Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa

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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 slightly dated. 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 the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.
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(Received in March 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL


An analysis of 50 cases of "peacekeeping" (which appears to be synonymous with intervention by second or third parties) in Africa since 1960. Using a variety of modalities to examine the data, some interesting facts are revealed, though neither clear-cut trends are discerned nor conclusions reached. Furthermore, the study is flawed by inconsistencies and difficulties with trying to fit diverse data into unsuitable categories. Also, a chapter on prospects for peacekeeping in Namibia seems dissonant with those that precede it. Nonetheless, because of the volume of research it contains (much of it in tables) and its relevance to military operations, the study is worth reading.


General statistics on the value of light-armored wheeled vehicles and their deployment in Africa is provided along with a list of major world suppliers. The author feels that the choice of wheeled vehicles over tracked vehicles for the African environment is significant.


The last issue of 1982 has devoted over 100 pages to Franco-African relations. French political, military and economic involvement in every African country is covered, albeit very sketchy for the military.


This article responds to a 1981 article by Christopher Coker which argues that Western analysts overemphasize Soviet strategic intentions in Southern Africa and underemphasize the possible conflicts between them and East European interests. Lawson argues that Coker's evidence of "fundamental differences" is weak. There are some conflicts of interest, but they have made no significant impact on the policies of the Soviet Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in southern Africa.

Premier Zhao Ziyang's recent tour of 11 African countries indicates China may have decided to increase its activity on the continent. Zhao visited countries with widely contrasting ideologies and the Chinese appear to be making an effort to come to terms with everyone on the continent. The policy of the 1980s is to appeal to both the circle of ideological sympathizers with which the Chinese were linked in the 1960s and the diverse governments with which they worked in the 1970s, at some cost to their image. The author theorizes that the Chinese regard their involvement in Africa as a kind of insurance policy; the Third World has been China's most consistent source of political support.


In 1982, the majority-ruled states of southern Africa faced two major threats: a threat of economic crisis, and a threat of destabilization from the Republic of South Africa. All attempts at stability and growth have been affected adversely by the downswing in the world economy and by continued military and economic pressures from South Africa. Many of these problems stem from the colonial era when these states served primarily as sources of raw materials and cheap labor for colonial powers. The author warns that the current US policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa will not succeed in the long run, and Africans, in general, will not soon forget those states that have worked with South Africa.


A glowing report of the successes of Soviet trade throughout Africa. Mr. Tarzimanov is Head of the Department for Trade with African Countries in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade. The article contains several photos of Soviet-made equipment in use in various African countries.

**BENIN**


The entire issue is devoted to Benin's political and economic history and outlook. Franco-Benin relations are an important theme throughout. Although Marxism-Leninism remains the official ideology, the new political view is pragmatic. Important information on the dissolution of state companies, the petroleum industry, and the Benin-Niger Railway are provided.

**BOTSWANA**


An official overview of Botswana including information on the economy, population, urban and rural areas, development projects, health and education.

The new President of Cameroon, Paul Biya, has chosen France as his principle economic partner. Biya's recent trip to France is a change from former President Ahidjo's strained relationship with the Mitterrand government; it has led to speculation that Biya intends to restore good relations with Cameroon's two former colonial powers, France and Great Britain. Britain, however, has few historical ties with Cameroon while France has been Cameroon's principle trading partner, presently providing 43.5 percent of Cameroon's imports. French companies are firmly established in Cameroon's oil fields and are involved in a gas liquifaction project.


There is much speculation in Cameroon about the true nature of Paul Biya's new role as head of state. There are many who claim that former President Ahidjo and Biya are, in fact, working together to rule the country. The Cameroon National Union (UNC), a powerful party in the country, is presided over by Ahidjo who has been criticized by many northerners for favoring southerners in appointments to high government positions. Moussa Yaya, a northern official, plotted to take over the UNC leadership and assassinate Ahidjo before the latter's resignation, but his plan was discovered and he was stripped of his official duties. Ahidjo increased his support of Biya and named him President; a number of purges have occurred since. While it is not yet clear whether party or state will be more powerful in the future, it is clear that Ahidjo is still calling the shots.

Congo


The Congo, a new oil producer, is concerned about the effects of the dropping price of crude oil on its 5-year economic plan (1982-86). Oil and the plan are linked because the Congo has made oil revenues the basis of its development schemes. In 1982, the exploitation of 4.5 million tons of oil made the Congo the fourth largest oil producer in black Africa after Nigeria, Gabon and Angola. The plan has emphasized the building of infrastructures crucial to development in the northern regions, and to ending the excessive rural exodus. At present, the two major communication lines are the Congo-Ocean railroad, which has 515 kilometers of track linking Brazzaville to Pointe-Noire and is in need of major repairs, and water routes, which are slow and subject to climatic changes.
ETHIOPIA


On the surface the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean dissidents appear to be as intransigent as ever. However, attitudes on both sides have shifted recently and discussions between them are now more of a possibility. The article summarizes the relations among and within the various Eritrean dissident groups and the Tigre Popular Liberation Front during 1982. It also describes US and Arab involvement in the Horn and speculates on their goals.

