**Page Dimensions:** 612.0x792.0

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**REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE**

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget. Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

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<th>1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)</th>
<th>2. REPORT DATE</th>
<th>3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED</th>
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<td>December 1984</td>
<td>Final</td>
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<th>4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE</th>
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<td>Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa</td>
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<th>6. AUTHOR(S)</th>
<th>7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</th>
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| LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Eunice Charles, Steven Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Mary Louis Harmon, Greta Holtz, Linda Lau, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Libeinstein, Moses Pinkston, Patricia Riggsbee, Rachel Warner | Federal Research Division  
Library of Congress  
Washington, DC 20540-4840 |

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<th>9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</th>
<th>10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER</th>
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<td>N/A</td>
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**11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES**

Prepared under an Interagency Agreement

**12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT**

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

**12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE**

**13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)**

An annotated bibliography of open sources received. Entries on strategic military, political, and economic topics are included. Published monthly until September 1984 and quarterly thereafter.

**DDIC QUALITY INSP ECTED 4**

**14. SUBJECT TERMS**

<table>
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<th>Africa--Sub-Sahara</th>
<th>Government</th>
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<td>Military affairs</td>
<td>Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
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**15. NUMBER OF PAGES**

Various lengths

**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

NSN 7540-01-260-5500

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)  
Prescribed by ANSI Std 239-18  
298-102
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

December 1984

Prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress
under an interagency agreement
PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Kenneth Libeinstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.
Annotate Bibliography -- Open Sources on Africa

December 1984

Africa General


This study describes and analyzes the growth and modernization of armed forces in Africa and examines the political and economic risks associated with military development. The author focuses on the key role played by arms transfers. The military development process has significant implications for US policy on arms transfers and security assistance to Africa. Arlinghaus stresses that African nations are pursuing military development through arms transfers in response to very real threats in the region. Although African countries have serious economic problems, they cannot put off military development and concentrate solely on economic development. From his analysis, Arlinghaus concludes that the United States should increase military aid to Africa to gain political influence in the region. However, much greater care must be taken in choosing the type of aid provided, taking into account what effect it will have on each country's politics, economy, and technology.


African states have discovered that despite hopes for rapid economic development through regional cooperation and solidarity and the assistance of industrialized nations, national defense must come first. This book contains chapters on all aspects of African security issues, including security problems, superpower rivalry in Africa, relations between African countries and the rest of the world, internal stability, and state-to-state cooperation.


An analysis of the repercussions of the April 1974 Portuguese coup d'etat on Africa, including a description of the events which led to the takeover. The author argues that the subsequent independence of all of Portugal's colonies in Africa and the total withdrawal of its armed forces contributed to the civil war in Angola and to the economic chaos in Mozambique as well as to the enormous white exodus from both territories.


A review of Soviet relations with African countries and the problems Soviets face, including language barriers and competition with Western development aid. Nonetheless, the author argues that the Soviet Union has made lasting friends and partners in Africa over the last 2 decades. He concludes that attitudes in the West toward Africa are again hardening and
racism is growing so that Africa is once more looking toward the East as it did in the 1960s.


This article traces China's priorities in Africa which include increased trade and stronger cultural and political relations. The next decade should witness increased foreign relations and bilateral exchanges since Africa ranks high in China's foreign relations priorities, according to Legum.


The Soviet view of the influence of the 1917 Russian revolution on African national liberation movements and the development of the Socialist-oriented African countries is presented. Also discussed are the foundations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and the significance of the principle of internationalism in Soviet relations with the newly independent nations of Africa.


Pabanel argues that to understand the causes of military coups, it is necessary to examine conditions in the state, not in the army. The political systems of states which have not experienced coups as well as those with coups should be studied to isolate factors contributing to military take-overs. The author discusses in detail three explanations for coups which are frequently put forth--ethnic conflict, the absence of a middle class, and increased militarization--and finds them all inadequate. However, he does not offer his own explanation, arguing that each African state must be examined individually. The book concludes with summaries of the coups which have occurred in Africa.


