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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

January - December 1980

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ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in January 1980)

Africa General


The author identifies 15 African states penetrated by the Soviet Union to varying degrees. He sets out to prove the hypothesis that the USSR penetrated the class he terms "targeted states" on the basis of their relative poverty and political instability. He tests the economic aspect by statistically contrasting the penetrated states with the unpenetrated states. Political instability is gauged by occurrences of civil wars, revolutions, assassinations, riots, ethnic clashes, etc.


As important as the intrinsic value of the Horn is to the Soviets (and, by implication, to the United States), it is in the global context where the overriding significance of the Horn can be assessed and which this article is concerned. According to the author, while the strategic importance of the Soviet success in this area of the world is debatable, it is hard to avoid the central political lesson that has emerged: alignment with the Soviet Union proved demonstratably superior to alignment with the United States.


The "rice riots" in Liberia and the June coup in Ghana highlighted the problems of the more than 100,000 Lebanese living in West Africa. They are often viewed by Africans as being responsible for their countries' economic ills. Local businessmen attempt to ally themselves with wealthy Lebanese in order to benefit from their business acumen, resources and contacts. However, it is the poorer Lebanese who are most exposed and most vulnerable.

Algeria

"Algeria's tomorrow is being bought at today's prices." Middle East Newsletter, 19 November 1979-2 December 1979, pp. 8-9.

Algeria is borrowing heavily to finance its industrial development program on the expectation of high oil and gas revenues. The burden is heavy but rising oil and gas prices could make the gamble pay off. The
key is in balancing the large and growing foreign debt with expanded export revenues. Tables indicate a summary of financial projections (1976-2005) and foreign debt service projections (1979-86).

Chad

"Chad: The A to Z of factionalism." Africa Confidential, 14 November 1979, pp. 4-7.

Examination of the situation in Chad: factionalism (FAP, FAN, FAT, FACP, and FAO), chances of success by GUNT, racial killings, destruction of the MPLT, leaders of various groups and the international dimension. Geographical location of the factions is detailed on a map.


Examination of the situation in Chad with emphasis on Goukouni as the great common denominator among Chadians.

Congo


The sending of Congolese children to Cuba "without their parents' consent" has "scandalized" European and American public opinion. This series of articles deals with this issue and reveals that other African countries have also sent children to Cuba for "training."

Ethiopia


The war in Eritrea is slowly going Ethiopia's way. Now the Arab moderates of the Red Sea and the Gulf are increasingly concerned that, with passive Soviet and Cuban assistance, the Addis Ababa regime will emerge as a springboard for revolution in the region. The author describes the attempts by the area's moderates to defuse the events within the Horn.
Ivory Coast


Focuses on French involvement in the economic affairs of the Ivory Coast. Cites a growing resentment among the middle class for the French and Lebanese communities. Suggests that the Ivory Coast has used French aid shrewdly and quotes statistics which highlight the fast growing economy.

Liberia


A critical account of the Tubman (1943-71) and Tolbert (1971 to present) administrations. Traces the fractionalization of the Monrovian family elites by Tubman which was replaced by the new Americo-Liberian ruling family class.

Mali


The paper provides a historical retrospective of the rise to power of President Traore and ends with a brief overview of Mali's foreign relations, political and economic ("...Mali gets its money from the capitalists and its ideology from the socialists.").


After 11 years under Moussa Traore, Mali has changed. Although former President Keita died in prison under suspicious circumstances, those arrested with him have been released, an event welcomed by intellectuals who had doubted Traore's promise of a normal democratic life for Mali.

In an interview, Traore commented on the one party state, the degree of free political activity in Mali, the role of the military in the country and on the economy.


Overview of the current situation and development opportunities.
Mauritania


Despite having signed a peace accord with the Polisario, Mauritania still faces problems: a catastrophic agricultural sector, ethnic problems between Arabs of the North and southern Africans, political arrests, and differences within the military. Moreover, the accord with the Polisario has led to tensions between Morocco and Mauritania, tensions which prompted Mauritania to call for French military assistance.

Mauritius


A recent wave of industrial unrest on Mauritius was not only intended to meet the demands of the striking sugar workers but has also been an attempt by the principal political party, the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), to revamp its sagging following in the country. This article briefly describes the present political situation on this island and other strategies undertaken by the MMM.

Morocco


Through a mixture of domestic repression and a military initiative in the Sahara, Hassan has, for now, consolidated his position. The underlying domestic economic crisis has not been resolved, however, and in the medium and long term, his position remains as precarious as ever. If the war continues and has an adverse impact on housing and education, Hassan could be in trouble in 2 to 3 years. If the war stops, Hassan will face increased expectations from his people.


Military expenditures for the Saharan War have forced the government to stop investment programs. Industry was hardest hit and this has caused problems for subcontractors. Employers, unions, and opposition parties which approve of Hassan's Saharan policies criticize his economic policies, fearing that those policies will lead to increased unemployment and a worsening of the social climate in business.
Niger


The Niger economy is characterized by: predominance of mining industries; weakness in industrialization because of a lack of raw materials; industrial concentration in Niamey; industrial stagnation of firms in existence; and the slow development of industrialization. Discussion centers on food industries, textile industries, leather, construction materials, chemical industries and mechanical construction industries.

Sao Tome & Principe

"Effervescence politique a Sao Tome." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 5 October 1979, pp. 2688-89.

An overall historical review of political developments in Sao Tome. Particular attention is paid to the "attempted coup d'etat" of former Prime Minister Trovoada.

Somalia


Somalia's new 3-year development plan (1979-81) has just been published. It aims to create a diversified economy and improve living standards. Large-scale industrial and agricultural schemes will be handled by government, but decentralizing decisionmaking and forming, as well as farming and cattle-herding cooperatives, are also seen as key elements.


At the turn of the century, Sayid Maxamad Gabdille Xasan led a 21-year battle against foreign colonialists in Somali lands. In 1920 his armies were bombarded into disarray by the British and he died soon after. The Sayid, as he is known, is nonetheless considered the father of Somali nationalism. Military defeat did not spoil the luster of this hero's feats. In the 1970s the Somali's, led by General Siyaad Barre, were again engaged in a full-scale struggle, this time against the 'colonialist' Ethiopians in the Ogaden. Again there were early and
glorious victories, followed ultimately by defeat. But the greatness of Siyaad has been questioned rather than reaffirmed by loss. The author outlines the salient similarities and the differences between these two leaders and the implications for Siyaad Barre's future political fortunes in the light of Somalia's history.

South Africa


A discussion of means to prevent South African development of a nuclear bomb. The major obstacle to such efforts is that by offering Pretoria incentives to halt development, the South African Government is also encouraged by possible Western friendship.


The authors list various multinational institutions which are somehow connected with South African industry. The article is not limited to a discussion of military activities.

Tanzania


A decade ago, most African states proclaimed their commitment to centralized planning and administration. At the end of European rule, African leaders saw their countries as poor and malintegrated, but with great potential. That potential could be realized, they thought, only through firm central direction. This orientation was nurtured by the external actors with which African states had to deal. Potential aid donors, whether states, international organizations, or foundations, wanted reports showing how their assistance would fit into long-range schemes for the improvement of the African situation. Hence most African states created a centralized planning unit, either as a separate ministry or attached to a senior ministry or the president's or vice-president's office. It did not work. This article focuses on the decentralization efforts in one state, Tanzania, but the author feels that it is a case study which is applicable to other African states.
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Africa General


This study attempts to test a number of theories regarding African boundary conflicts, including the hypothesis that "any African state can have boundary problems if it wants," by applying them to the national boundaries of the Horn of Africa. It was concluded that internal unrest, the desire of large states for greater influence, and the salience of ethnicity in domestic politics are related to the outbreak of boundary conflict.


In the wake of events in Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa is now being cited as proof of the thesis long voiced by President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, of a Soviet expansionist thrust into what he calls the "arc of crisis". But the author believes that the Soviet policy in this region is much more complicated—a combination of shifting alliances and unclear goals—and should be understood better before being reacted to by the US.


Study of the WCC's attitude towards racism in Southern Africa since 1948. Originally taking a benign stance, the WCC has become a vociferous critic of apartheid and has opposed that policy through grants to liberation groups, a campaign against investment, nuclear collaborations and bank loans. The WCC has helped to create an international human rights norm which deplores racism.


With the exception of Egypt's Nasser, Jomo Kenyatta was the only major nationalist politician on the African continent to die peacefully in office. Kenyatta's passing is an event with implications which will be felt beyond the border of Kenya and its East African neighbors. The pattern of economic development in post-colonial Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, together with foreign policy postures, have been largely determined by the character of the four very different men who have ruled these
three East African countries since independence (Kenyatta, Nyerere in Tanzania, Obote and Amin in Uganda). Kenyatta's influence in the area was immense, deriving both from the respect African's give to great age and from his leadership during the fight for independence. In recent years the economic and foreign policies of the three countries have become increasingly divergent and the future could see considerable friction in the area, with untried leadership in Kenya and Uganda and a Tanzania possibly without Nyerere, who has signaled his intention to step down from the post of President in 1980.


Review of the growth of the "middle powers" in the world which are either naturally or politically endowed with resources that place them between the major powers and the poorer countries. This group, which Shaw defines as the "semiperiphery," is divided between "subimperial" and semi-industrial," nations. African countries discussed include Nigeria, Zaire, South Africa, and some West African states.


US policy towards southern Africa since 1976 has been characterized by neutrality and deference to European interests. In the future, this may change as the South African situation nears a crisis point. In order to avoid confrontation with either blacks or whites in South Africa, preventive diplomacy, such as was attempted in Rhodesia, should begin now to defuse the potential for conflict in South Africa.

Algeria


Housing is seen as the principal gain in the socialist villages, despite complaints concerning the quality of construction and favoritism in the assignment of housing. New services, such as schools, are appreciated. Although the villages have failed so far to function as crucibles for the formation of citizens in charge of the country and despite the retarding influence of old institutions, the hoped-for changes are starting.

The recent meeting of the FLN Central Committee signaled a shift in Algeria's economic policy away from the rapid industrialization of the Boumediene era. It was asserted that rapid industrialization made Algeria too dependent on foreign technical and financial services. The switch will mean decreased exports of oil and gas as well as a lessening of imports of items not locally available. One drawback to the change to slower development is that it will not provide opportunities for the youth.


Algerian Finance Minister Hadj Yala discussed Algeria's 1980 budget ($1.185 billion dinars or $71.25 billion) before the National Assembly. He reported that: lacking available credits, certain loans will not be repaid this year; income from petroleum is to be devoted to future development; education, training, and health are to be given priority; and veterans' benefits are to be increased (up to 100 percent in some instances). In an effort to render Algeria self-sufficient in foodstuffs, storage and distribution facilities are to be improved.

Burundi


A superficial interview with Michael Micombero, former President of Burundi who is presently in exile in Somalia.

Central African Republic


A brief account (including a chronology) of the fall of the Bokassa regime in the Central African Republic.


Section headings are as follows: "Central African Mining Potential," "the Agricultural and Industrial Situation," "Foreign Aid--the Financial Situation," and "the Financial Implications of Bokassa's Departure--Its Political Meaning."
Chad


Possible economic and political reconstruction of Chad.

Ethiopia


The author presents the Soviet view of the Eritrean insurgency using an interesting interpretation of Marxism. He points out that Lenin's right to self-determination theorem is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation, and the formation of small states. It implies only a consistent expression of struggle against all national oppression. Thus the Eritrean movement was progressive in character when it opposed the feudal monarchy but degenerative in its current opposition to the socialist revolution.


The Dergue, or the radical military regime now in power in Ethiopia, is presenting Soviet ideologists with some difficulties. Soldier revolutionary democrats are expected to pave the way for popular rule, a prerequisite for the advent of socialism, rather than bring about the transformation to communism by themselves. The author characterizes the political situation in Ethiopia as garrison socialism and explains what this might mean for the country’s future, and the USSR’s subsequent handling of radical military regimes espousing socialism.

Ghana


An interview with Capt Koda, one of four soldiers who escaped from Ussher Fort, Accra, on 12 November 1979. At the time, it was widely reported that Flt Lt J.J. Rawlings was involved in helping them escape; Capt Koda denies this. Now in London, Koda describes his flight into Togo and subsequent arrival in Britain.

The alliance between the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and the United National Convention (UNC) may be in danger of dissolving. A founding member of the UNC, Professor Adu Boahen, suggests that the union has benefited only the PNP. Since the two parties have dissimilar ideologies and personalities, it is speculated that a fear of military intervention may have initially led to the alliance. Whether or not this fear still exists is not mentioned. If a split does develop, it seems unlikely that the UNC would ally itself with the Popular Front Party (PPP).


The third installment of an interview given by the four men who escaped from Ussher Fort on 12 November 1979, in which they describe their duties as members of the pre-trial investigation team (PIT) of the AFRC, and their subsequent arrest and detention.


Citing a "renaissance of Nkrumahism," the author evaluates the legacy of "scientific socialism" espoused by the former Ghanaian leader. He surveyed 67 Ghanaians by weighing their opinions on a set of 75 questions gauged to assess views on socialism. From his analysis he identifies five clusters he terms: Progressive Realists, Scientific Socialists, Afro-Centrists, Militantly Committed (to socialism), and Political Eclectics. One general conclusion is that Ghanaians believe that they can find solutions to their country's problems, but are still willing to accept sincere foreign "innovations." Little is mentioned of the composition of the 67 subjects, and the author admits that such factors as ethnicity were not controlled.


An interview with FIT Lt Rawlings in which he condemns the civilian government for waging a publicity campaign against the military and for forcing the resignations of Brigadiers Nunoo-Mensah and Quainoo. Rawlings states that reports of his praising President Limann have not been accurate.

A personal reflection on the current situation in Ghana. The author claims to have known former heads of state Acheampong and Rawlings, and views military intervention in politics as unwarranted and harmful.

Guinea


Since 1974, Guinea has launched a diplomatic initiative and has become more friendly toward the EEC. President Sekou Toure, who heretofore had not traveled much, made several trips outside Guinea and received many visitors in 1979. Within Guinea, political and economic changes have been made and expatriates have been invited to return. In the economic sphere, efforts are under way to improve management as well as the balance of payments situation. After improving its image abroad, if Guinea is able to keep its finances in order, Guinea ought to find the capital necessary for economic development.