LIBERIA


A brief synopsis of the major events in Liberia during 1982. The year is described as being dedicated to pumping order and discipline into the civilian cabinet and stamping out big time corruption.

MALAWI


Since Malawi is essentially rural, the government's planning objectives and strategies center on rural development. The colonial legacy, which concentrated development in the south, caused a population imbalance in the country. The new programs focus on the rural northern and central regions and on the far south. Since there are limited exploitable mineral resources, Malawi concentrates on agricultural development. Establishment of cooperatives is encouraged in the countryside.

MAURITIUS


The Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), the dominant partner in the Socialist alliance, gradually has moved away from ethnic and religious identities in determining political allegiance. A move towards a de jure one-party state seems unlikely because the MMM is an advocate of democracy and is proposing legislation which will make elections compulsory every 5 years, a position supported by the population. The new government is faced with the problems of overpopulation and a single-crop economy which severely limits the new government's freedom of action. These factors will mitigate against any radical reforms.

South Africa's ties to the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) date from 1976. Earlier connections between the ex-Portuguese secret police agents and Rhodesian intelligence officers initially led to the MNR's creation. Support in the form of arms and bases for the MNR by Rhodesia continued from 1976 to 1981, after which South Africa became the major backer. While South African soldiers participate in attacks in Mozambique, South Africa's main role is to train MNR forces in the Transvaal and to provide supplies and logistical assistance. FRELIMO is fighting back primarily by attacking economic and social problems to weaken support for the MNR, but it realizes that South Africa will risk much to destroy a state like Mozambique "which is attempting to create a non-racial socialist society."

NAMIBIA

"Breakthrough or Stalemate?" Ufahamu, vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring 1982), pp. 229-35.

This interview with Lucia Hamutenya, Secretary for Legal Affairs for the South-West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) provides a good example of SWAPO political rhetoric. Hamutenya briefly discusses the similarities between "the struggle in El Salvador and the struggle in Namibia."


A rather bleak picture of the current and near-future prospects for the Namibian economy. "It is a small-scale, commodity-based economy not untypical of many others in Africa." The bulk of Namibia's gross national product comes from mining and agriculture. Namibia presently is feeling the worldwide decline in mineral prices and is undergoing a prolonged drought. The article is also very critical of South Africa's continuing mineral exploitation of Namibia.

NIGER


Niger has been hard-hit by the world recession and the military government of President Seyni Kountche may be forced to use more draconian measures as resources dry up. Concentration on rural agricultural crops and livestock have meant national self-sufficiency. In international affairs, Niger has never placed itself in the leftist camp, much to the despair of Afrique-Asie which raises the specter of Moroccan security police instructors to train Niger policemen. This puts Niger in Morocco's camp according to the author, and means that Niger's claims of a neutral stance are little more than fiction.

An assessment of the military's performance since it overthrew the civilian government. President Kountche has attempted to enlist grass roots support for development as Niger's main goal. While economic development may have advanced, Niger's political evolution probably has not kept pace with it. Niger still faces the danger of Libyan interference, and it has suffered from the fall in price for uranium. The present government structure is pragmatic, free from widespread corruption, and disciplined.

NIGERIA


Focuses on the first administration of Nigeria's Second Republic led by President Shehu Shagari. With the upcoming 1983 elections, many questions are being asked; the author addresses many of these in an attempt to give insights into the results of civilian democracy, political party affiliations and conflicts, foreign policy, economic austerity, and Nigeria's role as the leader of black African states.


The author begins with a critique of the Federal Ministry of Information's 1979 publication "Development Projects in Nigeria: Irrigation Scheme as it Affects Farmers" which forecasts that Nigeria would attain self-sufficiency in food production. The article then examines the conditions which have made Nigeria dependent on agricultural imports, including the various government programs such as the "Green Revolution," and the dependency on revenue from oil exports.


An overview of the domestic problems surrounding the upcoming national elections. The article discusses the role the military potentially may play in the executive process of government, gives a brief historical view of Nigerian domestic politics, and outlines the major political parties and their candidates.


An in-depth study of constitutionalism in Nigeria which discusses the meaning of federalism through the rationale of the Nigerian experience. Considers the nature of new ideas in this "presidential" constitution to Nigeria's government and the relations among the three branches of government.

