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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 Nancy Drexler, Robert Handloff, Mary Louise Harmon, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner.

Africa General

Clement, Peter. "Moscow and Southern Africa." Problems of Communism, March/April 1985, pp. 29-50.

Although southern Africa is peripheral to Soviet global security interests, it has been central to Moscow's image in the Third World. This detailed and lengthy review of the course of Soviet fortunes in southern Africa during the early 1980s focuses on Angola and Mozambique, Moscow's key clients in the region. It includes an assessment of Soviet interests and prospects in southern Africa.

Gorman, Robert F. "Soviet Perspectives on the Prospects for Socialist Development in Africa." African Affairs Journal of the Royal African Society, vol. 83 (April 1984), pp. 163-87.

This study traces Soviet perspectives on the development of socialism in Africa and summarizes current thinking by Soviet policymakers on various political and economic problems facing the African nations. Soviet attitudes on the potential for economic, political, and social development in Africa have changed dramatically from ridicule under Stalin, to over-optimism under Khrushchev, to circumspection under Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko. Gorman finds that Soviet policy in Africa is guided less by ideology than by the dictates of its political and economic interests. This was demonstrated by Soviet military intervention in Angola to extend its influence in southern Africa, and in the Horn of Africa to counter a threat to its influence. Where non-military demands are concerned, African socialists can now only expect lavish economic aid if they have something that the USSR needs. Recent Soviet attitudes about the prospects for immediate and long-term economic development in Africa are not overly optimistic. Moreover, the Soviets view the path to socialism in Africa as a monumental struggle in which imperialism and capitalist ideology enjoy distinct advantages. The prevailing attitude is that Africa is not as important to the USSR as the more immediate security and economic concerns in Afghanistan and Poland.

Gutteridge, William. "Undoing Military Coups in Africa." Third World Quarterly, January 1985, pp. 78-89.

Most, if not all, African coups confirm the view that the military come to power primarily because a civilian government has failed, or is perceived as having failed, to reach its goals. Countries less prone to coups, such as Kenya and Tanzania, suggest that a better-than-average political culture may be the best insurance against a coup. However, total exclusion of the military from African politics is unlikely as well as counterproductive, as witnessed by the low survival rate of newly and abruptly demilitarized regimes. A possible alternative is progressive civilianization of a military regime, without a return to civilian rule. Egypt and Zaire, while not exemplary, provide the best examples of gradual demilitarization coupled with military contribution to political development. According to the author, long-term stability in Africa depends on the development by the military of political skills which will enable them to share power with civilians.

Johnson, Thomas H.; Slater, Robert O.; and McGowan, Pat. "Explaining African Military Coups d'Etat, 1960-1982." American Political Science Review, vol.78, no.3, September 1984, pp. 622-41.

The study of national politics in Black Africa is rapidly being reduced to the study of military intervention and military rule because of frequent military coups. The authors attempt to contribute to the theoretical understanding of African military coups by developing a model to identify the determinants of such coups. They find that military coups are systematically related to societal characteristics and to the international settings of societies. This highly theoretical article includes repeated references to earlier works on the subject, and contains many charts and tables which may be useful to the African specialist but not to the average reader.

Porter, Bruce D. The USSR in Third World Conflicts: Soviet Arms and Diplomacy in Local Wars, 1945-1980. London: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 248 pp.

This in-depth examination of Soviet policy and practice toward Third World conflicts during the post-World War II period focuses especially on the Yemeni, Nigerian, and Angolan civil wars, and on the Yom Kippur and Ogaden wars. The author also undertakes a historical survey of Soviet policy toward regional conflicts and discusses Soviet advances in the military capabilities necessary for projecting power abroad and intervening in localized conflicts in the Third World.

Smaldone, Joseph. "Arms and Influence: Diminishing Returns." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 5-9 March 1985, 8 pp.

