

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

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1. AGENCY USE ONLY (<i>Leave Blank</i>)	2. REPORT DATE April 1991	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Democratic Government in Sub-Saharan Africa: Factors for Success and Failure		5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Ly H. Burnham Rodney P. Katz David L. Osborne Glenn E. Curtis Thomas Ofcansky		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-4840		9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Prepared under an Interagency Agreement		19960325 043	
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (<i>Maximum 200 words</i>) This bibliography provides selective annotations of literature dealing with the movement toward political pluralism and multiparty democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. The monographs, journals, and newspapers cited were published between January 1987 and March 1991.			
14. SUBJECT TERMS Sub-Saharan Africa Democratization		15. NUMBER OF PAGES 108	16. PRICE CODE
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT SAR



**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
FACTORS FOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE**

October 1990 - March 1991

*A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement
by the Federal Research Division,
Library of Congress*

April 1991

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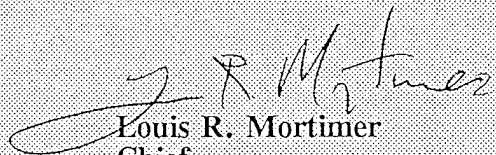
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Africa--General

Ankomah, Baffour. "Donors Vow to Give Ordinary Africans a Say in Their Own Future." African Business, (London), vol. 16, no. 144, August 1990, 16-19. HC800.A1A35.

The divergence of opinion between Western and African leaders on conditions for economic aid are discussed in this article. Key United States and British foreign affairs' advisers appear to be in agreement that future economic aid to African countries should be tied to democratic developments. According to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, overly repressive government that remains unaccountable to the people is the primary cause of the existing poverty in Africa. This view is shared by the leaders of two international finance organizations. Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, claims that the failure of African leaders to manage effectively more than 3,000 parastatal organizations established with external aid exemplifies the current problem. William Ryrie, executive vice-president of the International Finance Corporation, believes that more economic aid to nondemocratic African countries will only increase their indebtedness. These views are refuted by African leaders. Salim Ahmed Salim, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) said in June 1990 that if the prices of African commodities were not manipulated by Western governments, Africa would not be in such bad shape. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda suggests that Western countries are attempting once again to colonize Africa under the guise of calling for democratization.

Ba, Dadie and Kayinda, Balufu B. "Partis, qui en est un? D'ou vient l'argent? (Parties, Who Belongs to One? Where Does the Money Come From?)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 24. DT1.A13.

This article discusses how political parties in five African countries raise funds. The countries covered are: Gabon, Cameroon, Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Zaire.

Bienan, Henry S. Armed Forces, Conflict and Change in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989. 210p. DT353.B54.

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This book is a compilation of nine essays written by the author between 1977 and 1987 on topics related to civil-military relations in African nations. Ghana, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Liberia, and Uganda are among the nations discussed. In the introduction Bienan argues that military leaders who have taken over governments have almost always opposed promoting democratic systems. However, chapter three, entitled "Populist Military Regimes in West Africa," provides an insightful discussion of how military leaders such as the late Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso or Samuel Doe of Liberia, as well as Ghana's current leader Jerry Rawlings often have tried to promote grassroots political organizations in order to convince their people that they had a voice in government. Bienan suggests that the poor performance of these populist regimes indicates that military leaders lack the political skills to represent the multitude of ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural groups that comprise modern states.

Casteran, Christian and Sada, Hugo. "Sommet de La Baule: l'avertissement (Baule Summit: The Warning)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1539, June 27, 1990, 14-16. AP27.J4

Most African leaders who attended the June 1990 French-African Summit in La Baule, France were said to agreed with French President Francois Mitterrand that establishment of democratic institutions is in the best interest of Africans. Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was the only African leader to disagree with Mitterrand. Habyarimana argued that Mitterrand, and other Western leaders, could not dictate to African states how to govern their people. Habyarimana told the French President that it is undemocratic for Western political leaders to think that they can "impose" democracy on Africa.

Chazan, Naomi, et al. Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988. vii, 457p. : tables, maps. JQ1872.P635. .

Part two of this book (pages 129-216), reviews the amalgam of centralist, federalist, militarist, and democratic systems that have evolved in Africa since the 1960s. Chapter five classifies national regimes as follows: administrative-hegemonial; pluralist; party-mobilizer;

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party-centralist; personal-coercive; populist; and ambiguous. Chapter six observes that while many national leaders have favored socialism over democracy, pressures from influential ethnic, social, and political groups often have forced these individuals to allow particular regions, or even the entire country, to develop some democratic organizations. In chapter eight the authors delineate democratic and nondemocratic electoral processes as they exist today in the region. While Chazan and her co-authors acknowledge the obstacles faced by African politicians who favor the democratic process, they conclude that social forces in many of the African countries now are demanding the establishment of stable and responsive political institutions that include clearly defined military and civilian spheres of influence, and exclude radical groups that favor a personal-coercive style of government.

Cheru, Fantu. The Silent Revolution in Africa: Debt, Development and Democracy. London: Zed Books, Ltd., 1989. 189p. HC800.C44.

The author examines the political situations in Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Zambia and offers his views on how current national and international trends in these and other African countries will affect democratization and economic development on the continent. Cheru concludes that Western countries must rethink their development strategies to allow for indigenous African groups, particularly the rural poor, to regain control of their societies and governments. If African debts to Western countries and unrepresentative authoritarian rulers who serve Western interests more than those of their own peoples are eliminated, the author predicts an increase in stability could result that would be beneficial to the West and to Africa.

Chesneau, Jean. "Afrique et progres (Africa and Progress)." Defense Nationale (Paris), vol. 46, no. 10, October 1990, 85-97. D410.R45.

The prospects for the promotion of stable democratic governments in Africa are evaluated. The author avers that imported government models cannot work in Africa. The political situations in Ivory Coast, Gabon, Cameroon, and

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Senegal are specifically mentioned. Widespread illiteracy, poor communications, and the primitive religious beliefs of many Africans are among the factors listed as obstacles to economic and political democratization in the region.

Cohen, Herman J. "Democratic Change in Africa" Dispatch (Washington D.C.), vol. 1, no. 12, November 19, 1990, 271-272.

The author, who is the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, addressed the African American Institute in November 1990 and commented on the State Department's assessment of democratic developments in Africa. Cohen said that democratization movements in formerly Marxist nations, such as Mozambique and Angola, have encouraged the United States to pursue "a partnership based on mutual responsibility and mutual respect" with all African countries striving to develop democracy. Cohen suggests that the multitude of ethnic groups will not be an obstacle in promoting effective national political parties in African countries that have had authoritarian one-party systems in the past. Given time, Cohen believes that many of today's undemocratic African states gradually will overcome the obstacles that are preventing democratization.

Davidson, Basil and Munslow, Barry. "The Crisis of the Nation-State in Africa," Review of African Political Economy (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 49, Winter 1990, 9-21. HC501.R46

The authors suggest that participatory democracies will not survive in most sub-Saharan African states until border and economic issues have been resolved. They believe that many ethnic groups have large communities in more than one African state. This fact will tend to result in wars between an ethnic group and a national government in which the ethnic group receives support from fellow tribe members outside the country, as those fought recently in Uganda, Mozambique and Chad. Davidson and Munslow opine that the formation of larger nation states that accommodate the economic needs of bellicose tribes could contribute to the end of violence. The article includes a discussion of how regional economic organizations, such as the Economic Community of West

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African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), could contribute more to democratization movements.

Diamond, Larry, et al. "Building and Sustaining Democratic Government in Developing Countries: Some Tentative Findings," World Affairs, vol. 150, no. 1, Summer 1987, 5-19.

Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and other African countries are included in this study of twenty-six Third World countries that have, or have attempted to establish, democratic systems of government. The authors concluded that five factors are important to the success of building democracy in underdeveloped countries: an understanding by politicians of competitive politics; the commitment of various ethnic groups and power holders to accept political losses as part of the democratic process; the ability of transitional democracies to meet the economic needs of various groups; government encouragement of autonomous private interest groups; and the ability of two or three political groups to evolve into stable national parties that adequately represent large numbers of regional and interest groups.

Evindi, Parfait. "L'etat des lieux du multipartisme (Inventory of Multipartyism)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 13-15. DT1.A13.

This article describes political activities relevant either to the promulgation or supression of democratic institutions in 31 African countries.

Fall, Elimane. "L'alternance, demain? (The Change, Tomorrow?)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 20-23. AP27.J4

This article discusses how internal political pressures are forcing African one-party states to accept, or at least tolerate, opposition parties. Recent political developments that describe the beginnings of multipartyism in Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Niger, Togo, and Zaire are covered.

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Feller, Bernard. Les Etats d'Afrique Noire de l'indépendance a 1980: Essai de typologie. (Black African Nations from Independence to 1980: Essay on Typology) Bern, Switzerland: Herbert Lang, 1987. 309p. HC800.F45. .

Part two of the book provides socio-economic and political briefs for thirty-one sub-Saharan African countries.

Gailey, Harry A. History of Africa: From 1945 to Present. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1989. 322p. DT20.G3.

The third of three volumes about the development of modern African states from 1800 to 1988, this book discusses the many social and cultural elements that have prevented the development of stable African democratic governments. It is useful as a reference work on the rise and fall of those who have aspired to promote democratic competition in sub-Saharan Africa since the end of World War II.

Gaulme, Francois. "Bilan de 1990: L'année du multipartisme en Afrique francophone [1990 Annual Report: The Year of Multipartyism in Francophone Africa]," Marches Tropicaux et Méditerranéens (Paris), no. 2361, February 8, 1991, 305-307. HC10.M3

Gaulme assesses the impact of democratization on Africa's francophone states. Opponents of democratization maintain that it has a foreign character. In 1990 Hissein Habre of Chad was one of the most outspoken of these opponents; undoubtedly for this reason he received no French military support and thus was overthrown in December by one of his former lieutenants, Idris Deby. Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, however, received French aid when facing an insurgency in October 1990, but was obliged to promise democratization. The author observes that many African intellectuals, particularly those educated in Europe, believe that one-party governments in Africa are unpopular and cannot survive indefinitely. The article describes the activities of several groups that are leading democratization movements, and provides a chronology of 1990 events related to democratization in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Glickman, Harvey. "Frontiers of Liberal and Non-Liberal Democracy in Tropical Africa." Journal of Asian and African Studies (Leiden, The Netherlands), vol. 23, nos. 3-4, July 1988, 234-254. DT1.J66.

The author's thesis is that many forms of democratic institutions are in the process of evolving under one-party and military regimes in all regions of sub-Saharan Africa. Glickman devotes particular attention to Zambia, Ghana, and Tanzania. He supports the programs of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and other foreign investors active on the continent because he believes they have fostered an economic entrepreneurial class that can coexist side-by-side with authoritarian leaders and serve as a catalyst for democratic reform.

Hansen, Emmanuel, ed. Africa: Perspectives on Peace and Development. New York and London: United Nations University, 1987. x, 237p. DT30.5.A355. .

This book, written by African scholars attending the United Nations University, suggests that democracy has not developed in Africa because of European colonialism and the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for strategic advantages on the continent. The four parts of the book are entitled: Africa and the World Crisis; Conflict and Instability; Peace and Development: National and Regional Strategies; and Peace Development and Security: Agenda for Action.

Harbeson, John W., ed. The Military in African Politics. New York: Praeger, 1987. 197p. DT30.5.M55.

The political effects of military rule in nine African countries are discussed in this book. Military regimes in Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Liberia initially intended to increase popular participation in the government. However, in the long term these military regimes had the opposite effect. Military governments in Nigeria, Algeria, Benin, and Congo attempted to forge alliances with civilian rulers and civil servants and promilitary political groups. Finally, other military groups have preferred single-party systems over democratic ones because of their intention to retain power by converting their rule to civilian status. The nine chapter authors appear to agree

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that the proclivity of African military leaders to become involved in politics has become too frequent and permanent an occurrence to be regarded as an anomaly.

Hawkins, Tony. "Black Africa: From Aid Dependence to Self-Sustaining Growth," The World Today, November 1990, 205-208.

According to Hawkins the leaders of most one-party states established relations with the United States and other Western democracies to boost the legitimacy of their governments. Washington paid little attention to promoting democracy in Africa after World War II because of its rivalry with the Soviet Union. Hawkins believes that the end of the Cold War will not lead to democratization in Africa similar to the movement that is prevalent today in Eastern Europe because one-party states in Africa are the political norm. Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe are two of the African leaders unlikely to allow democracies to evolve in their countries during their political careers.

Herbst, Jeffrey. "Migration, The Politics of Protest, and State Consolidation in Africa." African Affairs (London), vol. 89, no. 355, April 1990, 183-203. DT1.R62.

The independence movement in African countries in the 1960s, while not immediately creating the political and economic conditions necessary to nurture stable democracies, nevertheless contributed to the establishment of permanent borders between states on the continent. Herbst compares the efforts of African states to stop ethnic groups from fleeing across international borders to the situation in Europe in the eighteenth century when democratic movements were beginning to flourish on that continent.

Holman, Michael. "Poised Between Reform and Further Decline," World Press Review (New York), vol. 37, no. 11, November 1990, 30-31. AP2.A833

Democratic developments in Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Angola, Namibia, Kenya, Mozambique, Zambia, and other African countries are discussed. The author believes that

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the decreasing influence of socialism and communism outside Africa will continue to push African leaders to adopt more democratic political systems and to expand their political and economic relations with Western countries.

Houser, George M. Noone Can Stop the Rain. New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989. xxi, 388p. DT30.5.H68. .

This book represents a 30-year compilation of the author's official and personal contacts with Black-African leaders. Houser was the executive director of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) from 1955 to 1981. During this period Houser attempted to improve African understanding of democracy, and, in this book, he relates his conversations and correspondence with postindependence leaders who molded Africa's postcolonial era in the 1960s and 1970s. Part one focuses on Houser's first visit to Africa in 1954. Part two examines nation building in Ghana, Kenya, Algeria, and regional politics in central and southern Africa. Parts three and four discuss the often violent national struggles in ten sub-Saharan African countries.

Joseph, Richard, ed. "Commitment to Democratization." Africa Demos (Atlanta), vol. 1, no. 1, November 1990, 2-3. Not in LC.

This Africa Demos editorial examines the progress toward democratization in Cameroon, Benin, and Zambia. The current leaders of these three countries reportedly remain ambivalent about liberalizing their political system. In Cameroon new political groups are allowed to promote multipartyism, but President Paul Biya continues to arrest the leaders of these groups. In Benin, it is unclear if the government will guarantee free elections for a new president in January 1991. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has expressed support for democratization, and he has removed some of the political obstacles that have prohibited the organization of opposition political groups, but he has yet to set a date for free elections or announce his own political plans.

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Kitchen, J. and Paddack, Jean-Paul. "The 1990 Franco-African Summit," CSIS Africa Notes (Washington D.C.), no. 115, August 30, 1990, 1-6.

During the sixteenth Franco-African summit held in La Baule, France from June 19-21, 1990, the French government accentuated its policy of deemphasizing military involvement to aid faltering dictatorships and using economic links to promote democratization. Thirty-five African countries attended the summit and twenty-two of these delegations were led either by the head of state or head of government. The authors believe that the gathering of such a diverse group of African leaders underscores France's importance in Africa. French President Francois Mitterrand reportedly wants to limit France's future military role in Africa to protecting French citizens on the continent, and to preventing one African country from invading another.

Labey, Antoine. "La democratie au secours de la crise economique (Democracy to the Rescue of the Economic Crisis)." Africa International (Paris), no. 228, June 1990, 23-25. DT1.A13.

This article covers a roundtable discussion on the meaning of democracy in Africa. Africa International and Radio France International organized the roundtable. The six participants in the roundtable were: Henri Bretaudeau of the World Bank; Philippe Chalmin of the Research Center for Marketing Raw Materials; Herve-Emmanuel N'Kom of Commercial Credit of France; Jean-Pierre Prouteau of the National Council of French Companies; Alioune Sow, a private Senegalese businessman, and Olivier Vallee, a noted French author on African economic affairs.

Legum, Colin. "Africa and the New Wave of Democracy" Daily News (Dar es Salaam), November 1, 1990, 4.

Legum points out that in advocating democracy the West needs to be sensitive to African feelings. Britain appears patronizing to many Africans because it criticizes human rights violations in some African states while it continues to aid the repressive regime of Kenya's Daniel arap Moi. Some Africans also believe the United States follows a double standard by praising African regimes that promise multiparty democracy and never implement it. The

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author draws a distinction between Western democracy and universal democratic principles, which he believes can be implemented in Africa. Legum calls on Western countries, including the United States, to use foreign aid to compel African recipients to be serious about their democratization programs.

Markovitz, Irving Leonard, ed. Studies in Power and Class in Africa. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1987. 400p. JQ1872.S78.

Ghana, Zaire, Cameroon, Zambia, and Mozambique are among the country studies included in this book. The editor opines that African government officials have different moral and political agendas than their western counterparts. Markovitz suggests that the political trend in Africa since World War II has been for the leaders of military, business, and government organizations to use their influence to promote the interests of elites. He disputes claims by Western scholars that the failure of democracy in Africa is the fault of former colonial rulers and foreign businesses that continue to operate on the continent. Markovitz, and the fourteen authors who contributed to this book, suggest that particular African leaders and group have garnered too much power in recent years and their undemocratic ways have caused a deterioration in the standard of living of the African people.

Munslow, Barry and Zack-Williams, A.B. "Democracy and Development," Review of African Political Economy (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 49, Winter 1990, 3-8.

The authors maintain that participatory democracy in sub-Saharan Africa will take root if each African state adopts its own system free from international pressure. The article's main points are: communism is no longer competitive with democracy in sub-Saharan Africa because it has failed in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin, and other countries. International organizations such as the World Bank must coordinate economic aid and debt repayment programs with each African state in a way that will encourage democratization. Local rivalries among the many diverse ethnic groups in Africa will influence how democracy evolves in almost all African states.

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Nwachukwu, Richard Onukegam. The Dark and Bright Continent: Africa in the Changing World. Dallas, Texas: Good Hope Enterprises, 1989. xviii, 344p. DT30.5.N92. .

This book is a philosophical examination of Africa's past, present, and future written by a Nigerian expatriate who lives in the United States. There are two major themes in Nwachukwu's study. First, he believes that the selfish and narrowly focused interests of most African leaders have brought about the political and economic problems prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa today. Part two of the book discusses how coups that have occurred in 22 African countries since the 1960s usually have been planned and executed by men who either have had no commitment to the general population of their countries or have lacked the political acumen to manage a government. Second, Nwachukwa is critical of foreign countries--democratic and communist--that have provided aid to corrupt leaders and to rebel factions that he believes are only interested in gaining power for the sake of gaining power. In the final chapter entitled "The Future of Africa," Nwachukwu calls on Africans to change the political structures of their nations from within by withdrawing their support from self-serving leaders and cooperating with leaders who demonstrate they can represent people from every ethnic group and region of their country.

Nyati, Eugene. "Three Decades of Disappointment," World Press Review (New York), vol. 37, no. 11, November 1990, 36.

The author attributes political failures in sub-Saharan African countries to the choices made by national leaders in the immediate postindependence period. Originally the proponents of one-party states promised that in return for the elimination of political competition, they would promote national unity. Instead, one-party rule has resulted in repression that has caused economic decline and human suffering on an unparalleled scale. To reverse this trend, African politicians, both military and civilian, will have to earn the respect of their countrymen before they can hope to establish a foundation for the growth of democratic governments on the continent.

Nyong'o, Peter Anyang'. Popular Struggles for Democracy in Africa. New York: United Nations University, 1987. African Political Economy Series. xiii, 288p. JQ1879.A15P67. .

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This book is a compilation of eleven studies by African scholars concerning the failure of democratic institutions to emerge in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa and in Morocco. The first chapter, written by Nyong'o, suggests that the political and economic malaise in various African nations has been caused by the abolition of democracy by the political elites. Nyong'o claims that "at the center of the failure of African states to chart viable paths for domestic accumulation is the problem of accountability, the lack of democracy." The second chapter, written by Harry Goulbourne, describes how Africa's unique brand of autocracy and socialism differs from the strong central systems common in Eastern Europe before democratization. The nine chapters that follow describe the evolution of the political systems of eight African countries, focusing on important foreign influences and the political realities facing these countries in 1986.

Oliver, Roland, and Fage, J.D. A Short History of Africa. New York and Oxford: Facts on File, Inc., 1989. 302p. : Maps. DT20.04.

The authors argue that the failure of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa during the 1960s and 1970s resulted from government inefficiency and the predilection of the electorates for cooperating with benevolent despots. Despite the poor record of democracy in Africa, Oliver and Fage maintain that most of these countries are economically less dependent on Western countries and materially more stable than twenty years ago. The authors suggest that only time will tell whether future national leaders in Africa will view democracy as more beneficial to them and their people than the authoritarian regimes that continue to dominate the continental political scene.

Olowu, Dele. "Local Institutes and Development: The African Experience." Canadian Journal of African Studies (Toronto), vol. 23, no. 2, May 1989, 201-231. DT19.9.C3.B82.

