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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Robert Handloff, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner.

Africa General

Ronen, Dov. Democracy and Pluralism in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1986, 220 pp.

In this edited collection, the authors apply largely theoretical statements about democracy to the study of political development in Africa. Although the contributors speak from a variety of perspectives on nationalism, two recurring themes emerge. The first pertains to the adaptability of so-called traditional African styles of governance, and the second addresses the deadening effect of colonial constitutions and parliamentary models on developing African political systems. Especially perceptive in their discussions of how local political traditions respond to non-traditional demands are John A. A. Ayraide's study of Nigeria and Ilunga Kabongo's of Zaire.

East/Central Africa

Kenya

arap Moi, Daniel T. Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles. Reviewed by Jimoh Omo Fadaka in New African, May 1987, p. 48.

In this book, the president of Kenya defines the concept of African nationalism in Kenya as a pragmatic approach to national management based on the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love, and unity. The author explains the evolutionary development of Kenyan society, examining perceptions of leadership, the roles of women, youth, intellectuals, and the administrators in nation-building. The book also discusses the emergence of the one-party system in Africa. President Moi makes a distinction between the democratic socialism practiced by Kenya's communal society and the kind of socialism found in Europe. He concludes that Kenya needs to develop from its own cultural and social experiences and invest its traditional concepts with new meanings instead of accepting the Capitalist or Communist standards of the industrialized world as gospels of development.

Maren, Michael Paul. "Kenya: The Dissolution of Democracy." Current History, May 1987, pp.209-12, 228-29.

This short article examines the changes which have taken place in Kenya during the presidency of Daniel arap Moi. The author characterizes Moi's 9-year tenure as a period during which power shifted into the hands of a new, non-Kikuyu elite. As a consequence of the new regime's apparent insecurity, Moi took several measures to tighten control over the political process. For example, he enabled the passage of legislation to declare the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) the country's sole legal party, and subordinated Parliament to KANU as Kenya's decision-making body. He also engineered the elimination of secret balloting and primary elections

in spite of protests from the National Christian Council of Kenya and the Law Society of Kenya. Although the author does not suggest that Moi's regime is any less disciplined than its predecessor, recent reports of human rights violations and corruption have affected relations between Kenya and its two principal Western allies, Britain and the United States. Having described Kenya's drift toward greater authoritarianism, the author failed to offer any implications of that drift or predictions on Moi's own political future.

### Tanzania

van Donge, Jan Kees and Liviga, Athumani J. "Tanzanian Political Culture and the Cabinet." The Journal of Modern Africa, vol. 24, no.4 (December 1986), pp.619-39.

This article attempts to explain the national political culture of Tanzania through an analysis of the presidential cabinet. The authors define power sharing as a piece of political culture and examine the factors which lead to the rise of certain politicians and the fall of others. In analyzing the inclusion or exclusion in the cabinet of these politicians, they are able to distill and focus on the rules regarding political behavior specific to that nation. By analyzing ministerial careers, the authors also ascertain the security of political life in the Tanzanian system. They conclude that leading personalities in the political sphere practice risk avoidance, which is a reflection of the political culture. In this article, the authors present a strong and well-founded argument that the avoidance of conflict is a widespread trait in Tanzanian political society and that leading politicians, while attempting to build individual bases of support, acknowledge their subservience to the president and withhold criticism of him.

### Horn

#### Ethiopia

Clapham, Christopher. "Revolutionary Socialist Development in Ethiopia." African Affairs, vol. 86, no. 343 (April 1987), pp. 151-165.

The author, one of the foremost scholar-observers of the Ethiopian scene, argues convincingly that Ethiopia must be seen as a truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Socialist state. Clapham bases his conclusion on the presence of several basic Socialist principles that the Ethiopian regime has pursued with consistency and determination--severe restrictions on the role of private foreign capital, nationalization of all land, and the adoption of Soviet-style institutions, including a centrally-directed economy and a 10-year development plan. He also notes that the government's development strategy, which has been rigidly and consistently implemented, has led to a decline in the general standard of living since the 1974 revolution. Clapham could have strengthened his argument by pointing out that every other African state pursuing a

Marxist-Leninist revolutionary strategy, including those not hosting insurgencies, has experienced a declining standard of living.

### Somalia

Laitin, David and Samatar, Said. Somalia: Nation in Search of a State. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987, 198 pp.

Another volume in the "Profiles" series on African countries from Westview Press, this book provides a brief yet comprehensive survey of contemporary Somalia, covering such topics as social organization, cultural values, colonialism, and the economy. The authors devote special attention to the structure of the military government under Siad Barre and to Somalia's foreign relations. They also project likely political, economic, and foreign policy scenarios in the 1990s, and conclude with a forecast of political turmoil in the post-Siad Barre era. This volume, written by two leading authorities on Somalia, is an excellent introduction to the country.