Kenya


An astounding 80 percent of Kenya's electorate went to the polls on 8 November 1979 in the first national elections held since the Presidency passed to Daniel Arap Moi upon the death of Jomo Kenyatta in August 1978. The results of the election signaled the definitive end of the Kenyatta political era. For the first time, Arap Moi is in a position to shape a government based on his, rather than his predecessor's priorities and allegiances.

Mali


Basically a transcript of a speech delivered by Dr Togba-Na Tipotech, a spokesman for the oppositionist Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA). It takes Tolbert to task on the April 1979 "rice riots", unemployment, the economy, and human rights.
Mauritania


Pro-Moroccan and pro-Western officials have been purged from the government and from the Military Committee of National Salvation. Of the 18 officers who emerged following the 10 July 1978 coup, only 6 are still active. Although recent purges have rendered both the military leadership and the government more "homogeneous," the process has been at the expense of Mauritanian neutrality, tipping the scales toward Algeria and the Polisario.

Morocco


Nearly all Moroccans strongly believe that Algerian troops in Polisario uniforms account for the increase in the size of Polisario forces. As a result, there has been increased talk in Moroccan political and military circles in favor of a "final solution" which could include "taking out Tindouf." Nevertheless, it is felt likely that talks, perhaps secret, between Algeria and Morocco have been going on, especially in light of the Moroccan claim that bilateral talks with Algeria are the only solution to the problem in the Western Sahara.


Following the Iranian Revolution and the events at the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Hassan has cracked down on Islamic extremist sects. His claim to religious leadership has come under increasing attack when juxtaposed with his lavish lifestyle. The upswing in Muslim fundamentalist activities comes at a time of growing economic hardship for Moroccans, who increasing view the war in the Western Sahara as a waste of valuable resources. The Army also remains a potent threat to the King.


The Cherifien Office of Phosphates (OCP) will shortly announce a new 5-year plan which will depend heavily on phosphate production--to the extent that phosphates will represent almost one-half of the State investment. In the next 5 years, five mines and two phosphoric acid plants will be opened and work on the mining port of Jorf Lasfar, 120 km south of Casablanca, will be speeded up. As the best American phosphate deposits dwindle, Morocco anticipates a rise in the American (and thus the international) phosphate price. (Economic problems will not be solved, though.)
Namibia


Reviews Pretoria's interests in the establishment of an independent government in Namibia. Although basically opposed to a SWAPO government, South Africa could still find such a regime acceptable if Namibia remained economically dependent on South Africa.

Nigeria


University students constitute less than 0.2 percent of Nigeria's population yet they will ultimately control the upper reaches of all public sector institutions. Although professional family backgrounds are over-represented among students, farming backgrounds are far more prevalent. Reflecting Nigerian society as a whole, the most pressing problem facing the university system is that of regional balance; the experiment in centralizing policy for all 13 of Nigeria's universities has failed. Students believe that they are the most "nationalistic" sector of society and highly regard military officers as military men, but not as politicians. Surveys also indicate strong admiration for American society and achievements, despite anti-American outbursts.


Nigerian foreign policy during the period from independence until the coups of 1966 was characterized by caution and conservatism. After the civil war, foreign policy became more active and bold. Policy during the first period was determined by the personality of the Prime Minister, powerful regional governments, a lack of national consensus, and ethnic and ideological splits among the population. The Biafra secession convinced Nigeria that it had to gain the friendship of neighboring governments, that it could no longer rely on one power bloc for its arms, and that white-dominated regimes in Southern Africa were a threat to Nigerian security. Nigeria's huge population, oil wealth, and large military put it in a position of continental influence in Africa.

Debunking the myth of tribal cohesiveness in Nigerian politics, the author cites the antipathy between Chief Awolowo and former Head of State, General Obasanjo. The recent war of words between these Yorubas is examined. Macebuh concludes that Awolowo blames Obasanjo for indirectly awarding the Presidency to Shagari, thereby denying Awolowo a chance in a run-off vote.


An examination of the impact of Islam on Nigerian political development through the factor of political culture. Particular attention is paid to the new constitutional framework vis-à-vis Islamic traditions. Political culture in Kano State is reviewed in depth through the dimensions of education, commerce, labor, and agriculture.


The 1979 elections have provided cause for optimism about the future of politics in Nigeria. The tribal factor was much less in evidence than at independence and there will be greater need to form coalitions. Among disappointments was Chief Awolowo's challenge to the election results and continued opposition to the system. Newly-created matters of political interest will be: the development of an "executive mentality," politicization of senior administrative positions, executive-legislative interaction, non-military destabilizing forces (UPN, labor union, students, news media), multiparty activities at the local level, and tension between federal and state priorities.


Since the oil boom of the 1970s, the Nigerian economy has experienced cyclical development. When government spending outstripped oil revenues due to dropping oil prices in 1977, it was forced to restrict expenditures. Prices have once again risen, perpetuating the cycle. The rising expectations of Nigerians will probably grow into discontent, paving the way for a military takeover.

The intent of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972 was to increase Nigerian participation in the national economy by restricting or banning foreign investment in certain areas of business. In the long term, the decree has slowed down development by "scaring off" foreign capital. Nigeria has used the "oil weapon" in pursuit of its goals in Southern Africa. Over the last 5 years, Nigeria has had success in discouraging investment by the UK in South Africa; US investment has greatly increased.


Neither economic or political ideology, nor religion, nor external state relations, nor tribalism played any significant part in the collapse of the first republic nor is there any indication that these factors will operate decisively in the future. Past political bitterness centered on political structure, social representation and equity, and cultural integrity and security. Within the next 4 to 8 years, stability is probable. The new constitution and certain administrative measures have as their framework Nigerian, rather than Western, experiences—a highly promising development for the future of Nigerian democracy.


One of the most important issues facing the new civilian administration is determining how Nigeria will capture the full benefits of its energy resources (which include oil, coal, natural gas, hydropower, solar energy) and the method of distribution of revenues to Nigerians. Unlike many Arab states, a huge, mobilized population is pressing the Nigerian Government for equitable distribution of these energy revenues.

 Rhodesia


Discussion of "free and fair" character of the April elections as evaluated by the Chitnis, Palley, and Boyd reports. The author believes that the key element in judging the elections must be whether or not any settlement is acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. Under this criteria, none of the reports can claim that the people were voting for a particular settlement but were under a variety of pressures.

An assessment of the internal agreement and the factors influencing its inception. The author concludes that the settlement has further polarized the situation and made a lasting solution more difficult. Contains some analyses of various Rhodesian political figures and their efforts to keep up with changing circumstances.


Government suppression of dissidence over the past 15 years in Rhodesia has impacted on the freedom of the press to criticize official policies or the Rhodesian Front Party. The result has been the creation of a virtual one-party state. These same tactics appear to be used by the Muzorewa government to bolster support for the internal settlement.

Senegal


In an interview, Mr. Alexandrenne stated, "We shall be very satisfied to be able to realize 75 percent of the objectives of the readjusted Fifth Plan." Among projects which will go ahead are the project to exploit the Tobene phosphates, the extension of Senemetalurgie (although its realization will be delayed), and the spinning-weaving project. The dam construction projects will also go forward (Guidel, Arrambe, and Bignonna).

Somalia


The US decision to create a rapid deployment force which could put up to 50,000 troops anywhere in the world in a matter of days is dependent on being able to use bases in Africa and the Middle East. Berbera, on the northern Somali coast, has a well-equipped naval and air base. The authors contend that the price for US access to this port is high possible future involvement in another Somali war against Ethiopia. No lesser commitment would persuade the Somalis to give up their nonaligned status.
South Africa


The author discusses three possible routes which South Africa may pursue in order to cut the "costs" of white privilege: abdication, coercion or co-optation.


While presenting data on many sources concerning the Muldergate scandal and South Africa's information campaign, the author discusses some organizations involved in work in Washington. Among these are the South Africa Foundation, lobbying firms, the Club of Ten, Sydney S. Baron and John McGoff. Concise description of the Information Department's various programs.

Olivier, G.C. "Conflict Regulation in South Africa: Options Open to the Afrikaner Power Establishment." Politikon, June 1979, pp. 3-12.

The author evaluates methods to bring about meaningful change in South Africa towards a "non-racial" society within the parameter of options acceptable to the Afrikaner power elite. He concludes that majority rule would not be acceptable in the South African situation and that rather a system of "equal groups" or a type of consociational democracy would most effectively promote political stability.


Despite superficial differences in intent, the policies of apartheid and equal opportunity produce similar effects. Income distribution among blacks and whites in the US and South Africa has shown similar trends which indicate that the outcome of differing policies is the same. Other factors, such as labor market structures, educational opportunities, and political participation have combined to restrict black advancement in both cases.

18

A detailed analysis of constitutional trends in South Africa since 1910 including an outline of the most recent proposals for change. Special emphasis is laid on the problem of differing population groups and efforts to provide some form of representation for each. The article ends with a suggestion that consociational democracy could lead to regional revolution, possibly meaning a canton-style solution.

Sudan


A socio-historical study of class "formation and urbanization" in the 'Three Town' "agglomeration embracing Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman." Essentially, "the rise of more complex systems of class stratification is associated with decline of former patterns of endogamy."

Togo

"The President is trying to kill me." To the Point, 7 December 1979, p. 20.

A short article detailing an accusation by Gilchrist Olympia (a son of the late Togolese President, Sylvanus Olympia) that President Eyadema had tried to assassinate him in Paris. The article refers to Togo as a "haven of peace and prosperity... free from the the graft that blots most other West African countries." Also examined are the mercenary plots directed against Eyadema in 1976 and 1977 and the principals involved.
In retrospect, it appears that Britain has been able to decolonize Africa only through successive Tory governments. The Conservatives have been successful in this regard due to two factors: their basically pragmatic approach to foreign affairs and their ability to carry the opposition in these maneuvers. British relations with Africa have revolved around the Rhodesian problem in the past, but now Britain will have to face criticism over its role in South Africa. It is unclear how Thatcher's conservative government will deal with this problem.


Estimates a model for the structural determinants of coups d'etat for new black African states from 1960 through 1975. Results indicate that (1) both social mobilization and the presence of a dominant ethnic group are destabilizing; (2) multipartyism is stabilizing while electoral turnout in the last election before independence is stabilizing; (3) multipartyism is particularly destabilizing where a dominant ethnic group exists; (4) the presence of such a group reduces (but does not eliminate) the stabilizing effect of turnout; and (5) multipartyism has no pronounced effect on elite instability where turnout is high. Taken together, these patterns account for over four-fifths of the variance in coups d'etat in black Africa in the period considered.


The author reviews generally popular theories regarding the motivations behind Cuban involvement in Africa, including the "Soviet Pawn" theory, search for resources, internal political pressures, and the Third World Strategy. He largely dismisses the first two views, although admitting the necessity of Soviet support for Cuban expenditures. He concludes that a mixture of internal political factors and a desire to reestablish Cuban credentials in the Third World following some disappointments in Latin America, are primarily responsible for Cuban involvement in Africa.


The question of African nations reestablishing relations with Israel is explored. Many African states are dissatisfied with the level of Arab aid since relations with Israel were severed after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. At the OAU Summit in July 1979, the Ivory Coast and Senegal were unsuccessful in their attempt to put a motion on the agenda recommending normalization of relations. Trade relations between Israel and other African nations, especially South Africa, are discussed.

The author draws on a case study of the East African Community, one of the most sophisticated regional cooperative arrangements undertaken in the Third World. He seeks to identify the factors that have caused the failure of integrative schemes in the past, and which are likely, except under strict conditions, to continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

Rosberg, Carl and Callaghy, Thomas M., eds. Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California. [as reviewed in Foreign Affairs, Fall 1979]

"With the exception of the essay on Mozambique, which extends only to 1972, this collection provides an excellent review of contemporary African socialism. Particularly distinguished by Jowitt's analysis of the general uses of socialist ideology in Africa, the case studies together show the continuing distance between rhetoric and governance and the reasons why this gap is likely to persist for some time."


A variety of economic and political reasons have drawn Portugal and her former colonies together: historic links, common language, a need for continuity in administration, and trade relations. Two factors may threaten the growth of these relations: the death of Angolan President Neto and the victory of the right in Portugal's recent election. Neto's successors may not favor close ties with Portugal, while conservatives now in power in the Portuguese parliament favor strict trade relations with African nations which could be seen as "neo-colonialist."


The author attempts to outline the complex of interests that makes the Horn of Africa, like Indochina, a region where it is possible for two states professing socialism in a Marxist-Leninist version to engage in war with each other; and why one of these states is at war with Marxist-Leninist liberation movements. Interestingly, he sees the USSR as having the greatest chance, and desire, to bring some form of peace to this region because this nation shares their political orientation, if not their policies.
Algeria

"Algeria Plans a Return to the Land." Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 24, No. 6, 8 February 1980, pp. 4-5.

Spending on agriculture, neglected by the last development plan (1974-77), will be given high priority in the 1980-84 plan. Farm exports have dropped as a result of the drive to industrialize and a population drift towards the cities. Although the cooperative system is still largely experimental, the official goal is 80 percent self-sufficiency by the year 2000.

"Algeria set for huge profits as gas prices edge upwards." Middle East Newsletter, No. 133, 10-23 March 1980, pp. 5-6.

Western Europe, committed to the use of natural gas for a larger proportion of its energy needs, fears that the price of that gas could pass that of oil by as much as 20 percent. Algeria, ideally situated to satisfy those gas needs, has notified its customers of an impending price rise. Noureddine Ait Laousine, former head of Sonatrach (Algeria's state-owned gas producer), offers reasons why gas prices should exceed those of oil: gas is cleaner, gas contracts are for longer terms, and gas contracts pose fewer foreign exchange problems.


To avoid conflict on two fronts, Tunisia prefers to turn a blind eye to Algerian complicity in the attack on Qafsah (Gafsa). The attack is seen as an example of the political infighting within the FLN; a veiled implication is made that Saleh Yahiaoui was involved. Before the attack, the 28 men of the "Amr Ibn el-Ass" Brigade were entertained in Algeria by one "Said" (or "Chakib"), reportedly acting for Sliman Hoffman, head of the Commission on International Relations of the FLN. Tunisia is also ignoring Russia's role in the attack.