The reasons why twenty former British colonies in sub-Saharan Africa have failed to develop local democratic institutions are discussed. According to Olowu, the British Colonial Office in London promoted a decentralization of colonial authority after World War II

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with the hope that African leaders would promote democracy after the colonies became independent. However, the proclivity of African leaders to stifle divergent political movements led them to dismantle local administrative organs and to replace them with centrally controlled institutions. Olowu argues that because sub-national organizations in most African countries are denied independent revenue-raising authority, the centrally controlled government departments are overwhelmed. This has led to economic chaos and political anarchy in most African states.

Onyango, William. "Africa: Spreading Democracy," Third World Week (Hanover, New Hampshire), vol. 13, no. 1, June 1, 1990, 2-3.

Many African dictators who control one-party states are changing from opponents to proponents of multipartyism in reaction to widespread calls for democratization. This article provides a brief summary of political activities in Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Zimbabwe.

Oyugi, W.O. and Gitonga, A., ed. Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa. Nairobi, Kenya: Heineman Kenya, Ltd., 1987. 208p. JQ1872.D47.

This book contains a collection of papers by African scholars concerning the obstacles African countries must overcome to establish stable democratic systems of government. The ten contributors agree that the preference of African leaders to consolidate power at the national level has made it impossible for democracy to develop at local levels in most African societies. Additionally, some scholars suggest that economic development under an authoritarian regime must precede any political movement for democratization in the poorer African states.

Rake, Alan. "Africa Demands Democracy," New African (London), no. 272, May 1990, 9-11. HC511.A12

The author claims that several of Africa's leaders, many of whom were socialists, support democratization because of the economic problems facing their nations. Julius

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Nyerere, Tanzania's former president, blames complacency and corruption within one-party states for "economic mismanagement, chronic corruption, and the entrenchment of privilege by the political elite." The article also examines the progress of democratization in Gambia, Benin, Namibia, and several other African nations. Kenyan President Daniel-arap Moi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe are mentioned as opponents of multipartyism.

"Rapid Moves Towards Multipartyism," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), October 5, 1990, 60-61. JS7648.9.K5M87

Zambia is highlighted as a country where a longtime one-party advocate, President Kenneth Kaunda, has decided to quickly change the country's constitution and political organizations to promote multipartyism. However, the article notes that the pace of democratization in Zambia, and throughout the continent, is likely to take a long time because many African leaders say that premature change will promote chaos. This topic was openly discussed at the July 1990 meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Thus, while there is a consensus among African leaders that democratization is desirable, there are divergent views on how the process is to be implemented and how long it should take.

Ronen, Dov, ed. Democracy and Pluralism in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1986. 220p. JQ1872.D46.

The nineteen chapters of this book examine the legal, cultural, and political factors that have promoted or prevented the development of democratic institutions in Africa. Many of the authors suggest that at tribal and local levels ethnic groups are practicing participatory democracy as it has been passed down from previous generations. The effectiveness of multiparty democracy (Botswana), controlled democracy (Zimbabwe), and developing democracy (Nigeria) are among the topics discussed.

Rothchild, Donald and Chazan, Naomi, eds. The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988. x, 357p. JQ1872.P74. .

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A frequent theme in each of this book's fourteen chapters is the growing power of nongovernment groups in African countries to achieve some of their political, social, and economic goals outside official channels. In chapter three, Thomas M. Callaghy discusses the political factors that have caused the failure of many state-sponsored programs intended to promote economic ties with businesses in industrialized countries. The inefficiency of bureaucracies, a paucity of entrepreneurs, African distrust of foreigners, and ambivalence toward corruption are a few of the issues mentioned by Callaghy. In chapter ten, Donald Rothchild and Michael Foley examine the current political scene in sub-Saharan Africa focusing on how various regimes recruit politicians and civil servants. Rothchild and Foley indicate that even the most authoritarian leaders must utilize some democratic mechanisms because their countries have competing ethnic, regional, religious, and class groups that want to share power, at least at local levels. Co-editor Naomi Chazan contributes two chapters in which she discusses the unofficial, and sometimes illegal, private trade and political organizations that are becoming increasingly common in Africa. In chapter fourteen she concludes: "The key analytical task is to unravel the ways in which people at different levels of social agency have mobilized and organized resources, allies, and ideas in a continuous effort to cope with changing circumstances."

Sandbrook, Richard. "Liberal Democracy in Africa: A Socialist-Revisionist Perspective," Canadian Journal of African Studies (Toronto), vol. 22, no. 2, April 1988, 240-267. DT19.9.C3 B82

This article is critical of the popular African argument that one-party socialism is necessary before democracy can be established in sub-Saharan nations. The author supports the idea that developmental authoritarianism (East Asia) has promoted strong economies, but he argues that human rights often have suffered as a result. Sandbrook also suggests that not all Latin American and African nations that have democracies have political systems that serve the interests of their poorest citizens. Additionally, he examines how special interest groups can undermine democratic institutions. However, Sandbrook believes that the prominence of corruption and ineffective government in Africa can largely be attributed to the prevalence of

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non-democratic regimes. The author believes that if African politicians agree to free and fair competition for political power, then Africa will be on the road to solving its social and economic problems.

Sandbrook, Richard. "Taming the African Leviathan," World Policy Journal (New York), vol. 7, no. 4, Fall 1990, 673-702.

This article views the establishment of democracy in Africa as part of a complex international political and economic process. The author believes that few African politicians, even in countries that today have democratic systems of government, understand and abide by democratic principles and laws that restrict the consolidation of power. Sandbrook suggests that most Africans are cynical when their leaders speak about democracy because they are conditioned to expect disappointment. Countries which have been democratic models in Africa--Senegal, Gambia, Botswana, and Mauritius--continue to deliver inadequate services to the poor. The author attributes this situation to a contradiction common to all democratic states: democracy empowers citizens with the freedom to accumulate property; during the development stage democracies are dominated by an entrepreneurial class; a gradual assimilation of nonentrepreneurial citizens into the political and economic system is necessary for democracy to flourish. Sandbrook notes that developing Asian and Latin American democracies--Costa Rica, Columbia, Venezuela, and India--demonstrate how fragile new democracies can be, and he calls for Africans, and foreigners interested in Africa, to work patiently to promote democratization in sub-Saharan Africa.

Tekle, Amare. "The Organization of African Unity at Twenty-Five Years: Retrospect and Prospect." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 35, nos. 3/4, December 1988, 7-20. DT1.A22.

The weaknesses of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are blamed on Africa's colonial past and the attempt by many African leaders to apply Western political ideas without giving adequate consideration to the sociological conditions in their countries. Article is critical of the OAU for legitimizing the rule of authoritarian regimes and calls for the revision of the organization's charter to promote democratization in Africa.

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Ungar, Sanford J. Africa: The People and Politics of an Emerging Continent. 3d edition. Simon and Schuster, 1989. xi, 571p. DT30.5.U54. . .

Book describes recent political developments in each sub-Saharan African country and provides a prognosis for the future success or failure of democratic movements in these countries. The introduction discusses the political goals of the United States in the region under presidents Carter and Reagan. Part two focuses on Liberia, Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa. Part three examines former French colonies, British colonies, and those countries the author classifies as American client states. Part four provides the author's predictions for future developments in sub-Saharan Africa.

Vick, David. "Will A Multiparty Policy Be Good for African Business?," African Business, no. 149, January 1991, 10-12. HC800.A1A35

This article suggests that international businesses and donors to African countries are placing pressure on one-party states to adopt multiparty political systems. The author examines recent moves toward multipartyism in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique.

"Votes, Wars, Coups, Dictators-And Votes Again?" Economist (London), vol. 318, no. 7696, March 2, 1991, 41. HG11.E2

Portugal's former African colonies claim to be moving toward the establishment of democratic political systems; additionally, several former French and British colonies are slowly moving in that direction. The article discusses democratic elections in Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, both former Portugese colonies, and observes that Mozambique has a democratic constitution and will hold democratic elections sometime in 1991. Gabon and Benin are the leading francophone countries in the democratization process. Opposition candidates won many of the seats for Gabon's national assembly in 1990, and there are 14 presidential candidates campaigning for the March 1991 election in Benin. Botswana, Nigeria, and Zambia are the only 3 of 14 former British colonies which are making progress in promoting democratic institutions. The article suggests that more African autocrats will voluntarily

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promote democratization in their countries if Western countries tie future aid to political reforms.

Whitaker, Jennifer S. How Can Africa Survive?. New York: Harper and Row, 1988. 261p. HC800.W48.

Sociological and political conflicts among Africans probably will have more influence on the evolution of democratic and undemocratic systems in Africa in the future than political and economic influences emanating from Europe and the United States. Whitaker views the current struggle between rural-based traditional cultures and the newly-urbanized and better educated urban centers as being one of the most significant factors in the continent's development. The author believes that as this struggle continues, new African nations will evolve. Some of these new nations likely will include two or more existing African nations joining together without a political or military conflict. However, Whitaker suggests that it is inevitable that wars and insurrections will occur in Africa because many Africans oppose existing political and economic institutions.

"Wind of Change, But a Different One." The Economist, (London), no. 7663, July 14, 1990, 44. HG11.E2.

This brief commentary suggests that some African leaders, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Omar Bongo of Gabon, Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, and Sese Seko Mobutu of Zaire, to mention a few, have failed to learn from the democratic movement sweeping Eastern Europe. The commentary predicts that as long as these leaders prohibit or deter political and economic pluralism, there will be little change in Africa's moribund situation.

Wiseman, John A. Democracy in Black Africa. New York: Paragon House, 1990. 228p. JQ1879.A15 W57.

The development of multipartyism, and its relationship with other social and political changes taking place in African countries, lead the author to believe that democracy survives on the continent because democratic systems provide for the needs of people better than

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authoritarian systems. Wiseman suggests that political tradition, economic misfortune, and disagreements between groups in heterogeneous societies have caused the demise of newly established democratic systems in African countries like Nigeria and Zimbabwe. However, Wiseman suggests that Western analysts cannot predict when military coups will take place any more than they can predict at what point political institutions in African democracies will become stable. In his conclusion, he observes that if South Africa solves its apartheid problem and evolves into a strong representative democracy, this development could promote democratization throughout Africa.

Central Africa

Agbobli, Atsute Kokouvi. "Le chemin tortueux de la democratie (The Tortuous Road to Democracy)." Jeune Afrique, (Paris), October 16, 1990, 19. AP27.J4.

Article discusses Gabon's new multiparty system and the results of the September 1990 election. The author believes that Gabon's democratic reforms could have a positive influence on other West African countries, particularly the Ivory Coast and Guinea.

Agbobli, Atsute Kokouvi and Labore, Gilbert Lam. "Notre pays n'echappera pas au multipartisme [Our Country Will Not Escape a Multiparty System]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1574, February 27, 1991, 20-21. AP27.J4

The multipartyism debate in Central African Republic (CAR) is currently a stalemate, with President Andre-Dieudonne Kolingba as leading opponent and Enoch Derant-Lakoue, chairman of the Coordination Committee for Convocation of a National Conference (CCCCN) as leading proponent. If Kolingba suppresses the debate on multipartyism until after elections, he could employ the political strategy of agreeing to hold the conference after elections. However, if the political and economic situation in CAR deteriorates to the point that he loses control, Kolingba probably would call democratic elections as soon as possible, hoping new opposition parties would not have time to organize an effective effort to topple his government.

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Amusan, Gbenga. "Death of the Old Order," African Concord (London), February 4, 1991, 18. DT515.C688

The opposition Democratic Convergence Party (PCD) won a majority in Sao Tome and Principe's National Assembly in legislative elections held on January 20, 1991. The PCD won 30 of 55 seats, and the ruling Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-PSD) won 20 seats. The remaining 5 seats were won by members of two small opposition parties: Democratic Coalition Front and Christian Democratic Front. The article compares democratization in Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde. The opposition party Movement for Democracy (MPD) won the latter's first democratic legislative election held on January 13, 1991.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le compte a rebours [The Countdown]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 6-7. AP27.J4

Two opposition parties in Mali are cooperating to circumvent a government crackdown on their activities. Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) and National Committee for Democratic Initiative (CNID) gained public support in recent months. President Moussa Traore's appointment of General Sekou Ly to head the Ministry of Interior is viewed as a sign that the government plans a new crackdown on the opposition parties.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le multipartisme, demain...peut-etre (Multipartyism, Tomorrow...Perhaps)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 20-21. AP27.J4

The author charges that Chad's military leader is opposed to the formation of opposition political parties. In December 1990 President Idriss Deby denied a request by a group of former government officials, labor leaders, and businessmen to establish Chad's first opposition party. The group, led by Abderahmane Koulamallah, a prominent member of former President Hissein Habre's National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR), was told by President Deby that opposition parties will be allowed in the future, after public order has been established. Koulamallah had proposed that his group be named Chad Democratic Union (CDU).

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Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le Rwanda entre la raison et la passion" [Rwanda Between Reason and Passion]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1572, February 13, 1991, 12-13. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana's military government has failed in its effort to negotiate a cease-fire with the leaders of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR). This article suggests that the insurgency's continuation represents an obstacle to the holding of democratic elections in Rwanda. Habyarimana has agreed to allow his political opponents to return to Rwanda and participate in a political forum to devise a democratic government after the insurgency is over.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le Rwanda s'arme pour la democratie [Rwanda Arms for Democracy]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1577, March 20, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

The military successes of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (FPR), an insurgent group led by Hutus but with some Tutsis, may facilitate government recognition of the group in exchange for a cease-fire. Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Casimir Bizimungu recently stated that he expected the FPR to lay down its arms in the next few months, and, according to Bizimungu, the FPR could become a political party and challenge the ruling National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) in democratic elections.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le syndicaliste et le president [The Trade Unionist and the President]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1573, February 20, 1991, 6-9. AP27.J4

The article discusses the political rivalry in Congo between President Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Jean-Michel Bokamba Yangouma, leader of the Congolese Trade Union Congress (CSC). The two men were co-leaders of the military coup that deposed former Congolese President Marien Ngouabi in 1977. Today, however, they are adversaries who head the two most powerful political groups in the country. When Sassou-Nguesso called for a national congress of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT) to discuss multipartyism, Yangouma used the occasion to challenge the president. He called for labor unions to participate in a general strike, not only to sabotage the

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work of the PCT congress, but also to mobilize workers to call for Sassou-Nguesso's resignation.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Les militaires rentrent dans le rang (The Military Returns to the Barracks)." Jeune Afrique, (Paris), October 16, 1990, 26-28. AP27.J4.

Article describes the future role of the military under the Congo's new democratic constitution that becomes effective in January 1991. Although President Sassou-Nguesso will continue to hold both his military and civilian offices, other military officers currently holding civilian posts will have to choose between military retirement or giving up their government posts.

Barthabura, Jean. "La tension monte (The Tension is Rising)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 36-37. DT1.A13.

The Central African Republic reportedly is becoming more repressive than ever as President Andre-Dieudonne Kolingba continues to oppose the movement for democratization in his country. In response to numerous calls for the establishment of democracy, the Kolingba regime has threatened to imprison anyone who publicly speaks out in favor of a multiparty political system. Kolingba's political opponents are not strong and the author observes that France's position on the situation is still unclear.

"Black Africa's Answer to Democracy," Intelligence Digest (Cheltenham, United Kingdom), October 12, 1990, n.p. D839.I4548

This article reports that Gabon's September 1990 multiparty election for the National Assembly was poorly organized and easily manipulated in favor of President Omar Bongo's ruling Gabonese Democratic Party (GDP). Thirty-seven parties fielded 533 candidates for the 120 parliamentary seats. Although the article does not include election results, it reports that GDP supporters stuffed ballot boxes and intimidated supporters of opposition parties.

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Buijtenhuijs, Robert. Le Frolinat et les guerres civiles du Tchad, 1977-1984. (Frolinat and the Civil Wars in Chad, 1977-1984). Paris: Karthala, 1987. 479p.. DT546.48.B83. .

Political and military factions in Chad's National Liberation Front (FROLINAT), and the involvement of France, Libya, and other countries in Chad's civil war during the seven-year period from 1977 to 1984 are covered in this book. Part one discusses the factors that contributed to the victory of FROLINAT. Part two focuses on the evolution of the civil war in Chad from 1979 to 1984. Part three discusses the extent of FROLINAT's control and influence up to 1984, and the Habre government's efforts to heal and rebuild the country.

"Cameroon's Opposition Presses for Democratization," Africa Report (New York), vol. 35, no. 5, November-December 1990, 10-11. DT1.A217

President Paul Biya of Cameroon is facing increasing internal and foreign pressure to legalize opposition parties. John Ngu Foncha, Biya's handpicked vice-president of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) resigned in May 1990, after the government refused to allow the opposition Social Democratic Front (SDF) to hold a public rally in Bamenda. Leaders of the Cameroon Bar Association (CBA), including its president Bernard Muna, also support democratic reforms. CBA member Albert Mukong, who was interviewed by Africa Report, said that despite foreign pressure from France and other Western democracies, Biya is continuing to order police to arrest anyone who publicly advocates the establishment of a multiparty democratic system in Cameroon.

"Central African Republic: Paris Looks for a President," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 32, no. 3, February 8, 1991, 5-6. DT1.A2125

President Andre Kolingba continues to resist domestic and foreign political pressure to introduce multiparty democracy in Central African Republic. In 1990 Kolingba ordered the arrest of 25 citizens who organized a movement calling for a national conference on multipartyism. Within Kolingba's political "party", Democratic Rally (DR), only a handful of the president's supporters are still

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committed to maintaining single-party rule. France, which has 3,000 troops stationed in Central African Republic, has pressured Kolingba to begin democratization or risk the loss of French support.

"Creation de partis politiques (Creation of Political Parties)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2344, October 12, 1990, 2880-81. HC10.M3

The names of three new political parties are reported in this news brief. They are: Union for Congolese Democracy led by Sylvain Bemba, Congolese Social Democratic Party led by Clement Mierassa and Celestin Nkoua, and Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development led by Bernard Kolela.

Dadi, Abderahman. Tchad: L'etat retrouve. (Chad: The State Rediscovered). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987. 222p. DT546.48.D33.

This book examines postindependence politics in Chad. Part one focuses on the formative years of the National Liberation Front for Chad (FROLINAT). Part two describes Chad in crisis from 1973 to 1983. In a postscript, the author discusses events after 1983. Dadi concludes that President Hissein Habre, having solidified his hold on power, is proceeding to concretize his ideas.

DeLancey, Mark W. Cameroon: Dependence and Independence. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989. 193p. DT564.D45.

Cameroon's culture, foreign relations, and economic institutions are examined in this book. Chapter three focuses on the political system that has evolved since Cameroon gained independence in 1961. The author believes that President Paul Biya is sincere about wanting to promote multiparty democracy in his country. DeLancey is impressed with Communal Liberalism, a book written by Biya in 1987 and published in London by Macmillan. In that book Biya says that he hopes to preserve Cameroon's agrarian culture and limit industrialization by gradually promoting local democratic institutions that eventually will play a major role in the national polity.

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Epee, Michel. "La naissance des contre-pouvoirs [The Birth of the Opposition]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), No. 1570, January 30, 1991, 18-19. AP27.J4

The December 1990 arrest of two popular journalists for writing articles critical of Cameroon President Paul Biya has created a backlash of antigovernment sentiment in the country along with more calls for democratization. The article speculates that the growing public debate over the arrests of Celestin Monga and Pius Njawe could eventually lead to the emergence of new political opposition parties in Cameroon.

Epee, Michel. "Le 'oui mais' a la democratie [A "Yes But" to Democracy]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1567, January 9, 1991, 26-28. AP27.J4

Cameroon President Paul Biya's government is facing increasing criticism over its failure to allow opposition parties access to the media. The Interior Ministry continues to censor antigovernment broadcasts and publications. The article discusses how newly organized opposition parties are coping with these government restrictions.

Eteki-Otabelo, Marie-Louise. Misere et grandeur de la democratie au Cameroun. (The Misery and Greatness of Democracy in Cameroon). Paris: l'Harmattan, 1987. 142p. DT578.E84.

The mechanisms used by leaders of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC) to control dissent and suppress democratic forces in the country are discussed. The author argues that twenty-five years under one political party have not allowed progressive-minded groups to express their political or their economic aspirations. Eteki-Otabelo concludes that Cameroonians must oppose the Biya government to bring about a more representative political system.

Fegley, Randall. Equatorial Guinea: An African Tragedy. No. 39 in American University Anthropology and Sociology Series. New York: Peter Lang, 1989. : Maps, Appendices. 310p. DT620.74.F44.

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Chapters six through eight include coverage of how President Obiang Nguema's military regime has talked about democratization, but has failed to return power to civilians or to allow power sharing in a democratic framework. Chapter seven describes how Nguema set up the July 1987 elections for the country's unicameral House of Representatives but prevented members of the Progress Party, led by Severo Moto and Jose Luis Jones, from competing against his ruling Democratic Party (DP) in the district elections. Additionally, Obiang financed the DP campaign with money he extorted from party and public officials. In chapter eight Fegley suggests that democracy probably will not come to Equatorial Guinea unless foreign governments and foreign businesses pressure Nguema to change his authoritarian ways.

