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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

January 1984

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. 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 month to month. 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.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in December)

AFRICA GENERAL

Legum, Colin. "Why China Needs Africa." New African, November 1983, pp. 47-54

Chinese interest in Africa reached a high point in 1965 when Zhou Enlai made an 11 nation tour of Africa. China saw this as an opportunity to "take Africa away" from Soviet and American influence. However, it was not until the 1970s that China won African friends through a \$2 billion aid program. After a dry period following Mao's death in 1976, the resurrection of China's African policy began in 1981; at present, China has diplomatic ties with 46 of the 51 OAU members. Premier Zhao Zhiyang's tour of 10 African states in late 1982 was meant to demonstrate that Africa is once again a cornerstone of China's political effort in the Third World.

"Southern Africa: Rebuff Aggression." World Marxist Review, August 1983, pp. 28-33.

Leading party and state leaders of Mozambique, Madagascar, and Lesotho discuss the source and nature of the military threat in southern Africa, the forms and methods of resisting it, and the importance of international solidarity with those who have suffered from aggression. South Africa is cited as the source of regional instability and aggression.

Woodward, Calvin. "Political Stability in Southern Africa: The View from the Embassy." Africa Insight, vol. 13, no. 12 (1983), pp. 135-38.

Based on interviews with the ambassadors of the major Western powers to South Africa, the author discusses the degree of change in South Africa and the role which South Africa may play in southern Africa in the future. The ambassadors all agree that the latter depends on internal developments in South Africa. If the present racial structure is retained, increased tension could easily destabilize the entire region, but a "genuine process" of change would mean that South Africa could succeed in exercising a paramount influence in the area. This would not only be welcomed by its neighbors but would be of great benefit to the region.

Yakemtchouk, Romain. "La Cooperation Militaire de l'Afrique Noire avec l'URSS et les Etats-Unis (Black Africa's Military Cooperation with the USSR and the United States)." Afrique Contemporaine, October-December 1983, pp. 3-20.

Discusses Soviet and US involvement in black Africa since decolonization in the 1960s. Data on military expenditures are given. Extensively documented but with a definite pro-Soviet slant.

ANGOLA

Helmore, Richard. "Angola: Report from the Front." Africa Now, November 1983, pp. 97-98.

Helmore spent a week traveling in Huila province in southern Angola. Contrary to reports that southern Angola is controlled by UNITA and South Africa, Helmore states that the Luanda government is "holding its own" in the region. In addition, he credits many of UNITA's recent military successes to large amounts of military support from the SADF.

CAMEROON

"Cameroon." African Research Bulletin, 1-30 September 1983, pp. 6976-77.

An overview of developments in Cameroon since the resignation of Ahmadou Ahidjo on 27 August 1982. The most notable changes include the end of political repression and a change in development strategy from Ahidjo's north to other regions of the country.

Dahmani, Abdelaziz. "Paul Biya ou l'Ascension Tranquille (Paul Biya or the Tranquil Ascension to Power)." Jeune Afrique, 16 November 1983, pp. 38-40, 45-46.

A biography of the new president of Cameroon which optimistically highlights his positive qualities. He is compared to Senegalese President Abdou Diouf who has made a successful transition to leadership following the resignation of Leopold Senghor, Senegal's founding president.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

"CAR: Les Operations." Africa Confidential, 30 November 1983, pp. 3-5.

Deepening economic problems and increasing dissent among the ruling junta members makes the government of Andre Kolingba very unstable. Kolingba did not dare leave the country for the Vittel Summit in October. Possible successors and leading opposition groups and individuals are also discussed.

CHAD

"Coup d'Oeil sur le Tchad: Biltine avec les Soldats du Desert (A Glance at Chad: In Biltine with the Desert Soldiers)." TAM (Terre, Air, Mer), November 1983, pp. 37-44.

A journalist's account of a visit to Chad's "Red Line," the French defense line which bars further Libyan and rebel advances. The morale of the French troops, their mission, and equipment are described. The psychological plus of air cover by Mirages and F-1s makes the French soldier's life easier. The article centers on the French post at Salal in the central province of Biltine. Relations with Chadian soldiers and local people are also highlighted.