Colonel Qadhafi's interest in Africa coincides with the evolution of his concept of revolution. In the mid-1970s this concept became increasingly based on principles particularly applicable to developing countries. Qadhafi's problems in Africa are two-fold: his prodigious generosity yielded no concrete results on the continent, penalizing instead Libyan domestic priorities, and his absolutism caused a groundswell of hostility which jeopardized his interests in Africa. Chad is a microcosm of Qadhafi's accomplishments in Africa to date: the political and economic costs clearly outweigh any possible gain.
**Botswana**


The author uses the institutional transfer approach in analyzing the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). The present BDF has no direct, long-standing colonial antecedent as is customarily the case regarding armed forces on the African continent. The author's inquiry focuses on the force structure and mission, recruitment and training, the economic resources consumed by the BDF, and the transfer of overseas military hardware and expertise to the army. Finally, the author investigates the relative role of the BDF within the regional setting, where the management and application of violence are an integral part of the quest for majority rule.

**Ethiopia**


The author analyzes the Ethiopian revolution in terms of how successfully it has followed five major principles of Marxism-Leninism. These principles are defined as: the establishment of a revolutionary ideology; the creation of an authoritarian state apparatus capable of enforcing policies; the elimination of private ownership of the means of production; the establishment of a class-conscious proletarian party capable of penetrating all aspects of society; and the resolution of the nationalities question. Keller concludes that the regime is a radical military dictatorship with a socialist orientation. Although it is still possible for Ethiopia to chart a socialist course, there are serious obstacles to socialist development. These include widespread opposition to the regime's ideology, the nationalities question, and insufficient commitment among Ethiopia's military leaders.


The Ethiopian Revolution has been largely ignored by the outside world because the Ethiopian Government is secretive and restricts research by foreigners. Also, the leftist political scientists who generally show an avid interest in revolutionary movements have generally ignored Ethiopia's revolution because they find it disturbing. The author gives an account of the revolution up until 1978 when Mengistu became the clear leader and the pace of change began to slow. An attempt is made to examine how the revolution affected Ethiopians of all classes and in all areas of the country. Since in most cases it is impossible to obtain documentation of recent events in Ethiopia, Lefort relies heavily on the personal notes of an unnamed friend who resided in Ethiopia during the period examined in the book. His text was first published in 1981 in French.

One of the reasons used in the United Nations in 1950 to deny Eritrea independence was the claim that the former Italian colony was not economically viable. The author attempts to show that Eritrea has adequate resources to survive and even prosper as an independent country. While it is true that the agricultural sector has not been very productive since Eritrea became part of Ethiopia, during the colonial period agricultural productivity was high and has the potential of being so again, he argues. Eritrea also has mineral deposits and other natural resources and a sufficiently well-developed infrastructure to allow exploitation of these resources. The author dismisses the claim that Eritrea's size and population are too small for independent status by pointing out that there are at least 62 UN member states with a smaller surface area than Eritrea; 40 of these states also have smaller populations. He maintains the allegations that Eritrea is not economically viable have been made purely for political reasons by Ethiopia and its allies.

Francophone Africa


Recent events in Guinea and Cameroon have emphasized the fragile nature of peace in most francophone African countries. Shortly after Sekou Toure's death in April 1984, the military seized power in Guinea, and just days following this coup, the civil government in Cameroon was threatened by military elements who had remained loyal to former President Ahidjo. The author discusses the different types of security problems present in francophone African countries, regional options to cope with them, and France's role in regional structures. He concludes that regional cooperation will have little impact on the prevention of internal upheavals. The article includes tables and a chronology of recent events in Chad.

Kenya


This article traces the erosion of democratic government in Kenya which led to the 1982 coup attempt. Between 1960 and 1964 Kenyan politics were marked by genuine popular participation, but since then, democratic political activity has been systematically curtailed. The author gives a concise account of how and why the men in power have dismantled democratic government over the years. Today's regime finds itself unable to build a strong personal presidential system of government and unable to gain a popular constituency. Through repression of all criticism the regime has
isolated itself, destabilizing its own position by not being aware of popular sentiments. The men in power have not learned from the experience of the 1982 uprising but continue their politics of conformity which will ultimately be far more destabilizing than permitting more open political expression, the author concludes.

Mali


Critical economic imbalances resulting from failed development strategies and the ravages of persistent drought are forcing Mali's military leadership toward economic liberalism. However, economic liberalism is not without significant political risks. Mali's IMF-inspired reform program disadvantages the military and public sectors and consequently will cut off the Traore regime from much of its political base. The danger is compounded as support in the countryside is largely symbolic. As President Traore's domestic political credit runs low, Malian authorities are troubled by signs of regional malaise in neighboring Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Niger.

Mozambique


A report of the Central Committee of the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO held in Maputo from 26 to 30 April 1983. Includes sections on the colonial situation of Mozambique and subsequent economic problems, the budget and problems of economic and social development, major developmental targets, the class struggle, the role of FRELIMO in the construction of socialism, consolidation and tasks of the popular democratic state, defense, and the participation of all citizens in national tasks.