Gaillard, Philippe. "Democratisation: les des sont jetes [Democratization: The Die is Cast]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 567, January 9, 1991, 7. AP27.J4

Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso surprised opposition groups in December 1990 when he called for a national unity conference to be held in February 1991 to discuss multipartyism. In scheduling the conference earlier than had been expected, Sassou-Nguesso hoped to provide an advantage to splinter parties from his own Congolese Labor Party (PCT). The president's proposals to raise the salaries of government workers and to introduce new programs to reduce unemployment were intended to seize the initiative from the Congolese Trade Union Congress (CSC), to ensure that democratization is directed from within the government.

Gaillard, Philippe. "La voie camerounaise vers le pluralisme [Cameroon's Path Toward Pluralism]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1571, February 6, 1991, 6-9. AP27.J4

Cameroon President Paul Biya plans to exclude exiled politicians from multiparty legislative elections planned for April 1993. A meeting of these exiled leaders was held in Paris in January 1991. The article discusses the current status of opposition groups based in Cameroon that have registered to oppose Biya's People's Democratic Movement (PDM) in the 1993 elections.

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Gaillard, Philippe. "Un multipartisme bien singulier [A Quite Unusual Multiparty System]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1574, February 27, 1991, 22-23. AP27.J4

Cameroon's opposition political parties are reported to be struggling for funds and support, while the ruling Democratic Assembly of the Cameroon People (RDPC) is divided over when to hold elections. Yondo Black's National Movement for New Democracy (NMND) is well-organized, but has little support outside the English-speaking community. The National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP), whose leaders are former RDPC members, is well funded, but Gaillard believes it has little new to offer. Two new parties, Integral Democracy in Cameroon (DIC), and Union of Cameroon Peoples (UPC), have little popular support. Meanwhile, RDPC leaders are debating whether to wait until April 1993, when presidential and legislative elections are scheduled to be held, or to take advantage of the current political confusion and hold elections now.

Girard, Patrick. "Imperturbable Sassou Nguesso [Imperturable Sassou Nguesso]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March 6, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

Opposition political groups in Congo have begun organizing a democratization conference to be held sometime before June 1991. President Sassou-Nguesso, leader of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT), the country's only legal political party, has agreed to allow the conference. However, the author believes Nguesso will try to control the outcome so he can remain in power. The conference will discuss the outline of a democratic constitution, determine the rules for democratic elections, and deliberate on freedom of the press and human rights. More than 1,200 Congolese citizens, some of whom are political exiles, are expected to attend the conference.

Girard, Patrick. "Le PCT est mort, vive le PCT (PCT is Dead, Hurrah PCT)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1563, December 18, 1990, 26-27. AP27.J4

This article comments on the congress of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT) that discussed the process by which the military-dominated PCT will institute democratic reforms to include the legalization of opposition

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political parties. The congress, held from December 4 to 7, 1990, acknowledged that the Congolese people have indicated they want democracy. Furthermore, it accepted President Denis Sassou-Nguesso's call for a national conference of existing political groups to chart the future course of democratization. The article reports that opposition parties are unhappy with the slow pace of democratization in Congo. Sassou-Nguesso favors putting off democratic elections until his term in office expires in 1994.

Girard, Patrick. "Un senat au-dessous de tout soupçon? [A Senate Above All Suspicion?," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 17. AP27.J4

Gabon's President Omar Bongo has suggested creation of a national senate as a second house of parliament to supplement the existing, popularly elected assembly. The second house would be elected indirectly by local officials, reestablishing a political power base eliminated when direct elections were instituted. The ruling Democratic Party (DP) favors the senate because it controls the most local governments in Gabon. Opposition parties, including the Woodcutters, Progress Party and Association for Socialism are still debating the issue. Many members of opposition parties see the senate as a power grab by the DP; others who lost campaigns for assembly seats view it as another chance to improve their party's standing. Bongo apparently has said that opposition parties would be guaranteed representation in the senate.

Grenier, Bernard. "Hatons-nous, mais lentement. [Let's Hurry, But Slowly]." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 45-46. DT1.A13.

President Denis Sassou-Nguesso ended a dialogue with his political opposition on democratization in Congo on July 4, 1990. The final communique published on that date acknowledged the desirability of establishing a multiparty democracy, but it proscribed democratic political activity in this one-party state until the government has had time to study and prepare the public for such a transition. Grenier suggests that the Sassou-Nguesso administration

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probably has no intention of promoting democratization in the foreseeable future.

Inongo, Sakombi, ed. Melanges pour une revolution (Mixtures for a Revolution). Kinshasa, Zaire: Lokole Publishers, 1987. 343p. JQ3619.A54.M45.

This book is a compilation of political essays by thirteen Zairian scholars on political developments that have occurred in the country since it became independent in 1960. It is organized into two parts: the essays in part one focus on national politics over the thirty-year period; part two analyzes the political doctrine of the ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR).

"Instauration immediate du multipartisme (Immediate Installation of Multipartyism)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, no. 2343, October 5, 1990, 2831-2. HC10.M3

This news brief focuses on a government plan to inaugurate a transitional democratic government in 1991, when President Denis Sassou-Nguesso plans to relinquish his office to an undesignated person. All interested political groups have been invited to attend a January 1991 conference in Brazzaville to discuss the future course of democratization. Some members of Sassou-Nguesso's Congolese Labor Party (PCT) have joined forces to organize a new political party which includes former PCT vice-president Jean-Pierre Tshystere Tchikaya and former foreign minister Pierre Nze.

"Just Who is Mobutu Sese Seko Trying to Please?" Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 3, July-August 1990, 8-9. DT1.A217.

This Africa Report editorial expresses skepticism about President Mobutu Sese Seko's public statements on the initiation of multiparty politics in Zaire within two years. The editorial focuses on Amnesty International and Belgian reports that suggest Mobutu has allowed his government's security forces to murder students who peacefully demonstrated against his rule only one month after he announced his intention to allow democratic movements to operate without fear of prosecution. Much of

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the editorial focuses on claims that Mobutu is corrupt and unlikely to share power with those who are not loyal to his Popular Revolutionary Movement (MPR).

Kpatinde, Francis. "Le Babon entre Bongo et les Bucherons (Gabon Between Bongo and the Woodcutters)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1558, November 7, 1990, 28-29. AP27.J4

Opposition parties won 55 seats in the first multiparty election for Gabon's National Assembly to be held in 22 years. In the November 1990 election, Mba Abessole, leader of the main opposition Morena des Bucherons, withdrew his candidacy for a National Assembly seat to protest to what he insisted was electoral fraud. Despite Abessole's action, 17 candidates of Morena des Bucherons won their district elections. President Omar Bongo's Democratic Party (GDP) has 62 seats which will give it a majority in the 120-seat National Assembly.

"La transition vers le multipartisme [The Transition Towards a Multiparty System]," Jeune Afrique, no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 92-93. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana has proposed three political changes to promote democratization. First, Habyarimana plans to separate the policymaking and administrative organs in the ruling National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND), Rwanda's only political party, and in the government. Second, he has promised to end the MRND's monopoly within the government by allowing individuals who do not belong to the MRND to hold government positions. Finally, Habyarimana established a commission to study how to proceed with democratization. The committee is scheduled to make its recommendations public by April 30, 1991.

Laba, Ousmane. "Zaire: La democratie des "longs couteaux" (Zaire: Democracy of "Long Knives")." Africa International (Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990, 43-44. DT1.A13.

This article reports that several students who participated in antigovernment demonstrations at the University of Lubumbashi in April 1990, were killed as part of a government crackdown on dissidents. Reportedly

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President Sese Seko Mobuto's plan to inaugurate a multiparty democracy in April 1991 was only a sham. The article discusses Mobuto's plans, which include the organization of three opposition political parties.

"Le PDG majoritaire avec 62 élus (PDG, Majority With 62 Elected)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediteraneens (Paris), no. 2347, November 2, 1990, 3139. HC10.M3

The results of Gabon's October 29, 1990 legislative elections are discussed. President Omar Bongo's Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) won 62 seats and will have a majority in the next National Assembly. The party that finished second to the PDG with 19 seats, the National Recovery Movement (MORENA), has not yet decided whether to participate in a political system still dominated by Bongo.

Lique, Rene-Jaques. "Yondo Black: tout, tout de suite! (Yondo Black: All, Right Away!)." Africa International, no. 231, October 1990, 22-24. DT1.A13.

Yondo Black, an outspoken critic of Cameroon's one-party political system, told Africa International that he has begun organizing an underground political party to oppose President Biya's Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC). In this interview Black calls for constitutional reforms to institute democracy, new economic programs that reduce the government's control over private industry, and an end to press censorship and political repression in Cameroon.

Misser, Francois. "Grudging Pluralism," New African (London), February 1991, 21. HC511.A12

New political parties established in Cameroon after December 1990 are having a difficult time attracting popular support because of government restrictions on political activities and press censorship. President Paul Biya has continued to jail his political opponents and, despite 30 new laws that guarantee political freedom, Biya has retained his authoritarian powers by declaring a state of emergency. Under emergency rule, Biya can suspend normal political campaigning as a threat to social order.

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Misser, Francois. "Mobutu's Double Game," New African (London), February 1991, 22. HC511.A12

The inability of Zairian opposition groups to organize effective national political parties threatens that country's democratization movement. More than 40 opposition political parties have been established since President Sese Seko Mobutu agreed to end his power monopoly in October 1990. Thirteen parties have been formed by supporters of former President Patrice Lumumba. Other political leaders and their parties are Kamanda wa Kamanda's Common Nationalist Front (FCN), Nguza Karl i Bond's Union of Independent Republicans and Federalists (UFERI), Joseph Ileo's Christian Democratic Party (PDSC), and Etienne Tshisekedi's Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP).

Misser, Francois. "Opposition Betrayed," New African (London), no. 246, March 1988, 13-14. HC511.A12

The defection of three leaders of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP), a Zairian opposition political party based in Brussels, has weakened UDSP efforts to end President Sese Seko Mobutu's perpetuation of a one-party state. The three UDSP leaders who defected to the ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) were Frederick Maliba, Joseph Mpandadjila, and Vincent Mbuakiem. Maliba was a co-founder of UDSP in 1982. The author reports that a fourth UDSP leader, Etienne Tshisekedi, was arrested for disturbing the peace in Kinshasa on January 8, 1988 during an antigovernment demonstration.

Misser, Francois. "The Man Who Challenged Teodoro Nguema," New African (London), no. 251, August 1988, 17. HC511.A12

Severo Moto Nsa, leader of the Progressive Party (PP) based in Madrid, Spain, returned to Equatorial Guinea in June 1988 to promote democratization. Nsa, who had the support of three Spanish opposition parties and other European groups, was encouraged by President Teodoro Obiang Nguema's public statements indicating that he would allow other parties to oppose his Democratic Party (DP) in June 1989 presidential elections. The author observes that Nsa has faced a cool reception since returning to Malabo, and Nguema has indicated he may retract his previous offer to allow democratic elections.

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"Mobutu Outsmarts Zaire Opposition," New African (London), no. 243, December 1987, 50. HC511.A12

Zaire's largest opposition party in exile, Union of Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP), is criticized for cooperating with President Sese Seko Mobutu's government and for using foreign money to finance a night club in Lusaka. UDSP leaders Etienne Tshisekedi and Faustin Birindwa met with Mobutu in Gbadolite on June 27, 1987. Although no public report of the meeting was released, they reportedly discussed a possible exchange of political favors if Tshisekedi and Faustin agreed to defect from the UDSP. Tshisekedi denied that he had made any deal with Mobutu and said that the UDSP would continue to oppose Mobutu's refusal to hold democratic elections.

Munyarugerero, Francois-Xavier. "Oui au multipartisme (Yes to Multipartyism)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1560, November 21, 1990, 7. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, who is faced with growing opposition to his military rule from groups based in the country and abroad, has established a government commission to examine multiparty political systems. The article suggests that the civil war in Rwanda, and exiled Rwandan political groups in Belgium, Canada, and Germany are putting pressure on Habyarimana to democratize the country. Habyarimana has asked the commission to submit its report to him by December 30, 1990. A national referendum on a multiparty system is scheduled for April 1991.

"Opposition Leader's Suggestions," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol 27, no. 11, November 1990, 9908. Not in LC

Former Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond plans to return to Zaire in the near future to organize a political party to oppose President Sese Seko Mobutu in a democratic presidential election scheduled to be held sometime in 1991. The article reports that Bond is skeptical about Mobutu's willingness to relinquish power voluntarily and calls on France and other nations to avoid favoring Mobutu during the political struggle between the ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) and unidentified opposition parties.

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"Opposition Parties Formed," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 11, November 1990, 9901-2. Not in LC

This article discusses three of the Congo's new opposition parties. National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP), led by Pierre N'ze, a former member of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT), has outlined a platform that opposes nepotism, tribalism, and authoritarianism. Assembly for Democracy and Social Progress (RDPS), led by Jean-Pierre Thystere Tchikaya, another former PCT member, proposes major changes in the economic sphere to bring the country out of isolation and promote the development of a free enterprise system. Congolese Liberal Party (PLC), led by Marcel Makon, is described as a right-wing political organization that encourages "individual initiative." A total of 22 new parties have registered with the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Government since President Denis Sassou-Nguesso approved the legalization of opposition parties.

"Opposition Party Congress," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 7, July 1990, 9761. Not in LC

The first party congress of Gabon's main opposition party was held from June 22-24, 1990. This article reports on the political background and ideas of the founder of Movement for National Regeneration (MORENA), Father Paul Mba Abbessole and on MORENA's political platform. Abbessole, who has been a proponent of democracy since the 1970s, was imprisoned by President Omar Bongo in 1976 and banished from the country in 1986. MORENA's platform calls for an overhaul of the taxation system, a reduction of bureaucratic control of businesses, improvement of the transportation system, and more public funding for education.

Placca, Jean-Baptiste. "Victoire du réalisme sur l'idéologie (Victory of Realism Over Ideology)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1492, August 9, 1989, 20-21. AP27.J4

This article reports on the Congo's political situation during the period following the July 1989 congress of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT). Denis Sassou-Nguesso, who controls the party and government, is gradually moving

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the country away from socialism. The article suggests that President Sassou-Nguesso understands the failures of past socialist policies.

Riding, Alan. "France Ties Africa Aid to Democracy." The New York Times, (New York), June 22, 1990, A3.

In a June 1990 speech before the French-African Conference French President Francois Mitterrand praised the democratic reforms underway in Gabon, Benin, the Ivory Coast, and Zaire. Mitterrand insisted that he would not propose constitutional models to African states because of the diversity of civilizations and unique national characteristics of each country. As for economic aid, while the article does not report on the amount of French economic assistance going to Africa, it mentions that the Mitterrand government recently has reduced interest rates on the outstanding loans it has made to twenty-two African countries, and notes that France has been generous with its foreign aid. Mitterrand apparently is a proponent of a stronger international program sponsored by Western nations to provide economic assistance to Africa.

Simon, Catherine. "Mobutu Opens Pandora's Box," Manchester Guardian Weekly (Manchester, United Kingdom), vol. 144, no. 1, January 6, 1991, 13.

This article suggests that Zairian President Sese Seko Mobutu and the political party he leads, Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR), have few political supporters in Zaire or abroad. The author mentions three new political parties that eventually may come to power if democratic elections are held in the country. They are: Union for Democracy and Social Progress led by Etienne Tshisekedi; Democratic and Christian Social Party led by Ileo Songo Amba; and Federal Union of Independent Republicans led by Karl-I-Bond. Mobutu's presidential term ends in December 1991.

Soudan, Francois, and Limam, Zyad. "Mobutu: "Je serais parti si..." (Mobutu: "I Would Have Left If...")," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1533, May 21, 1990, 16-19. AP27.J4

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This article reports on an interview with Zairian President Sese Seko Mobutu. Mobutu talked about the national consultation that he organized on multipartyism, and of his own future. The truth he gave in this interview may be contested by those who think he is not qualified to lead Zaire on the roads of democracy. But credit should be accorded to Mobutu: he did not reject any questions posed in the interview. He was content with distorting a few.

"The Political Scene," Country Report: Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi (London), Economist Intelligence Unit, No. 2, 1990, 11-15. HC591.C6Q15

Zairian President Sese Seko Mobutu's acceptance of multipartyism in April 1990 was a pragmatic political move made after Mobutu visited several regions of the country to ascertain the extent of popular support for democratization. Mobutu, who came to power by military coup in 1965, concluded after his tour that his regime lacked public support. This influenced his decisions to step down as chairman of the ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) and to call for a multiparty presidential election in 1991. Mobutu is said to be hoping that opposition parties will fail to unite thereby giving him the election advantage.

"Une conference avant les echeances electorales (A Conference Prior to the Election Date.)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 2, 1991, 26-27. AP27.J4

Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso plans to remain on as a member of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT) after democratic elections in 1991; however Sassou-Nguesso is reported to have no desire to run for president or another elective office. In a December 1990 interview, Sassou-Nguesso told the author that he plans to stay above partisan politics to guarantee "equal opportunity to all contestants."

Willame, Jean-Claude. "Political Succession in Zaire, or Back to Machiavelli." Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 26, no. 1, January 1988, 37-49. DT1.J68.

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President Sese Seko Mobuto of Zaire is said to have established a personality cult that is strong enough that he is unlikely to be deposed by violent or peaceful means during his lifetime. The author believes that the establishment of democratic institutions is unlikely in the foreseeable future in Zaire. Willame opines that the constitutional process will emerge when Mobuto dies or voluntarily leaves office. The constitution provides that the central committee of Mobuto's own Movement of the Revolution (MPR), Zaire's only legal political party, will choose his successor.

Eastern Africa

"1990: A Year of Drama," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), August 24, 1990, 16-17. JS7648.9.K5M87

Several prominent political opponents of Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, all of whom supported democratization and the establishment of a multiparty political system, mysteriously died or were imprisoned in 1990. Bishop Alexander Muge, who died in an automobile accident on August 14, 1990, had appeared earlier that day before a government-sponsored committee responsible for overseeing the public debate on multipartyism. In his speech before the committee, Muge had proposed ending Moi's domination of the country. Dr. John Robert Ouko, who also had criticized Moi's rule, was killed in February 1990. The article is critical of President Moi's apparent attempts to use any means possible to preserve Kenya's one-party political system and his own rule.

"A Fighter and a Politician." West Africa, (London), no. 3804, July 23, 1990, 2149. DT491.W4.

This editorial by the London-based news magazine praises Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni for restoring certain rights and freedoms denied citizens by two of his predecessors. However, Museveni is viewed as committed to the continuation of one-party rule. West Africa says he is unlikely to allow his political opponents to organize legal parties in the near future.

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Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Les partisans du president resserrent les rangs [Partisans of the President are Closing Ranks]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March 6, 1991, 18-19. AP27.J4

Opposition political parties in Djibouti have claimed President Hassan Gouled Aptidon is abusing his power by arresting and imprisoning hundreds of potential political leaders. According to Amnesty International, there may be as many as 500 political prisoners in Djibouti's prisons. The author suggests that government repression and clan politics represent two obstacles to democratization. Opposition political parties mentioned in the article include, Popular African Line for Independence (LPAI), Popular Assembly for Progress (RPP), Democratic Front for the Liberation of Djibouti (FDLD), and National Union for Independence (UNI).

Bradshaw, York W. "Perpetuating Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Link Between Agriculture, Class, and State." African Studies Review, (East Lansing, Michigan), vol. 33, no. 1, April 1990, 1-28. DT1.A2293.

The perpetuation of land ownership by the political elite is viewed as one of the ways President Daniel arap Moi's government has stifled the development of democratic institutions in Kenya. Members of Parliament, who are part of Moi's patronage system, are said to be more concerned with controlling their privately-owned farms and businesses than they are in representing their constituents.

Constantin, Francois. "Social Stratification on the Swahili Coast: From Race to Class?" Africa, (London), vol. 59, no. 2, April 1989, 146-60. PL8000.I6.

Differences in the political systems of Kenya, Tanzania, and Mozambique are viewed in relationship to racial, religious, and other sociological factors influencing their societies. The author speculates that two trends evident in each of the three countries could augur against the emergence of democratic institutions in the near future. These trends are the existence of large and inefficient government bureaucracies and an overdependence on foreign capital.

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Dagne, Theodore. "Somalia: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy." Congressional Research Service. Library of Congress. Report for Congress. May 12, 1990.

Opposition groups in Somalia are reported to lack expertise in developing and publicizing their political platforms. As a result, opposition groups are regionally based and attract little popular support. The author believes that support for the Somali National Movement has decreased in northern Somalia and this group probably is no longer a viable military or political threat to the government of President Mohamed Siad Barre. The two other opposition groups discussed in the study are the Somali Patriotic Movement and the United Somali Congress. Dagne notes that President Barre has promised to promulgate a multiparty political system in Somalia by the end of 1990. However, Dagne suggests that the apparent inability of opposition leaders to promote their political causes has given Barre an excuse to withdraw his support for democratization.