Gaulme, Francois. "Situation Preoccupante dans le Sud: Le Tchad entre Deux Guerres (A Troubling Situation in the South: Chad Between Two Wars)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 23 September 1983, pp. 2247-50.

A detailed account of conditions in southern Chad. Information on repression by FANT forces against southerners is discussed. National integration has not taken place, and the south is still hostile to the N'Djamena government. Ethnic loyalties are outlined. While the "Arab" population of Chad has often been considered solidly behind Qadhafi, their loyalty is not certain. A description of reprisals on the town of Kelo following a raid by rebels is provided. The possibility that this act may have been in response to the ambush of Colonel Allafi, a southern GUNT officer, is explored.

Rouleau, Eric. "Guerre et Intoxication au Chad (War and the Poisoning of Chad)." Le Monde Diplomatique, September 1983, pp. 1 and 8-9.

An overview of events in Chad through the end of September 1983 which highlights the international aspects of the Chad conflict. Qadhafi's motives and actions and the United States' countermeasures are central to the article.

COMORO ISLANDS

World Bank. The Comoros: Problems and Prospects of a Small Island Economy, 1979.

A report based on the findings of a World Bank mission to the Comoros in November/December 1976, a transportation mission in March 1977, and an economic mission in December 1978. Includes maps of the infrastructures and major features of the islands of Grande Comoro, Anjouan, Mayotte, and Moheli. Discusses every sector of the country's economy as well as developmental and political issues.

CONGO

Thystere-Tchicaya, Jean-Pierre. "From African Realities to the Socialist Ideal." World Marxist Review, September 1983, pp. 62-66.

The author, a member of the Congolese Party of Labor's Central Committee Political Bureau who is responsible for ideology and education, responds to questions about the Congo's experience with Socialism and the problems the government has encountered.

ETHIOPIA

Pomonti, Jean-Claude. "Les Insurrections en Eritree et au Tigre (The Insurrections in Eritrea and Tigray)." Le Monde, 29 October 1983, p. 5.

Reports on changes in Asmara, Eritrea, since the author last visited there 4 years ago. The Eritrean, Tigrean, and Somali insurgent movements no longer can rely on foreign assistance to the extent they formerly did. Although the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) continues to control northern

Eritrea and to disrupt road traffic, it does not appear capable of taking the offensive. The atmosphere in Asmara is much more relaxed now, reflecting a more secure position for the Ethiopian Government in Eritrea.

IVORY COAST

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Cote d'Ivoire: Ce Qui Va Changer (Ivory Coast: This Will Change)." Jeune Afrique, 30 November 1983, pp. 36-39.

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny reorganized his cabinet in mid-November to end the confusion following his long summer absence. Deteriorating economic conditions, corruption, and increased insecurity require attention. One measure to be taken is an increase in the number of policemen who will be better armed in the future.

LIBERIA

Momoh, Eddie. "Liberia: The Party is Over." West Africa, 7 November 1983, p. 2549.

Describes events leading to the dismissal of Brigadier General Thomas Quiwonkpa as Commanding General of the Armed Forces. The author attempts to explain and analyze the reasons for sacking Quiwonkpa and his relationship with other members of the People's Redemption Council.

MOZAMBIQUE

Botha, Pierre. "Mozambique: The Democratic People's Revolution Fails." Africa Insight, vol. 13, no. 2 (1983), pp. 130-34.

The Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO government has not achieved economic progress, development, and political stability in Mozambique. Despite the new attitude toward the West, FRELIMO remains firmly committed to the old system. The question is raised whether Mozambique will turn into a second Angola where the government is kept in power only with Cuban military personnel and support.

Henriksen, Thomas H. Revolution and Counterrevolution: Mozambique's War of Independence, 1964-1974. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983.

A well-documented account of Mozambique's 10-year liberation struggle with Portugal. Concentrates on the mobilization and "terrorization" of the population by both sides in the struggle and the impact of foreign intervention. Also discusses the varying amounts of social restructuring in the countryside.

Isaacman, Allen and Isaacman, Barbara. Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982. Colorado: Westview Press, 1983.