### Sudan

Lesch, Anne Mosely. "A View From Khartoum." Foreign Affairs, vol. 65, no. 4 (Spring 1987), pp. 807-826.

This article examines the domestic and foreign policies of Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi. In contrast with his pro-American predecessor, Jafaar al-Nimeiri, Mahdi has pursued a foreign policy of nonalignment as he seeks aid and support in tackling Sudan's biggest problems--civil war in the south, economic dislocation, and the need for a new constitutional order. Lesch finds that Mahdi has had only some success in addressing these problems. For example, he has moved toward establishing balanced relationships with his neighbors and with the United States and the Soviet Union; however, all of these new relationships are delicate. Lesch stresses that the United States, in particular, must exercise patience and work constructively with Mahdi on both economic and military fronts, avoiding the heavy-handed tactics of the Nimeiri era.

### Southern Africa

Baker, Pauline H. "United States Policy in Southern Africa." Current History, vol. 86, no. 520 (May 1987), pp. 193-96, 225-27.

In this thought-provoking article, the author begins with the statement that in the aftermath of the failure of Reagan's constructive engagement policy, US policy toward southern Africa has never been more confused. Compounding and perhaps contributing to the confusion is declining US credibility and strained relations with

the key regional states. Baker's central theme is that US sanctions against South Africa can have only a limited impact in the absence of a coherent foreign policy toward southern Africa as a region. As a result of these limitations, South Africa has stepped up aggression against its neighbors, the United States has shifted its role from mediator to militant, and violence and repression, especially in South Africa, have increased. The author emphasizes that without a change in commitment toward southern Africa, which should include aid and diplomacy, the United States will no longer be able to influence policies of governments within the region. Already contradictory US policies are only serving to alienate both Marxist and non-Marxist governments. Baker's prescription for change entails a US response to regional issues which supports its antiapartheid policy and an effort to distinguish between ideological concerns and bilateral and regional ones. Her argument is based on the premise that the Reagan administration must demonstrate the seriousness of its antiapartheid policy in order to regain credibility in southern Africa.

#### Mozambique

Isaacman, Allen. "Mozambique and the Regional Conflict in Southern Africa." Current History, May 1987, pp. 213-16, 230-34.

The author has written a succinct yet comprehensive account of the pre- and postindependence conditions which have led the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) government into an economic and political morass. Although the death of former President Samora Machel in October 1986 compounded the country's crises, the difficulties of the new government under Joaquim Chissano originated in deeper structural relationships: a distorted colonial economy excessively dependent on South Africa; a set of poorly implemented state and party policies; and South Africa's destabilization campaign, including support of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO) insurgency. Meanwhile, Chissano has made it clear that he will pursue his predecessor's Socialist agenda and foreign policies, although his greatest resources must necessarily focus on crushing RENAMO, which remains a powerful South African weapon capable of destroying the fabric of Mozambican society.

Pascoe, William. "Mozambique Merits the Reagan Doctrine." Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 1987, 12 pp.

Since gaining independence in 1975, writes the author of this biased and sometimes exaggerated policy critique, Mozambique has been one of the Soviet Union's closest allies in Africa. In return for military advisers and a large arsenal of Soviet weapons in the battle against RENAMO, Mozambique has given the Soviet navy access to ports and allowed other Soviet allies preferred access to Mozambique's natural resources. In response, for the past 6 years the Reagan Administration has sought to "wean away" the Mozambican Government, providing it with political, diplomatic, and economic support instead of invoking the Reagan Doctrine and supporting the so-called

democratic RENAMO resistance forces. The author contends that the United States has sided with the Soviet-backed regime. Moreover, he argues that Mozambique's ties to the West are no closer and those to <sup>are?</sup> Moscow ~~or~~ no further away than they were ~~six~~ years ago. He proposes that rather than buttress the Mozambican Government with support packages, the United States should end all bilateral assistance, demand the withdrawal of all foreign forces, pressure the government to arrive at a plan for national reconciliation with RENAMO, and hold internationally supervised elections. If Mozambique refuses, the author suggests that the United States should consider providing Reagan Doctrine assistance to RENAMO's "democratic resistance forces." This article, written more like a sermon than a factual piece, fails to mention that the United States has not been willing to match the level of military assistance given by the Soviet Union needed to contain the RENAMO insurgency which has devastated every aspect of Mozambican life. Furthermore, the author has not offered a peaceful solution to Mozambique's strife, but an option to increase the suffering of a nation caught in a superpower struggle.

#### South Africa

Grundy, Kenneth W. The Militarization of South African Politics.  
Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986, 133 pp.