"Does Uganda Really Want Democracy?," New African (London), no. 256, January 1989, 22. HC511.A12

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni is criticized for stalling plans to implement multiparty democracy. Museveni has argued that the people must use as their primary democratic forum local Resistance Councils established throughout the country. Opposition political groups, such as the Democratic Party, so far have not been allowed to participate in politics. New African questions whether Museveni ever intends to promote democratization in Uganda.

Dourado, Wolfgang J. "When the Wind Blows," Africa Events, November 1990, 38-39. Not in LC

The author, Zanzibar's former attorney general, argues that tribal differences in Tanzania, and other sub-Saharan African nations, are not serious enough to prevent the development of democracy on the continent. He believes Revolutionary Party chairman Julius Nyerere's June 1990 speech, which called for establishing a multiparty democratic system in Tanzania, was a promising sign. It indicates that progressive African leaders formerly committed to retaining power are beginning to view

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democratization more as a positive political process than as a threat to their parochial interests. Dourado calls on the United Nations to become more involved in promoting democracy in Africa by defining the essentials of democratic political systems and by leading an international program to end the rule of dictators who refuse to respect democratic principles.

Gaillard, Jean-Louis. Somalie: Le peuple de Pount. (Somalia: The People of Pount). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988. 141p. DT401.5.G35.

This book discusses the socialist policies of President Mohamed Siad Barre and examines how seventeen years of socialist rule have affected the dominant Somali and other ethnic groups in the country. The author opines that despite the country's poor economic performance under socialism, Barre remains firmly in control of the country and he is unlikely to allow democratic reforms. Gaillard identifies Barre's potential successors and suggests that none appears eager at this point, to call for a change in the political status quo.

Hansen, Holger Bernt, and Twaddle, Michael, ed. Uganda Now. London: James Currey, Ltd., 1988. 376p. : Maps, Tables. DT433.285.U43.

Twenty African, American, and British scholars contributed articles on civil-military relations, democracy, intertribal conflicts, and other issues relevant to Uganda's political development. President Yoweri Museveni is regarded as a political opportunist in the Milton Obote mold and an unlikely proponent of democratization.

Hodd, Michael, ed. Tanzania After Nyerere. London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1988. 197p. DT448.2.T29.

Part six of this book, comprising chapters 17 through 20, discusses the political problems that have plagued Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi since he succeeded Julius Nyerere as head of state in 1985. In chapter 17, Haroub Othman criticizes Nyerere for failing to turn the nationalist Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) into a political party. In chapter 19, Werner Biermann suggests

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that Mwinyi inherited an authoritarian state because Nyerere reacted to international economic pressures on Tanzania in the early 1980s by consolidating control of state organs within Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the socialist party he continued to head in 1985. In chapter 20, David Throup describes how the CCM gradually absorbed Zanzibar's political parties, particularly the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP).

Kato, Wycliffe. Escape from Idi Amin's Slaughterhouse. London: Quartet Books, 1989. 172p. DT433.283.K38.

This book is an autobiographical description of how Idi Amin's regime treated intellectuals from 1971 to 1979 in Uganda. The author, who was imprisoned by Amin in 1976, escaped Uganda in 1977. Chapter one discusses the reasons Amin won power by military coup in 1971. Kato blames former President Milton Obote for undermining democracy during his two terms as president. Under Amin, tribal and regional tensions were exacerbated to the point that Uganda remains too politically unstable for a return to democracy.

"Kenya: Democracy in Danger," New African (London), no. 235, April 1987, 18. HC511.A12

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, who opposes any movement for democratization, is not expected to have any trouble with UKenya, a new opposition party in exile. UKenya, also known as Movement for Unity and Democracy in Kenya (MUD), was established in London on February 14, 1987. The article is critical of Moi's policies that fail to allow political discussion outside his Kenya African National Union (KANU). However, President Moi's opposition in exile is said to be weak and to lack a clearly defined political program.

Lagarde, Andre. "La reconstruction de l'Ouganda (The Reconstruction of Uganda)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2331, July 13, 1990, 2041-2042.

This article discusses the four-year rule of President Yoweri Museveni and mentions that although Museveni speaks

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about democratization, he continues to prohibit opposition parties from engaging in political activities. Museveni participated in the 1990 French-African summit in La Baule and spoke in favor of democratization during closed sessions. The author speculates that Museveni eventually may adopt a semi-democratic system. In this system the National Resistance Movement (NRM) would maintain control of the government while opposition parties, including the Ugandan People's Congress and Democratic Party, would have an undetermined role in the executive and legislature.

Madunda, Shaiya. "Make District Basis for Political Reforms," Daily News (Dar es Salaam), December 14, 1990, 4.

The author believes a multiparty democracy is unnecessary in Tanzania. Madunda argues that preservation of national unity, which Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party or CCM) allegedly has brought to the country, is compatible with democracy. He suggests that pluralistic politics is possible in the existing political system.

"Multiparty Hopes," New African (London), no. 281, February 1991, 19. HC511.A12

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi opposes democratization. Mwinyi has established a commission to study the issue and has said that the people ultimately will decide whether they want to continue living under one-party rule, or change to a democratic form of government. However, Mwinyi is jailing opponents of his one-party state, including Christopher Mtikila, Mousa Membar, and James Mapalala. Mapalala alleges that Mwinyi realizes that his Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), also known as the Revolutionary Party, could not hold onto power if opposition parties were allowed to operate in Tanzania.

Mutahaba, Gelase. Reforming Public Administration for Development: Experiences from Eastern Africa. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1989. xv, 183p. JQ2945.A5 M88. .

Democratic reforms in these three one-party states have focused primarily on changing central, regional, and local government by incorporating management techniques adopted

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from Western countries. By focusing on why and when reforms in public administration have been instituted in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia, Mutahaba succinctly defines the ongoing struggle between authoritarian and democratic organizations in each country. Mutahaba currently is secretary general of the African Association for Public Administration and Management in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Mzirai, Baldwin. "Tanzanians' Fears on Multiparty Founded," Daily News (Dar es Salaam), January 3, 1991, 4.

Mzirai rejects the idea that a multiparty system is necessary in African states, citing examples of failures in Uganda, Ghana, Chad, and Nigeria and partial success in Botswana. Referring to movements toward multiparty systems in francophone Africa, he says they indicate that France is calling the shots. The author quotes the democratic principles espoused by British professor C.B. Macpherson and claims Tanzania's political system falls within his guidelines.

"Paramoia Strikes Kenya's Leading Opposition Voice," Africa Report (New York), vol. 35, no. 5, November-December 1990, 8. DT1.A217

The editor of a Nairobi-based journal on legal and political affairs in Kenya has become the target of a crackdown on antigovernment publications. In September 1990, Kenyan authorities arrested Gitobu Imanyara, editor of the Nairobi Law Monthly, and charged him with failing to properly register the magazine, which has become increasingly popular in Kenya since it was first published in 1988. The journal has featured articles on democratization and human rights. Africa Report states that President Daniel arap Moi, who has ruled Kenya since 1978, has become increasingly authoritarian in recent years. The government often ignores the rights of citizens, including freedom of the press, guaranteed in the 1982 constitution.

Roberts, Hugh. "Building Under Pressure," South (London), no. 119, February 1991, 41. HC59.69 S65

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Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, whose National Resistance Movement (NRM) militarily won control of Uganda in 1986, remains determined to maintain a one-party political system. Although opposition parties exist, the Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda People's Congress (UPC) being two examples, these organizations are not allowed to compete in elections for local and national government councils. Roberts believes Museveni is unlikely to promote democracy in Uganda.

Sathyamurthy, T. V. The Political Development of Uganda: 1900-1986. London: Gower Publishing Company; 1987. 781p. : Maps, Figures. DT433.26.S28.

This book provides a comprehensive political analysis of the tribal, religious, regional, and military groups that have participated in Uganda's political evolution. Chapters three through five discuss the British colonial experience in Uganda. Chapters four through seven explore the establishment of modern political movements in various regions of Britain's Uganda Protectorate, with particular emphasis on the separatist movement centered in the Kingdom of Buganda. Chapter seven provides an in-depth examination of the formation of national parliamentary-style parties in the final years of British colonial rule, and includes descriptions of regional and ethnic factions that remain political forces in Ugandan politics today. Chapter eight discusses the factors that contributed to the failure of democratic government in Uganda during the 1961-72 period. In the epilogue, the author portrays President Yoweri Museveni as a populist leader who is dedicated to ending regionalism as a destructive force in Uganda. Sathyamurthy believes that most Ugandans do not want a return to the political chaos of the 1950s and 1960s, when democratic parties failed to establish stable national institutions; or to rule by repressive, elitist autocrats like Idi Amin and his successors.

Shekalaghe, Sado M. "CCM Forever Dominant," Africa Events (London), March 1991, 46. DT1.A2137

The article maintains that the absence of strong leadership in organizations other than Tanzania's only legal political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) makes a

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multiparty system unworkable in that country. The author argues that CCM has recruited Tanzania's "best and brightest" from all sectors, including the trade unions. The article praises President Ali Hassan Mwinyi's policies.

Shields, Todd. "L'Etat C'est Moi? (I Am the State?)," Africa Report (New York), vol. 33, no. 6, November-December 1988,, 49-51. DT1.A217

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, who also heads the ruling Kenyan African National Union (KANU), has refused to allow opposition political parties to form and has stifled any debate of controversial political issues during his ten-year rule. Shields reports that Moi's political opponents are harrassed; any who continue to criticize him are prosecuted as subversives. Two opposition parties are identified: Loigi wa Wamwere's Norway-based Kenya Patriotic Front (KPF) and Raila Odinga's Kenya Revolutionary Movement (KRM). Odinga has been in and out of jail for his political activities since 1982.

"What We Shall Not Do," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), October 5, 1990, 13-15. JS7648.9.K5M87

Kenya African National Union (KANU) chairman Peter Aringo told reporters that President Daniel arap Moi and the KANU executive committee are opposed to calling multiparty elections before 1993. Aringo criticized KANU's political opponents who favor holding democratic elections sometime in 1991 as "stooges who need enlightenment on how to live in harmony with the rest of society." The article observes that many political dissidents in Kenya question whether President Moi will honor his promise to allow other political parties to oppose KANU in the next presidential and legislative elections.

Southern Africa

Allen, Caroline. "The Politics of Apathy," Africa Report (New York), vol. 33, no. 3, May-June 1988, 49-51. DT1.A217

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Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who was preparing to run unopposed for reelection in October 1988, prohibited citizens not belonging to his United National Independence Party (UNIP) from voting in the election. Local UNIP officials refused to issue voting cards to anyone who opposed Kaunda or the UNIP, thereby making them ineligible to vote in the October election.

Anderson, Catherine. "All Shades of Truth: Reviewing the Road to Democracy in South Africa" Mackenzie Papers, (Toronto), no. 20, January 1990, 1-56.

The author believes the close ties established between the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) could lead to the establishment of a socialist regime if the 1983 Constitution is amended to enfranchise blacks. The major theme of the study suggests that while moderates in the National Party and ANC appear to favor democratization, white conservatives and black leftists remain unwilling to compromise and their intransigence could prolong racial violence in South Africa.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Les habiles concessions de Savimbi (The Skillful Concessions of Savimbi)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 26-27. AP27.J4

The political goals of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), include plans to negotiate a settlement with the Angolan government that would allow him to organize UNITA into a political party that would compete with the ruling Labor Party in democratic elections. UNITA-controlled areas of Angola, and UNITA support groups based in Lisbon, Portugal already are prepared to promote Savimbi's candidacy if President Jose Eduardo dos Santos calls for free elections.

Andriamirado, Sennon. "Elections presidentielles: Ratsiraka, quand meme... (Presidential Elections: Ratsiraka, Even So...)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1473, March 29, 1989, 28-29. AP27.J4

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Didier Ratsiraka easily won reelection in the March 1989 presidential election. This article discusses the campaign strategies of Ratsiraka's opponents and analyzes what the election results mean for democracy in Madagascar.

Anglin, Douglas G. "Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 3, September 1990, 431-455. DT1.J68

This article discusses political developments in late 1989 and early 1990 in Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Mozambique. The author predicts that talk about democracy will not necessarily promote a political transformation in the region in a short time, because a generation of citizens in all but one country (Botswana) have been influenced by authoritarian ideologies. Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, for example, has called for the institution of a multiparty system in Tanzania, but this respected African leader has encountered a more conservative response than he envisioned. Anglin concludes that socialism will remain strong in southern Africa for many years, but he believes that gradually each of the countries will introduce more democratic systems in response to changes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the rest of the international community.

"Angola: Multipartyism Endorsed," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 12, December 1990, 9933-9934.

During a December 1990 national congress of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party (MPLA-LP), President Jose Eduardo dos Santos proposed the introduction of multiparty elections by 1992. This article notes that the MPLA-LP's acceptance of the dos Santos proposal does not guarantee an end to MPLA's civil war with Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Apparently MPLA-LP hopes to use the transitional period to discard its Marxist-Leninist ideology and encourage popular support for its leadership under a socialist banner.

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"Attempt to Kill Tekere," New African (London), No. 267,
December 1989, 20. HC511.A12

Edgar Tekere, who was elected to Zimbabwe's parliament in 1985 as a member of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), but now heads Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), a small opposition party that opposes President Robert Mugabe's one-party policy, told New African that he believes that he has been an assassination target because of his efforts to promote a two-party political system. On an unspecified date in the fall of 1989 Tekere and Zimbabwe Senator William Ndongana were traveling in separate cars within a mile of each other on the road to Mutare. Ndongana was killed when an army truck crashed into his car. Tekere believes the incident was planned and that he was the intended target. The article observes that as Zimbabwe prepares for the 1990 national elections, most Zimbabweans appear to have little interest in the political campaign. For example, 8,000 people showed up for an Harare rally for President Mugabe, and 2,000 people showed up for a Bulawayo rally for ZANU-PF leader Joshua Nkomo. Another sign of political apathy is the low rate of voter registration for the 1990 election. Tekere hopes that ZUM will win at least one seat in parliament in 1990.

Babu, A. M. "Struggle for Democracy," Africa Events (London),
vol. 6, no. 12, December 1990, 30-31. DT1.A2137

Before the 1964 union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into the United Republic of Tanzania, multipartyism existed in both areas. This article attributes Tanzania's political and economic problems to the consolidation of the one-party state. Babu argues that the money the ruling Revolutionary Party has invested in its secret police and party bureaucracies should be diverted to promote the development of the private sector and multipartyism.

Battersby, John. "Mozambique Moves Toward Peace and Multiparty System." Christian Science Monitor, (Boston), July 10, 1990, 1-2.

Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano has allowed an open debate on the establishment of a multiparty state. The article reports that proponents of the idea say that

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eliminating the current one-party system and replacing it with a parliamentary system will promote political stability and induce economic aid from Western countries. Opponents of the plan claim a multiparty system is untenable in the war-torn country because it will exacerbate the already deep divisions that exist between various ethnic groups.

Booth, Alan R. "South Africa's Hinterland: Swaziland's Role in Strategies for Sanctions-Breaking." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 36, no. 1, January 1989, 41-50. DT1.A217.

Swaziland's political and economic ties to South Africa are said in this article to resemble Hong Kong's relationship with China. While the article does not discuss the chances for democratic reforms in Swaziland, it describes how Mbabane has taken advantage of international economic sanctions against South Africa to develop its economic ties with Western democracies.

Cahen, Michel. Mozambique: la revolution implosee. (Mozambique: The Imploded Revolution). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987. 167p. DT463.C34.

This book discusses the socialist orientation and political doctrine of the late president of Mozambique, Samora Machel. Although democratic movements are said to be nonexistent in the one-party state, the book provides useful information on political factions within Machel's Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

Chaigneau, Pascal. "Madagascar: les ambiguites d'une reelection (Madagascar: The Ambiguities of the Reelection)." L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes (Paris), no. 161, Summer 1989, 51-58. DT1.A86.

The author predicts that President Didier Ratsiraka's political future depends on his ability to rebuild the country economically and politically. The article notes Ratsiraka's campaign rhetoric before the March 1990 presidential election. Ratsiraka is less doctrinaire than when he first became president in 1975. During the 1990 campaign Ratsiraka did not use familiar slogans of the

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past from "Boky Mena," the book he wrote on how socialism benefits Madagascar.

Chikulo, Bornwell C. "The Impact of Elections in Zambia's One Party Second Republic." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 35, no. 2, April 1988, 37-49. DT1.A22.

Article reviews Zambia's 1973, 1978, and 1983 general elections and concludes that democratic reforms are needed to allow opponents of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) to have their names placed on the ballot in general elections.

Chioposa, Sylvester. "Kaunda Gives Way," New African (London), No. 278, November 1990, 21-22. HC511.A12

This article observes that multipartyism in Zambia still has a long way to go because the ruling United National Independence Party's (UNIP) national council still dominates the country's political system. However, Chioposa speculates that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has lost ground in recent months to his former supporters who favor the establishment of a multiparty democracy. Multiparty advocates mentioned in the article are: Humphrey Mulemba, former secretary general of UNIP; Joshua Lumina, former commander of the Zambian army; and Frederick Chiluba, leader of Zambia's largest trade union.

Chiposa, Sylvester. "Eccentric Elections," New African (London), no. 245, February 1988, 26. HC511.A12

Swaziland's unique system for electing members of parliament is discussed. Elders in the 40 electoral districts nominate 4 candidates on election day. Voters select 2 candidates to attend a meeting of the national electoral college in Lobamba. The 80 members of the electoral college meet in secret to nominate, discuss, and elect the 40 members of parliament.

"Democracy's Apprentices," Economist (London), vol. 318, no. 7692, February 2, 1991, 39-40. HG11.E2

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This article notes that Zambia's promised multiparty presidential election, to be held sometime before October 1991, probably will be a two-party contest between the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), Zambia's most popular opposition group. MMD is the only organization strong enough to have a chance of unseating President Kenneth Kaunda who is certain to be UNIP's candidate. MMD has, as yet, not defined its political platform and The Economist suggests that the political philosophies of its leaders resemble UNIP's in many respects. Unless MMD can demonstrate that it will bring about positive change in Zambia, Kaunda and UNIP stand the best chance of winning the election.

Economist Intelligence Unit. Country Report: Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, Comoros. (London) No. 4, 1990. 51p. : Appendices. HC895.A1C678.

The sections on Mauritius and Comoros include analysis of democratic developments in the two states. The balance of power changed dramatically in the parliament of Mauritius in September 1990 without an election when the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) joined the government led by the Mouvement Socialiste Mauricien's (MSM) Sir Aneerood Jugnauth. The two parties now control 48 of the parliament's 70 seats. However, this report suggests that the MMM-MSM coalition is unpopular with many voters because of political enmity between Jugnauth and Paul Berenger, who is MMM's secretary general. In Comoros, President Said Mohamed Djohar is under pressure from France to call legislative and local elections or risk the loss of French aid.

Edwards, Veronique. "I Am Prepared to Bow Out," New African (London), January 1991, 12-13. HC511.A12

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said he would relinquish power if he lost a presidential election. In an exclusive interview Kaunda told the author that he doubted he would lose the presidency because he believed the majority of Zambians support his United National Independence Party (UNIP). However, Kaunda admitted he would be reluctant to turn over the reins of government to an opposition leader because, in his view, the country's most qualified

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politicians are UNIP members who are committed to the advantages of one-party rule. Kaunda also said that if Zambians return UNIP to power in democratic elections, he already has chosen a number of possible successors. When asked their names, Kaunda replied that he would make such an announcement at an appropriate time.

Egero, Bertil. Mozambique, A Dream Undone: The Political Economy of Democracy, 1975-84. Uppsala, Sweden: Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, 1987. 230p. JQ3671.A2E54.

This book explains the electoral system to popular assemblies in Mozambique under the one-party system imposed by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The author suggests that while FRELIMO's national leaders, after ten years in power, have not learned to act on the recommendations of locally-elected officials, the fact that these institutions are in place insures that the "democratic" rights of the country's citizens are being respected. An appendix includes a comparison of the Cuban and Mozambican political systems.

Gahla, Chukwuemeka. "Giant Strides." African Guardian, (Lagos, Nigeria), vol. 5, no. 20, May 28, 1990, 20-26. DT515.A62.

Article describes how the African National Congress (ANC) changed its political strategy in the early 1980s. During the decade the ANC depended less on its Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) military arm to conduct terrorism and focused more on broadening its democratic base within the various black ethnic groups in South Africa. The author considers 1983 to have been a crucial year in the building of the ANC, and he credits a loose alliance between the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) as promoting an effective trade union movement that is strongly opposed to the de Klerk government. Despite its association with the SACP, the ANC continues to espouse its commitment to developing democracy in South Africa.

Glickman, Harvey, ed. Toward Peace and Security in Southern Africa. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1990. 259p. DT1157.T68.

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This book is a compilation of eighteen papers presented at the April 1989 Conference on Security in Southern Africa held at Haverford College. The conference brought together American policymakers, African scholars, and several American experts on southern Africa. The book is organized into three parts: section one discusses South Africa's influence in southern Africa; part two examines regional and international pressures auguring for political, military, and economic changes in the region; and part three focuses on the United States' political and security interests in southern Africa.