A detailed report of the events surrounding the expulsion of illegal aliens earlier this year. Discusses the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement signed in 1979 and the subsequent problems Nigeria faced with large numbers of immigrants from member states.


A inside view of the Nigerian Civil War. The author conveys the feelings of being a Biafran particularly in the closing months of the conflict. The book begins with the invasion of the British Sub-Embassy in March 1967 and describes events through 12 January 1970. The book is described as "fiction" in that it is half fiction and half imaginary recreation of historical events, but it remains true to documented fact.


Examines progress in the development of the Nigerian state through recent structural changes related to national cohesion. These changes are conceptual value of national cohesion in terms of the building of authority, communal structures in their historical context, and four structural designs of the present Nigerian constitution.

SENEGAL

"La Casamance Reprise par les Demons de la Foret Sacree? (Was the Casamance Region Recaptured by Demons from the Sacred Forest)." Bingo (Dakar), March 1983, pp. 14-15.

Demonstrations against the central government which took on demands for an independent Casamance underscore the isolation and differences Casamance has from the rest of Senegal. Separated by The Gambia, the Casamance is still heavily animist. The Muslim majority, especially in government, does not know what to make of this tendency. The best-watered region in Senegal, Casamance, while lacking many social services, has little poverty. The central government must acknowledge the region's uniqueness while reinforcing its efforts to bring it closer to the rest of Senegal.


Senegal has been noted for its secular government and relatively high degree of commitment to democracy. Although small in number, Senegalese Christians are influential and have worked with Muslims to maintain a peaceful climate. Senegalese society brings together the two groups professionally, socially, politically, economically, and in family relations. The lessons of the past indicate that the majority of both groups prefer a secular state.
Diallo, Siradiou. "Abdou Diouf ne sera plus le meme (Abdou Diouf will no longer be the same)." Jeune Afrique, 9 March 1983, pp. 46-47.

Although Abdou Diouf's election as president was never in doubt, the election exercise allows him to distance himself from his predecessor, Leopold Senghor, and become his own man. The process also is healthy for democracy in Senegal. In spite of cries of "foul" by opposition parties, outside observers consider that the process was reasonably fair.


Although President Diouf's election is now a fact, the article presents interesting background and biographical information of politics and politicians in Senegal. Information on rich businessmen and their influence in Senegalese politics and the importance of Muslim leaders is provided. Secession problems exist in Casamance. Union with Gambia proves to be an economic drain which will become a political issue in the future.

SIERRA LEONE


Discusses the longevity of Siaka Stevens as President of Sierra Leone, in spite of his announced intentions to retire. Also lists possible presidential successors once Stevens leaves office.

"Government Meets the Private Sector." West Africa, 10 January 1983, pp. 75-77.

A brief description of statements made by both government officials and private companies during the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce 21st annual dinner in Freetown. The President of the Chamber, Tommy Taylor-Morgan, presented a review of the country's economy during 1982, and the Minister of Finance, Salia Jusu Sheriff, presented the government's view.

The Rising Sun, a History of the All People's Congress Party of Sierra Leone. Published by the APC Secretariat and produced by IMPADS, London. Reviewed by Erasmus Fosdyke in West Africa, 6 December 1982, p. 25

The book, researched and written by the All People's Congress Party Secretariat, details the party's achievements under the leadership of President Siaka Stevens.

SOMALIA


The author reports that President Barre can again feel confident of staying in power. When he travelled to the northwestern region—the center of opposition—for 2 weeks in February, his tour met no major disruptions. His position is more secure now mainly because the Somali Democratic Salvation Front (SDSF) is in disarray. Not only are its leaders split on ideological
grounds, but its backers—Ethiopia, Libya, and the Soviet Union—differ on the strategy and tactics the SDSF should use.


The discontent in the North, linked to economic and tribal factors, continues to be a problem for President Barre. This article describes the tribal aspects of the discontent. As in the past, Barre will have to use a "judicious mixture of financial assistance and military force to keep himself in power."

**SOUTH AFRICA**

Abrahams, Trevor. "State Policy, Militarization, and the Liberation Movement in Contemporary South Africa." *Ufahamu*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring 1982), pp. 94-120.


In the short-term, Bowman foresees growing hostilities between South Africa and its black neighbors. These black states increasingly will support anti-South African liberation movements. He also foresees more sweeping calls for mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime. Despite this, the United States will continue to vacillate between limited pressure and support while hoping for some internal South African settlement. Unfortunately, South Africa will become more and more entrenched in apartheid and more bellicose toward its neighbors. The United States and its Western allies will have to "bite the bullet on divestment, and on oil sanctions, and perhaps ultimately on the question of a naval blockade against white South Africa." Since the United States and the West never will militarily support the white regime, a black victory in South Africa is inevitable.