Abdelatif Ben Achenou, Director of the Algerian Center for Applied Economics and Executive Secretary of the Association of Third World Economists, is interviewed concerning economic development and Algeria's new Five Year Plan. He admits Algeria's problems with distribution facilities, increasing population and unemployment. He strongly advocates pan-Arab industrial cooperation and collective self-reliance.

Botswana


In the post-independence period, the government of Botswana has tried to develop a strategy towards control of rural economic growth. Due to capital and manpower shortages, this effort has been directed largely by expatriate experts. Ultimate establishment of new programs or institutions has been carefully controlled by the political-social elite which has been interested in maintaining the present economic and social order at the expense of rural development.
Cameroon


In June 1979, the Cameroonian Prime Minister was "constitutionally" named as successor to the President, thus making him the "second person in the state hierarchy." Will he also be named "second person in the party" at the next meeting of the UNC in Bafoussam? The PM now is only "one" member of the party Central Committee.


J. F. Medard, of the Center of Black African Studies in Bordeaux, calls this book "one of the best monographs published to date on an African political system." Medard refers to the author as "a pioneer . . . in the third generation of Third World-specialists."


"Richard Joseph gives us the first serious study on the Union of Camerounian Peoples (UPC) and on this decisive aspect of [Cameronian] political history: the birth of a radical nationalist movement, and its failure (echec) to take control of [Cameronian] independence."

Congo


Equatorial Guinea


This article contains a brief overall historical view of Equatorial Guinea from Spanish colonial times through the "bloody" rule of former President N'Guema (to 1979). The author concludes that the August 1979 "putsch" merely replaced one dictator with an equally unsavory military dictatorship; after all, the military had originally supported N'Guema. The article ends with these words: "... the struggle continues."
Ethiopia


The social forces behind the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974 had the vision of a democratic future devoid of feudal backwardness and oppression. Whether it was possible to proceed from there to a socialist transformation of society was rendered academic by the rise of a military dictatorship reminiscent of Bonapartism, devoid of any popular class base, and beholden to the Soviet Union. The author describes how the ideals animating the revolution of 1974 have been betrayed.

Gabon


NDING Dyatem, "Laureat of the Dakar Law Faculty, Omar Bongo University," discusses various aspects of Gabon's Civil Code, including such topics as "the Law and the Family," "the Law and the Individual," "Basic Rights," etc.

Ghana


The most serious consequences of export instability are related to its impact on the government budget. No automatic stabilizers cushion the effect of an export shortfall on government revenues in lesser developed countries. In many countries, the central governments play dominant roles in their economies and a revenue shortfall can cause serious disruptions. Ghana's dependence on cocoa and its problems with export earnings fluctuations is used as a case study.

Guinea


Guinea is not a member of the West African Monetary Union (UMOA), and since 1960 it has operated its own banking system. This article investigates Guinea's creation of a new currency and an independent monetary system. Initially, the Guinean franc became subject to speculation and a lack of confidence. The break with France has succeeded in eliminating the neocolonial structure, but until Guinea recently adopted a nonaligned posture, Western investment was slow in coming.
Guinea-Bissau


Subdivisions of the article include: "History," "The struggle for independence," "Guinea-Bissau since independence: the political situation/the economic situation," and "Cape Verde since independence: the political situation/the economic situation."

Ivory Coast


A short history of the political development of the Ivory Coast in which the role of President Houphouet-Boigny is examined in depth. His relationships with De Gaulle, France, and Guinea are points of central concern. An analysis of United Nations voting patterns indicates that the Ivory Coast has not been a "lackey" of France or the United States.

Kenya


Kenya's development is of particular interest because, in common with a quite limited number of other African countries south of the Sahara, it has experience relatively high and sustained rates of economic growth based on the dominance of foreign and domestic private capital. The author attempts an analysis of the development strategy in the 1970s in terms of the general character of Kenyan development—that is, as an expression or a product, of the balance of class forces which has produced the kind of development that Kenya has experienced. It is, in essence, an attempt to go beyond the official sources, such as economic surveys and budget speeches, and to identify the social forces which determine the real scope and effect of official policies.

Liberia


An interview with Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, chairman of the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) now registered as the Progressive People's Party (PPP). Matthews states that the PAL is a revolutionary movement committed to African socialism and pragmatism, but not to violence. PAL draws its support from workers, students, and rural peasants. PAL is a loyal opposition—loyal to continued commitment to change and loyalty to the people. Matthews does not think that the PPP will contest the Monrovia mayoralty race; fielding candidates in other parts of the country appears more likely. Commenting on the differences between the PAL and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), Matthews claims that MOJA is less concerned with local problems and more with pan-Africanism and support for liberation movements.

An interview with Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, chairman of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA). Tipoteh characterizes Liberia as a product of the slave-master society of 19th century America. How, he asks, can President Tolbert call for "one man, one vote" in South Africa when Liberia prohibits its landless citizens from voting at all? MOJA is not planning to form a political party; it is concentrating its activities on mass mobilization and consciousness raising. A sister organization, Susukuu, Inc., acts as a labor consultant for workers and farmers. Also included is a short summary of Tipoteh's work since 1971.

**Malawi**


The author provides an up-to-date account of the domestic political structure and the economic development strategies since independence and their prospects. Then he makes an analysis of the "Machiavellian calculus" of Dr. Banda's foreign policy which is to maintain his country's independence and to avoid entangling alliances. Malawi is too weak to be either a formidable foe or a valuable ally, but Dr. Banda has not hesitated to speak critically of his neighbors and has resisted attempts by countries comfortably distant from the front line to make Malawi a potential battleground or a haven for heavily armed guerrillas.

**Mali**


Mali cans are characterized by their sense of change and continuity in history. They view history as an uninterrupted dialogue between rapid or perceptible change and slow but intractable change. All change occurs within the Malian cultural context. Cultural forces at work include: the social, political and economic, visual and accentual structures of Malian society.

**Mauritania**


With the rise of President Heydallah, Mauritania, for the first time, has a fairly harmonious team running the country. Since the July 1978 coup toppling Moktar Ould Daddah, more senior officers have been lost than in three and a half years of conflict in the Western Sahara. Of the 16 original ministers in the first post-coup government, only six remain. The leadership is becoming younger and more leftist. Heydallah, with French aid, has largely settled the threat of destabilization by Morocco and has decided to extend for six more years the use of Arabic and French. The remaining problem is the economy.
Morocco


Although Hassan's situation now is better than a year ago, the once-popular war in the Sahara is beginning to hurt Moroccans. Some now claim that the true causes of the country's recession are fundamental economic mismanagement during the 1974-78 period and a rising birth rate. Today, the international banking community is tending to lose confidence in Morocco's ability to repay its debts.

Nigeria


After the civil war, Nigeria had a large number of officers in its army which it could not adequately train. Many were sent abroad to service schools and staff colleges, but this practice resulted in a nucleus of officers with no common system of staff procedures. In response, in 1975 with the aid of a British military team, Nigeria established its own staff college. The author, a member of the original team sent to Nigeria, describes the school's development.


Elite nationalism and urban populism are two competing ideologies in Nigeria which reflect the contradictory interests held by local-urban politicians and by the functional elites that dominate federal politics. Nationalism maximizes opportunities for elites; tribalism, therefore, becomes a more attractive ideology to urban masses. Ethnic differentiation (populism) and identity are more useful than nationalism in developing popular support.


A statistical analysis using the questionnaire to measure student reaction to US policy in Africa. Administered in 1976 to 327 university students, the questions were grouped into four categories: general attitudes, economic relations, past events, and contemporary events. Respondents were classified according to age, tribal affiliation, family background, sex, and religion. Of the 22 questions on US policy, 63 percent received greater approval than opposition.
Rhodesia


In assessing the possibility of a meaningful transfer of power to a black government in Rhodesia, the author maintains that blacks must be completely integrated into the armed forces. The black element should include those of all ethnic and political persuasions and must be given proportionate officer billets. He concludes with a reference to similar problems eventually arising in Namibia and South Africa.

Rwanda


This is merely an addendum to the text of the Constitution as published in the Revue Juridique, No. 3, 1979, pp. 295ff.

Somalia


The author describes the Ogaden factor inSomalian foreign policy as being their "Alsace-Lorraine." He concludes that this irredentism cannot be eradicated from theSomalian psyche and that changes in their foreign policy will not be forthcoming in regard to this region.

South Africa


A review of recent literature concerning the debate over South Africa's future. Fifteen books are discussed, ranging from South African Government literature, South African apologists and vociferous critics. The author concludes that despite this debate, the country's future will be settled by the majority of its inhabitants.
Sudan


Professor el-Khawas studies the political and socio-economic roots leading up to the north/south civil war (1955-72) and after. British colonial policies in the Sudan are blamed in good part for the problem. The author concludes: "[The] future of a stable Sudan will depend heavily on the rapid reconstruction of the south which cannot be accomplished without massive international loans and technical assistance."


"This paper is primarily concerned with the growth, structure and distribution of population" within the 'Khartoum conurbation.' The 'Khartoum conurbation' is composed of the three cities of Khartoum North, Omdurman, and Khartoum, situated at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile Rivers.

Togo


Taton discusses Eyadema's recent (December 1979) election as the first President of the Third Togolese Republic. The article concludes with an overview of Togo's "progress" during the past 13 years under Eyadema's rule.

Weiss, Danielle. "Interview du General d'arme Gnassingbe Eyadema, President de la Republique du Togo." Europe Outremer, September 1979, pp. 3-5.

An interview with President Eyadema. The President outlines "the new social, economic and cultural politics" in Togo's "First Plan." Other secondary topics are discussed briefly.

Tunisia


Details concerning the Libyan-inspired attack on the Tunisian town of Qafsah (Cafsa) as well as the Tunisian Army's counterattack are related. The article includes a schematic map of the area and provides statistics on losses.

Subunits of this article include: "The rise of Mobutu to political power," "Problems of corruption and economic mismanagement," and "Future prospects." The author concludes: "Those who [believe] . . . that Zaire's basic problems are merely external are building their houses on sand . . . . Only in the post-Mobutu era are there prospects of national reconciliation and true democracy."


"Mobutu has been moving to shore up his country's defences against the threat of a new invasion of . . . Shaba province," most notably through diplomatic agreements with neighboring countries, military reorganization in Shaba, and Western (French and Belgian) military/adviser assistance. Despite these successes, "the central problems of bankruptcy, basic political reform . . . and military security against outside invasion . . . remain."
ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in April 1980)

Africa General

Chari, P.R. "The Indian Ocean: Strategic Issues." International Studies, April-June 1979, pp. 163-76.

The "zone of peace" for the Indian Ocean, which the 1970 Lusaka Non-Aligned Conference called for, is unlikely to become a reality. Not only do the Great Powers disagree with the zone's objectives but even the littoral countries differ about external military presence.


A series of articles on the general subject of refugees in Africa is included. They encompass: The dimensions of the calamity and the tasks of the High Commission for Refugees; Major concentrations of refugees; Travel routes of the children; Chances for integration; Financing the burden; The Arusha Debate (May 1979).


Professor Mazrui contends that Africa's acquisition of nuclear capabilities would benefit both that continent and the world. Arguing that imperialism, in part, was the monopoly stage of warfare, he suggests that a nuclear Africa would increase world pressures for disarmament while for such states as Nigerin and Zaire "going nuclear would be a new initiation, an important rite of passage, a recovery of adulthood." Mazrui remarks that an increased Western dependence on nuclear energy "would constitute a reconsolidation of the West's economic hegemony."


Many writers and commentators on the African scene have tended to divide Africa into two main camps: the "conservatives" and the "radicals". This paper examines the relations between two African states which epitomize these labels. They are also miles apart ideologically and politically. This paper attempts to determine what effect their respective "tags" have on their interstate relations and foreign policy objectives.


The authors attempt to draw a correlation between financial involvement in southern Africa and support for decolonization there. They conclude that those
countries with significant financial assets in southern Africa have been less supportive of the liberation groups but have not necessarily opposed decolonization. The authors raise the question as to whether such western countries may actually obstruct further changes in the region but do not provide any answer.


The study reviews emerging African opinions on human rights as revealed in several international conferences held in Africa since 1975. It concludes that a "general positive African opinion is emerging on the need for greater attention to be paid to human rights in Africa by Africans, that development depends on this, that the approaches must come from Africans, and that protection of human rights depends on an educated and aware African population capable of understanding their rights and insisting on protection for them." The report also points out the implications of these findings for policies and programs by the Department of State, USAID, and AID.

Algeria


In December 1979, the Algerian FLN Central Committee, the country's highest political institution, met to pass resolutions in a number of areas. There are to be no departures from the socialist options laid down by the late President Boumedienne; however, there will be new approaches in some areas. Arabization is to be given greater emphasis, but Algeria cannot do without high-level French scientific training. Population growth, and the pressures it puts on social services, remains the major problem. FLN cells will be formed within enterprises as mandated in January 1979.


Both the population and the political leadership in Algeria admit that public administration functions poorly and is a serious constraint to the government's development objectives. The bureaucracy is actively mistrusted. The article presents an agenda for future work.

Chad


Early reporting and discussion of the renewed fighting and the basic lack of central power and administration in Chad.

"The war between the partisan forces of Hissene Habre and Goukouni Oueddei and his allies is savage...The [civil] war is a series of attacks and counter-attacks. Fighting goes on from house to house and from street to street." This is primarily a photographic essay on the "horrors" of the Chadian civil war. Criton concludes the article: "How much longer will it continue?"


The fragile truce between the various factions in the Chadian civil war that was reached in Lagos, Nigeria, on 11 August 1979, collapsed on 20 March 1980. The battle for control of the capital has begun. All of the major factions now have troops fighting in N'Djamena. The latest twist is that now "a single common enemy has been identified: Hissene Habre," Defense Minister in the Government of National Union of Chad (GUNT). According to his colleagues in the GUNT, Habre is primarily responsible for the latest outbreak of violence. He reportedly is "consumed with ambition" and "will not be content unless he is 'number one.'" Although Habre's forces are the best equipped in Chad, he has succeeded in creating "a united front against himself."