A detailed analysis of the impact on Mozambique's economy and security of South African destabilization policies and the events which led to the signing between Mozambique and South Africa of the Nkomati Accord. This lengthy article includes descriptions of South African attacks in Mozambique, South Africa's influence on RENAMO, RENAMO's expanding terrorist grip on the countryside, and the ideology and politics of the ruling FRELIMO party. The author concludes that major war and reconstruction are still ahead in both Mozambique and South Africa.
Namibia


Provides useful information on political economy and agricultural development in Namibia. Gives figures on South African Defence Force manpower levels, accounts of SWAPO military achievements, and SWAPO military gains. Material is presented with insight and intellectual discipline, although some statistics are suspect.

South Africa


A new biography on the life of P.W. Botha, current Executive President of the Republic of South Africa. The book paints a picture of a strong Christian, a staunch family man, a merciless organizer, a very hard worker and a man who almost fanatically believes in loyalty and discipline. Discusses the relationship between John Vorster and P.W. Botha and the influence of the Information Scandal on them. Botha's role as Minister of Defence and the build up of the SADF are examined in detail.


This article discusses the formation of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) in 1975 and the problems faced by the young army in the first years of its inception. Discusses training and the future planning of an air wing. Examines the first battalion-level field training exercise, "Crocodile Tears II," which took place in May 1984. A very informative and interesting article for an introductory look at the TDF.


This short essay by the politics editor of the Economist examines the world efforts to isolate South Africa and their results, which seem to be to South Africa's benefit, in that the government has been forced to be self-sufficient in arms production through the creation of parastatal organizations. The author also discusses domestic political dynamics among the Afrikaners, asserting that predictions regarding the disintegration of the National Party, and with it Afrikaner political influence, have been proven false.
Southern Africa


South Africa's regional strategy has always been a subtle mix of military dissuasion on the one hand and economic conciliation on the other. Nonetheless, the recent nonaggression treaty between South Africa and Mozambique took the world by surprise. The author discusses South Africa's destabilization policies toward its neighbors from 1978 to 1983, examines South Africa's relations with the superpowers, and speculates on the possibility of a new equilibrium in southern Africa. He concludes that because the new accord has done little to modify South Africa's internal situation, it will have little effect in bringing stability to southern Africa.


During 1984, South Africa, for the first time in any consistent fashion, decided to take the initiative to break the wall of hostility it faced from the frontline states of southern Africa from where continual political and military harrassment was coming. One of the principal reasons for South Africa's initiative has been international pressure for change in South Africa's regional behavior and internal policies mostly by the West and the United Nations. The article discusses South African internal terrorism and opposition, the slowing momentum of Soviet strategic gains in southern Africa, and the internal security of the regional states.


Primarily a study of Soviet relations with Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Includes discussions of Soviet ties to the liberation groups which came to power in these three countries, Soviet attitudes toward the Namibian issue, and Soviet aspirations in South Africa. Concludes that little change in Soviet policy has occurred since Brezhnev nor is any likely to occur under Chernenko.

Zaire

Coleman, Gordon C. "US Foreign Policy to Zaire--Should It Change?" US_Army_War_College_Strategic_Studies_Institute_Special_Report, AD-A116222, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., 19 April 1982, 31 pp.

A strategic assessment and economic analysis of Zaire in which the progress of nation building and the leadership of President Mobutu are examined. Included is a review of past and present US foreign policy toward Zaire.
The author concludes that Zaire's economic development is dependent on its relations with the United States and that there is no alternative to supporting Mobutu because of Zaire's size, central location, and mineral and economic resources.

Zimbabwe


This essay discusses what is referred to as the "Mugabe Model" or "Zimbabwe Solution." The model connotes a central assumption that self-styled Marxist leaders of revolutionary movements in developing countries carry the "Marxist" label not out of any deep dogmatic conviction, but rather as a kind of revolutionary accreditation, with at best a superficial attachment to a post-revolutionary model of social discipline for their societies. The "Mugabe Model" asserts that the primary commitment of leaders from developing countries is to triumph in the given struggle and to mastery of the post-revolutionary order; ideology is flexibly adapted to these objectives. The authors present historical facts and an analysis of the current situation in Zimbabwe which allows the reader to understand the process of socio-political development in newly independent countries with links to the Soviet bloc. They are analytical in detail and give recommendations on the future course that the foreign policies of Western nations should take.