
- Tanzania, 33, 81, 87, 98, 101, 113, 117, 130, 138, 140, 147
- telecommunications investment, 68, 81, 105, 108, 132, 144
- Templesman, Leon, 80, 81
- Templesman, Maurice, 37
- terrorism, 11, 55, 66, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 104, 118, 119
- Texaco, 38, 52, 109, 112
- textile investment, 36, 82, 101, 108, 112, 132, 133
- tourism, 82, 95, 136
- TRADE program, 99
- Trade and Development Agency (TDA), 49, 53, 57, 65, 70, 81, 100, 122, 126, 129–31
- Trade and Investment Caucus, 65, 71
- Trade and Investment Framework Agreements, 70, 133
- trade regime, 7, 63
- TransAfrica, 43, 62, 66
- transfer pricing, 165n17
- Trans-Pacific Partnership, 153
- transparency, 7, 9, 14, 22, 23, 62, 74, 92, 105, 106, 109, 110, 114, 115, 117, 121, 122, 127, 128, 135, 137, 141–2, 154, 157, 158
- Transparency International, 158
- Truman, Harry, 29
- Union Carbide, 42, 49
- unions, 8, 15, 36, 41, 42, 147, 158
- United Nations, 4, 26, 32, 39, 46, 57, 68, 91, 117, 144
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 36, 37
- debate over, 40, 63–4
- investment promotion, 41, 42, 50, 57, 58, 61, 79, 81, 99, 102–3, 112–13, 127–9, 135, 136, 139, 147, 149
- reforms, 45, 46–7, 64, 68, 98, 117, 128, 141–2, 148, 157
- Uruguay Round, 56, 65, 89
- US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (USFCPA), 47, 146, 143, 152
- US Trade Representative (USTR), 69, 70, 112, 93, 94, 133–5, 132, 124
- Vance, Cyrus, 45
- venture capital, 136, 148, 151, 157
- Villard, Henry, 29
- Washington Consensus, 22, 23
- Watson, Peter, 105
- Whitaker, Rosa, 60, 69, 70, 72, 94, 96, 124
- White House Conference on Africa, 58
- Williams, Mennen, 35, 39
- World Bank, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, 18, 21, 23, 24, 30, 32, 33, 37, 49, 51, 56, 64, 70, 75, 88, 89, 104, 105, 109, 110, 111, 118, 138, 142, 151–6
- World Resources Institute (WRI), 125, 132
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 3, 7, 14, 21, 22, 56, 59, 65, 69, 89, 106, 129, 132, 133, 152, 153
- Young, Andrew, 43, 44, 45, 62, 97
- Zambia, 43, 48, 112, 147, 159
- Zenawi, Meles, 3, 116
- Zimbabwe, 52, 76, 81, 159
- Zuma, Jacob, 153