"The signing of the 'agreement' in Lagos, Nigeria, on 21 August 1979, is one step in the direction of national reconciliation." The article goes on to discuss some of the difficulties that face the successful implementation of the "agreement." In light of the recent (March 1980) outbreak of fighting in Chad, this article is dated and may be of some use as historical background material.


This article describes the activities of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. It also recounts the beliefs of this rebel organization and why they are confident of eventual victory despite their setbacks since 1977. The US ingredient in Somali foreign policy is shown to have great impact on the insurgents' morale, yet what they desire most is matériel support in the form of antitank and antiaircraft weapons.
Ghana


Observations on the current situation in Ghana. The author claims that the government is promoting a "siege mentality" by its suggestions of a possible "Ewe threat" to stability and its attacks on Jerry Rawlings, with whom the author is in sympathy.


The 4 June 1979 coup in Ghana carried out by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council unjustly directed its wrath against women. "Men seized upon the crisis as an opportunity to further their aim of eliminating women as economic competitors." The author claims that the destruction of the Makola Market Number One in Accra demonstrates the belief that market women are the sources of all of Ghana's economic ills.


A discussion of the Volta Aluminum Company (VALCO) created in 1959 between the Government of Ghana and the Reynolds and Kaiser aluminum companies. The author contends that the terms of the agreement, especially the subjugation of Ghana's bauxite and hydroelectric industries to the smelter operators, continues to undermine the potential of the Ghanaian economy. The author concludes that, "Ghana's new dependence on VALCO payments thus deprives Ghana of any real lever to force further revisions of the Master Agreement from the American companies."


The Ghanaian economy which the Limann government inherited in October 1979 was in chaos. Years of corruption, mismanagement and hoarding goods had eroded the once prosperous nation. The author claims that the PNP government of Limann was better off taking power from Flt. Lt. Rawlings and the AFRC than from the Supreme Military Council of Gen. Akuffo (although the AFRC encouraged class antagonism among workers and students). If Limann perpetuates the system of inequality and corruption, a new wave of anger will erupt in Ghana as it did in June 1979.

Written before Flt. Lt. Rawlings' coup of June 1979, the article traces the political development leading up to civilian rule and outlines prospects for stability under a civilian regime.


An interview with President Limann in which he expresses optimism that Ghana's formidable problems can be solved. He admits, however, that the public will "have to work extremely hard...to cope with the pace" Limann will set for economic recovery.

Kenya


At the death of President Jomo Kenyatta it was clear that none of his aspiring successors enjoyed anything remotely like the prestige which had been lent to the "Wise Old Man" by his role as a symbolic figure of the African independence movement. It was inevitable that the charismatic leader would be followed by a politician whose initial position would be determined by the true power relationships among the country's top men. For the present, the experiment appears to have succeeded. The author examines some of the factors that have made the "Kenya Model" of succession work.

Liberia


After just 4 months of existence, the Progressive People's Party (PPP) has been banned in Liberia, the result of a general strike called on 7 March 1980 intended to topple the government of President William Tolbert. The Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), another group opposed to the government, claimed that the strike discredited "progressive work in Liberia" and viewed the PPP's actions as "infantile and ridiculous." However, MOJA also expressed concern over the mass arrests and alleged torture of the detainees.


Written prior to the 12 April 1980 coup, this article describes the 7 March 1980 disturbances and their aftermath. After years of working within the system and claiming to be a "loyal opposition," it is unknown why Baccus Matthews, leader of the Progressive Alliance of Liberia, called for a general strike to force President Tolbert's resignation. Tolbert is portrayed as an astute moderate who sought to widen political participation in the face of
stiff conservative opposition from his own party. Some differences between the PAM and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), another antigovernment organization, are outlined. The article concludes that, "political expectations are rising and the government is unable to keep pace with them."

Mali


Since the 1960s, the role of education in economic development has been documented. In Africa, the educated tend to live in urban centers and the rural elements tend to be less educated. From 1960 until 1972, all Africa has realized a 207 percent increase in primary and secondary education and a 233 percent rise in higher education. In Mali, however, about 85 percent of the population is unable to read. Education ought to be an instrument for development and educational policies must be planned bearing in mind the exigencies of the socio-economic development of the country. The article ends with a series of charts detailing the evolution of education in Mali.


Maliens see their history as a dialogue between events which rapidly produce new social phenomena, and those which alter the structure of society more slowly. The preconditions of change are invariably processed in the cultural crucible. The markers for continuity include: social, political, economic, and physical structures.


This is an excellent study of the development of Malawi describing how the missionaries' teachings helped the natives resist the white settlers but had disturbing effects on traditional ties within the society. This is an even-handed treatment of the Missionary Movement in Africa, refuting the view that it was solely detrimental to the development of Africa's modern political and social systems.

Mauritania


After disengaging from the conflict in the Western Sahara, Mauritania is now free to devote itself to economic development. In the wake of the drought in
the Sahel and as a result of the war, Mauritania has experienced increased urbanization (10 percent of the population now lives in the capital). Since weather patterns have shifted for the worse, the economic emphasis will not be on agriculture, but rather on fishing and minerals. To complement foreign investment, the government will institute austerity measures which will even hit the armed forces.

Morocco

"Social unrest stirs as Hassan looks to the Saudis." Middle East Newsletter, 25 February-10 March 1980, pp. 4-5.

King Hassan of Morocco has been visibly alarmed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Libya's attack on Tunisia--so much so that he has consulted the Saudis. His real problems lie at home, where the cost of the war in the Sahara and commodity subsidies are burdening an already unhealthy economy, leading to increased social unrest.

Nigeria


One of the differences between Shehu Shagari and his political opponent, Obafemi Awolowo, is that Shagari is determined that the new capital shall be built in Abuja in the center of Nigeria. To do so, Shagari has set up a Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) and given it cabinet rank. Over a 20-year period, the cost of the project is estimated at 9.271 billion naira (one naira=$.54). The FCDA, however, is having trouble attracting capital to the high-risk venture.


An examination of the diverse directions taken by Nigerian State Governments since October 1979. A common goal to many states has been in the field of education; however, other states have attacked a wide range of problems. Niger has set up its own electric power company; Lagos has set about restoring physical order to the decaying capital; Kano has repealed two types of taxes; all four UPN-controlled states have initiated plans to establish lotteries and pools-betting schemes. One major problem exists in Kaduna State where the NPN-controlled legislature is locked in a battle with PRP Governor Musa.


Marking his first 100 days in office, President Shagari held a press conference in which he accused the former military government of leaving a huge deficit which his administration has done much to reverse. In a separate item, some Nigerians are clamoring to form new states to be carved out of the existing 19. One recommendation would excise Calabar-Ogoja State from Cross Rivers State; a second demand would create Anioma-Delta State out of Bendel State; Wawa State
would be separated from Anambra State; and finally, Katsina State would be cut from Kaduna State. "A new state could be effected on the approval of a simple majority of the State assemblies, in addition to the approval by two-thirds majority of the National Assembly."


"This book provides a useful summary of various facets of political change in Nigeria over the 1966-76 period. It has less to say about economic change and almost nothing on social change, though several authors mention in passing the importance of increasing social differentiation and changing social relationships as a result of the political and economic developments on which the discussion is focused."


The full text of the budget statement of President Shagari to a joint session of the Senate and the Federal Assembly. Some points of interest: since 1975, public spending has exceeded revenues, resulting in budget deficits necessitating increased borrowing; and the police force allocation is increased by 197 million naira, with 80 million naira going toward barracks construction.

Senegal


The first of two parts of a critical examination of Senegal's economic problems. Single out is the mismanagement of the Senegal River Development Organization (OMVS) whose Arab benefactors are withdrawing support until certain conditions are met. The government's austerity program, dictated in part by the IMF and World Bank, is discussed along with the drastic decline in groundnut production.


Mouridism in Senegal springs from the same philosophical roots as the Tijane and Qadari movements, and is thus "classical" Sufism. The pious and ascetic founder of Mouridism, Ahmadou Bamba (the "Zealous Servant of the Messenger of God"), preached a "holy war of the soul" and was a cohesive element in the face of colonial penetration and brutal Islamization. In Senegal, "Mourid" refers only to Bamba's followers and, philosophically, has no political overtones.

Seychelles


Kulik supports the present government of France Albert Rene and the Seychelles People's Progressive Front by noting the recent "neocolonialist" history of
the nation. Kulik singles out the damage that the tourist industry caused (inflation increased, arable land decreased). Defending Rene's coup, Kulik shows how the national development plan and the parastatals are attempting to raise the blacks' standard of living. Briefly Kulik mentions that almost all citizens between 16 and 60 belong to the "people's security corps," that Victoria is no longer a trans-shipping point for goods going to South Africa, and that the nation's flag "is no longer 'loaned' to foreign vessels."

Somalia


In an exclusive interview with President Siyad Barre of Somalia, the author discusses Somali Socialism, the Ogaden, and irredentism affecting northern Kenya and Djibouti. The President also describes his latest foreign policy—a warming up to the West, with the United States being offered the use of bases—as an attempt to restore equilibrium to the Horn.

South Africa


A review of recent South African Government pronouncements of intentions to change existing labor policies. The author contrasts these statements with existing legislation, proposals included in the Wielhahn and Rickert reports and common practice. She concludes that even the government's proposed changes fall far short of the goals of most black unions but at least indicate a willingness to consider change.


Based on a speech given by the South African Minister of Cooperation and Development in Washington, D.C. on 15 June 1979. He outlines South African plans for change which include equality for all people and full citizenship rights through the establishment of separate black nations.


Pressure on US businesses to disinvest themselves of their South African holdings is mounting. Critics of the South African Government argue that business is shoring up the apartheid regime and should, at least, be used as a progressive force for change. Several factors militate against such action, however, including the reluctance of most companies to accept a political role and the current boom in South Africa's economy due to increased gold revenues. Nonetheless, the US Government should encourage companies to promote better labor relations in South Africa to spur change.
Ratcliffe, Anne. "Industrial Development Policy: Changes During the 1970s." The 

During the last 10 years there has been a marked change in South Africa's 
approach toward industrial development. It has been characterized by in-
creased openness in the economy, pursuit of eclectic goals, manipulation of 
market processes, and increased stimulation of private initiative. The result 
has been the increased involvement of South Africa in the world economy and 
some resulting benefits and liabilities.

Robinson, Randall. "Investments in Tokenism." Foreign Policy, Spring 1980, 

Author reviews Rothenberg and Myers-Liff articles in the same volume. He finds 
both pieces flawed by two basic presumptions: 1) South Africans are willing to 
make major changes in their political system and 2) US businesses are willing 
to promote better labor conditions for blacks in South Africa. Robinson 
believes that US businesses currently reap larger profits in South Africa due 
to guaranteed cheap black labor and are unlikely to make any concessions which 
lessen their profit margin. He concludes that the US Government must recognize 
that black aspirations in South Africa are paramount to any solution there and 
that maximum pressure must be put on that government to create meaningful 
change.


South African Prime Minister Botha's recent pronouncements of intended change 
in the apartheid structure fall far short of black aspirations. Meaningful 
change which would satisfy blacks is unacceptable to ruling whites. Professor 
Rothenberg concludes that it is up to the West "to play as South Africa's external 
conscience," pushing the country toward meaningful change without using such 
drastic weapons as economic boycotts or embargoes.

Thomas, Wolfgang. "South Africa and Black Africa: The Future of Economic Inter-

The author proposes that South Africa extend its economic relations northwards 
to Kenya and Zaire. To facilitate such relations, the government should con-
tinue to liberalize race relations and strive to better explain its policies 
toward the homelands to defuse black African criticism of the country's domes-
tic policies.


Subdivisions of the article include: "The Revolution of 25 May 1969--Numayri 
takes power," "Decentralization and National Unity," "Latest International 
Political Developments," "Economic Situation," and "Sudan's Foreign Policy."

Concolato gives us a "history of the bloody conflict that tore apart southern Sudan." Primary emphasis is placed on the study of the "political, ethnic and religious problems in southern Sudan." Subunits of the article include: "The politics of the Khedives," "The Mahdist interlude (1881-1898)," "The South and slavery," "Racial prejudice in daily life," "Racism in action," "Slavery, racism, and labor relations," "Colonialism and separatism," "The origins of southern Sudan's administration," "British administration," "British politics," "Colonial politics and the problem of southern Sudan," and "Independence and the revolt."

Hancock, Graham. "Sudan says goodbye to the breadbasket." Middle East Economic Digest, 11 January 1980, pp. 3-5.

"The government is attempting to switch Sudan's debt profile to medium term and long term, and to reduce overall indebtedness. It is carrying out ambitious agricultural changes which will firmly emphasize cotton exports at the expense of wheat. Any prospect of the country becoming the breadbasket of the Arab world is even more remote."


The article concludes: "The Sudan, the hope of a hungry Arab world...has been identified by the United Nations as one of the three countries (the others are Canada and Australia) that could help counteract the world food shortage....huge sums from Arab states, principally Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are pouring in to develop the land....The plan envisions more than $6-billion over the next ten years for 100 projects." An excellent article.


This brief article discusses Sudanese President Numeiry's "characteristic talent for juggling contradictory internal and international pressures, a skill which has enabled him to stay in power for eleven years...." Attention is paid to changing Sudanese-Egyptian affairs as well as recent developments in Sudanese-Libyan-Ethiopian relations.

This article traces Islam's role in Sudanese politics since World War I. Particular emphasis is placed in various Islamic factions since 1970. Although the article primarily focuses on domestic politics, special attention is paid to the impact of Islam on Egyptian-Saudi-Sudanese relations.

Tanzania


Tanzania's recent intervention in Uganda provides the opportunity for international lawyers to review the rules which govern the use of force in international relations. International law after 1945 has been dominated by the view that any resort to violence, with the two exceptions of the right to self-defense and the right to collective action authorized by the UN, is not permissible. The author outlines the dilemma which the Tanzanian action poses to international law as it grapples with the concept of the use of force.

Tunisia

"Bourgiba loses his chosen heir." Middle East Newsletter, 10-23 March 1980, p. 9.

