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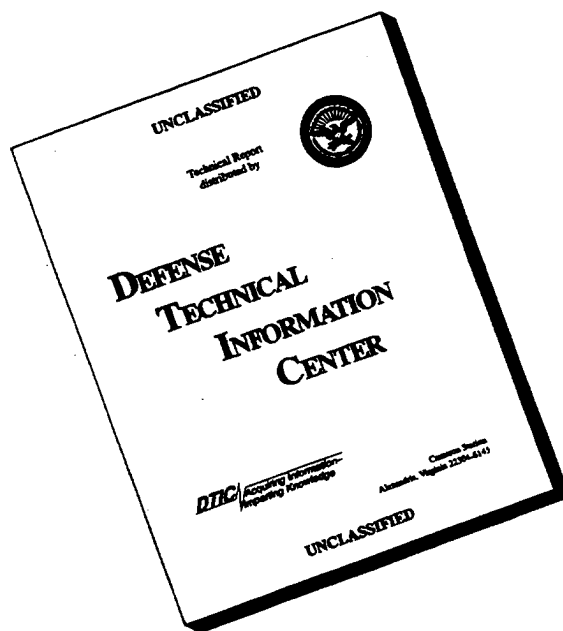
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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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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.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Mary Louise Harmon, Linda Lau, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

August 1984

\*Africa General

El-Khawas, Mohamed A. "Reagan's African Policy: A Turn to the Right." A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, vol. 16, no. 3 (1983-84), pp. 207-225.

This article, written in 1981, provides a succinct analysis of the current administration's African policy, which is contrasted with that of the Carter administration. El-Khawas finds two major changes--the basing of African policy not on regional considerations but rather on a global strategy against the Soviets and the rapprochement with South Africa. He discusses the origins of "constructive engagement" which in his view is an obstacle to Namibian independence, one of the administration's professed goals. The decreased economic concern for human rights and the reduced spending for assistance are also noted. The article's conclusion warns that closer ties with South Africa will widen the rift between the US and the rest of Africa.

Luckham, Robin. "Security and Disarmament in Africa" Alternatives, vol. 9 (1983), pp. 203-28.

Many African nations have embarked upon a costly investment in weapons, but are they more secure as a result? Luckham argues that the answer depends on the definition of security which often means the security of Western interests and the regimes which support them--the "security" of the ruling classes. Security in regard to neighboring states is also given as a reason for an arms buildup, but the author finds it justified only against South African aggression. Arguing that true security will come in Africa only when regional cooperation, not military force, settles conflicts, Luckham calls on African nations to "disarm" in the sense of reducing arms expenditures to the minimum needed for defense. While recognizing that his program is unlikely today, he offers it as an alternative, one which would help Africa break its dependency on both East and West.

Okolo, Amechi. "Dependency in Africa: Stages of African Political Economy." Alternatives, vol. 9 (1983), pp. 229-47.

The author divides the Western domination of Africa into 5 periods, the last of which is the "dependency domination" which succeeded neo-colonialism in the 1970s. Under neo-colonialism, African economies were dominated by the former colonial power, but today dependency is international. Africa's dependency continues because African societies are proletarianized (suppliers of cheap labor and not even able to feed themselves) and peonized (in a system of permanent indebtedness). Admitting the difficulty of breaking out of this cycle, Okolo insists food production must be the first step.

Guinea Bissau

Abral, Vasco. "Guideline: The Welfare of the People." World Marxist Review, April 1984, pp. 58-62.

The goals and structure of Guinea Bissau's state party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), are described. The author, a member of the party's Political Bureau and Central Committee, admits that the PAIGC's transformation from a national liberation movement into a party leading an independent country has not been smooth. The party, which considers itself the vanguard of the Guinea people, is to be built up gradually. New members are to be admitted on a strictly selective basis. Although the changes which need to be made to achieve significant socio-economic development are extensive, change is to be introduced gradually. The party recognizes that the people must be allowed time to understand and be convinced of the necessity of changes before they can be successfully implemented. The "objective reality, the general backwardness of the country and its historical and national specifics" must be taken into account. The relationship between the party and armed forces is briefly discussed.

### Horn of Africa

Mayall, James. "The National Question in the Horn of Africa." World Today, September 1983, pp. 336-43.

Summarizes the underlying causes of instability in the Horn and describes foreign intervention in the various conflicts. US policies under the Reagan administration are briefly discussed. The United States has not been able to significantly contribute to stability in the region. The author does not see any lessening of tensions in the immediate future. The underlying problems of social and national conflict are not any closer to resolution than they have been during the past two decades.

### Ivory Coast

Zartman, L. William and Delgado, Christopher, eds. The Political Economy of Ivory Coast. New York: Praeger, 1984, 255 pp.