Griffen, Michael. "Ratsiraka's Volte-Face" Africa Report (New York), vol. 32, no. 3, May-June 1987, 50-52. DT1.A217

Madagascar President Didier Ratsiraka's political rivals are incapable of establishing national parties that could eventually challenge Ratsiraka's own Advance Guard of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA). In 1985 Ratsiraka failed to win the support of the leaders of six other regionally-based political groups who sit on the Council of the Revolution for a plan to merge all political parties into a national socialist party. Griffen suggests that Madagascar's six minor political parties are viable political organizations that respond to the interests of their small constituencies but have little influence over the AREMA-dominated policymaking process.

Herbstein, Denis, and Evenson, John. The Devils Among Us. London: Zed Books, 1989. 202p. : Photos, Maps. DT1645.H47.

Two British journalists wrote this book as an apologia for the non-democratic and often violent methods used by the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) to increase its political base in Namibia before the December 1988 independence agreement. Many public groups, particularly unions, gradually increased their participation in public demonstrations against the ruling South African government during the 1970s and in the 1980s are reported to function as democratic institutions. Strong support for SWAPO in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and other countries in southern Africa probably will be helpful in its effort to strengthen its political organizations in Namibia. However, Herbstein and Evenson

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do not comment on the attitudes of SWAPO's leaders concerning sharing power with opposition parties.

Holland, Heidi. The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress. New York: George Braziller, 1989. xii, 252p. : photos. JQ1998.A4H65. .

The book provides a pro-African National Congress (ANC) view of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Much of the focus is on Nelson Mandela, particularly on his role in establishing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the militant wing of ANC. According to Holland, Mandela determined sometime in 1961 that blacks in South Africa would have to use violence to counter the government's continual persecution of blacks. Holland finished writing her book in February 1989, nine months before President Frederik de Klerk's inauguration. Holland observed that the strength of moderates in de Klerk's National Party was increasing, and noted that this trend favored a negotiated end to racial violence in South Africa.

Holm, John D. and Molutsi, Patrick P. "Monitoring the Development of Democracy: Our Botswana Experience" Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 3, July 1990, 535-543. DT1.J68

The authors suggest that more research and writing on the problems faced by African countries that are attempting to develop democratic institutions are necessary to promote healthy democracies on the continent. Holm and Molutsi participated in such an endeavor in Botswana from 1987 to 1988 with the cooperation of the government and opposition parties. The article describes how the ruling Botswana Democratic Party and the opposition Botswana National Front viewed their research and suggests several guidelines for future research on democracy in Africa.

Jaster, Robert S. "The 1988 Peace Accords and the Future of South-western Africa." Adelphi Papers, (London), No. 253, Autumn 1990, 1-76. U162.A3.

Article examines the military and political events that led to the peace agreement signed by Angola, South Africa,

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and Cuba in December 1988. The enactment of this peace agreement promoted the establishment of democratic reforms in Namibia with the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) being the primary beneficiary of the accord. Angola, however, remains under communist rule and the civil war in that country is still viewed as a threat to peace in the region. Jaster supports SWAPO's pragmatic policies since it took over the reins of government in 1989, but he cautions that ethnic and economic problems in Namibia could have a destabilizing influence on democratization in the future.

"Kaunda Fights Back," New African (London), no. 279, December 1990, 16. HC511.A12

Arthur Wina, a former finance minister, has organized Zambia's first opposition party to oppose President Kenneth Kaunda in an election tentatively scheduled for October 1991. Kaunda is delaying constitutional changes that would make it legal for Wina's Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to campaign against the country's only legal political party, Kaunda's own United National Independence Party (UNIP). Wina turned down Kaunda's offer to appoint him to a commission that is studying how to revise Zambia's constitution because he believes UNIP has too much control over political affairs. Kaunda hopes that his political opponents, including Wina, will be unable to unite behind one candidate to challenge him at the polls in October.

"Kaunda's New Strategy," The Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), September 28, 1990, 60.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda claims to be moving toward accepting a more open political system, but he is believed to be maneuvering to guarantee that he will win a democratic election tentatively scheduled for sometime in 1991. Kaunda now supports the basic articles of a constitution that will allow political groups other than his own United National Independence Party (UNIP) to participate in next year's election. However, behind the scenes he is attempting to reduce political support for Frederick Chiluba, his strongest political opponent. Chiluba currently is chairman of the Congress of Trade Unions. A national referendum on the proposed constitution

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is scheduled to be held on August 13, 1991 and democratic elections probably will take place in September or October 1991.

"La democratie sans l'UNITA (Democracy without UNITA)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 7.
DT1.A4785

The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) is reluctant to agree on the type of multiparty political system to be adopted in the country until after the conclusion of its negotiations with the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). This news brief suggests that UNITA was primarily responsible for the breakdown of the fifth round of UNITA-MPLA talks in Portugal. UNITA's representatives at the November 1990 talks said that their MPLA counterparts had failed to agree to UNITA proposals for protecting the democratic rights of its supporters following a cease-fire. MPLA apparently will introduce multipartyism in January 1991 with or without UNITA's support.

"La Renamo rejette la nouvelle constitution (Renamo Rejects the New Constitution)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2348, November 9, 1990, 3208. HC10.M3

Leaders of Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) have rejected Mozambique's new constitution. Renamo claims that only members of the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) participated in writing the new constitution, and it further maintains that the constitution is undemocratic.

Laurence, Patrick. "De Klerk's Rubicon." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 1, March-April 1990, 13-16. DT1.A217.

President Frederik de Klerk's February 1990 declaration legalizing the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP), and other banned political organizations is viewed as a positive step toward finding a peaceful and democratic solution to South Africa's political problems. The author believes that de Klerk's action will force the ANC to adopt democratic policies or risk losing its political power base. Laurence further

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suggests that de Klerk's secondary goal was to undermine SACP's claim that the ruling National Party would never negotiate with black South Africans. The article reports that the SACP currently controls 100 city governments in South Africa.

Lazitch, Branko. Angola, 1974-1988. Paris: Est and Ouest, 1988. 107p. DT463.C34.

This book is a commentary on the absence of popular support for the communist government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos. It reviews various economic and social projects started since 1974 and discusses the effects of the civil war in Angola.

"Le president Kaunda s'engage dans le multipartisme (President Kaunda Commits Himself to Multipartyism)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2354, December 21, 1990, 3647. HC10.M3

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called on opposition parties to "use ideas, not guns" after signing an amendment to the country's constitution that provides for the institution of a multiparty political system. Kaunda signed the amendment on December 17, 1990, ending 17 years of one-party rule in Zambia. However, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), the main opposition party, has accused the government of denying it equal access to the government-controlled media. MMD also is suing the government for alleged libelous use of the media, which it claims has misrepresented the party's political message.

Legum, Colin. "South Africa in Turmoil." New African, (London), no. 277, October 1990, 9-11. HC511.A12.

Article analyzes why South African black leaders and President Frederik de Klerk have been unable to arrange interparty negotiations to promote democratic reforms. Within the dominant black political party, the African National Congress (ANC), a hardline faction is opposed to allowing Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi to participate in talks. Buthelezi, a Zulu chief and former supporter of ANC's Nelson Mandela, has a sizeable political following in Natal Province, particularly in the Bantu homeland of

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KwaZulu. De Klerk's biggest problem is his apparent inability to control the government's extensive police and security forces. Legum believes that white commanders of police units often refuse to deter or break up violent clashes between competing black factions, including the ANC and Inkatha, because they want to discredit de Klerk's efforts to promote a larger role in the political process for all black groups.

Legum, Colin. The Battlefronts of Southern Africa. New York and London: Africana Publishing Company, 1988. 451p. DT746.L425.

The politics of violence in southern African countries in the decade from 1976 to 1986 is examined in the context of regional and international struggles. Civil wars, or support for wars in neighboring countries, are viewed as an obstacle to the development of democratic institutions in the region. The author believes that a political settlement between the National Party and the African National Congress of South Africa will have to occur before stable, and peaceful, political development can take place in Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other countries in southern Africa.

"Les petits calculs du docteur Kaunda [The Small Calculations of Doctor Kaunda]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1572, February 13, 1991, 18. AP27.J4

The legalization of the opposition party Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) is viewed as a positive step toward democratization in Zambia. This article discusses the obstacles facing MMD leaders as they prepare to oppose President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) when democratic elections are held.

Lijphart, Arend and Stanton, Diane R. "A Democratic Blueprint for South Africa." Pages 89-98 in The South African Quagmire. Edited by S. Prakash Sethi. Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1987. xvi, 444p. HF1613.4.Z4U67. .

Rewriting the South African Constitution could be the first step in a democratization process. The authors believe that for a constitution to be democratic and

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useful, given the political situation in the country, it must include guarantees for proportional representation in each of the branches of government. The article briefly compares the language and ethnic problems in South Africa with three Western democracies--Canada, Switzerland, and Belgium. Local issues, such as the possibility of tribal leaders supporting a new constitution, will also be a factor in a democratization process.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Campus Criticism," Africa Report, vol. 34, no. 6, November-December 1989, 42-44. DT1.A217

Government harrassment of groups that oppose President Robert Mugabe's plan to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe was particularly apparent from September to November 1988. During this two month period Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) detained students, labor leaders, and eleven members of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), a small political party that opposes the one-party movement as undemocratic. This article reports that the Zimbabwe government's actions have caused a backlash of antigovernment public opinion that may stall Mugabe's efforts to silence his political critics.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Mugabe's Folly." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 1, March-April 1990, 54-57. DT1.A217.

Article focuses on Zimbabwean politicians who oppose President Robert Mugabe's plan to promote a one-party state. Two prominent members of Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) during the party's December 1989 national convention in Harare delivered speeches that were critical of legislating democracy out of existence. Eddison Zvobgo, minister of state for political affairs and ZANU's party chairman for Masvingo Province, said: "I do not believe that a one-party state, despite the fact that it embodies some democratic trends, is the best system of democracy." Dumiso Dabengwa, ZANU's party chairman for Bulawayo Province and a central committee member, said that he favored eliminating Marxist-Leninist ideology from the party constitution. Despite this opposition, Mugabe reportedly has the political advantage on this issue as ZANU's political opposition currently lacks the strength to challenge Mugabe at the polls.

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Molev, Vyacheslav. "Botswana: May There Be Rain." Asia and Africa Today (Moscow), May-June 1990, 62-67. DS1.A4714.

Molev attributes Botswana's economic success to the multiparty democratic system that includes what the author portrays as an effective group of opposition parties. President Quett Masire is described as an effective leader who believes in the democratic system and works with the opposition parties in ruling the country. The article suggests that the National Front (NF), the country's leading opposition party, is a growing political force in Botswana. Molev specifically emphasizes the NF's success in the 1988 parliamentary and municipal elections. Although Masire's Democratic Party continued to dominate parliament, winning 29 of 34 seats, the NF was supported by one-fifth of the electorate and won control of three city governments, including Gaborone, the capital city.

Molutsi, Patrick P. and Holm, John D. "Developing Democracy When Civil Society is Weak: The Case of Botswana." African Affairs (London), vol. 89, no. 356, July 1990, 323-340. DT1.R62.

Botswana's multiparty democracy has operated successfully for 25 years, but it suffers from a number of cultural and political problems. Civil servants are said to have more policymaking authority than elected officials. The dominant Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) controls the press and largely controls how dissenting opinions are printed and broadcast. Finally, the BDP, and the civil servants who serve BDP interests discourage opposition parties from participating in community kgotlas, which are local meetings called to discuss government policies and programs. According to Molutsi and Holm, the situation is slowly improving because a minority BDP faction favors increasing the public accountability of the party and government. Also, opposition parties are actively participating in freedom squares, which are meetings similar to community kgotlas that focus on debate rather than the implementation of government programs. Finally, many citizens are calling for new laws that will guarantee a free press in Botswana.

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "Banda's Quarter-Century," Africa Report (New York), vol. 34, no. 5, September-October 1989, 67-70. DT1.A217

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President for life Hastings Kamuzu Banda is reported in this article to remain opposed to democratization in Malawi. Banda's political opponents have been forced to leave the country. Three opposition political parties are mentioned: Mafremo, based in Harare, Zimbabwe; and two others, the Socialist League and the Congress Party, based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

"Mozambique Says Yes to Pluralism," New Vision (Kampala, Uganda), January 3, 1991, 6. Not in LC

Two new political parties are preparing to challenge the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in democratic elections planned for sometime in 1991. Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party (PALMO), favors eliminating foreign ownership of businesses and restricting the political activities of communists. Mozambique National Union (UNAMO), the political wing of Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), will attempt to challenge Frelimo in northern Mozambique. It has established its headquarters in Nampala Province, which has a population of about 4 million. The article predicts that presidential and parliamentary elections will be held in mid-1991.

"Mozambique: A Chance for Peace?" Africa Confidential (London), vol. 31, no. 21, October 26, 1990, 6-7. DT1.A2125.

Recent political developments in Mozambique have included the establishment of two new political parties and the possible organization of a third; progress in the People's Assembly, Mozambique's legislature, in finalizing a new and democratic constitution; and speculation that leaders of the insurgent Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO) may choose to end their 15-year struggle with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The two new political parties are Partido Liberal e Democratico de Mocambique (PALMO), and Uniao Nacional Mocambicana (UNAMO). PALMO has published a 24-page statement on its political agenda. Africa Confidential reports that the document includes calls for limiting the role of Mozambique's ethnic minorities in the nation's government and economic affairs. Reportedly former RENAMO members organized UNAMO. A Christian organization is considering establishing a political wing that most likely would be

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named the Christian Democrat Party. President Alberto Chissano reportedly hopes that after the People's Assembly completes the draft of a democratic constitution, RENAMO will lay down its arms and participate in future elections. RENAMO has political support in five of Mozambique's ten provinces.

"Multiparty Campaign," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), August 24, 1990, 52. JS7648.9.K5M87

Leaders of the country's first opposition party, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), held their first political rally in Kabwe, 138 kilometers north of Lusaka, on August 18, 1990. At the rally MMD leaders criticized President Kenneth Kaunda's abuse of human rights under his one-party rule. MMD raised \$200,000 at the rally, which was attended by 50,000 people.

Murray, Peter. "Fighting Tooth and Claw," Africa Report (New York), vol. 34, no. 1, January-February 1989, 38-39. DT1.A217

Edgar Tekere, former secretary general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was expelled from the party on October 21, 1988 because of his opposition to President Robert Mugabe's plan to establish a one-party state. Tekere, who was interviewed by Africa Report on October 26, 1988, said he would continue to oppose Mugabe's effort to eliminate all political opposition in the country. Tekere also promised to speak out against corrupt politicians. Tekere suggested that democracy in Zimbabwe was impossible because Mugabe controlled not only ZANU but also Zimbabwe's parliament.

N'Diaye, Rachid. "Interview Exclusive du President Said Mohamed Djohar: "Je veux jaire demarrer la democratie dans mon pays." (Exclusive Interview with President Said Mohamed Djohar: "I Want to Start Democracy in My Country")." Africa International (Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990, 39-40. DT1.A2125.

Africa International interviewed Djohar when he visited Paris in the summer of 1990. Djohar claimed that his election to the presidency in March 1990 with 55 percent

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of the vote showed that his country was already a democracy and demonstrated that he had committed himself to promoting the peaceful development of democratic institutions in the Comoros. Djohar asked the French government for help in promoting democracy in his country.

Namibia: The Facts. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1989. 112p. DT1645.N36.

This book was written in support of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) before Pretoria agreed to end its rule in Namibia. Chapter eight, entitled "Liberation Struggle," describes the origins and growth of SWAPO's political organization in and outside Namibia. Although the book does not comment on the possibility of a multiparty democratic system being established after independence, SWAPO's one-party orientation would appear to preclude power sharing with rival political groups.

"New Mozambique Law Will Hedge Activities of Parties" Facts and Reports (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 2, January 25, 1991, 15. DT36.F2

Mozambique's National Assembly has released some information on the country's first law on the registration of opposition political parties. Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has been the only legal political party since the country won independence from Portugal in 1975. The new law will require opposition political parties to establish national constituencies and to refrain from using religious slogans to garner political support. Opposition political parties will be guaranteed access to the press and will be given tax exemptions. The first multiparty elections will be held in 1991 and the government is investigating how they will be organized and financed.

"New Party Formed," Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 27, no. 4, April 1990, 9654. Not in Lc

The political platform of the Christian Democratic Movement (MDC), an opposition party that was recognized by the Madagascar government on April 4, 1990, is discussed. The MDC's platform calls for the establishment of

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diplomatic relations with South Africa and Israel, the improvement of diplomatic relations with France and the francophone countries in Africa, the expansion of the legislative powers of the country's Popular National Assembly, a reduction of state control of the economy, and a reduction in defense spending. Jean-Jacques Rakotonirina leads the MDC.

Nkala, Collet. "New Opposition for Banda," New African (London), February 1991, 19. HC511.A12

Malawi President Kamuzu Banda's opposition to democratization has spawned a political movement whose aim is to remove him from office. Dr. Croosroads Sambanemanja, who resigned from the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA) because he felt that party was not serious about its opposition to Banda, has established the Malawi Socialist Labor Party (MSLP), and an MSLP army known as the Malawi Republican Army (MRA). Both groups comprise a small number of exiled Malawians who live in Tanzania. Sambanemanja is seeking financial support from unnamed Arab states for his opposition movement.

Olivier, Gerrit C. "Is Democracy on the Political Horizon?" Pages 99-106 in The South African Quagmire. Edited by S. Prakash Sethi. Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing, 1987. xvi, 444p. HF1613.4.Z4U67. .

The South African government is said to be gradually increasing power sharing to expand the democratic participation of black South Africans and other nonwhite ethnic groups in the political establishment. The author identifies four steps in this process: the banning of overt public discrimination; the passage of the 1983 Constitution that granted blacks the right to hold public office; the removal of sanctions on where blacks may live; and government responsiveness to international pressure to eliminate apartheid. Olivier is critical of black organizations, including the African National Congress, that favor majority rule in South Africa.

"Organisation prochaine d'élections législatives (Coming Organization of Legislative Elections)," Marches Tropicaux

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et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2342, September 28, 1990, 2751. HC10.M3

Legislative elections probably will take place in Comoros in the next few months, although the date apparently has not been determined. Only national political parties will be allowed to register candidates, thus excluding those political organizations that represent a religious group or a single ethnic group. The following political parties are likely to participate in the legislative elections: Comoran Union for Progress (Udzima) led by President Said Mohamed Djohar; National Union for Democracy (UNDC) led by Mohamed Taki Abdulkarim; Party for Democracy and Progress (PCDP) led by Ali Mroudjae; Chouma led by Ali Kemal; Democratic Union of Comoros (URDC) led by Mouzaoir Abdallah; Democratic Front led by Moustoifa Said Cheik; Comoran Socialist Party (Pasoco); and Popular Democratic Movement led by Abbas Djoussouf.

"Organizing for People's Democracy?," Facts and Reports (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 1, January 11, 1991, 27. DT36.F2

This article suggests that Botswana is in danger of becoming a one-party state because of its winner-take-all electoral system. The strength of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) hindered the main opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) and other opposition political parties from getting constituents who favor their policies to vote in elections. Facts and Reports suggests that a parliamentary electoral system would promote the development of opposition political parties in Botswana.

Ottaway, Marina. "Mozambique: From Symbolic Socialism to Symbolic Reform." Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 26, no. 2, June 1988, 211-226. DT1.J68.

The leaders of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) are portrayed as a group of antiquated communist revolutionaries who failed to gain support for building socialism in Mozambique and are now attempting to hold onto power by courting the World Bank and the West. According to Ottaway, FRELIMO's power base has improved

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somewhat since it changed its economic policies in 1983 and 1984, but the country is said to remain a centrally-directed oligarchy lacking political organizations at the provincial and local levels. The author believes that the apolitical nature of the largely peasant population will allow Joaquim Chissano's government to remain in power for the foreseeable future.

Palmer, Robin. "Land Reform in Zimbabwe, 1980-1990." African Affairs, (London), vol. 89, no. 355, April 1990, 163-81. DT1.R62.

Article views land reform as one of the key elements of the fragile democratic system that was instituted after Zimbabwe gained independence from Great Britain in 1980. Anglo-Zimbabwe farmers organized the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) in the early 1980s, and have successfully fought efforts of the Mugabe government to force them to sell their land to Africans and resettle. The author discusses London's continuing interest--both political and economic--in the Zimbabwe land issue. Palmer concludes that the Mugabe government probably will not attempt to end by force white domination of farmland because of the CFU's influence within the Zimbabwe government and the strength of Britain's financial interests in the country.

Picard, Louis A.. "Traditionalism, the Bureaucracy, and Local Administration: Continuity and Change in Swaziland." Journal of African Studies (Los Angeles), vol. 13, no. 4, Winter 1986-7, 116-125. DT1.J653.