Premier Nouira's stroke on 26 January has complicated the succession issue in Tunisia. Even if he recovers, the man who was the lynch-pin of Bourgiba's political policy and who managed the economy is not likely to reenter politics. The healthiest candidate to succeed Nouira as Premier (and perhaps as Bourgiba's designated successor) is 55-year old Mohammed Sayah. The Gafsa incident has united the country and Tunisians are now more concerned about domestic rather than foreign political problems.

Zaire

"Zaire: Mobutu struggles on." Africa Confidential, 12 March 1980, pp. 5-6.

"President Mobutu is currently on a world tour—including Belgium, China and Japan—as part of his continuing attempt to present himself with enhanced respectibility before world opinion." But internal and international political and economic problems continue to threaten the Mobutu regime.

Zimbabwe


Disappointing, misnamed overview of southern African interdependence and how the Front-Line States wish to lessen their dependence on South Africa. Barber
states the obvious: that economic imbalance among the states spawns political consequences. Whereas the black states hope for less dependence (Barber claims the 1979 Arusha meeting's pricetag for reorganization was 700 billion pounds), there is little doubt that South Africa will enjoy some political latitude with its black neighbors because of its economic strength.


Claiming that "it is paradoxical to seek tribal divisions within the nationalist movement," Day scrutinizes the history of Zimbabwean nationalist movements and concludes that "tribalism" has contributed less toward group organization than has regionalism or even personality. Day remains uncertain about the relative importance of ethnic subdivisions [the Shona has experienced difficulties between its Zezeru, Manyika, Korekore, Ndua, Kalanga and, especially, its Karanga factions].


Kay notes three problems: overuse of rural land, a soaring population (at 3.6%, the country will double in 20 years), and white control of the economy's commanding heights. Kay proposes a rapid urbanization policy, e.g., low cost housing which alleviates land pressure and raises incomes (thus, presumably lowering the birth rate). Both industry and agriculture should emphasize labor-intensive production. Kay projects a "substantial and persistent need" for skilled whites who will provide the interim trigger for development.


Short, concise description of the general issues and their resolution at the Lancaster House Conference.


Asians in Rhodesia number only 10,000 out of approximately 7 million Rhodesians and have sought limited redress by peaceful means (litigation, legal demonstrations and transracial alliances which have been of limited duration since neither blacks nor whites fully accepted the Asian as an ally or friend). Patel does not examine the Asian's future in a black-ruled Zimbabwe.


Riddell notes the tremendously unequal access to arable land, the necessity to the blacks of redistribution, as well as the uneconomic use of land by white farmers since U.D.I. Then, focusing on future economic and political
importance of land redistribution, Riddell argues for a "substantial restructuring of the land accompanied by a shift away from an externally-oriented growth path." He dismisses the proposed Constitution's land suggestions as inadequate. Apparently believing that about 75% of white land should be redistributed, Riddell suggests a pricetag of $1 billion.


Well-written yet familiar catalogue of the mounting internal and external pressures against the Rhodesian Front Government. Explains how these pressures, coupled with RF intransigence, have crippled the country and now pose numerous problems for the new government: returning guerrillas raising already high unemployment levels; agricultural and educational services needing massive and rapid financial infusions; the large number (at least 150,000) who have military experience, access to weapons, and allegiance to various political leaders; and the possible growth in ethnic discord evidenced by the creation of several ethnically-based parties.

Wilkinson, who is knowledgeable about the Rhodesian Army, maintains that the Selous Scouts have "arms caches deposited throughout the country."

A compilation of 17 essays dealing with tribalism (especially the patterns of change before and after colonialism) and other ethnic linkages that affect the political structure of countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.


Empirical examination of "pull factors" which influence African countries' needs for arms. The author finds that three phenomena are significant: African economic resources, North African proximity to the Middle East conflict, and political stability inside African nations.


Questions whether the Law of the Sea treaty can be endorsed in July, considering the differences between the developed nations and the LDCs. Apart from fairly technical matters (drawing of maritime boundaries between adjacent states or those separated by narrow bodies of water), major problems remain concerning the right of access to deep sea resources. The article notes that unlimited access could create an oversupply of such minerals as copper and manganese and "could well ruin the fragile economies of . . . Botswana, Zaire, and Zambia."


An update of Southern Africa in Crisis. Separate country studies, including BLS, by such writers as Tony Hodges (Mozambique) and John Marcum (Angola). Overview articles include "International Rivalries in the Southern African Conflict" by Colin Legum and "Economic Patterns in the New Southern African Balance" by Kenneth Grundy. Generally, very good political analysis but little military material.


"A useful list of the most notable works on African history to be published since 1960." Approximately 1,000 books are cited in this compendium.

Issued by 1980s Project of Council on Foreign Relations. Cautious projections, with all four authors sharing "visions of a rather bleak future ahead for Africans . . ." Legum's offering examines "communal conflict and the increase in foreign intervention as the dominant factors determining development through the 1980's."


In this part of this regional review the author focuses on Kenya and Tanzania. The former is a free-wheeling, free-enterprise, and anti-Marxist economy that just completed a smooth political transition; the latter is austere and socialist, under Nyerere's respected leadership. Both countries have potential to celebrate but more immediate cause for concern, especially about food.


Details of the First Economic Summit of the OAU. President Senghor of Senegal was appointed chairman in the absence of the late President Tolbert. A running theme throughout the conference was that Africans should solve African problems. President Nyerere of Tanzania listed five priorities: (1) agricultural production and food storage, (2) development and coordination of transportation and communications, (3) coordination of industrial strategies and the exchange of technical information, (4) problems of energy conservation and expansion, and (5) inter-African trade.


Examines the relations between Nigeria ("conservative") and Tanzania ("radical") to determine if these labels have affected their interstate relations and what foreign policy objectives they have in common. The discussion centers around Tanzanian recognition of Biafra during the 1967-70 Nigerian civil war and Nigeria's reaction since then.


Anthology of over thirty articles alleging western covert operations in sub-Saharan Africa. Topics and authors include British Intelligence (Jonathan Bloch and Russell Southwood), CIA & African Trade Unions (Barry Cohen), Denard's operation in Rhodesia (unnamed French mercenary), SIGINT in Namibia (Chris Walker), the CIA and BOSS (Stephen Talbot), and Cabinda (Karl Van Meter). A lengthy appendix lists presumed CIA agents and their personal backgrounds.

This is a collection of reprinted papers on Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya, and Uganda by a neo-Marxist author.


Taking issue with some Marxist interpretations of class formation in Africa, Dr. Sklar argues that dominant class composition has less to do with controlling the means of production than with control of social and political organizations. Marxist interpretations have forced the view that class domination in Africa is practiced by those "proxies" of foreign capitalism. Sklar argues that this viewpoint has led to authoritarian elimination of those "proxies" and to real class domination by agents of the government. Without liberty, he concludes, there will always be dominant classes, whatever their ideological persuasion.


Summarizes recent Lusaka Economic Summit where all participants decided to stimulate interstate trade with the economic isolation of South Africa as the final goal. The countries agreed to establish a Southern African Transport and Communications Commission to be based in Mozambique.

Algeria


The Basque separatist terrorist organization, ETA ("Basque Fatherland and Freedom"), has been running training camps for its partisans with the full knowledge and support of the Algerian Government. This was made public when Spanish police captured Inaki Aramallo Eguurola, a Basque leader. Since his capture last June, he has been forthcoming in providing information.


The status of Berber languages within Algerian culture has been a thorny one for two decades. Traditionally, it has been viewed as an expression of separatism and as such rigorously opposed by Algiers. Recently, the question has been subsumed under the question of "popular culture" or democratization of the means of expression and information. This has called into question the regime's linguistic and cultural policies. The drive for faster Arabization has sparked Berber cries for recognition of their linguistic rights.
Chad


Legal conditions attached to entering, staying, and existing in Chad.


The fighting is viewed as a trial of strength between contenders for leadership in Chad.


Movement within and from Chad to neighboring countries. The article is much broader than the title indicates and covers geography, ethnicity, economy, and society of Chad.

Rondos, Alex. "What hope for Chad?" West Africa, 5 May 1980, pp. 775-77.

Rondos suggests that the fighting will continue in spite of some pacific intentions by African countries and that the UN should become involved.


The article concentrates on Aïcy Ahmat and his forces fighting in N'Djamena.


Brief overview of French and Libyans in Chad.


A fairly detailed description of the French "Tacaud" detachment presently in Chad. The "Tacaud" unit is comprised of about 1,100 men. The unit is absolutely "neutral" in the current civil war. It is responsible for the safety of the local European population and for the security of the airport and electric plants, etc. The Rapid Military Medical Intervention Element (E.M.M.I.R.), which cares for refugees and the wounded, is located on the banks of the Chari River in Cameroon -- across the river from N'Djamena.

Djibouti


An overview of Djibouti's first year of independence from France.
Ethiopia


A compilation of 3,000 entries arranged in a useful manner in a number of languages.


Because of the warming in relations between Ethiopia and Sudan there is a good prospect for talks between the Eritrean rebels and the central government. The author evaluates the current stands of each group and the chances for success of any negotiations.


This book explains how Selassie, in an effort to elude too tight an embrace with his British allies, sought developmental aid from Sweden. It is an interesting study of early developmental assistance provided by a European nation to an African country struggling to modernize.

Ghana


The leadership of President Limann's party, the PNP, is quarreling; there is a growing belief that the Limann government lacks direction; coup rumors are rampant; some military personnel have been arrested and charged with conspiracy. The ruling party seems committed to the notion that smuggling is a cause, not a result, of the economic malaise. In an attempt to contain unrest, the government has proposed a system to control the flow of information through the establishment of a "press commission" which would act as a buffer between the government and the press.


The authors prefer to focus attention not on why the military intervenes in politics in Africa, but on what it does once it seizes power. They hypothesize that the military can only successfully disengage from political power under the following conditions: the personnel and ideologies of the previous regime must not be reinstated; the incoming administration must not constitute a constraint on the interests of the leadership of the army; there must be assurance that the coup leaders will not be endangered by the incoming administration; the army must not be prosecuted after turning over authority. This disengagement construct is then measured against the Acheampong, Akuffo and Rawlings regimes.

Written before the June 1979 coup, this article is a Marxist interpretation of the political and economic development of Ghana since independence. The author blames most of Ghana's financial ills on the two military regimes but fails to assign sufficient blame to Nkrumah's disastrous policy of industrialization. He argues further that the military's basically compromising relationship with the West has produced recurrent crises which stem from "differing attempts to mediate between foreign and domestic capital."


A lengthy analysis of the history of the relationship between VALCO—an international consortium of aluminum companies—and the Ghana Government. Neither the production of aluminum nor the construction of the Volta Dam at Akosombo has proved to be the boost to development Ghana had hoped for and much of the blame is laid on the aluminum companies.

Ivory Coast


The mainstays of the Ivorian economy are the small farmer and the foreigner. Officials are worried about the health of the economy for two reasons: the vulnerability of coffee and cocoa prices on the international market, and the increasing role of revenue derived from these products. Thus, the most significant economic action Ivory Coast has taken lately has been its withdrawal from the international cocoa market followed by the joint action taken with other producers to break up the international cocoa agreement.


The party congress of the PDCI, held every 5 years, occurs in 1980 and attention will focus on a successor to President Houphouet-Boigny. The author sees a growing economic gap between the most advantaged and the least; the young people are also feeling resentment toward the "old guard." He concludes that Houphouet-Boigny "has managed to sustain a system the symptoms of which when unchecked in countries very close to Ivory Coast have caused indignation, resentment and violence."

Kenya


This book is an analysis of the extension services provided by the Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture to western portions of the country. Leonard is
interested in the achievement of economic development and his analysis focuses on administrative processes used for that objective. The author is careful to specify which features are affected by the ethnic politics, colonial legacy, and economic opportunities unique to Kenya.

Liberia


This brief summary of the 12 April 1980 coup in Liberia suggests that Sgt. Doe was a secret member of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and, since most of the PPP hierarchy was arrested as a result of the 7 March 1980 strike call, Doe felt compelled to carry out the coup himself. Also listed are the personalities appointed to the new cabinet.


A brief summary of the 12 April 1980 coup in Liberia with a list of personnel serving in the People's Redemption Council and the new cabinet.


Written prior to the April 1980 coup in Liberia, this article is basically a Marxist analysis of the Liberian economy with special emphasis on the labor movement. The authors trace the growth of the working class and its increasing militancy since 1961, the legislative response to this in the form of antistrike laws, and collusion between trade union leaders and the police. Both of the authors were central figures in the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), some of whose members are now serving in the new government in Liberia.

Malawi


A bibliography of this university's publications divided into sections dealing with agriculture, communications and transportation, economics, history, law, politics and government, and various other social sciences.

Mali


Two powers, France and the Soviet Union, are suspected of wanting to act in Mali. The former has refused to grant credits and the latter wishes to sell arms. At the same time, neighboring Guinea has refused to transship military equipment. Facing a threat from students earlier this year, Traore has recently calmed things and his recent statements have reflected traditional Malian pride. Nonetheless, rumors of an impending coup have circulated in several quarters.
Mozambique


Review of offensive started early this year by President Machel against "inefficiency, negligence, and incompetence" in the state and parastatal areas. Matatu argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that Machel is not moving away from socialism despite his pronouncement that the government will encourage and assist small private businesses.

An Office of Control and Discipline has been established within each ministry. The office will deal with all reported incompetence. Various criminals being resettled in Maputo's Green Belt will be guarded for 6 years until their agricultural work equals their past crimes. A supplemental article on page 17, "The Price of Solidarity," is a short, yet fairly good detailing of damage within Mozambique caused by the war.

Namibia


Clear presentation of the historical background to the present dispute over Namibian independence. The author analyzes the failure of recent negotiations and concludes that it has been impossible to force both sides on to common ground due to the ineffectiveness of western threats against the South African Government. He believes that South Africa will continue to resist effecting a meaningful compromise because with the resolution of the Namibian conflict, world attention will then be fully focused on South Africa's own domestic situation. Rather, South Africa will continue to negotiate over Namibia in "bad faith" in order to keep its options open, gather intelligence on SWAPO and Front Line State intentions and for obvious propaganda value.