Dr. Smaldone analyzes the literature on arms transfers, accompanying statistical data, and the sociology and politics of Africa to ascertain the extent to which the United States is able to influence the behavior of its clients by selling--or withholding--arms. More important than US objectives are African domestic constraints. Taken together with the rapid expansion in the number of suppliers, the volatile and often fickle nature of political relationships based on arms transfers, and the relatively minor role of the US as a supplier, Smaldone concludes that the ability of the United States--and by extension the Soviet Union--to influence its clients is severely limited.

#### Angola

Mills, David. "Angolan Ambush." Soldier of Fortune, April 1985, pp. 48-58.

This report is a first-hand account of continuing conflict between the forces of the Angolan Government and those of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA). The author recounts his travels into FNLA country from Zaire and gives a brief history of the struggle for control of Angola.

Mills, David. "Abandoned in Angola: FNLA's Uncertain Future." Soldier of Fortune, May 1985, pp. 50-59, 82-91.

In this second part of the report of his travels through Angola with FNLA escorts, the author describes the poor conditions endured by FNLA troops and run-down nature of their facilities.

Somerville, Keith. "Angola: Soviet Client State or State of Socialist Orientation?" Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol.13, no.3 (1985), pp.292-310.

This well-written and -documented article gives an in-depth analysis of Soviet-Angolan relations, examining the development of bilateral relations in an attempt to obtain a clearer idea of the nature of their ties. It examines general Soviet and Angolan policies; Soviet involvement in the Angolan War; and Soviet-Angolan political, military and economic relations.

#### Botswana

Parson, Jack. Botswana: Liberal Democracy and the Labor Reserve in Southern Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984. 145 pp.

This book provides an analytical overview of the history and changes in the social, political and economic circumstances of Botswana. The author utilizes a political economic perspective that is rooted in Marxist theory as it relates to capitalist production. Concepts of class and state relations provide a consistent framework throughout the study and their definition and explication are developed in a concrete empirical analysis. Overall, it is timely reading for Africanists specializing in development theory, particularly development through economic dependency.

#### Comoros

Newitt, Malyn. The Comoro Islands: Struggle Against Dependency in the Indian Ocean. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984, 144 pp.

This book explores the Comoros' historical and contemporary links with Africa and the political dilemma that the Comoran Government faces in its relations with France in the postcolonial period. The author identifies overpopulation and the competing claims of export crops and subsistence agriculture as the most critical problems confronting the government. The Comoros have already experienced one abortive coup and it is concluded that unless the political and economic contradictions are resolved, further coup attempts will occur.

#### Congo

Thompson, Virginia, and Adloff, Richard. Historical Dictionary of the People's Republic of the Congo. 2d ed. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1984, 239 pp.

This dictionary covers subjects from agriculture to women, and includes biographic descriptions of important contributors in each category covered. The book also contains a recent chronology of political events, an introduction containing a description of the Congo's history, and a bibliography.

### Ethiopia

Lee, Robert W. "The Truth About the Communist Planned Famine." American Opinion, April 1985, pp. 1-6, 101-6, 108, 110.

This long, anti-Communist diatribe asserts that Ethiopia's famine was created by the Mengistu regime in an effort to advance communism. Many of the author's claims supporting his argument can be refuted, such as the assertion that the Ethiopian regime camouflaged the extent of the famine from the international community and that much of foreign food aid is diverted by the government and never reaches famine victims. The author concludes by saying that Americans can do the most to alleviate the suffering in Ethiopia by compelling the US Government to "stop financing Communism" through aid and trade.

Shepherd, Jack. "The Politics of Food Aid." Africa Report, March-April 1985, pp. 51-54.

This article addresses the issue of food aid being used as a political weapon in Ethiopia. Shepherd provides evidence lending weight to the charge that the United States withheld food aid for 2 years in the hopes that a major catastrophe would topple Ethiopia's Marxist regime. Ethiopia began pleading for food aid beginning in 1978, but as the US Government received further reliable information on the gravity of the situation it reduced food aid. Only following pressure from Congress and the media did the administration begin to reverse its policies. The author also indicts Mengistu's handling of the famine, citing examples of famine relief being accorded a lesser priority than activities to strengthen the regime.