This article examines the political struggles in Swaziland between monarchists and those aristocrats and civil servants who favored the establishment of democratic institutions after the 1982 death of King Sobhuza. Picard believes Sobhuza intended to give tribal chiefs more political power by establishing legislative and executive councils at district and local levels to promote power sharing between the monarch's appointed political officers in Mbabane, and the district capital cities. Picard describes how Sobhuza's political successors stopped the development of these institutions to preserve the more autocratic system that the monarchists always dominated. Picard suggests that the monarchists own and control almost all of Swaziland's agricultural and industrial

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assets and oppose democratic groups that inevitably would change the status quo.

Picard, Louis A. The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1987. ix, 298p. JQ2760.A2P53. .

Chapter seven examines how Botswana's multiparty system functioned in four elections held between 1966 and 1984. Chapter eight discusses how the dominant political party, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), functions at local levels. Chapter eight also discusses how citizens' groups at the local level interact with the BDP and with the government bureaucracy, which is also dominated by the BDP.

"Political Scene," Country Report: Zambia (London), Economist Intelligence Unit, No. 2, 1990, 7-8. HC915.A1C68

Interest has increased within the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) in ending that party's monopoly of political power. President Kenneth Kaunda, who is also UNIP's chairman, announced at the party's March 1990 congress that he opposes multiparty democracy because he believes it could renew intertribal political disputes that would destroy the unity UNIP has brought to Zambia. However, many UNIP members attending the congress argued that Zambia cannot ignore political developments going on elsewhere in the world and they opposed Kaunda's position. Kaunda appears slowly to be losing ground in his bid to maintain a one-party state. During the March 1990 congress UNIP voted to begin secret ballot elections of local government officials; previously, these officials were elected by a show of hands by eligible voters.

Rajoelina, Patrick. Quarante annees de la vie politique de Madagascar, 1947-1987. (Forty Years of the Political Life of Madagascar, 1947-1987). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988. 176p. : Map. Ill. DT469.M34R33.

This book provides a political chronology and analyses of Madagascar in four sequences: the revolutionary period, 1947-1960; civilian rule after the country became

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independent of France in 1960; the military regimes in power from 1972-1975; and the 2d Republic, 1975-1987.

Remde, Achim. "Savimbi States His Case," New African (London), no. 258, March 1989, 11-12. HC511.A12

In this March 1989 interview with New African, Jonas Savimbi, leader of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), says that he is opposed to any negotiations that would disband UNITA, prohibit him from running for president, or establish another one-party system in Angola. Savimbi says that he would accept the presidency only if he was elected in a democratic election. Savimbi believes that the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos lacks popular support and will weaken following the withdrawal of Cuban troops in 1989. Savimbi promised to fight on unless UNITA is allowed its rightful place in a democratic political system.

Saul, John S. "Development and Counterdevelopment Strategies in Mozambique." Pages 109-153 in Afro-Marxist Regimes. Ed. by Edmond J. Keller. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. JQ3752.A38.

The author wrote this political study of Mozambique shortly after President Samora Machal's death. The author describes the poor state of the country's socialist economy in 1986, and discusses how Machal's successor, President Alberto Chissano, dealt with numerous political and economic problems during his first months in office. Saul blames Mozambique's low development rate on three factors: the ineffectiveness of Portugal's colonial institutions before independence; the failure of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) to make large-scale, state-owned agricultural and industrial enterprises work; and South Africa's continuing support for the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO). Saul believes that the United States could best facilitate a change from socialism to democracy in Mozambique by promoting humanitarian, educational, and economic assistance; also, Washington could pressure Pretoria to change its counterdevelopment strategy involving RENAMO. The author believes that Chissano and FRELIMO control the country to such a degree that it would be unrealistic to

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expect democratic institutions to appear in this socialist state for several years.

Sisk, Timothy D. "White Politics in South Africa: Polarization Under Pressure." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 36, no. 1, January 1989, 29-40. DT1.A22.

The rising influence of the Conservative Party in South African politics is said to signal the end of the National Party's domination of the Afrikaner electorate in that country. While whites who favor apartheid probably will strengthen the Conservative Party's political power base in the next few years, Sisk believes that liberal-minded whites will form new political coalitions with blacks and these coalitions eventually will control the country's Parliament.

Sowerby, Norman. "Multiparty Setback," New African (London), February 1991, . HC511.A12

The opposition political party, People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), has few supporters in Swaziland, largely because King Mswati remains popular with his countrymen. PUDEMO reportedly was established by a small number of intellectuals who were influenced by the democratic trends in other African countries. The lack of public interest in the January 1991 trial of 10 PUDEMO members is considered a sign that PUDEMO's call for multiparty elections has failed to influence many Swazis to oppose the current monarchy.

Stoneman, Colin and Cliffe, Lionel. Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics, and Society. London: Pinter Publishers, 1989. xii, 210p. : maps. JQ2929.A15 S79. .

Part three, entitled "The Political Process," comprises two chapters that discuss how Zimbabwe's dominant political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), is organized along Marxist lines, but has had to accommodate small political groups that strongly oppose the establishment of a one-party state. ZANU candidates are opposed in democratic elections for local district councils and sometimes lose. However, these districts suffer economic and political reprisals as the price of

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their opposition to President Robert Mugabe's desire to eliminate ZANU's political opposition.

Sylvester, Christine. "Unities and Disunities in Zimbabwe's 1990 Election," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 3, September 1990, 375-400. DT1.J68

The author suggests that two images emerged from Zimbabwe's 1990 parliamentary election. Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) portrayed itself as the unity party and Edgar Tekere's Zimbabwe Unity Movement's (ZUM) only strategy was to convince voters that ZANU-PF was too big and too authoritarian to be returned to power. Election results suggested that both parties were heard, but these results also indicated how weak Zimbabwe's parliamentary democracy has become. ZUM, the only opposition party in 1990, won seats in 3 of 119 legislative districts and represents little more than an outlet for voices of opposition to ZANU-PF. However, 40 percent of eligible voters did not vote, which indicates that ZUM may have a potential electorate if it can adjust to living in Mugabe's shadow.

Sylvester, Christine. "Unities and Disunities in Zimbabwe's 1990 Election" Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 28, no. 3, July 1990, 375-400. DT1.J68

This article focuses on the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement's (ZUM) campaign in the March 1990 parliamentary election. It also examines why Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union won only 15 seats in the 1985 parliamentary election and subsequently gave up its role as the main opposition party. President Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) is said to face serious internal problems, particularly corruption, that often have prevented it from delivering effective leadership in Harare or in the parliamentary districts. Sylvester believes this explains why ZUM received about 30 percent of the vote in the 1990 parliamentary election, although it lacked financial backing and had limited access to the government-controlled media.

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"The Political Scene," Country Report: Zambia (London),
Economist Intelligence Unit, no. 3, 1990, 7-13.
HC915.A1C68

Discontent is growing within the military and trade union organizations opposed to President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). On June 30, 1990 a group of soldiers broadcast a report on Zambia's state-controlled radio that President Kaunda had been overthrown in a military coup. Although the report was false and the soldiers were arrested, the incident indicates that Kaunda and his followers in UNIP no longer can ignore their political opponents. The article discusses ways in which Frederick Chiluba, chairman of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), and other proponents of multipartyism, have circumvented government attempts to stifle the democratization debate. Zambia's young voters appear to be turning away from UNIP in large numbers; this group of voters could decide the fate of multipartyism in the next elections.

"Un referendum sur le multipartisme aurait lieu en 1991 (Referendum on Multipartyism in 1991)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2340, September 14, 1990, 2601. HC10.M3

This news brief reports on the September 8, 1990 antigovernment demonstration held in Lusaka, Zambia. Approximately 300,000 people attended the demonstration organized by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). It is likely that many members of President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) will resign in the near future to join MMD.

Virmani, K. K.. Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom. New Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1989. 223p. DT963.62.V57.

This book describes how President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) became the dominant political party in democratic elections held in Zambia in 1964. It suggests that Kaunda's political opponents lacked the financial resources to challenge Kaunda. Virmani, a citizen of India, portrays Kaunda as a democrat and national hero because he mobilized Zambians against British colonial interests in the 1950s and 1960s. The

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book does not include a discussion of political developments in Zambia after Kaunda's first presidential inauguration in October 1964.

"Who Will Be the Next President?," New African (London), no. 280, January 1991, 21. HC511.A12

Movement for Democracy (MMD), Zambia's main opposition party, is carefully assessing public opinion as the first step in its selection process for a presidential candidate. The prospective candidate thought to have the best chance of uniting the party is Humphrey Mulemba. He is from northwest Zambia and has enough backing from the major tribes in eastern, southern, and western Zambia to challenge President Kenneth Kaunda. However, Mulemba lacks the charisma of other MMD contenders, including Arthur Wina and Fred Chiluba. New African suggests that it may be to MMD's advantage to wait until a date is set for the election before it makes the final choice. Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) controls most of the country's press, and once MMD's presidential candidate is chosen, he is likely to be the main target of UNIP's effort to convince people the MMD is not ready to become the ruling party.

"Zambia: The Hour Has Come," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 31, no. 20, October 12, 1990, 6-7. DT1.A2125

This article reports that the credibility of Zambia's main opposition party, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), has been bolstered by numerous defections from the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP). Some of MMD's new members include former finance minister Robinson Nabulyato; former finance minister Arthur Wina; and former UNIP secretary general Humphrey Mulemba.

"Zambia: The MMD Lineup," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 32, no. 5, March 8, 1991, 5-6. DT1.A2125

Twelve hundred delegates representing every province of Zambia met in Lusaka (February 27-March 2, 1991) to elect Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) president and executive committee. Six hundred eighty-three delegates, a clear majority, supported Frederick Chiluba. Arthur Wina

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finished second with 208 votes, and Humphrey Mulemba a distant third with 168 votes. Wina and Mulemba are expected to promote Chiluba as MMD's unity candidate in Zambia's October 1991 presidential election. Several Western diplomats, who attested to the fairness of the proceedings leading to Chiluba's election, attended the MMD party congress. Two other parties are registered for the October election: United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Democratic Party (DP). The latter is led by Emmanuel Mwambu. Six other parties have applied to participate in the election, but as yet have not received government approval.

Zich, Arthur. "Botswana: The Adopted Land" National Geographic (Washington D.C.), vol. 178, no. 6, December 1990, 70-96. G1.N27.

Article attributes the success of Botswana's democratic political system to the popularity of the late President Seretse Khama who was also the founder of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). President Quett Masire, who was elected to head the BDP and the nation after Khama died in 1980, is an effective politician. Zich observed the 1988 parliamentary elections and was impressed by how national leaders rule through consensus. Although decision making often takes several months because of this process, Zich reports that most of Botswana's citizens are satisfied with their government and lead productive lives.

"Zimbabwe: The Single-Party Stakes," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 31, no. 13, June 29, 1990, 7. DT1.A2125

The majority of Politburo and Central Committee members of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) oppose Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe's plan to change the country's constitution to ban other political parties. The following ZANU-PF members oppose the establishment of a one-party state: Joshua Nkomo, Joseph Msika, Steven Nkomo, Sydney Malunge, Dumiso Dabengwa, Eddison Zvobgo, and Bernard Chidzero. Prominent citizens who oppose a one-party state include former Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena, and academics Jonathan Moyo and Kempton Makamure.

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Western Africa

Abidjan, Elimane Fall. "Laurent Gbagbo: Le multipartisme ne me suffit pas (Laurent Gbagbo: Multipartyism is Not Enough)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1534, May 28, 1990, 21-23. AP27.J4

This article discusses the political views of Laurent Gbagbo, leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (IPF), one of seven opposition parties recently legalized in Ivory Coast. Gbagbo, who was forced into exile in 1982 because of his activities in organizing an underground opposition to Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, has returned to participate in the October 1990 presidential election. Gbagbo believes that the legalization of opposition parties is only the first step toward democracy. In the article he explains his views on power sharing and the role that opposition political parties should have in his country.

Agbese, Pita Ogaba. "The Impending Demise of Nigeria's Forthcoming Third Republic" Africa Today (Denver), no. 3, September 1990, 23-44. DT1.A22

This article criticizes the Nigerian military government's plan to establish two political parties to compete in a presidential election for a popularly elected civilian president in October 1992. Agbese believes that the military's zonal arrangements, designed to prevent one ethnic group from dominating either of the two political parties, will prevent average citizens in any state from influencing the candidates during the campaign. Agbese suggests that the July 1990 meetings of the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention were attended by rich entrepreneurs who had connections with military officials and civilian government officials in Lagos. The author believes that a government elected under the democratic framework devised by the military will fail to win the trust of the majority of Nigerians.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Togo: oui au multipartisme...non a l'opposition! (Togo: Yes to Multipartyism. . .No to the Opposition!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1559, November 14, 1990, 28-29. AP27.J4

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Opposition group members have been excluded from the commission that will draft a democratic constitution for Togo. This article criticizes President Gnassingbe Eyadema for choosing only his supporters to sit on the commission. Eyadema has yet to clarify his personal views on the type of democratic system he wants for his country.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Un pas en avant, deux pas en arriere (One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 35. AP27.J4

This article discusses the obstacles that have slowed the establishment of democracy in Guinea. President Lansana Conte claims he wants the military to return to the barracks. His people agree. However, neither Conte nor his military and civilian supporters are ready to relinquish power. The Guinean people blame Conte for not leaving politics to the politicians and the army to the military.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Le Mali dans la spirale democratique [Mali in the Democratic Spiral]" Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 18-20. AP27.J4

Malian President Moussa Traore intends to remain in power. This follows a period in which Traore encouraged a debate on democratization within the ruling Democratic Union of the Malian People (DUPM), the only legal political party. In December 1990, when 6,000 people participated in a march for democracy, Traore ordered restrictions on the media's coverage of the event. However, two opposition parties, Mali Alliance for Democracy (ADEMA) and National Committee for Democratic Initiative (CNID) continue to organize demonstrations without the government's approval. The DUPM will attempt to adopt a policy on multipartyism and democracy at its March 1991 Congress.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Le reve d'Abdou Diouf (The Dream of Abdou Diouf)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1539, June 27, 1990, 24-28. AP27.J4

In an interview with Jeune Afrique, Senegal President Abdou Diouf talks about his aspirations for building democracy in his country. Diouf's dream is to help establish a democratic federation of states in West

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Africa. Diouf also is committed to reforming his own Socialist Party (SP). In this interview he talks about his struggle with SP hardliners.

Ankomah, Baffour. "Elections Extraordinary," New African (London), no. 255, December 1988, 10. HC511.A12

This article evaluates the military government's plan to establish "democratic" district councils throughout Ghana. Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), has structured elections so that voters will have no chance to approve or disapprove of the PNDC's seven-year rule. Ankomah suggests that election zones and the selection of candidates by the PNDC were carefully arranged to avoid embarrassing the government. The views of several exiled political leaders, including J. H. Mensah and his Ghana Democratic Movement based in London, are covered.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Altered States" Wilson Quarterly (Washington D.C.), vol. 15, no. 1, Winter 1991, 20-32. AS36.W79A37

The development of indigenous and cross-cultural trade unions, professional organizations, rural cooperatives, and privately-funded special interest groups are needed in West Africa, and other regions of sub-Saharan Africa, to provide Africans with apolitical arenas to practice democracy. The author, a Ghanaian scholar who has closely followed post-colonial politics throughout the continent, suggests that it will take time for sub-Saharan African states to undo the tribal and other traditional sub-national political organizations that have enabled dictators to rule by excluding whole ethnic groups from participating in the political process.

Bassey, Celestine O. "Retrospects and Prospects of Political Stability in Nigeria." African Studies Review, (East Lansing, Michigan), vol. 32, no. 1, April 1989, 97-113. DT1.A2293.

Article suggests that the rejection of multistate federalism by the 1958 Willink Commission set the stage for the demise of democratic parties in Nigeria. The

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author is pessimistic about the possibility of democratic reforms occurring in the 1990s. Factors cited as influencing the continuation of authoritarianism in Nigeria are: the country's poor economy; the ideological orientation of military leaders; and the politically disinclined nature of the average citizen.

Beckman, Bjorn. "Peasants and Democratic Struggles in Nigeria" Review of African Political Economy (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 41, 1988, 30-44. HC501.R46

The article suggests that a democratic rather than a socialist political system will prove more economically beneficial to Nigeria's peasant communities. Beckman examines the programs of socialist political parties in Nigeria, including Socialist Working People's Party (SWPP), Socialist Party of Workers, Youth, and Farmers (SPWYF), People's Redemption Party (PRP), and Bala Mohammed Memorial Committee (BMMC). Although these organizations have helped some, they have not effectively represented all groups. Beckman believes that President Ibrahim Babangida's democratic reforms will work if poor, middle-class, and wealthy landowners cooperate within local chapters of the new political parties.

"Benin: Massive Yes Vote," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 29, no. 12, December 1990, 9934-9935.

The article discusses Benin's new democratic constitution and the political situation. The constitution, approved by a national referendum held on December 2, 1990, established separation of presidential and legislative powers and direct elections for the president and legislature with no restrictions on political parties. The first legislative election under the new constitution is scheduled for February 1991 and the presidential election will take place in March 1991. Few capable politicians are prepared to organize new political parties before the planned elections. Those that are include Adrian Houngvedji, leader of the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), and Albert Tevoedjre, a former member of the ruling People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) who has announced plans to establish a new political party.

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"Benin: Test-Tube Democracy," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 31, no. 7, April 6, 1990, 4-5. DT1.A2125

Democratic trends in Benin, following the February 1990 national conference that established a transition government to prepare the way for multiparty elections for a new president sometime in 1991, are discussed. Benin's radio and television stations, no longer under government control, broadcast antigovernment reports that alarm Benin's neighbors. Premier Nicephore Soglo is credited with having recruited many opponents of President Mathieu Kerekou. President Kerekou's only existing political power bases are said to be in the army and the intelligence services. The article notes that as long as Kerekou controls these organizations, he remains in a position to threaten the development of democracy in Benin.

Bourgi, Albert. "Cote d'Ivoire: une cure de tolerance [Ivory Coast: Tolerance as a Cure]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 28-29. AP27.J4

Chronic political unrest and economic crisis gave the Ivory Coast a poor reputation in 1990. However, parliamentary, and local elections in January 1991 gave new hope and a feeling of true democratic transition. Laurent Gbagbo and Francis Wodie, leaders of the Popular Front (PF) and Ivorian Workers Party (PTI) together have ten seats in parliament. It is likely the two leaders will form a united faction in parliament unless President Felix Houphouet-Boigny opposes such a move. Paul Akoto Yaou, the leading candidate to succeed President Houphouet-Boigny as president of the ruling Democratic Party (DP), has said little on democratization. Prime Minister Alassane Quattara has promised to broaden freedom of the press.

Bourgi, Albert. "L'archipel de l'esperance [The Archipelago of Hope]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March 6, 1991, 20-21. AP27.J4

This article discusses the peaceful transfer of power in Cape Verde following the February 1991 democratic presidential election. Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro, presidential candidate of the Movement for Democracy (MPD), defeated Aristides Pereira, presidential candidate of the ruling African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV). Pereira had been president since Cape

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Verde won independence from Portugal in July 1975. The author claims that two factors contributed to the development of a multiparty democratic system in Cape Verde: the success of democracy in Portugal; and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope John Paul II visited Cape Verde in January 1990.

Bourgi, Albert. "L'arsenal constitutionnel (The Constitutional Arsenal)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1535, June 4, 1990, 20. AP27.J4

Benin's proposed constitution includes articles intended to promote political competition for high level government positions, including the office of president. Borgi focuses on the articles of the proposed constitution that will promote democratization in Benin.

Bourgi, Albert. "Mali: lendemains de faillite [Mali: Days After Failure]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1572, February 13, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

President Moussa Traore, who plans to lead his Democratic Union of Malian People (UDPM) when Mali holds its first democratic elections in over 20 years, is expected to have difficulty adjusting to the realities of democratization. The author suggests that Traore will have to learn how to function as a national leader and not as a "clan chief."

Bourke, Gerald. "A New Broom," Africa Report (New York), January-February 1991, 13-16. DT1.A217

The poor performance of opposition political parties in the Ivory Coast's 1990 presidential and legislative elections is attributed to voting irregularities perpetrated by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's ruling Democratic Party (DP). In the presidential election, the DP introduced legislation on October 10, 1990, only 2 weeks before election day, that required Popular Front (PF) presidential candidate Laurent Gbagbo to pay the government CFA 20 million to appear on the ballot. Western diplomats reported that during the voting for president on October 28, 1990, DP officials stuffed the ballot boxes. Gbagbo officially won 18 percent of the vote, but Western observers believe he would have received between 30 and 40

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percent of the vote in a fair election. Voter apathy and confusion contributed to the DP's landslide victory in the November 1990 legislative election. The DP won 163 of 175 National Assembly seats.

Bourke, Gerald. "Houphouet's Heavy Hand." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 2, May-June 1990, 13-16. DT1.A217.