Nigeria


A survey of Kano-based industries affected by the indigenization program which reflects a high degree of Nigerian participation in business. The author concludes, however, that the program has succeeded mainly in "harmonizing" foreign interests with the financial interests of a small class of indigenous entrepreneurs. Indigenization has not had a significant effect on the amount of labor employed in industry.


There is renewed confidence in the Nigerian judicial system and the author presents a few examples of how well the judiciary is working within the structure of the new constitution. The most prominent of the cases is the
deportation of Shugaba Abdulrahman Darman, the majority leader of the Borno State House of Assembly.


An analysis of the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps which was established in 1973. NYSC legislation requires that university graduates who meet certain criteria must contribute one year of service to the nation. By measuring perceptions of former NYSC participants, the author concludes that the program has been a success and its existence is assured into the 1980s.


A noteworthy feature of the 1980 budget is that, for the first time, total Federal expenditure for education exceeds that for defense. This is due to a significant increase in government involvement in education since the early 1970s. The article includes a table showing comparisons of revenues and expenditures since 1973-74.

Senegal


President Senghor will have to enact reforms to reverse the slide of Senegal's economy and to calm the nation's worsening political atmosphere. One proposal is to establish a "government of national unity," drawing opposition and independent elements into the political process. Senghor will also have to deal with rebellious farmers and Islamic religious leaders.

Sierra Leone


A report on the speech of the Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone in which he details the economy's poor performance during 1979. Government revenues were 43 percent below expenditures and foreign reserves declined sharply. However, an IMF stabilization program has been agreed on and much of Sierra Leone's external debt has been rescheduled.

Somalia


Using interviews with Somali-speaking people living in northern Kenya, the author examines the political ramifications of the Somali and English languages; that is, to investigate whether meaning and behavior in the sphere of politics varies by linguistic context.
South Africa


As a part of the South African Government's attempts to deal with the mounting racial crisis in that country some changes in labor relations are being made. The author summarizes the history of the labor movement inside South Africa, with strong emphasis on the role of the Communist Party, and concludes that recent proposed changes will serve only to break the organized labor movement and, ultimately, the working class.

Sudan


"President Jaffar Nimeiri will contest the April (1980) elections for the national and regional assemblies stronger politically than for many years . . . . But the economy is as perilous as ever, and Nimeiri . . . is building up political credit for himself . . . in order to tide him through what could be financially a very tricky summer. If he survives that traditional testing time for Sudanese politicians--when the haboobs engulf Khartoum with dust, when Ramadan is on and tempers are short--then Sudanese expatriates may begin to take advantage of the 1979 financial reforms and bring back their funds at today's more attractive currency rates."


"In February 1978 Southern Sudan saw a complete shake-up in its government and administration." "Out went the Dinka-dominated team headed by the astute and careful lawyer Abel Alier; in came the fiery soldier General Joseph Lagu." Recently, General Lagu's political base has been seriously shaken. What happens in the April 1980 elections will depend "on the mood of the South. If the people of the region are motivated enough against 'Northern interference', they could vote back Lagu's team. Otherwise an Alier-sponsored government is likely."

Other determinants in the elections are: the complete lack of economic development in the South over the past years; the arrival of 100,000 Ugandan refugees in the South; most of the school system in the South has been on strike; and the traditional anti-Dinka tribal feelings among the Southern tribes.

Tanzania


The author attempts to see behind the apparent contradictions which arise in Tanzania's development which makes it appear to be a country heading toward socialism or mired in developed capitalism.
Uganda


Article provides Soviet view of Ugandan politics and prospects for economic recovery.

Upper Volta


The Ivory Coast's position of prominence in the economy of Upper Volta allows it to exert considerable influence in the internal affairs of Upper Volta. M. Philippe Yace, President of the Ivorian National Assembly, recently visited Upper Volta to help reconcile feuding political parties. His message was that Upper Volta should put its political affairs in order or suffer decreasing economic support from the Ivory Coast, and in this assertion he had the backing of Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny.

Western Sahara


The war in the Western Sahara seems to be getting hot again. Faced with domestic economic problems, King Hassan may find himself forced to deal with Polisario. The United States, not wanting to anger Algeria, sent two representatives, including Andrew Young, to the celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the launching of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

Zaire

"Zaire: Salvaged but not saved." Africa Confidential, 9 April 1980, pp. 3-5.

"Western creditors have decided to grant Zaire yet another reprieve from financial disaster . . . [even though] the underlying reason for Zaire's malaise remains the moral bankruptcy of President Mobutu and the Zairian political elite." "There is continued scepticism whether Zaire, described in international circles as a 'kleptocracy' and a classic case study of mismanagement," will be able or willing to adhere to the "Stabilization Plan." Despite this, the article notes, Zaire's substantial economic potential and strategic geographic location are important factors in continued Western support for the Mobutu regime.

Approximately one-third of the article deals with US-Zaire relations. Despite strong criticism of Mobutu "in the American congress," the article concludes: "In the event of troubles (i.e., another Shaba crisis) in the future, it is clear that Zaire and its Western backers [France and Belgium] will . . . look to the US for assistance which, in the light of growing East/West tensions, they may well get."
Zimbabwe


A projection of Zimbabwe's short-term future and how Mugabe's election may affect South Africa. Howe suggests that: (1) within a few years Zimbabwe will have 100,000 whites—mostly expatriates—and that most industrial development will be foreign; (2) Mugabe is expected to nationalize the mining industry; (3) the PF will alter the constitution, notably eliminating the 20 "safe" white seats as well as the titular presidency; (4) friction is certain between ex-RSP African junior officers and guerrilla commanders, "that the U.S. is expected to play a role in the training," and that Mugabe may "borrow" a Nigerian general for his army.

Howe believes that the remarkable similarity of Afrikaans editorial reaction to Zimbabwe was "suggested" by the Botha government. More important, Howe casts South Africa in the mold of the Shah's belatedly reformist Iran ("revo-

lation comes not when a regime is rigid but when it starts to bend . . .") and that South Africa will enter "a long and bloody revolution" possibly with whites accepting a "Europstan" in the western Cape.


Matthews contends that Smith entered negotiations primarily to give his Rhodesian Front regime extra breathing space to win allies, improve defenses, divide the enemy or, in the Victoria Falls case, to satisfy South Africa. After briefly sketching the various negotiations (from UDI, Tiger, and Fearless through the '77 Internal Settlement) Matthews concludes that Smith's undeniable tactical skills eventually backfired. As he prolonged the inevitable, Smith, according to Matthews, made it worse: "Having won earlier skirmishes, in the end he lost the war."


Seven conditions are necessary before international economic sanctions may be effective ("imports make up a very small part of the exports of the sending nation . . ."). In Rhodesia's case, the authors note that "the ingenuity and creativeness of the private sector permitted multiple changes to be accommodated without substantial disruption of production and distribution." Extrapolating from their study, the authors suggest that a "sub-
stantial sacrifice of national self-interest over an extended period of time" is perhaps "impossible in a world of competitive nation states and multinational firms." Included are four pages of Rhodesian trade statistics up to 1973.

"We Must Set Our People Free." _Africa_, April 1980, pp. 14-17.

Interview with Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe's new leader addresses his nation's immediate problems and what he hopes are the solutions. He mentions that "in
the armed forces we would like to see our men rapidly rise to the level of commanders, so there has to be an acceptance in the system that Black people can become senior soldiers."

Accepting the premise that economic problems interact with existing social structures to stimulate governmental responses, the authors examine the broad structural features of Kenya and Tanzania which have produced or altered governmental policies in an attempt to understand their consequences for income distribution and economic growth. Kenya and Tanzania are a good illustration as rarely has this interaction occurred in so dramatic and so short a period as in these two states.


How should an Africanist resolve the regionalist versus globalist controversy? Identifying himself as a regionalist, Bienen maintains that policy planners must understand specific African nations before applying their larger geopolitical grid.

Bienen notes that the opportunities for Soviet intervention in Africa have grown, yet he cautions against undue American alarm. While Nigeria is the only African state firmly opposed to non-African intervention and military and economic differentials have increased between African states and could invite outside forces, the United States will continue to enjoy access to natural resources. The West has an economic and technical superiority vis-à-vis the Soviets, and African nations wish to remain nonaligned. Bienen believes that the Soviets remain unable to deny specific African resources to the West and that the United States should not confuse change of governments with loss of access, viz. Cabinda or even South Africa. ("It does not follow that support for South Africa is the best way to maintain influence in southern Africa and to guarantee access to raw materials there. . . .")


The author claims that oil-rich Arab nations use their wealth to interfere in the internal affairs of African states. He finds, however, that recent events in the Middle East, especially Iran's militant Islamic revolution, have not stirred the resurgence of Muslim social forces in sub-Saharan Africa. Focus on Uganda, Chad, and Ethiopia.


"Professor Stein's volume is a rather good summary survey of the structure and course of the economies of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania from 1960-
It describes the main features of their export patterns and sectors and underlines how unfortunate their opening export mix was because of the poor performance of coffee, tea, and sisal during the decade."


In a brief review of African events in 1979, the author attempts to analyze shifting trends in the continent's affairs and to reassess some basic South African perceptions. The ouster of three dictators and the shift from military to civilian governments in two other countries appeared to favor Western interests. Western economic involvement, principally through the Lome Convention, also refutes South African assumptions of waning Western influence in favor of Soviet interests. He advises South Africans to look to Zimbabwe and Namibia for examples of future developments inside South Africa.

**Chad**


Description and pictures of the fighting in Chad.


Background material on Chad's internal situation and external involvement by Libya, Egypt, and Sudan.


Briefly examines French relations with Chad in light of the French-African summit in Nice.

**Ethiopia**


Author uses cultural assimilation by the Tulama, or Shoaan Oromo, to emphasize that "concentration on Amhara domination is unduly restrictive because it focuses attention on only one type of situation," i.e., northern domination, and that "no simple equation can be drawn up which associates northern Christians living in the south with a superior politico-economic position." The author's point appears weakened by the fact that the Tulana migrated south much later than the Amhara, had many Oromo characteristics and that the number of Tulama (which Blackhurst never even guesses at) appears to have been quite small.

Ethiopia was the only African nation to escape European rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It was independent not only in name but in fact, and was the beacon to all of the rest of Africa under colonial rule. The author's thesis is that the nations, notably Great Britain and Italy, which sought to invade Ethiopia in order to colonize it consistently underestimated its basic unity and military strength.

Ivory Coast


An unease has settled over Ivory Coast: crime is on the increase, ethnic hostility is rising, and instability in Ghana and Liberia is causing worry. The Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) is scheduled to hold its congress in the fall. One of the anticipated results of the congress is the naming of a successor to the President. There is little possibility for the establishment of a multiparty system but certain functions of the PDCI are likely to be democratized. France's declining influence in the internal affairs of Ivory Coast is documented. Also discussed are Ivory Coast's current economic problems, including International Monetary Fund and World Bank recommendations for belt-tightening and curtailing development programs.

Kenya


Customary law has been seen as an impediment to development in Kenya, and as an obstacle preventing it from becoming a strong, united nation. For this reason, reform of the laws governing land ownership in Kenya has been rigorously pursued by government policymakers. It is designed to put an end to land disputes and to introduce a safe, simple, and cheap system of conveyance. In addition, it is hoped that it will encourage farmers to invest labor and profits in their holdings, and will enable them to offer registered titles as security for credit. All of these changes would spur development in the rural areas.

Liberia


One of the first severely critical accounts of the Liberian revolution to appear in print. The People's Redemption Council (PRC) is faulted for
tribalism, corruption, and repression. Brigadier General Quwonkpa (former Staff Sgt) is being built up by the local media as the "strongman" of the revolution. The civilian cabinet is characterized as being split into Progressive People's Party (PPP) and Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) factions. The author feels that if popular elections were held today, MOJA would be the clear winner. For this reason, PPP members favor the maintenance of military rule until their party can consolidate support. The article also claims that Mr. Bai Gbala, a Krahn and former leader of the Union of Liberian Student Organizations in the United States, has been promised by Sgt Doe that he will become Liberia's next president when the government is returned to civilian rule.

Namibia


There appear to be more differences than similarities between the Namibian and anti-Portuguese insurgencies. Although both followed the Chinese model of guerrilla warfare and operated from neighboring independent states, each insurgency has been affected by its counter-revolutionary foe. Comparatively, South Africa was initially more tolerant toward Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization than Portugal was toward its African critics. SWAPO's hope that international fora would effect South Africa's exit from Namibia also slowed down the radicalization of revolutionary forces. The anti-Portuguese groups were aided by the demoralization of Portuguese troops while the South African Defense Force is still committed to defending the territory.

Nigeria


"... A useful, if limited, contribution to the history of Nigeria under military rule." Traces the career of Lt Gen Danjuma, former Chief of Staff of Nigeria's Army.


The break-up of the Nigerian Labor Congress into ideological factions would be a blow to Nigerian workers. This will be the likely result if Marxist union leaders persist in their efforts to turn the Congress into a left wing movement.
South Africa


The major article in the June volume. The authors present evidence strongly suggesting that South Africa and/or Israel exploded a nuclear device on 22 September. They also examine the history of nuclear research in these two countries.


The author assesses variants of the constellation concept, focusing on economic, military, and political considerations. He concludes that economic cooperation will probably grow regardless of the formal establishment of a constellation but that any military understanding is doubtful in view of political differences. The most crucial determinants of a successful constellation relationship will be the attitude of independent Namibian and Zimbabwean Governments toward South Africa.

Sudan


"An interview with Sadeq al-Mahdi, former Sudanese Prime Minister (until the May 1969 revolution) and leader of the Sudanese opposition in exile until his reconciliation with President Numeiry in July 1977. He is the great-grandson of the Mahdi and leader of the Ansar." He briefly discusses a wide variety of topics concerning Sudanese international and internal politics.


"Last month the World Bank agreed to a loan of almost $30 million for the reconstruction of the Gezira scheme." This article attempts to answer the question: "What has gone wrong with Sudan's most important agricultural producer and exporter?" The article also includes an interview with the managing director of the Sudan Gezira Board (SGB), Dr. Hassan el-Tayeb.