Studies the changing and complex domestic Mozambican situation and the influence of shifting international realities on Mozambique's economy, ethnic

groups, and indigenous social classes. The discussion is based on oral interviews and other primary and secondary sources.

Thomashausen, Andre E. "The National Resistance of Mozambique." Africa Insight, vol. 13, no. 2 (1983), pp. 125-29.

Traces the origins of the civil war between FRELIMO and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) back to 1960 when Mozambican rebels joined Nkomo's National Democratic Party in Rhodesia in hopes of finding support for their own movement. However, the movement did not gain real momentum until 1979 when Rhodesia's Government gave it support; by the end of the year, a total of 4,500 men were under MNR arms. The loss of support following Zimbabwean independence in 1980 at first threatened the MNR's existence. But recently the revitalized movement inside Mozambique has been a constant threat to Mozambique's infrastructure and internal security. The MNR's future--and Mozambique's--the author claims, will depend largely on the attitudes of Western states and South Africa in particular.

NIGERIA

Oyediran, Oyeleye., ed. Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule, 1966-79. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, xii, 319 pp. Reviewed by Edward Baum in Africana Journal, vol. 12, no. 3 (1981), pp. 271-72.

Presents a balanced view of Nigerian politics under military rule and discusses the military's contribution to economic development, foreign policy, and local government. The author concludes with a pessimistic prediction for the longevity of civilian rule in Nigeria.

SOMALIA

de Barrin, Jacques. "Somalie: La Guerre, la Misere...(Somalia: The War, the Misery...)." Le Monde, 25 and 26 November 1983.

This two-part article focuses on both the fighting with Ethiopia and dissidents and Somalia's economic problems. The Somali Democratic Salvation Front and the Somali National Movement insurgencies appear to be losing momentum. Economic liberalization may help to achieve detente in the rebellious north. Somalia is increasingly pinning its hopes for development aid on Arab countries. This explains the recent drive to promote Arab culture and language.

SOUTH AFRICA

Conradie, D. "Achievements of the SADF 1961-1982." Militaria (Pretoria), vol. 13, no. 2 (1983), pp. 51-56.

Lieutenant Conradie of the SADF Information Bureau presents an overview of developments in the SADF since the founding of the Republic in 1961. Topics discussed include the establishment of ARMSCOR, the introduction of National Service, changes in command and control, solving the manpower problem, etc.

Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: South Africa. International Marketing Information Series, FET 83-092. Washington, D. C.: GPO, October 1983, 14 pp.

In 1982, South Africa recorded its first year of negative real economic growth in the post-war period; real gross domestic product (GDP) fell by almost one percent. This negative growth will add to black economic woes and discontent. West Germany also replaced the United States as South Africa's "most important supplier." In addition to detailed economic statistical information, this study discusses the short and long term implications of South Africa's economic activity for the United States.

Manual, Stewart. The Border Wars: South Africa's Response. Conflict Study no. 152, London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1983, 19 pp.

Manual, a retired RAF Air Vice-Marshal, presents a very pro-South African and anti-Soviet interpretation of recent developments in Southern Africa. Over half of the study is devoted to the military capabilities of South Africa and Namibia. Includes a discussion of the individual branches of the armed forces of these states (including an OB of the SADF) and an overview of joint land/air operations, problems of logistic support, and modernization plans for South Africa and Namibia.

"Operation Jakkeldraai." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), August 1983, pp. 18-19.

Describes a 9-day exercise primarily focusing on military communications/signals problems. The training reportedly was the result of difficulties experienced by the SADF during "recent military operations" (presumably in southern Angola). Approximately 200 vehicles were involved in the exercise. A total of 40 communications points were established, and all communications were sent through Jakkeldraai Central HQ.

Segal, Aaron. "U.S.-South Africa Relations: The Technological Factor." Unpublished paper presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, December 1983, 29 pp.