Article discusses the vicissitudes of party politics in the Ivory Coast. Within the ruling Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI); President Houphouet-Boigny has prevailed over party members who have lobbied for amending the country's constitution to promote democratic pluralism. However, various leaders of trade unions and opposition political parties are becoming hostile to Houphouet-Boigny's hardline policies that limit their political activities. The author believes that Houphouet-Boigny's popularity is at an all-time low in the Ivory Coast because of the country's current economic and social unrest. Bourke predicts that a successor to Houphouet-Boigny will be chosen from the PDCI elite, possibly a few months after the October 1990 presidential election.

"Cape Verde/Guinea-Bissau: All Change," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 32, no. 5, March 8, 1991, 6-7. DT1.A2125

Carlos Veiga, Cape Verde's Prime Minister, is appointing members of the Movement for Democracy (MPD) to fill key ministerial and managerial positions in the civil service. The article reports that leaders of the African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) have cooperated with Veiga and MPD. However, in Guinea-Bissau, where democratic elections are not scheduled until 1993, President Joao Bernardo Vieira opposes multipartyism and continues to arrest opponents who are attempting to organize political parties to oppose Vieira's African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). African Confidential believes that public pressure in Guinea-Bissau probably will force Vieira to allow new political parties to organize and may also influence him to call elections before 1993.

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Codjoe, Frank Kwaw. Elites, Ideology, and Development Problems of Ghana. Hamburg, Germany: Verlag an der Lottbek, 1987. xviii, 537p. JQ3036.C63. .

The author of this book is an expatriate of Ghana who wrote this study to complete the requirements for a Ph.D. in foreign affairs at the University of Hamburg. The author last visited the country in 1986. Chapter eight describes how the military regime under Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is continuing to repress by force the desire of the people to establish political parties to challenge the present government. The other chapters discuss Ghana's colonial history under Great Britain, and explain why authoritarianism has prevailed in the country's politics since it gained independence in 1957.

Conchiglia, Augusta. "Les partis? quel Cauchemar! (Parties? What a Nightmare!)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 26-27. DT1.A4785

This article suggests that the majority of Ghanaians support the military regime's political programs. The author maintains that the chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Jerry Rawlings has convinced the people that the country is not yet ready for democratic politics. Conchiglia believes that Rawlings is popular in his country and would win a democratic election.

Conchiglia, Augusta. "Pereira decide de relever le defi (Pereira Decides to Take Up the Challenge)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 16, January 1991, 14-15. DT1.A4785

This article reports on the preparations for Cape Verde's first multiparty election for the National People's Assembly which is scheduled to take place on January 13, 1991. The ruling African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) is in a tight race with the main opposition Movement for Democracy (MPD). Pre-election surveys suggest that the two parties probably will evenly split the 83 assembly seats. A presidential election between PAICV's Aristides Maria Pereira and MPD's Antonio Monteiro is scheduled for February 1991. The article notes that several minor political parties, including the Cape Verde Union for Independence and Democracy (IUCID), failed to

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qualify to register candidates for the legislative election.

"Contre le parti unique (Against the Single Party)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 16, January 1991, 18. DT1.A4785

This article suggests that large groups of Malians are protesting against the one-party political system imposed by President Moussa Traore. Marches and demonstrations organized by various opposition groups are widely viewed as a sign of crisis. Economic problems, broken promises on democratization, and widespread government corruption are contrasted to a more open press. The article notes that the Malian press is becoming increasingly critical of the Traore administration.

Da Costa, Peter. "The Invisible Opposition," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 45-46. DT1.A217

The tiny Gambian opposition party, National Convention Party (NCP) wants to ally itself with the ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP), which has ruled since independence in 1965. This would make The Gambia a one-party state. Although most Gambians are opposed to this, it is not clear how the political quandary will be resolved.

"Democracy in the Ivory Coast," Foreign Report, no. 2132, October 18, 1990, 4-6. D839.F66

Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny, who announced on September 28, 1990 that his opponents in the October 1990 presidential election had been involved in a plot to assassinate Pope John Paul during his August 1990 visit to the country, is said to be fabricating the story to hold onto power. Foreign Report says that there is no evidence to support Houphouet-Boigny's claim, and it suggests that most people in the Ivory Coast no longer trust the government or the government-controlled press. Laurent Gbagbo, president of the Ivorian Popular Front, is Houphouet-Boigny's main political opponent. Gbagbo has the support of three smaller political parties: the Ivorian Workers' Party; the Union of Social Democrats; and the Ivorian Socialist Party.

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Diallo, Siradiou. "Le multipartisme contre la crise (Multipartyism Against the Crisis)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 42-46. AP27.J4

Niger's President Ali Saibou is accelerating plans to introduce multiparty democracy in his country. Saibou, who was unopposed in the presidential election held in December 1989, has since announced his willingness to allow opposition political parties to form. Saibou also has reduced political surveillance and control of civilians that have been omnipresent in Niger since the 1974 military coup. President Saibou, whose Tuareg tribe is one of the smallest in the country, is trying to improve his image among the Hausa, Djerma, and other ethnic groups in Niger.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Portrait d'un dauphin consacre (Background of a Designated Crown Prince)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1560, November 21, 1990, 27-29. AP27.J4

Less than one month after President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's reelection in October 1990, the ruling Democratic Party (DP) introduced legislation in the National Assembly that amended the nation's constitution to provide that the president of the National Assembly will become president if Houphouet-Boigny resigns or dies during his five-year term of office. This article discusses the political career of Henri Konan Bedie, who currently is president of the National Assembly. Diallo speculates that the constitutional change could perpetuate the DP's political dominance in the Ivory Coast, thereby slowing democratization.

Diamond, Larry. Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988. 376p. DT515.832.D53.

The downfall of democracy in Nigeria in 1966 is examined through analyses of five crises that challenged the government of President Nnamdi Azikiwe during the 1962-1965 period. The crises were: the formation of political parties in 1962; the 1963-1964 census; the 1964 strike organized by the National Trade Union Congress; the 1964 national election; and the 1965 regional election in western Nigeria. Diamond believes that these crises gradually eroded the Azikiwe government's legitimacy and

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exacerbated ethnic tensions, thus leading to the January 1966 military coup.

Fall, Elimane. "Un élu, deux vainqueurs (One Elected, Two Victors)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1558, November 7, 1990, 22-24. AP27.J4

This article credits Laurent Gbagbo, the presidential candidate of the Ivorian Popular Front (IPF) in the October 1990 presidential election, with paving the way for future presidential aspirants. Although Gbagbo received only 20 percent of the vote, this election marked the first time since independence that an opposition candidate publicly debated political issues with President Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

Fatton, Robert. The Making of a Liberal Democracy. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. 189p. DT549.F37.

The evolution of the democratic electoral system in Senegal is traced from its inception in 1976 through the 1983 national elections. Fatton focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the multiparty system. The peaceful transfer of presidential power from Leopold Senghor to Abdou Diouf in 1981 set an important precedent that has, to date, been successful in Senegal. The difficulties opposition parties have in finding financial support and identifying clear political programs are viewed as the major weaknesses of Senegal's political system.

Forrest, Joshua B. "Guinea-Bissau Since Independence: A Decade of Domestic Power Struggles" Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 25, no. 1, January 1987, 95-116. DT1.J68

The author describes in this article how President Joao Bernardo Viera, Guinea-Bissau's only leader since the country won its independence in 1974, has used the one-party system to eliminate his political opponents. Forrest implies that Viera is unlikely to allow democratization in his country as long as he remains in power.

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Galli, Rosemary E. "The Political Economy of Guinea-Bissau." Africa, (London), vol. 59, no. 3, October 1989, 371-80. PL8000.I6.

Article observes that there have been few changes in Guinea-Bissau's political elite since the country became independent of Portugal in 1973. Before 1973 Portugal trained selected native loyalists for various positions in its colonial government. The high illiteracy rate and poor economy are the main reasons the people have shown little interest in democratization.

Gilbert, Lam Kabore. "Un K.O. Historique [An Historic K.O.]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 92-93. AP27.J4

Movement for Democracy (MPD) won two-thirds of the seats in the January 1991 Cape Verde parliamentary elections. The MPD victory was a major setback for President Aristides Pereira and his African Independence Party (PAICV), which until 1990 had been the country's only legal party. Factors in the MPD victory were church support, public dissatisfaction with the PAICV'S programs in rural areas, and Cape Verde's high unemployment rate. A presidential election is scheduled for February 1991. President Pereira is the PAICV presidential candidate and will oppose the MPD's Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro.

Guluma, Esther L. "The Trouble With Liberia." Universities Field Staff Reports (Indianapolis), 1990-91, Middle East/Africa Series, no. 4, August 1990, 1-24. L13.A59.

This article discusses the reasons for Liberia's decline in the late 1970s, and outlines developments in 1990 that resulted in the collapse of law and order in the country. From the time that the freed American slaves settled in Liberia in the 1820s, they and their descendants have frequently been in conflict with native tribal groups. The tribal groups supported the late Samuel Doe's military coup that deposed President William R. Tolbert's government. Guluma believes that Doe unfairly won the 1985 presidential election, and his brutal treatment of political opponents led to the successful military campaign to oust him from power in 1990. Today, educated Liberians are disappointed with the United States' failure

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to oppose Doe's 1985 election, and there is little hope that Americo-Liberians and the major tribal groups--Krahn, Gio, and Mano--can cooperate to rebuild Liberia in the near future.

Harsch, Ernest. "A Revolution Derailed," Africa Report (New York), vol. 33, no. 1, January-February 1988, 33-39. DT1.A217

This article explores the October 1987 military coup that ended the four year rule of National Council of the Revolution (NCR) Chairman Thomas Sankara. Captain Blaise Compaore, currently chairman of the ruling Popular Front, led the 1987 coup that resulted in the death of Sankara and most of his supporters. The author, who was in Burkina Faso in October 1987 and witnessed the coup, claims that although Sankara and Blaise were Marxists, Sankara favored a multi-faction political organization that would prevent the development of a Soviet-style government and Blaise wanted to consolidate power in the hands of the Burkinabe Communist Union (UCB), which he controlled. Harsch believes that Sankara was assassinated because Blaise opposed Sankara's proposals to develop a more democratic government in Burkina Faso.

Huband, Markor. "The Power Vacuum," Africa Report (New York), January-February 1991, 27-30. DT1.A217

The political leanings of three Liberian leaders--Prince Johnson, Charles Taylor, and Amos Sawyer--are examined. Prince Johnson, who controls Liberia's largest military force, opposes the presence in Liberia of West African foreign troops sent by the Economic Community of Western Africa (ECOWAS). Although Prince Johnson says he favors a political settlement that would establish a multiparty democracy, he refuses to disband his army and says he will not support a government that excludes his organization. Charles Taylor, whose army consists mostly of Gio and Mano tribesmen who opposed former president Samuel Doe, has little support among these groups or anywhere else in Liberia. If democratic elections are held in Liberia, Taylor, who is an Americo-Liberian, would probably not be an acceptable presidential candidate to any of the indigenous tribes, including the Gio and Mano. Amos Sawyer, who leads Liberia's interim government sponsored

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by ECOWAS, lacks the political skills needed to unite the nation. Sawyer has announced plans to hold democratic elections once the military stalemate between Johnson and Taylor has been resolved. However, the author believes that ECOWAS forces will have to remain in Liberia to protect Sawyer and to prevent a revival of 1990's anarchy in Monrovia.

Igwebueze, Frank. "Toward 1990: Will Nwosu Be a Fair Umpire?" African Concord (London), vol. 4, no. 2, May 8, 1989, 8-12. DT515.C688.

Supposedly, the new chairman of Nigeria's National Electoral Commission (NEC) will establish multi-ethnic, multi-interest, civilian-led political parties in Nigeria. Humphrey Nwosu succeeded Eme Awa as the NEC chairman in March 1989 because Awa had fallen out of favor with Nigeria's military government led by General Ibrahim Babangida. The author says that Nwosu's political writings indicate that he understands the negative effect conflicts among Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups have had on previous efforts to establish democratic rule in the country. Reportedly, Nwosu's strategy focuses on bypassing the government-controlled press and encouraging local chiefs to build viable political coalitions with rival ethnic groups. One of Nwosu's biggest obstacles is the government's refusal to grant the NEC the power to register political parties. Igwebueze speculates that Nwosu's success will depend on whether he can work with the Armed Forces Ruling Council.

Jason, Phil. "Engineering Democracy," New African (London), No. 265, October 1989, 39. 1C511.A12

This article reports that President Ibrahim Babangida's military government stopped a movement by some members of local government councils to form a national political party by dissolving these councils in July 1989. The article suggests that democratization faces an uncertain future when elected representatives are prohibited from forming political organizations.

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Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "Apres le pave, les urnes [After the Pavement the Urns]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1574, February 27, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

This article reviews recent political developments in Niger, including the democratization movement. Several new political parties have formed since a general strike in November 1990 forced President Ali Saibou to announce plans for democratic elections. Although no date has been set for these elections, the article discusses several opposition political parties, including the Higher Council for National Orientation (CSON), National Movement for the Society of Development (MNSD), Niger Progressive Party-Democratic African Assembly (PRN-RDA), Union of Popular Forces of Democracy (UDFD), and Democratic and Social Convention (CDS).

Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "Et maintenant la cohabitation? [And now, cohabitation?]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1571, February 6, 1991, 19. AP27.J4

Cape Verde's first multiparty presidential election is scheduled for February 17, 1991. President Aristides Maria Pereira, who has led the nation since it became independent from Portugal in 1975, is facing former Prime Minister Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro. The article discusses the political groups that support Pereira's African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) and Monteiro's Movement for Democracy (MPD). Two smaller political parties are also mentioned: Cape Verde Union for Independence and Democracy (UCID), and People's Union for the Independence of Cape Verde (UPICV).

Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "La revolution au placard! (Revolution by Poster!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 2, 1991, 25. AP27.J4

This article discusses democratic reforms and the formation of new political parties in Burkina Faso. The government established a constitutional commission in May 1990 to write a democratic constitution that is to guarantee political and other freedoms. A number of new political parties already have been established. They include: Organisation pour la Democratie Populaire/Mouvement du travail (ODP/MT); Mouvement des

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patriotes progressistes (MDP-ADP); Union des Democratres et Patriotes du Burkina (UDPB); Parti Africain de l'Independance (PAI); Union des Sociaux-Democratres (USD); and Convention Nationale des Patriotes Progressistes (CNPP).

Kadjor, Kofi Buenor. On Transforming Africa. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1987. 164p. DT30.5.H33.

The author, press secretary of former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, wrote this book as a critique of the way African leaders have failed their people by controlling political affairs and the media. Kadjor's theme is that African politicians are ruthless individualists who purposely neglect organizing groups that include people from all walks of life in order to create a dynamic, democratic polity that promotes the well-being of all citizens in African countries. Kadjor is pessimistic about the future development of democracy in Africa because he believes that average African citizens are too uneducated and superstitious to overthrow the corrupt regimes that continue to use the army and police to stifle their political opponents.

Koehn, Peter H. Public Policy and Administration in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990. 359p. : Tables, Figures. JQ3090.K64.

Part three of this book focuses on the reasons why repeated calls for involving more citizens in planning national development have failed to bring about change at local levels in Nigeria. Beginning in 1979, government officials in Lagos asked state officials and local chiefs in the states of Kaduna and Bauchi to formulate programs for inclusion in the 1981-1985 five-year development plan. The experiment failed because political elites used the process to serve their interests; state and national planners failed to understand what programs were most needed at the grass-roots levels; and the average Nigerian has never learned to voice his or her opinion on public administration issues.

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Kpatinde, Francis, and Minangoy, Robert. "Vitesse confondue avec precipitation? (Speed Confused with Precipitation?)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, 30-33. AP27.J4

This article discusses the responses of Benin's political leaders to questions on that country's democratic constitution project. The government accepted the proposed 160-article constitution without any debate on its substance. The constitution provides for six branches of government: National Assembly, Constitutional Court, High Court of Justice, Supreme Court, Economic and Social Council, and High Authority for Audiovisuals and Communication. Under this constitution, Benin's president approves appointments to all high offices except for the National Assembly's president who is elected by members of that legislative body.

Kpatinde, Francis. "Mali: le front du refus [Mali: the Front of Refusal]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1573, February 20, 1991, 10-13. AP27.J4

This article discusses Mali's democratization movement. President Moussa Traore, who came to power in the 1968 military coup that deposed the democratic government of President Modibo Keita, has so far refused to allow the legalization of opposition parties. However, Traore is coming under increasing public pressure to allow opposition parties to participate in the next presidential election which is scheduled for June 1991. The article identifies several groups that are involved in Mali's democratization movement, including Mountaga Tall's National Democratic Initiative Committee (CNID) and Democracy Union of the Malian People (UDPM).

Kpatinde, Francis. "Que la foire d'empoigne commence! (May the Game of Grab Begin!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1563, December 18, 1990, 30-31. AP27.J4

This article discusses the formation of new political parties in Benin. Three men have announced plans to run for president when elections are organized. They are: Albert Tevoedjre, leader of Common Cause; Thomas Goudou, head of Builders of Liberty and Development (BGLD); and Fassassi Assani, who currently resides in Benghazi, Libya.

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President Mathieu Kerekou has not yet announced whether he plans to run for president.

Kpatinde, Francis. "Voter ou pas: la est la question (To Vote or Not: That is the Question)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1560, November 21, 1990, 8. AP27.J4

This article reports on the reasons why fifteen opposition parties refused to participate in Senegal's nationwide election of municipal leaders. The election, held on November 25, 1990, was boycotted by the opposition parties because President Abdou Diouf's Socialist Party is allowed more access to the government-controlled media than the opposition parties. Under the current system, the Socialist Party candidates are allocated 50 percent of the radio and television time used for political campaigning and the 15 opposition parties must share the remaining 50 percent of radio and television time.

"L'etape du multipartisme (The Stage of Multipartyism)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 7. DT1.A4785

This news brief reports that Togo is slowly moving toward the establishment of a multiparty political system. President Gnassingbe Eyadema's acceptance of the Constitutional Commission's recommendation that the constitution be rewritten before Eyadema's political party, Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), holds its next congress in December 1991 is a sign that Togo's democratization movement is irreversible.

"La vraie bataille commence (The Real Battle Begins)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 8, 1991, 7. AP27.J4

The people of Guinea approved a new democratic constitution in a December 23, 1990 referendum; however many opposition political groups inside and outside the country remain concerned about government restrictions on political activities. The article notes that while 99 percent of those who voted in the referendum supported the new constitution and the democratization it purports to bring to Guinea, General Lansana Conte plans to place limits on political groups that oppose his military

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government. According to Alpha Conde, leader of a political group that calls itself Regrouping of the People of Guinea (RPG), the real battle for democracy has just begun.

"Le gouvernement se prononce pour le multipartisme integral [The Government Declares in Favor of Multipartyism]," Marches Tropicaux et Mediteraneens (Paris), no. 2355, December 28, 1990, 3799. HC10.M3

President Joao Bernardo Vieira's government is preparing to hold a national congress of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), currently the only legal party in Guinea-Bissau, to discuss the issue of multipartyism. On December 21, 1990, the PAIGC secretary of information reported the party would hold a national congress in January 1991 to discuss how to establish a multiparty democratic system. One possibility under consideration would provide for a two-year transition period during which opposition political parties would be registered and campaigning for democratic elections would be scheduled. President Vieira reportedly views democratization as a process that will make Guinea-Bissau a more dynamic society.

"Legislative Elections" Keesing's Record of World Events (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 36, no. 11, 37841-37842. D410,K4

This report suggests that the failure of any of Ivory Coast's 25 opposition parties to establish constituencies in the 175 legislative districts was the primary reason a major political realignment failed to materialize in the November 1990 National Assembly election. The largest opposition party, Laurent Gbagbo's Popular Front (PF), did well in metropolitan areas such as Abidjan and won nine seats. This, however, was the only bright spot, and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's ruling Democratic Party (DP) had no competition in 40 legislative districts.

Lewis, Walker and Andzenge, Dick. "Nigerian Unity: Integrative Processes and Problems." Journal of Developing Societies (Leiden, The Netherlands), vol. 5, no. 2, 1989, 218-233. DS1.C58.

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The efforts of Nigerian democrats, particularly former President Shehu Shagari who was deposed by military coup in 1983, to promote multi-ethnic parties that could simultaneously promote national political institutions and accommodate the participation of all of Nigeria's ethnic groups are discussed in this article. Lewis and Andzenge maintain that the country's 1979 constitution was the most democratic ever written and they suggest that Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (NPN) promoted policies that prohibited the domination or exclusion of any ethnic group in national politics. The article is critical of military leaders who have ruled since 1983 for disrupting the evolution of the democratic political process in Nigeria.

"Liberia After Doe: The Bloody Struggle for Power." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 4, September-October 1990, 5-6. DT1.A217.

Article provides a brief summary of causes for anarchy in Liberia. President Samuel Doe (killed after this edition of Africa Report was published) was no longer viewed as a politically viable leader because of the poor condition of his army and security forces. However, a split in the 15,000-man army of the National Patriotic Liberation Front (NPLF), the poorly-organized rebel organization seeking to depose Doe, was viewed as leaving Liberia with no legitimate successors. The article describes Doe, Charles Taylor, and Prince Yormie Johnson--the latter two being the leaders of NPLF's competing factions--as autocrats with no identifiable political ideology or policies. Africa Report says that it is unlikely that a peacekeeping force sent to Liberia by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) can restore political order in the near future because ECOWAS has limited resources and little outside support.