Tanzania


It has often been argued that the Arusha Declaration, that brought about collectivization in the Tanzanian countryside, was the basis for the tremendous economic crisis of 1974-76. The author contends that these
economically disastrous years were the result of the 1973 villagisation effort in combination with a drought. That is, the collectivization program was well conceived but its implementation was not.


An accurate well-presented dictionary of Tanzania's history is overdue, but the reviewer of this book states that this attempt "is neither accurate, nor well presented." He also faults its superficiality. Every page contains errors, half-truths, and nonsensical statements.

Uganda


Economic sanctions, once shunned by American foreign policymakers in all but the most serious of international confrontations, are thought to be ineffective in achieving their desired results. In the cases of Cuba and Rhodesia this was true. But there is at least one little-noted case of US economic reprisals that proved far more than symbolic. On 10 October 1978, President Carter signed into law a total trade ban against the government of Idi Amin. Less than 6 months later, Amin's 8-year rule came to an end. There is considerable evidence that American sanctions proved devastating to the Ugandan economy and that they helped set in motion the events that led to the fall of the regime. In this respect, the author claims, the American boycott can be regarded as a success and a promising foreign policy tool.

Zaire


The author concludes: "It is for the progressive nations and peoples of the world to denounce this OTRAC Agreement, to expose the true nature of the Mobutu regime in enslaving the people of Zaire to imperialism, and to support them combat the neocolonial and illegitimate regime of Mobutu."


This article discusses Zaire's current attempts to encourage Zairian refugees to return to Zaire from southern Sudan. Specific mention is made of the 1978 offer of amnesty and the newest agreement--now officially known as the Paris Agreement--reached in September 1979 "providing for the safe repatriation of the refugees."

A 16-page reprint of the 4 February 1980 "State of the Union Message" given by President Mobutu (in French).


The purpose of this article is to elucidate the factors underlying the rise of political opposition against the Mobutu regime. The article traces the growth of organized opposition to four interrelated phenomena: (1) the ideological split in the anticolonial nationalist movement between 'radicals' and 'moderates'; (2) the leadership struggle among the moderates themselves; (3) the neocolonial character and tasks of the post-colonial state; and (4) the autocratic nature of Mobutu's oppressive rule. Despite the numerous differences dividing the Zairian opposition groups, "they all agree that their common primary task is to overthrow the contemporary (Mobutu) regime."

**Zambia**


Plagued by vicious and continuing crises, Zambia must soon pay the price for following conventional development policies.

Entering independence, Zambia overly relied on the international copper market, southern white states, and advanced western economies, especially Britain's. Choosing a presumably safe policy of state capitalism, Zambia began reorganizing without redistributing—the rich got richer and the poor got poorer as the top 2 percent of Zambians controlled 20 percent of the wealth. A growing bourgeoisie, created directly or indirectly by copper, pressured the Humanistic Kaunda to achieve detente with the south as well as greater integration into the western economic grid. Shaw contends that this policy, when followed, has created growing class differences among Zambians.

Such unpredictable variables as the copper price and regional political events will control Zambia's future. Shaw would prefer a greater reliance on socialism and believes that Zambia will enter either a "regression-revolutionary" or "repression-regression" stage ("repression remains undefined but the context implies violence). The "revolutionary" era would be socialistic, allotting more political and economic participation and greater international economic autonomy. The "regression" stage would, in Shaw's view, ossify the present inequities with an emphasis on order and (highly skewed) growth with little attempt to promote egalitarianism.
Zimbabwe


"A comprehensive, factual account of the composition and strengths of the various Rhodesian Security Force units. Much of the information is virtually unknown outside Rhodesia . . . . The information in this book illustrates the close collaboration that exists between the Rhodesian and South African armed forces and military intelligence networks."


Defends Smith, Muzorewa, and Sithole as advocates of a multiracial, multiparty Z-R, while lambasting Patriotic Front as dedicated to the "creation of a one-party dictatorship." Written a year ago, the article assumes that the PF is "unlikely to participate in a genuinely free election" and that Lancaster is unlikely to arrive at a settlement.


An optimistic view of Zimbabwe's future. Sanger notes white (and black) fears about Kenya in the early 1960s and how the Mau-Mau took independence and nationalism seriously. Sanger believes that the Patriotic Front made the most concessions at Lancaster House and thus showed commendable restraint which Sanger believes will continue after independence. (Sanger is not totally prescient, predicting that General Walls would hinder army integration "and might even engineer a coup.")
ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in July 1980)

Africa General


Using Nigeria as a case study the author suggests that an army's professionalism (apparently defined by formal training) is no guarantee against coups. Indeed, African politicians (and Western scholars) should recognize "the military's right to equal participation in the political process and especially in the making of foreign policy."


While Russia and the United States increasingly consider the Indian Ocean as a competitive arena, Bowman writes that regional conflicts are not always amenable to superpower manipulation. Indeed, various elites and regional groups may be tempted to gain superpower support, thereby escalating parochial issues into global significance. While competing for littoral influence, strategic position, and international support, the US suffers from past (and present) links to white regimes. And, "our concern about procedures, our distaste for violence . . . and our obsessions about Soviet assistance to the forces of change often leads us to support the status quo."

"Forging a tripartite nexus." Africa, No. 100, December 1979, pp. 31-32.

A tripartite meeting of the heads of state of Zaire, Zambia, and Angola was held in Zambia in mid-October 1979. The three leaders "laid down a broad-based and determined resolution of regional cooperation in the fields of economy, politics, as well as, defence and security of their countries from belligerence of Rhodesia and South Africa."


A rather detailed narrative concerning the "refugees fleeing from war and drought" in Somalia, Djibouti, and Sudan.


This essay examines what Mazrui sees as a new trend towards liberal democracy in Africa. Senegal is cited as the prime example of a country which has returned to multiparty politics, has lessened controls on the judiciary, and permitted competitive elections, and is compared to other African countries which have "liberalized" within the past few years. Return to civilian rule and the overthrow of dictators are cited as further proof of the author's position.

A report by an international marketing analyst in which he cites the geographical and political obstacles to the economic development of West Africa.


Examines Soviet activity and evaluates its impact on African states over the past two decades. Emphasis is placed on East African reactions to the Soviet presence on the continent since the USSR invaded Afghanistan. In an interesting section, the authors speculate on the long- and short-term policy options available to the United States and other Western nations in response to Soviet-African policies.


Relations between Sudan and Ethiopia have improved. "This was climaxed by a 5-day state visit to the Sudan late last month by Ethiopian leader Colonel Mengistu Haile Miriam. . . ." Colonel Mengistu and Sudanese President Numeiry held extensive talks on bilateral relations and other African affairs. "Few details [about the talks] were disclosed in the joint communiqué that was released." The article focuses on the "real causes for this reconciliation."

_Congo_


"Eight months after what looked like an act of political purification—the eviction of General Yombi-Opongo and the strengthening of the country's socialist stance—the People's Republic of the Congo is waiting for the second act: the social purification which should follow in the wake of the attempt at economic revival." The article also contains a brief interview with Congolese President Sassou-Nguesso.


"The Congo's economy is still painfully dependent on loans and aid for its former colonial master." Recently, "a top-ranking Congolese delegation to Paris sought new areas of co-operation with France." Despite the fact that "this link with France was one of the chief reasons given" for the ouster of former President Joachim Yombi-Opongo in 1979, close economic ties continue to develop. "Meanwhile, Colonel Nguesso announced an amnesty."

President Sassou-Nguesso discusses domestic and international topics in this interview with Mr. Hughes. The interview concludes with a very brief overview of US-Congo relations.

**Equatorial Guinea**


A rather detailed account of the rise and fall of the former Equatorial Guinean dictator, Macias Nguema. Mention is also made of the special Spanish-Equatorial Guinean relationship following the ouster of Nguema. The author criticizes the "effort to whitewash" various members of the new junta who had previously supported the dictator.

**Ethiopia**


The author believes that Moscow has undertaken a new strategy in the Red Sea and Horn region since its invasion of Afghanistan. The recent rapprochement with Sudan is evidence that Ethiopia is increasing its efforts to isolate Somalia. By advocating nonalignment and respect for national integrity, the author claims that Ethiopia will find a responsive cord among its neighbors--Djibouti, Sudan, and Kenya--and become the region's leader. This is all part of Moscow's strategy to freeze the United States out of the area in which it is now seeking base facilities.

**Guinea**


The attempted assassination of Sekou Toure on 14 May threatens the detente between Guinea and its former colonial master, France. In the view of Andriamirado, a master journalist of *Jeune Afrique*, Toure, who perhaps under French goading has appeared less brutal to his former enemies than in the past, may return to his old illiberal ways.

**Ivory Coast**


"After ruling the Ivory Coast since independence in 1960, President Houphouet-Boigny is planning changes in the country's body politic that
may determine what happens when he finally steps down from office. The stage has been set for the changes by the convening of the 7th Congress of the ruling PDCI-RDA party where the President is expected to announce his moves."

Liberia


A brief description of the post-coup situation in Liberia. Military men, not civilians, are clearly in control. There are simmering problems within the government—dominance of the People's Redemption Council (PRC) by the Krahn tribal group, rivalry between the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), and PRC excesses. Statements made just after the coup by Minister of Economics and Planning Dr. Tipoteh, intended to illustrate Liberia's grave financial condition are debunked.

Mauritania


The article provides an International Monetary Fund (IMF) economic survey. Withdrawal from the conflict in the Western Sahara and an improvement in trade have brightened the economic prospects for the country in 1980. Nevertheless, the 1979 Gross Domestic Product was only slightly higher than it had been 5 years previously. Mining of iron ore at Guelbs (14 million tons annually by 1984) ought to improve things even more.

Niger


For the Tuareg of the Sahel, recurring droughts mean recurring famines. The milk and millet diet of these nomads, no longer available, finds a ready substitute in the seeds of grasses and fruits of trees. These foods allow for survival until better conditions allow the Tuareg to return to their preferred diet.


Niger with its new wealth from the sale of uranium is presented in a most favorable light by the author. The military government is lauded for its careful, austere, and incorrupt handling of its wealth and for its humane treatment of former imprisoned civilian leaders. Carefully avoiding
political confrontation, uranium ore, "... a marketable commodity like any other," has found its way to Libya and Pakistan, as well as to Western European countries.

**Nigeria**


A tour d'horizon of life in Nigeria which includes articles on labor, religion, education, industry, business, foreign policy, and history written by authors familiar with the country.

**Senegal**


After Senghor, what? represents the underlying theme to fears about Senegal's future? Senegal's dismal economic picture causes speculation as to whether or not Senegal will survive the departure of Senghor. Increasing Soviet and Warsaw Pact influences have alarmed Senghor who fears factionalism and mistrusts the reserve of the West to counteract Warsaw Pact initiatives.

**Sierra Leone**


Sierra Leone, the host of the 1980 OAU Summit, may pay dearly for the privilege, not only in terms of the dollar cost, but also with regard to its continued political stability. "The troubles of Uganda and Liberia are traceable in part of the recent summits held in these countries." One solution to the problem of poor nations hosting the summit is to establish a permanent site for the conference, but so far, the organization seems resigned to continue the policy of site rotation.


A brief summary of the Stevens' regime in Sierra Leone which questions the wisdom of holding the OAU Summit (which cost $130 million) in this impoverished nation.

**South Africa**

Continuing unrest in South Africa belies the government's claims of progress. Recent demonstrations by colored students and striking workers have displayed more organization and militancy than were evident 4 years ago. Colored workers, as well as the students, refused to accept any status different than that of blacks while making their demands.


Critique of a multivariate model based on the use of system dynamics for possible consequences of an economic boycott of South Africa. Heavy technical terminology but basic criticism surrounds lack of complexity in the model which oversimplifies some ambiguities in the South African situation.

**Sudan**


"The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development is currently investing $510 million over the next 3 years in agricultural projects. These projects are part of a plan that runs over a 25-year period and will ensure the transformation of Sudan into the breadbasket of the Arab world." Estimated investments for the first 10 years are $6.6 billion. "Some 100 projects should be completed" in this period. "These projects would enable Sudan to provide some 40% of the Arab world's food requirements by 1985."


A very pessimistic view of Sudan's current and future economic situation.


President Numeiry has suggested that Ethiopia and the Eritreans "might model a settlement on that adopted by Sudan itself in 1972, when a degree of autonomy was granted to the southern region." Sudan has more "interest than most countries in seeing the 19-year-old war in Eritrea brought to an end." Not only does the Sudan have to face serious domestic and economic problems, but it must bear the brunt of feeding and housing about half a million refugees," most of them Eritreans. "Sudan's chances of promoting a settlement have increased with the recent improvements in relations between Khartoum and Addis Ababa and between Khartoum and the rest of the Arab world, in particular with Iraq," a major source of funds for the Eritrean rebels.
Togo


An attempt to untangle the conspiratorial web that President Eyagema of Togo has weaved which includes Gilchrist Olympio, the son of murdered Togolese head of state Sylvanus Olympio, and foreign mercenaries. A recent assassination attempt against Olympio may have been contrived by him to gain publicity. Likewise, the supposed mercenary assault on Eyadema in 1977 may have been set up by the Togolese President. Olympio's assorted business affairs are reviewed.


A copy (in French) of the Togolese Constitution which was accepted by referendum on 30 December 1979.

Zaire


"Zaire's President Mobutu granted an amnesty to officers convicted for attempting to oust him, to offset his anti-human rights reputation among his Western creditors."

"Reorganization of Zairian Intelligence Services." *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), ME/6404/B/1-3, 25 April 1980.

"Text of report on four Ordinances signed by President Mobutu, datelined Kinshasa, 21 April 1980."

Zambia


Libby and Woakes believe that the Zambian Government was wrong to nationalize the mining industry in 1969 since the government could--or would--not realize the contradiction between profit maximization and using industry for social development (geographical diversification of plants . . .). Furthermore, when copper prices declined in 1975 the government had to loan the mines substantial revenues originally destined for social programs. The authors support such less drastic measures to control multinational corporations as foreign exchange controls and tax legislation. They conclude that the nationalization "must raise serious doubts about nationalization as a suitable policy for controlling the economy."

A rambling condemnation of military intervention in Africa. The frequency with which military coups occur is deplored but little is offered in the way of solutions. The author maintains that the African military institution has degenerated into a picaresque syndrome and concludes that "as long as self-styled 'politicians of caliber' remain inclined to adversary politics, the military is likely to be involved in politics."