The United States is a technological giant; South Africa is a technological midget. Despite this, the author contends that South Africa can purchase most of its needed technology on the open international market (Europe, Japan, etc.) Consequently, the United States has little leverage against South Africa in this sphere. Domestically, South Africa eventually must face up to the fact that by excluding blacks from higher education, South Africa is limiting its potential in developing expertise. This study contains abundant statistics on the education levels of all segments of South African society. Although the government at present tightly controls and directs R & D projects, in the future it will lessen its competitive edge by enforcing apartheid.

SUDAN

"Sudan: Allah and the South." Africa Confidential, 19 October 1983, pp. 1-7.

States that Sudan is now more politically unstable than at anytime since Numayri assumed power. Discusses the various Islamic groups in Sudan and the possibilities for their opposition to the government even after the imposition of Islamic law. Also deals with opposition forces, such as Anyanya II, in the southern Sudan. Concludes that the situation in the south could be defused with some adroit politics, but Numayri may not be capable of such moves.

Wilson, Adam and Legum, Colin. "Nimeiri's Double-Edged Sword." New African, December 1983, pp. 10-14.

Concludes that although the Sudan has a long history of dealing with Sharia law, the imposition of strict Sharia law will be impossible in the south and only partially possible in the north of the country. Moreover, even Sudanese Muslims are divided in their reactions to the imposition of Sharia law. But Numayri's main concern is maintaining support in the army. This support will be sorely tried in the coming months, especially in the south.

TANZANIA

Bothomani, Isaac B. "Political Socialisation in Tanzania." Africa Insight, no. 2 (1983), pp. 112-16.

The author explains the structure of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), Tanzania's sole political party. TANU's function is to shape the political attitudes and values of the Tanzanian people, imparting to them the ideology of socialism and self-reliance. The article is entirely uncritical, asserting that TANU, by reaching every citizen through its organizational structure, accomplishes its aims.

Samoff, Joel. "Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Power in Tanzania: The Institutional Context of Class Struggle." Journal of African Studies, vol. 10, no. 3 (Fall 1983), pp. 84-96.

Samoff examines the institution-building process in Tanzania, concluding that institutions are the link between class conflicts and political practice. He demonstrates that Tanzania's institutions are both the arenas for and outcomes of class conflict. Since the bureaucracy is the ruling class in Tanzania, government institutions are necessarily a major focus of class conflict.

UPPER VOLTA

Andriamiado, Senne. "Le Changement Difficile (The Difficult Changeover)." Jeune Afrique, 16 November 1983, pp. 30-32, 37.

In spite of Marxist rhetoric, the changes envisaged in Upper Volta at present are populist. The new government and its Committees for the Defense of the

Revolution are riding a wave of popular enthusiasm. However, neighboring governments and expatriate Upper Voltans remain suspicious of the new regime.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Sankara: Est Il Communiste? (Sankara: Is He a Communist?)." Jeune Afrique, 23 November 1983, pp. 30-31.

The rhetoric of Upper Volta's new leadership has led to questions about the politics of the new military government. Personalities and political convictions of the new members have led to the conclusion that while Sankara's views are still not known or clear, others in the government or close to the government certainly are Communists.

ZAMBIA

Libby, Ronald T. "Transnational Class Alliances in Zambia." Comparative Politics, July 1983, pp. 379-400.

Argues that there is a major division within Zambia's ruling class between the political bourgeoisie and the subordinate capitalist bourgeoisie. In addition, multinational corporations allied to the political bourgeoisie are able to beat out those allied to the latter group in terms of receiving preferred government treatment.

ZIMBABWE

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "Zimbabwe: Shift in White Politics?" Africa News, 7 November 1983, pp. 6-7.

Within the past year, nine members of the Republican Front (RF) party defected and became independents; subsequently, two independent candidates defeated RF candidates in by-elections. For the first time since Zimbabwean independence, independent whites control the majority of the 20 House of Assembly seats constitutionally reserved for whites. Ian Smith and the rest of the RF membership reportedly have alienated many whites by their "reactionary" and "obstructive" politics. The Mugabe government has hailed the independents as acting in the best interests of all Zimbabwean peoples. However, these independents have also opposed some of Mugabe's policies, most notably by supporting Joshua Nkomo's claim to his parliamentary seat after his self-imposed exile in Britain.