Lique, Rene Jaques. "Benin: le laboratoire de la democratie. (Benin: The Laboratory of Democracy)." Africa International (Paris), no. 228, June 1990, 31-34. DT1.A13.

Several likely presidential candidates in Benin's January 1991 democratic election are discussed. Since the fall of President Mathieu Kerekou's communist government in February 1990, leaders of numerous political groups that have operated clandestinely have announced plans to run

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for president. Three former presidents, Hubert Maga, Justin Ahomadegbe, and Emile Derlin Zinsou are attempting to join forces to form the National Union for Democracy and Progress. The article does not report which of the three leaders will be the presidential candidate if the coalition succeeds. Additional presidential candidates identified in the article are: Gedeon Dassoundo of the Alliance for Democracy and Progress; Guy Adjanooun of the Workers' Party of Dahomey; Timothee Adanlin of the Democratic Union of Progress; and Marcellin Degbe of the Movement for Democracy and Progress.

"Maradona's Dribble to Democracy," New African (London), no. 267, December 1989, 21. HC511.A12

This article reports that President Ibrahim Babangida's plan to allow only two parties to compete in the 1992 presidential election has had positive and negative effects on political circles in Nigeria. On the positive side, Babangida's plan to promote a free and peaceful election without the regional and tribal rivalries of the past appears to be making progress. The most negative effect has been the withdrawal from the political process of several prominent political leaders who are unwilling to join either of the political parties that are preparing to compete in the 1992 elections. Another positive development has been the release of several political prisoners, all of whom are eligible to participate in politics.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Banda in a Bind," Africa Report (New York), vol. 32, no. 3, May-June 1987, 47-49. DT1.A217

Octogenarian Malawi President Hastings Banda's possible political successors are likely to come from a small group of life-long supporters. Meldrum suggests that as Banda has lost some control over the day-to-day administration of the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and the government, two personal friends have become the "power behind the throne." They are Cecilia Kadzamira, who has worked for Banda since 1958 in various positions, and John Tempo, Banda's official spokesman. Banda continues to ban political opposition and to oppose democratization in his country.

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Morna, Colleen Lowe. "A Grassroots Democracy," Africa Report (New York), vol. 34, no. 4, July-August 1989, 17-20.
DT1.A217

This article reports on February 1989 district elections held in 110 Ghanaian constituencies for district assemblies. All the elections were under the auspices of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD); however, government regulations prevented assembly candidates from organizing political parties and soliciting private contributions for their campaigns. The government of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is promoting the non-partisan district assemblies as the first step in a program to build democratic institutions from the bottom up. According to Kwamina Ahwoi, Ghana's Secretary for Local Government, Rawlings believes that each locality will learn self-rule and then the 110 districts will influence the development of a federal or parliamentary system.

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "Election Aftermath," New African (London), no. 259, April 1989, 24-25. HC511.A12

This article reports on the completion of Ghana's district council elections. According to Ghanaian Labor Secretary Kwamina Ahwoi, the national government allowed everyone interested in the political process to run for a seat on the local district councils. Ahwoi said that the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) financed the elections, which began in December 1988 and ended in February 1989, to guarantee that all candidates had an equal chance. Morna believes that the elections, while not democratic from a Western perspective, revitalized Ghana's local governments by allowing Ghanaians to choose these leaders. About 70 percent of all registered voters cast a ballot in this election compared to only 20 percent in the last local government elections held in 1978. The author observes that it remains to be seen how well the district councils will work with the ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC).

"Multiparty Debate." New African, (London), no. 277, October 1990,, 19-20. HC511.A12.

In July 1990 the Rawlings government suppressed two small Ghanaian political movements, both of which called for the

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establishment of a multiparty democratic system. The leaders of a group calling itself the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG) held a press conference on July 24, 1990 in which they argued that a multiparty system would be better than the current military-dominated police state. A larger and more popular group, known as the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), published a statement on or about July 30, 1990 that claimed the government's grass-roots democracy program was a sham and criticized the government's stifling the right of Ghanaians to speak out on political issues. The article also reports that the state-controlled press misrepresented the KNRG's views and the nine MFJ leaders were arrested for participating in antistate activities.

N'Diaye, Rachid. "Guinee: l'éternelle transition (Guinea: The Eternal Transition)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 22-23. DT1.A13.

This article speculates about when, if ever, General Lansana Conte plans to honor his promise to return his country to civilian rule under a democratic system of government. The author observes that when Conte deposed the Toure government by military coup in 1984, he promised to establish democracy in Guinea within five years. Conte has publicized a constitution that would provide for a democratic system with two political parties; however, in 1990, he continues to say that the restoration of civilian rule is five years away. Toure is reported still to have a political following in Guinea; if the military government falls, he could conceivably return to power.

"National Assembly Elections," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 11, November 1990, 9896-9897. Not in LC

This article suggests that opposition parties were poorly organized and received little financial support in the November 1990 National Assembly elections. Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), the largest opposition party, fielded 100 candidates compared to the 234 fielded by the ruling Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI). The poor voter turnout on election day, estimated at only 30 percent of the 4.7 million registered voters, was blamed on the poor organization of the opposition parties and the fact that

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the majority of Ivorians did not believe that the regime of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny would allow opposition parties to participate in policymaking.

"No-party Democracy?," New African (London), No. 276, September 1990, 22-23. HC511.A12

Ghana's chairman of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) uses the Bureau of National Security Investigations to arrest his political opponents who advocate multiparty democracy. Those arrested so far include Kweku Baah, a lawyer and former member of parliament; four military leaders (Moses Harley, Samuel Twumhene, Rexford Ohemem, and Emmanuel Aninakwa); and at least 200 others. The article includes a list of Ghanaian organizations that are proponents of multipartyism. They include: Trade Union Congress (TUC); National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS); Ghana Bar Association (GBA); Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG); New Democratic Movement (NDM); United Revolutionary Front (URF); and Democratic Alliance of Ghana (DAG).

Noble, Kenneth. "Houphouet, 85, Faces Voters and Wins." The New York Times, (New York), October 30, 1990, A3.

Article reports on the Ivory Coast's first democratic presidential election since the country won independence from France in 1960. Whereas Houphouet-Boigny, the ruling Democratic Party's presidential candidate and the country's only president since independence, won with 85 percent of the vote, the election indicated that the Ivory Coast has a long way to go on the road to democracy. Laurent Gbagbo, the presidential candidate of the Ivorian Popular Front who finished second to Houphouet-Boigny in the election, had only ten days to campaign and had limited access to the state-controlled television, radio, and printed media. Noble reports that Gbagbo appears to have won a majority of votes only in northeastern districts of the country. According to The New York Times, 4 million citizens voted in the election. The Ivory Coast has a population of about 12.5 million.

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Novicki, Margaret A. "Interview--Abdoulaye Wade: Democracy's Advocate," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 41-44. DT1.A217

Abdoulaye Wade, leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), the country's most influential opposition party, criticizes Senegal's democratic system in this interview with Africa Report. According to Wade, former President Leopold Senghor abrogated the democratic process when he resigned in 1980 and amended the constitution to designate as his successor Prime Minister Abdou Diouf, who remains in power today. Wade maintains that the government exerts too much influence over elections. It was for this reason Wade and the PDS boycotted the November 1990 National Assembly election.

Nwankwo, Arthur. The Military Option to Democracy. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., 1987. 197p. DT515.8.N888.

The author is critical of President Ibrahim Babangida for claiming to promote a return to civilian rule while he is perpetuating class and ethnic conflicts that inevitably will prevent the development of democratic institutions in Nigeria. In chapter two Nwankwo defines democracy as "rule for the people, not by the people," and he says that the meaning of the word implies that no one person or group will dominate society. In chapter seven he describes what is needed for Nigeria to evolve democratically: the boundaries of states must be changed so that the country's six regions, each dominated by a major ethnic or religious group, can maintain some degree of autonomy while sharing power with Lagos. The author proposes the organization of electoral districts so that these six ethnic groups have equal representation in the country's national assembly. Also needed are some provisions in the constitution to guarantee each ethnic group some power in the executive branch.

Obasanjo, Olusegun. Selected Essays On Contemporary African Development. Ibadan, Nigeria: Fountain Publications, 1988. 118p. DT30.5.0224.

The author, who was Nigeria's military leader from 1976 to 1979 when he voluntarily turned over power to newly

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elected President Shehu Shagari, included eight of his political speeches in this book. Obasanjo believes that Nigeria can develop democratic institutions and become a strong nation if its leaders avoid the pitfalls of the past. Obasanjo says that today he farms and stays out of politics because he wants to set an example to other military men and politicians in Nigeria who, in his opinion, refuse to learn from Nigeria's past mistakes. He suggests that these men must learn to share power and to follow constitutional procedures. In the last chapter, the author focuses on the relationship of the United States with African states. Obasanjo suggests that the fact that Africa is poor and has many authoritarian regimes, and the United States is rich and democratic, does not change the fact that they share many mutual interests. Obasanjo appeals to the United States to assist Nigeria and other African nations, in building new political and economic organizations.

Okadigbo, Chuba. Power and Leadership in Nigeria. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company, Ltd., 1987. 161p. DT515.8.0367.

The author of this book supports Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida's plan to establish a presidential democracy with two political parties. Okadigbo claims that a multiparty parliamentary system would not work in Nigeria because regionally-based political parties would try to dominate the national legislature and thereby destroy the national federal system. On the other hand, military rule has shown that most Nigerians do not want either a dictator or a one-party state. The regional checks and balances proposed by Babangida are said to provide the necessary framework for a workable democratic system.

Okorle, Emenike. "Unfamiliar Turn." African Guardian, (Lagos, Nigeria), vol. 5, no. 20, May 28, 1990, 8. DT515.A62.

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's weak control over the country's military probably forced him to legalize five political opposition parties. Houphouet-Boigny, who has been the country's only leader since independence, is believed to be in a precarious political position that could lead to his forceful ouster by the military in the

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near future. The article notes that the people of the Ivory Coast have long demanded democratic reforms, but the military is also considered more likely to take control should Houphouet-Boigny fail in his efforts to maintain power.

Olugbade, Kola. "Sustaining Democratic Virtues in Nigeria: Expectations for the Third Republic." Corruption and Reform (Dordrecht, The Netherlands), vol. 4, no. 3, September 1989, 245-281. JF1081.C66.

Nigeria's past experiences with democracy are analyzed, particularly the events that caused the downfall of the Second Republic (1979-1983), and suggestions are made concerning that country's current transition from military to civilian rule. Two major problems during the Second Republic were poor leadership and corruption. President Alhaji Shehu Shagari, who won elections in 1979 and 1983, was unable or unwilling to compromise with the political opposition, and Shagari misused the federal police and national security organizations during the 1983 presidential election. Public outrage with Shagari's corrupt tactics led to the military coup of December 31, 1983. The author believes that a new class of politicians is needed to promote democratic institutions in the forthcoming Third Republic. Olugbade's suggestions include: banning former politicians and military leaders from holding electoral office; changing the mind-set of leaders of the various ethnic groups from being "conflict generators" to being "conflict managers." The author says that there must be understanding that nationbuilding is a longterm process that requires compromise and consensus to succeed. Finally, Nigeria's constitution and laws must be changed to provide adequate checks and balances to prevent any individual or group from becoming too powerful.

Olumhense, Sonala. "The Road to Democracy," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 51-53. DT1.A217

Nigerian local council elections held December 8, 1990 were encouraging in that for the first time since independence there was no election-related violence. General Ibrahim Babangida, who has been the country's head of state since August 1985, determined that for democracy to succeed there must be a broadly based transition

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beginning at the local level; the military must be phased out of political life; and the economy must be strengthened. The government disqualified 13 political groups that applied for recognition in 1989 because they lacked grassroots organizations and instead organized two national parties. The low voter turnout (20 percent) was the only disappointing aspect of the elections.

"Opposition Movement Launched," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 8, August 1990, 9790. Not in LC

This article reports the names of leaders of Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), Ghana's main opposition party, and discusses why they are opposed to the military regime's nationwide "referendum" on democratization. The names and occupations of MFJ leaders are: Adu Boahen, history professor; John Hansen, lawyer; Ray Kakraba-Quarshie, lawyer; John Ndebugre, politician; and Obeng Manu, politician. The MFJ, established in August 1990, believes that the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has excluded its opponents from participating in the democratization debate and it favors the liberalization of press censorship and other government-imposed restrictions on the individual freedoms of Ghanaians.

Perret, Thierry. "Le vent se leve-t-il? (Will the Wind Blow?)." Africa International (Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990, 41-42. DT1.A13.

A majority of Democratic Union of Malian People (UDPM) members, who attended a party conference on the desirability of establishing a democratic political system in this single-party republic, voted to allow other political parties to form and participate in future elections. In the voting, 17 of 35 UDPM members favored ending the country's one-party system. However, it is not yet known if President Moussa Traore, Mali's military dictator since 1968, will support or oppose the democratization movement.

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"Political Scene," Nigeria: Country Report (London), No. 4, 1990, 7-12. HC1055.A1C68

The political section of this economic report analyzes personnel changes in President Ibrahim Babangida's military regime, moves to realign civil-military relations, and developments within state-sponsored political parties. Personnel moves, such as the promotion to the position of vice president of former Chief of General Staff Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, are viewed as hurtful to democratization because they suggest the Armed Forces Ruling Council is holding back on its promise to include more civilians in policymaking positions. However, Babangida's plan to reduce the defense budget and the size of the armed forces is interpreted as a signal that he intends to divest the military of its civil responsibilities by 1992. The government's effort to require the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) to select leaders from various regions of the country probably will not have much effect on the political power bases of the parties. In the 1992 presidential election, the NRC is expected to run strong in northern Nigeria and the opposing SDP is almost certain to be the favorite of voters in southern regions of the country.

"Political Transition Under Control," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2330, July 6, 1990, 1941. AP27.J4

The English-language abstract of a two-page article indicates that the Nigerian military government, led by President Ibrahim Babangida, appears to be behind schedule in its democratization program. Two new parties--the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) appear to be government-controlled. The article describes Babangida as a skillful manipulator of public opinion and suggests that he may use democratization and economic problems as excuses for postponing the reinstatement of civilian rule in October 1992.

"Presidential Regime from 1993," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 9, September 1-30, 1990, 9225-9226.

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This news brief explains the military government's policy on democratization. The central committee of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), currently Guinea-Bissau's only legal party, met on September 3, 1990 to consider establishing an elected presidential democratic system of government. The article reports that there was a consensus among PAIGC central committee members favoring the promotion of democratic institutions beginning in 1991. President Bernardo Viera called for exiled political opponents of the regime to return to Guinea-Bissau to participate in the democratization process.

Rooney, David. Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1988. 292p.
DT512.3.N57R66.

The author believes that Kwame Nkrumah's socialist ideology was more suited to Ghana's needs than any type of democratic system. According to Rooney, party politics in the First Republic (1957-66) and Third Republic (1979-81) created conflict and economic chaos throughout the country. Rooney suggests that the current head of state, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, is successfully implementing Nkrumah's socialist system. The author observes that there are two political movements within Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC): the June Fourth Movement and the New Democratic Movement. Members of the former group believe Ghana should cut ties with the West and adhere to a Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, the dominant New Democratic Movement favors a mixture of market and socialist economics. The author praises Rawlings for learning from Nkrumah's political mistakes. For example, Rooney believes that Rawlings listens to the advice of the elected district councils before he advises the PNDC on the implementation of national policies.

Sanda, A. O., Ojo, Olusola and Ayeni, Victor, ed. The Impact of Military Rule on Nigeria's Administration. Ile-Ife, Nigeria: University of Ife Press, 1987. 344p.
JQ3086.C58.I47.

Sixteen Nigerian scholars wrote essays about the military's influence on political and economic affairs in

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their country. The introduction suggests that Nigerian intellectuals acknowledge that the military has instilled an appreciation for discipline among Nigeria's heterogeneous ethnic groups. However, some of the authors are critical of the military for having dismantled democratic institutions and replaced them with an inefficient and autocratic civil service.

"Sao Tome and Principe Opposition Wins Election. Former Minister Chosen to Head New Government," Facts and Reports (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 3, February 8, 1991, 22. DT36.F2

President Manuel Pinto da Costa, whose Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP) lost the country's first multiparty election held on January 20, 1991, has agreed to turn over power to the Party of Democratic Convergence (PCD). Daniel Daio, a former minister of defense, will head an interim government. The PCD won the election with 70 percent of the vote.

Sawyer, Amos. "The Making of the 1984 Liberian Constitution: Major Issues and Dynamic Forces," Liberian Studies Journal (Oak Park, Illinois), vol. 12, no. 1, January 1987, 1-16. DT621.L525

This article examines the democratization movement that existed in Liberia in the early 1980s, at the time the government of the late President Samuel Doe appointed a commission to draft a democratic constitution. In 1983, this constitutional commission held meetings throughout Liberia and found widespread support for a multiparty system that would include constitutional guarantees limiting the authority of the president and military. However, President Doe vetoed many of the democratic aspects of the constitution that finally was instituted in January 1986. Sawyer, who was the chairman of the constitutional commission, believes Liberians overwhelmingly support the establishment of a free and fair electoral system and limits on the powers of state institutions.

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Smith, Stephen. "Cote d'Ivoire: changement de regime (Ivory Coast: Change of Regime)." Africa International (Paris), No. 228, June 1990, 15-17. DT1.A13.

The political plans of Ivory Coast's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny apparently include plans to step down from his office sometime in the near future. According to President Omar Bongo of Gabon, Houphouet-Boigny has privately discussed his plans to prepare the way for his hand-picked successor, Minister of Defense Jean Konan Banny. Public pressure, however, has forced Houphouet-Boigny to legalize political parties other than his own Democratic Party. The article suggests that Banny's political fortunes are uncertain at a time when a number of Houphouet-Boigny's political opponents are attempting to establish opposition parties.

"The Political Scene," Country Report: Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia (London), Economist Intelligence Unit, no. 4, 1990, 11-12. HC1060.A1C68

The political section of the Ghana report discusses prominent individuals and groups belonging to Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), an antigovernment political group that favors the establishment of a multiparty democracy. MFJ leaders include, Adu Boahen, chairman; Johnny Hansen, first vice chairman; Ray Kakraba-Quarshie, second vice chairman; John Ndeugre, national organizer; Obeng Manu, national secretary; and Kwesi Pratt, deputy national secretary. MFJ leaders in London are Joshua Hamidu, J. H. Mensah, and Zaya Yeebo. The following Ghanaian dissident groups belong to or support the political program of MFJ: Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG); New Democratic Movement (NDM); United Revolutionary Front (URF); and Front for Unity, Democracy and Development (FUDD). Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) has denied MFJ legal status and has ordered the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) and local police to monitor the group's activities and to prevent the MFJ from holding public demonstrations.

"Traore's UDPM Must Face Multiparty Question," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 10. DT1.A217

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This news brief reports Malian President Moussa Traore has appointed a new interior minister (General Sekou Ly) to blunt the country's democratization movement. Ly, described as a Traore loyalist, has been ordered to disband political activities not involving the ruling Mali People's Democratic Union (UPDM). Malian Alliance for Democracy (ADEMA), trade unions, and student organizations are among the groups to be targeted by police.

Uwazurike, P. Chudi. "Confronting Potential Breakdown: The Nigerian Redemocratization Process in Critical Perspective," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 1, March 1991, 55-77. DT1.J68

The planning process for the reinstatement of democracy requires the examination of political, economic, and demographic factors. This article examines positive and negative aspects of President Ibrahim Babangida's policy for promoting a two-party democratic political system in Nigeria. Uwazurike supports Babangida's systematic approach to establishing a new democratic structure. However, he argues that Babangida is unrealistic in his belief that he can guarantee the success of his plan. Four unpredictable factors are viewed as keys to the success or failure of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC), Nigeria's only legal political parties. These factors include the government's ability to conduct fair elections, the success of the SDP and NRC in mobilizing the people to participate in the democratic process, the separation of future censuses from manipulation by politicians; and the willingness of SDP and NRC leaders to take the democratic process seriously. Uwazurike believes Africa needs an educational and research institution devoted exclusively to examining the successes and failures of various democratic systems, past and present, on the continent.

Vieta, Kojo T. "Theory and Practice." West Africa, (London), no. 3804, July 23, 1990, 2153. DT491.W4.

This article is a review of a recent law promulgated by Ghana's Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) with the intent of establishing local-level democracy within that country's military-dominated autocracy. Numerous

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district assemblies were established in each of the country's ten regions and, apparently, representatives to these assemblies were freely elected by residents of the districts. However, many district assemblymen have been unable to legislate or lobby for district bureaucrats to implement their programs for the following reasons: they lack a basic understanding of their jobs; they have little communication with their constituents; and their legislation is ignored by the district executive committees that are loyal to Ghana's military dictator, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.