### Ghana

Austin, Dennis "The Ghana Armed Forces and Ghanaian Society." Third World Quarterly, January 1985, pp. 90-101.

To better answer the question of how to get soldiers back to the barracks once they have broken into politics, Austin compares salient points on the coups of 1966, 1972, and 1981, and then comments on changes that occurred in Ghanaian political culture over the same period. From a Sandhurst-bred position of caution and conservatism in 1966, the military had become radical, populist, violent, and, at least under Acheompong, rapacious by

1981. Concomitantly, Ghanaian society, once remarkable for its entrepreneurial ingenuity, has passed through indifference to crippling passivity and dependence as the Ghanaian military elite has become increasingly corrupt. Factors leading to recivilianization include conspicuous failure by the military, a military decision to play a less intrusive role, or a turn toward tyranny as in Zaire or Libya.

#### Horn of Africa

Makinda, Samuel. "Shifting Alliances in the Horn of Africa." Survival, January/February 1985, pp. 11-19.

Makinda discusses the major features of intra-regional and external alliances in the Horn of Africa. He includes brief accounts of historical and internal factors that are pertinent to understanding how current foreign relationships evolved. The article gives a good overview of the many different interests and concerns that influence foreign policy decisions in the region.

#### Mauritius

Latham-Koenig, Alfred. "Mauritius: The Road to Recovery." The Round Table, vol. 293, nos. 30-34 (1985), pp. 30-34.

This discussion of the political climate in Mauritius following the election of the Jugnauth government in August 1983 includes sections on the influential Hindu community, the sugar industry, and economic trends. It concludes that there are good reasons to believe that Mauritius may enjoy a long period of political stability.

#### South Africa

Grundy, Kenneth W. "Pax Pretoriana: South Africa's Regional Policy." Current History, April 1985, pp. 150-54.

Pax Pretoriana is a contrived peace, based on strength and coercion by which South Africa, as the regional military and economic power, has forced Black governments in the region to bend. Although the government of Prime Minister Botha claims to espouse a regional policy of peaceful coexistence and nonintervention, it has continued direct military intervention or assistance to dissident elements in neighboring countries in order to force an end to support of forces antagonistic to minority rule. A central aim of South Africa's diplomacy is to project an image abroad of a government that is flexible and at peace with its neighbors. Ironically, it is civil unrest across South Africa that poses the most direct challenge to Pretoria's goals. Unless South Africa addresses the underlying causes of the conflict--unequal power and wealth--Pax Pretoriana is likely to be fruitless.

Hale, Frederick. "South Africa: Defending the Laager." Current History, April 1985, pp. 155-58, 184-86.

This article examines the aspirations and fears of the politically and economically dominant Afrikaner population in this time of change and reform in South Africa. The author breaks down the ethnic composition of the White population and explains the attitudes and perceptions of each group in the context of the contradiction between reform and increased militarism. He concludes by stating that the nation's recession and its costly involvement in Namibia militate against the speedy redress of social and economic inequality and virtually ensure that the preservation of White identity and domination will continue in an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability for many years to come.

### Southern Africa

Davies, Rob; O'Meara, Dan; and Dlamini, Siphon. The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions. Vols. 1 and 2. London: Zed Books, 1984, 440 pp.

This book deals with the numerous organizations and forms through which the struggle for and maintenance of power in South Africa takes place. It consists of a collection of analytical essays and entries on various individual organizations. Together these provide, from a Marxist perspective, both an overview of the issues and processes of this struggle, and more detailed information on the myriad organizations involved. The book identifies a number of crucial themes and areas of struggle, which are broadly grouped around the capitalist class, its allies, policies, and state structures on the one hand, and the forces making up and supporting the national liberation struggle and organized opposition to the regime on the other. The book can be used as a reference manual to provide information on specific organizations, and as a coherent analysis of the current struggle in South Africa.