Over the past 12 years or so, the South African security establishment, which includes diverse public and private institutions and agencies concerned about security, strategy, and defense, has undergone a massive increase in size and importance. Although competing with one another for favor and budgetary allocations, these institutions and agencies together claim a parallel perspective on state policy. Even more significantly, security institutions increasingly have demanded a greater voice and role in policy issues not normally associated with defense and security. By so doing, various segments of the defense establishment have positioned themselves to be drawn into the highest policy counsels. Grundy looks at the growth of the security forces, centralization of state power and the security establishment, the militarization of white society, and foreign policy, exploring in great depth the power realignments which brought about the present government configuration. He also discusses and analyzes the changing regional strategic perspectives of government and other agencies close to power in the light of the rise of the security establishment.

Grundy, Kenneth. "South Africa: Coercion and Demands for Change."  
Current History, May 1987, pp. 197-200, 224-225.

The author presents a pessimistic view of South Africa slipping "perilously close" to all-out, widespread violence, basing his prognosis on the escalating pattern of confrontation by black and white critics of government, and the National Party's clumsy response to both. Violence is less often a situational response by a few individuals, and more often part of an agenda pursued by organized

groups. Government efforts to control this volatile climate--by coopting moderate opponents, adopting minimal reforms, and finally by repression and censorship--have failed either to stem the growing violence or diminish the perception of legitimacy of the groups engaging in it. The threat is more serious, in Grundy's view, because political moderates on all sides are being silenced and replaced by extremists, whose popularity is enhanced by the growing polarization. Right-wing vigilantes, who act with virtual immunity, are evidence of this. Although Grundy's perception of the dynamics of South African politics is well researched and reasoned, he has become so impressed with the power of the State Security Council and the National Security Management System which it controls that he almost ignores political influences originating outside that establishment. His analysis begs a number of further questions, such as the direction of change in the role of political brokers in this fragmented society--leaders from labor, religious, business, and academic communities who may wield more (or less) influence as public rhetoric becomes more extreme. Blacks outside the ANC-Inkatha rivalry may reject the violence of either. Even the "New Nats" within the government may speed the pace of change that is inevitable in South Africa.

Swaziland

Daniel, John and Vilane, Johnson. "Swaziland: Political Crisis, Regional Dilemma." Review of African Political Economy, no. 35 (May 1986), pp. 54-67.

In this article, the authors offer a plausible and well-substantiated alternative to more frequently cited explanations of Swaziland's intimate relationship with South Africa. The death of King Sobhuza in August 1982 ended 14 years of post-independence stability and initiated a prolonged period of factional strife within Swazi royalty. Simultaneously, Swaziland has aligned itself against those seeking a democratic and nonracial alternative in South Africa. According to the authors, most analysts of Swazi politics focus on Swaziland's structural subordination to the South African economy, emphasizing its landlocked condition and the resulting economic dependency to explain Swaziland's willingness to "play South Africa's game." Neither Lesotho nor Botswana, which are equally vulnerable to South African manipulation, have ~~the same~~ intimate dealings with South Africa as Swaziland, and ~~maintain cool relations with the former.~~ To explain the collaborative behavior of the Swazi state with South Africa, the authors point to the position and interests of the dominant royalist comprador class which shares strong economic ties and political perceptions with the South African ruling class. They conclude that current political developments in the southern African region are strengthening those ties so that the relationship has become an embrace of two threatened ruling classes.

West Africa

Cameroon

Azevedo, Mario. "The Post-Ahidjo Era in Cameroon." Current History, vol. 86, no. 520 (May 1987), pp. 217-20, 229-30.

This article, long on history but short on critical analysis, gives a brief synopsis of the policies pursued by Cameroon's president as he copes with threats visited upon the state in the mid-1980s. Although the author presents the current problems facing the Biya regime, such as anglophone discrimination, French relations, and northern Fulani oppression of non-northerners, the author does not attempt to analyze critically the internal workings of the government. Therefore, the reader is left with the impression that the government will have no difficulties solving its problems, perhaps because of the article's lack of depth and detail.

Nigeria

Diamond, Larry "Nigeria Between Dictatorship and Democracy." Current History, May 1987, pp. 201-~~204~~, 222-24.

The author reiterates the saga of Nigeria's descent into economic and political chaos and the subsequent attempts of President Ibrahim Babangida to turn the tide. When he first came to power, Babangida's promised changes included a more liberal political climate but also a serious economic readjustment that would include a currency devaluation. Because he rejected an IMF bailout and has consulted popular opinion on such topics as Nigeria's political future and proposed economic reforms, Babangida remains popular. More importantly, the democratic transition to which he has committed himself seems to be irreversible. At the same time, its completion is far from assured and the success of any future democratic system is yet problematic. Success, according to the author, will depend on three factors all linked to economic reforms: sufficiently ordered and well-distributed economic growth to consolidate any new government's basis of legitimacy; a radical constellation of reforms that include the replacement of the state with the private sector as a source of wealth and power; and time enough to implement these reforms before the next oil boom, predicted to come in 5 to 10 years. Should the boom hit before a solid productive base is established, the old, irresponsible, parasitic behavior will return, and once again Nigeria will wallow in a quagmire of corruption, cynicism, and coups.