Lieutenant Commander Kapstein is a member of the US Naval Reserves and the Africa Bureau Chief for *Business Week* magazine. Kapstein asserts that South Africa's foreign policy is based on the "simple—and simple minded—assumption" that the West's dependence on South Africa's strategic position and resources outweighs concerns over the future of the apartheid-based administration in Pretoria. The author also states that the "looming" civil war will be waged by the ANC in South Africa's cities and along its industrial arteries, "not in the rural bush." He concludes that "the black position has
fixed on nothing less than majority rule. White South Africa will give up everything but that. Since there are no prospects to bridge the gap, the field is sadly left to bloodshed."


McNamara, former US Secretary of Defense and former President of the World Bank, warns that unless South Africa confronts the problem of power sharing with its black population, it will pose as serious a threat to world peace in the 1990s as the Middle East does in the 1980s.


Ojo, an instructor in the International Relations Department at the University of Ife, Nigeria, points out that there are numerous international organizations looking at Western-South African ties; unfortunately, there are no such groups studying Arab and African cooperation with South Africa. Despite the Arab world's antiapartheid rhetoric, South Africa's conservative politics, mineral and industrial wealth, and large Muslim population (reportedly the largest "in the southern hemisphere"), form a firm bases of cooperation between some Arabs and South Africa. The Saudis have reportedly decided to supply all the oil South Africa needs. Between 1970 and 1977, 18 percent of South Africa's arms purchases came from Jordan. Some Arab states (Egypt for example) act as intermediaries between Western countries and South Africa in the sales of arms. Since South Africa is known to be anti-Communist, is one of the world's major arms exporters, and has a relatively solid economy, Ojo foresees greater "under-the-table" cooperation between some Arab states and South Africa. He advises the Arabs, however, to enforce and expand the UN boycotts against the Pretoria regime.


A detailed look at improvements in black labor conditions in US-owned industries in South Africa. Many US firms have adopted the "Sullivan Principles" governing the treatment, opportunities, wages, and training of blacks. Although this effort has been somewhat successful, the author seriously doubts that the white government in Pretoria sees these changes as little more than economic expediency rather than serious racial reform. He also points out that blacks will use strikes and work slowdowns even at US-owned industries as a future political weapon for reform in South Africa. In essence, to date there have been great strides made in desegregating work conditions, but little has changed outside the factories' walls.


A favorable article on ARMSCOR's weaponry in action in Namibia. Also contains a brief overview of South Africa's local arms industries.

A brief biography of and interview with Mthato Motlana, head of the Soweto Committee of Ten.


A detailed look at black and multi-racial union activities in South Africa since 1979. These trade unions ultimately will be among the most significant factors in changing South Africa's policy of apartheid. As unions continue to grow in number and expand into almost all facets of the South African economy, their potential power is noted even among the current white leadership. The article also discusses the relationship between the ANC and the trade union movement in South Africa.


Dr. Stultz makes the basic assumption that South Africa's racial structure is politically unstable and must inevitably undergo fundamental change. He looks at various solutions to the problem including multiracism, consociationalism, federalism, white exodus, black supremacy, and partition. The success of "bridging the gulf" in Zimbabwe and inevitably in Namibia will to some degree influence the course of events in South Africa itself.

TOGO


The major part of the September issue has been devoted to Togo and its success at food self-sufficiency. Political and economic discussions are subordinated to this theme. Important statistical information on literacy, health and infrastructure are provided as well.

UGANDA


The author, dean of Makerere University for part of the period under review, provides an account of the development of Uganda's armed forces. The article is of interest in understanding some of the problems in the armed forces today. The relationship between the armed forces and the educated elite is examined in particular. Other topics touched on include Obote's relations with the army; relations between the army, police, and General Service Unit; and army "terrorization" of the Baganda.

Soviet and Western aid to African countries is motivated by self-interest and rivalry between the two blocs. In some instances African countries have been able to use the aid for their development. Soviet aid to Uganda, though, worked to Uganda's disadvantage. Although the Soviets depicted their aid as being selfless, it was strictly profit motivated and repayment terms on Soviet credits were stiffer than those on Western ones.

Zaire


The military agreement signed on 20 January between Israel and Zaire is, on the surface, banal. Israel will send instructors to Zaire to train a new special presidential brigade and to reorganize the Kamanyola Division to protect Shaba province. But the author argues that the significance of the agreement lies in the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union; to counteract the Soviet attempt to establish a "red band" in Africa, the United States is using Israel as its proxy in Zaire.