Johnson, Phyllis, and Martin, David. "Africa: the Old and the Unexpected." Foreign Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3, 1985, pp. 602-30.

Although economic development continued to be the most important concern for Africa in 1984, unexpected events, particularly in South Africa, dominated the year. In terms of regional strategy and domestic policy, 1984 was a watershed for Afrikaner rule in South Africa. Mounting military and economic difficulties early in the year motivated South Africa's shift toward a policy of regional and domestic diplomacy. The irony of the diplomatic efforts is that they have weakened Pretoria's position and contributed to the acceleration of the struggle in South Africa. After the signing of the controversial Nkomati Accord, which was seen as a setback for Africa, internal violence in South Africa escalated dramatically, belying the claim that the enemy is external. The dismantling of minor elements of the apartheid system and the extension of limited political rights under the current tricameral legislative system have not prevented increasing internal dissent.

What the Nkomati Accord Means for Africa. African Communist, no. 98 (1984), pp. 5-16.

This editorial, written by members of the South African Communist Party, contends that the Nkomati Accord, signed between Mozambique and South Africa, on paper appears equitable and reasonable, but in reality is a smokescreen to obscure the hostility of the South African regime to the frontline states. The real nature of the hostility, the editorial continues, lies in the continuation of savage attacks by Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO) guerrillas, trained, paid for, equipped, and directed from South Africa. The editorial also discusses the international, southern African, and South African dimensions of the accord. It concludes that a strong South African revolutionary movement depends on the support of the frontline states which, in turn, would result in the concentration of South African military and economic resources at home. Thus, resistance to South African aggression by the frontline states will ensure their own independent future.

#### Uganda

Kasfir, Nelson. "Uganda's Uncertain Quest for Recovery." Current History, April 1985, pp. 169-73, 187.

Kasfir discusses Ugandan affairs in the post-Amin era and the Obote regime's problems in establishing its legitimacy. In his view the state lost whatever legitimacy it had acquired following independence during Amin's rule and the process by which the ruling Uganda People's Congress (UPC) came to power reduced its ability to gain political acceptability. In addition, Obote has to contend with an unruly army that he relies on to counter the guerrilla threat. The author argues that improving Uganda's economic situation is probably the only way Obote can gain support for his regime. Obote's economic policies have been successful in increasing foreign exchange earnings and foreign assistance, but it remains unclear whether these successes will benefit enough people to prevent the government's political collapse.

#### Zaire

Turner, Thomas. "Zaire: Stalemate and Compromise." Current History, April 1985, pp. 179-83.

This article provides an overview of Zaire's continuing domestic problems. It includes a discussion of Mobutu's increasing lack of popularity, the primary opposition groups, the policy changes aimed at decentralization in the hope of promoting economic development, the foreign debt which dominates Zaire's relations with the West, and Mobutu's foreign policy which has been complicated by the nine borders Zaire shares with other countries. It concludes that international bankers are keeping the regime afloat, but in doing so, they are prolonging Zaire's status as an international "basket case."

Zimbabwe

Cilliers, J.K. Counter-Insurgency in Rhodesia. London: Croom Helm, 1985, 266 pp.

Based on a Master's Degree dissertation, this book chronicles the struggle against White rule in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1979. It is primarily an interpretative analysis of the counter-insurgency strategy used by the regime of Ian Smith during the 8 crucial years of the war, 1972 to 1979. Details regarding specific operations, projects, organizations and general modus operandi of the Rhodesian Security Forces are given and substantiated. Chapter 1 provides a summary of events of the period 1890-1979 with an emphasis on the intensified confrontation from 1972-1979. The remaining chapters are concerned with specific organizations or counter-insurgency strategies which had a direct bearing on the development of the conflict. This in-depth study provides substantial information on a classic model of insurgent versus counter-insurgent strategies.