A focussed study consisting of an introduction by the editors on the relationship between political stability and economic growth in the Ivory Coast followed by 7 articles by specialists on aspects of political economy. Chapters on the constraints of export crop-led growth and dependency on foreign investment for economic development analyze the question raised in the introduction: can stability be maintained when growth declines.

### Lusophone Africa

Shabal, Patrick. "People's War, State Formation, and Revolution in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola." The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, vol. 21, no. 3 (November 1983), pp. 104-125.

This essay compares the origins and achievements of state formation in the Lusophone countries of Africa which experienced armed conflicts in search for independence. The author conceptualizes the nature and political significance of nationalist struggles using the Chinese and Vietnamese cases as models for state formation after armed conflicts. He determines and analyzes the difference between the political process of people's war and constitutional or legal decolonization.

### South Africa

Aarons, Jason, L. Cpl. "In Defence of South Africa." Paratus, May 1984, pp. 34-38.

Details the origin and functions of SAS JALSENA formerly called the South African Indian Corps Training Battalion, the name change occurred in early 1979. Discusses the training of Indian volunteers for the naval shore establishment.

Marcum, John A. Education, Race, and Social Change in South Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. Reviewed in Africa Report, May-June 1984, p. 66.

Presents the findings of American educators sponsored by the U.S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program who interviewed South African students, civic leaders, and educators. Gives results of research on the impact of the shortage of skilled manpower on South African society.

Herr Verhandeln Jetzt Täglich mit Schwarzen (We Now Confer Daily with Blacks). Spiegel, 28 May 1984, pp. 174-82.

South Africa's Vice Foreign Minister Louis Nel, spokesman for the "liberals" of the National Party, talks about the recent reconciliation between South Africa and its neighbors in this interview. He explains that relations are improving because of a new realism on the part of the governments in South Africa and neighboring countries. South Africa and its neighbors need each other. South Africa wants to contribute to the development of the entire south African region. Its motives are not altruistic--it expects to benefit too. It will not contribute to development by donating money or by sending assistance workers across its borders but through mutually beneficial trade relations. The government wants peace with its neighbors and is trying to create an atmosphere that will encourage South African entrepreneurs to start operating in neighboring countries. The government is making the political breakthroughs; the practical achievements will be made by businessmen. Asked if South Africa's search for peace should not start at home, Nel gave the standard response that progress is being made, its blacks are better off than those of African countries without apartheid, and that there are now even instances where whites in South Africa suffer from reverse discrimination.

### Southern Africa

Abegunrin, Layi. "Soviet and Chinese Military Involvement in Southern Africa." A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, vol. 16, no. 3 (1983-84), pp. 195-206.

An examination of Soviet and Chinese military relations with the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe as well as with Tanzania. The author observes that China and the USSR have tried to influence the host countries of liberation movements so as to be in a better position to influence the liberation groups themselves. Their rivalry is seen in Angola where the Soviets, who have good relations with the ruling MPLA, have had easy access to SWAPO which is based in Angola. The Chinese, who supported the MPLA's rivals in the independence struggle, find it more difficult to influence SWAPO. Both Communist powers have courted Tanzania because of the liberation movements based in that country, the Chinese with more success than the Soviets. Rather than emphasizing ideological affinity, the USSR and China are being pragmatic in providing military assistance to independent governments and liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Gudel, Christoph. "Africa on a Tightrope." Swiss Review of World Affairs, May 1984, pp. 6-7.

A short editorial on recent political and military events in southern Africa which discusses the role of foreign troops on Angolan soil, the dissident groups in Mozambique and Angola and the insurgents groups of Namibia and South Africa.

### Zimbabwe

Daly, Ron Reid, Lt. Col. and Stiff, Peter. Selous Scouts: Top Secret War. Alberton, South Africa: Galago Publishing Ltd., 1982, 432 pp. Reviewed in Armed Forces, June 1984, p. 232.

The authors detail the background of the special branch of the Rhodesian army called the Selous Scouts and its successful operations inside and on the border of Rhodesia. The book confirms the failure of the overall Rhodesian counterinsurgency doctrine although the Scouts were highly valued in acquiring intelligence. Contains considerable information on guerrilla organizations.

Matabeleland: Voices From the Curfew Zone. Africa Now, June 1984, pp. 18-19.

An interview with two anonymous inhabitants of Matabeleland where allegations have been made of army atrocities committed against the Ndebele population.

Matatu, Godwin. "The 5th Brigade and Zimbabwean Soldiery. Africa, no. 140, April 1983, pp. 15-17.

Examines the formation and training of Zimbabwe's notorious 5th Brigade which was trained by North Koreans in 1980. Gives limited information on the recruits who make up the unit and the Brigade's place in the command structure of the Zimbabwean army.