Rail, air, sea and road transport and routes, projections for the future, and the problems of finding the $10 billion for their construction are the focus of this long article. The political and economic importance of transport as a uniting force for Africa receives special attention. The present difficulties of Air Afrique, one of the few inter-African ventures, underscores difficulties faced by countries on this enormous continent.


Technical assistance programs of China are highly regarded by both government officials and the peasant population. Living in circumstances close to the native peoples, the Chinese and their motives are not understood, but their work earns endless praise.


Examines the "range and input of diplomatic strategies developed by Third World countries in institutional settings." Concentrates on the relative effectiveness of the Commonwealth in solving the Rhodesian and Southern African problems. Notes that Britain decided against resuming South African shipments as a result of the Singapore Commonwealth meeting, whereas 8 years later the Commonwealth countries meeting in Lusaka convinced Mrs. Thatcher of the importance of a negotiated settlement with the Patriotic Front.


Describes the armed strength of individual nation's military in encyclopedic form. Provides details such as its social background and
constitutional relationship with the state. Reviewer states that the coverage of African armies is slight as compared with the rest, but that it does include an appendix on "Africa, Armies of Nations formerly British or French Colonies--An Historical Note."


In the 1960s, the coup of the generals dominated African politics. Has this trend been replaced by the coup of the sergeants? The coups in Ghana and Liberia lend credence to this phenomenon but the author feels that if there is no fundamental change in society following a revolution, it is unlikely that this chain of events will continue. "The tragedy of military rule in Africa is that it has in almost all cases left a more corrupt, impoverished . . . polity than it inherited." The author concludes that as the struggle for scarce resources increases, armed violence--rather than military violence--may become a future trend.


The threat of a recurrence of the Sahel drought has led to a discussion of food aid as a cure and a retarding factor to eventual food self-sufficiency. The cases of Mali and Cape Verde are underscored. Mali, potentially self-sufficient in food, is plagued by artificially low prices paid to producers and the rise of an illegal market. Cape Verde, on the other hand, will probably never be food self-sufficient but has avoided creating a "mentality of dependence."


Authors note the "decisive significance of the aid and support given by the Soviet Union to Africans" in the pre and post independence periods. They emphasize the direct UN role and indirect OAU role of the Soviet Union. While downplaying the USSR's military assistance, they play up economic aid ("Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are assisting the newborn states in their national industries. . .").


The author describes the means and methods of the imperialists to interrupt the process of final liberation of African nations. The imperialists, by using the myth of the "Soviet threat", involve the developing nations of Africa in military cooperation arrangements that hamper their economic development. By maintaining the young African nations in this dependent state, the imperialists are able to continue robbing these countries of their natural resources.

Approximately 10 million people in northeast Africa are victims of drought and/or war and civil strife. This article gives a brief overview of the plight of these refugees country-by-country. In conclusion, "it took a coordinated international effort to save the Cambodian survivors; nothing less will avert a potentially bigger tragedy in north-east Africa."

Central African Empire


This article looks at the problems of reconstruction which the Central African Republic must surmount on its way back to "normality." Agricultural production and development of a transportation infrastructure are the two principal concerns now facing the CAR. Unemployment and student unrest are also serious obstacles to stability. The article discusses France's "interests" in the CAR.

East Africa

Northeast African Studies. [A newly launched scholarly review published by the Northeast African Studies Committee of Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, thrice yearly. This publication incorporates the Ethiopian Notes which halted publication last year, and was reviewed in A Current Bibliography on African Studies, No. 4, 1979-80].

This new journal intends to focus on research being conducted in Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, and the Red Sea Littoral. The first issue has an article on the origins and structure of Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and more historical pieces dealing with Somalia's colonial past and Ethiopia's position on the Horn of Africa.

Gabon


The need for the Transgabon railway has never been more urgent. Gabon is currently paying more than $57 million per year to get its manganese across the Congo border to the port of Pointe Noire for export. This article contains detailed financial information and an excellent map of the railroad.
Ghana


The author was in Ghana at the time of the 4 June 1979 coup and offers her detailed recollections which are heavily favorable to Flt Lt Rawlings and somewhat critical of the current civilian administration. Rawlings is portrayed as a humble, well-meaning visionary who almost lost control of the revolution because of the excesses of the enlisted ranks and university students. Offers no new information about the revolution.

Liberia


The author is the Liberian Minister of Information. His article is a response to recent criticism of the April revolution. The achievements of the People's Redemption Council (PRC) are enumerated, the most important of which is the PRC's anticorruption drive and its egalitarian ideals.


A brief account of the Liberian financial crisis. There is reason for optimism, however, because the Liberian Government has agreed to the terms of a $30 million IMF loan which is expected to clear the way for a $13 million commercial loan from a New York bank. No details of the terms imposed by the IMF are given.


An examination of the state of Liberia since the April 1980 coup which portrays Master Sgt Doe as naive, uneducated but well-meaning, and that lack of sophistication of soldiers in power may be a stabilizing force. Powers suggests that Doe and guerrilla warfare specialist Major William Jerbo planned together to overthrow President Tolbert. A rift developed between them and Doe went ahead with the coup. Jerbo was accused of attempting a counter coup and finally killed while trying to flee to Sierra Leone. A fear now is that the People's Redemption Council will be unable to satisfy the rising expectations of the masses.

Madagascar

"Only 5 years . . ." refers to the takeover by President Ratsiraka and the beginning of the Socialist revolution in Madagascar. The article catalogues the accomplishments of the Peoples Republic of Madagascar and cites the positive accomplishments of the regime. The journalistic merit is compromised by the glowing terms used which read like a propaganda tract of the Madagascar Government.

Nigeria


An analysis of international opinion of the Nigerian Civil War through an examination of press coverage by the *Egyptian Gazette*, *The Dawn* (Karachi), *The Jerusalem Post*, and *The Statesman* (Calcutta). The first two newspapers clearly favored the Federal side; the latter two sided with the Biafran cause. The author suggests that the Federal forces (composed mainly of northern Muslims) were acceptable to Muslim Egypt and Pakistan. Israel identified with the plight of the non-Muslim Biafrans and reacted against Egypt. India's reactions were a reflection of its animosity towards Pakistan as well as a response of its non-Muslim majority.


Traces President Shagari's life, from his early schooling through his years as a teacher and public servant, up to his election as President of Nigeria.


The 22 July meeting, convoked by President Shagari to discuss the proposal of increased pay for public officials and the creation of new states, was boycotted by the leader of the United Party of Nigeria, Chief Awolowo. All five UPN governors did attend, however. Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, head of the Greater Nigerian People's Party, chose not to attend to protest the government's handling of the Shugaba affair. Both GNPP governors were present.


The President of the Senate has received demands for the creation of new states out of Nigeria's current 19 states. In the past, minorities' fears have been at the heart of the demand for more states. Now, revenue sharing--the distribution of Nigeria's oil wealth--appears to be the paramount motivational factor in the demands. Tough constitutional requirements and the present disinclination of the federal government to consider the issue are working against the effort.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Professor Ishaya Adu recently visited Britain and met with Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Carrington. Among topics discussed were: Nigerian nationalization of British Petroleum, press freedom in Nigeria, the handling of Nigerian prisoners in Britain, and the trade imbalance which favors Britain.

Senegal


A close cooperation and friendship which exists between France and Senegal is examined. Senegal's economic plight, openly discussed and admitted to its citizens resulted in a more than generous aid package from France. Positive in tone, the article discusses the austerity program to be put into effect. It compares the generosity of France with the miserliness of the Arab petroleum producers who court Muslim Senegal but offer little monetary support.

Sierra Leone


This article is excerpted from the June 1980 issue of Monthly Review and was written under the pen name of "Frank Ly." It is a biting critical, mildly-socialist commentary on the Stevens Government in Sierra Leone. The author states that between 1968 and 1978, Stevens increased military expenditures three-fold in real terms. The army was "packed off into the hills, where newly-built barracks, better pay and conditions, and extra rice and booze rations kept their minds...on the pursuit of pleasure rather that politics." Western interests have repeatedly bailed out the Sierra Leone Government and maintained Stevens in power.

South Africa


A well-written article detailing how South Africa's urban housing policy has created a growing backlog of black housing as well as lessening black capital formation and maintaining high levels of black unemployment. Implicit throughout the article is the suggestion that a more open housing policy would create a larger black middle class loyal to the Botha regime.

A well-received novel that focuses upon both the need and the difficulty of South African whites to campaign against apartheid. A seemingly ordinary white school teacher grows outraged at the death—reported as a suicide—of a black friend. As the teacher investigates he encounters white South African stereotypes: the Dutch Reformed Church minister, conniving police investigators, self-serving liberal lawyers, and the mass of white citizens whose moral paralysis is reminiscent of a statement by a former Rhodesian prime minister: "The trouble here is fear of the unknown."


Regretfully concludes that business has a limited reformist role in South Africa. The results of the Sullivan Principles have been token and more rigid enforcement of the various codes would aid a fairly small percentage of black South Africans. While acknowledging the limitations of business-induced reform, Eaton hopes that business would press hard on the sixth principle ("Improving the quality of employee's lives outside of work place . . .") since such action would directly challenge apartheid and serve as a precedent for other groups. Yet facing stiff official opposition and lacking adequate enforcement mechanisms, the Sullivan and other codes "are promissory notes without a due date."


An optimistic view of southern Africa's short-run future. Arguing that "Roberto Mugabe has injected an unexpected note of realism," Hahn points to recent South African aid and trade to willing black nations. Questionably, Hahn argues that black nations "endorsed economic—and by implication, political—coexistence" and that black states consider South Africa as "a sovereign state whose troubles must be settled internally." Hahn does discuss the November meeting that Mugabe held with his friend, Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Mugabe praised the often criticized Zulu leader for supporting foreign investments in South Africa and for organizing people in tribal areas along traditional lines and customs. Finally, Hahn believes that Botha's proposed councils of all racial groups could, sometime in the future, establish a new constitution.


Jaster sketches the last 20 years of South African strategic planning, noting that such strategies as the "outward movement" (detente with black Africa) and white-ruled buffer states have failed. South Africa now has several limited choices. The West is unlikely to enter into a defensive alliance with South Africa just as neighboring black states are reluctant to agree to any regional security arrangement. For technological and financial reasons, South Africa can ill-afford a go-it-alone stance.
Recourse to a nuclear deterrent offers only limited military gain while incurring substantial political costs. South Africa will likely continue to work for increased Western and regional cooperation but will rely on a two-pronged strategy of guarding against external incursions while implementing limited domestic reforms to dampen nonwhite hostility.


Written by a journalist with a substantial background in Southern Africa, the novel deals with a long range reconnaissance unit of the South African Army, and its activities on the Mozambique border. A fairly interesting study of reconnaissance soldiers, *A Member of the Club* also describes some apparently new personnel sensing devices employed by the South African Defense Force.


"A competent survey of conservative bent, analyzing the political and economic interests at stake in Southern Africa for the West--and most particularly the United States. Not surprisingly, it is being swiftly overtaken by events. . . ."


Realpolitik argument about South Africa's strategic importance. Arguing that personal moral feelings should not shape policy ("saints can afford to be pure--statesmen, alas, must be responsible"), Professor Roy believes that the Soviets "unavoidably" will keep a naval presence in the Indian Ocean and that the West will be foolish to ignore South Africa's geographic and mineral importance.

Sudan


Primary emphasis of this article focuses on the refugee and economic problems presently facing Sudan. The article concludes with a very brief overview of the current Sudanese domestic and international political situations.


After failures in the past, the rapidity with which Sudan and Ethiopia have moved to patch up their differences has surprised both enemies and allies alike. This article details the origins of the conflict, past attempts to end it, reasons for its recent successful resolution, and a brief overview of its long-term effects in north-east Africa.
"On the Brink of a Breakthrough?" *Sudanow* (Khartoum), April 1980, pp. 10-16.

Until recently, Sudan and Ethiopia were on the verge of direct military confrontation. Patient diplomacy, combined with a need on both sides to improve their relations, resulted in mutual high-level visits. However, "fundamental and thorny issues" still remain to be resolved. This article also contains an interview with Sudanese First Vice President General Abdel Majid Hamid Khalil.


A brief overview of the "touchy" problems involved in tapping the Nile's water resources. Sudan is particularly upset by Egypt's plan to divert some of the Nile's water to Israel--"to irrigate the Negev Desert." Sudan's relations with Ethiopia are also influenced by the "Nile question." (Ethiopia may build dams on the tributaries of the Blue Nile--with Soviet aid.) Saudi Arabia may also be interested in buying Nile water from Sudan.


"Like many Third World countries, Sudan inherited from its colonial past an economy geared to the needs of the industrialized West. Today, international market forces have simply replaced colonial trade patterns; the economy is still dependent on external demands." The author wonders how long it will be before Sudan and other Third World countries break this pattern and concentrate on their own internal needs.

**Tanzania**


Tanzania is on the brink of bankruptcy and an internal debate is raging as to its cause. Many politicians point to external factors such as world inflation, the Ugandan war, drought, and rising oil prices. But the truth is that the external factors have only exacerbated an already disastrous situation brought about by the Socialist system practiced in Tanzania. Yet the belief in this system is strong and unlikely to waver in the future. This article speculates on the policies that Tanzania might undertake to improve its deteriorating situation.

**Uganda**


With regard to the unsettled domestic situation of Uganda, the author discusses the important but often neglected point of the great effect that
regional politics involving Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Kenya has always had. The relationship among these nations has been shaky ever since the revolution in Ethiopia, and until it stabilizes—which it shows some hope of doing—the political situation of Uganda is threatened with continued unrest.


In the face of the chaos that Uganda has suffered since the ouster of Idi Amin, this article attempts to answer a number of key questions. Will there be an election? If it is held, will it be free and fair? Who will win (and who are the likely participants in a government of unity)? Will the Tanzanians leave after an election? Will a professional Ugandan army and police force ever emerge? And, finally will they stay out of politics or feel constantly obliged to take control of Uganda?

**Upper Volta**


The entire 52 pages of this issue is devoted to Upper Volta.

**Zaire**


Excerpts from testimony by US Deputy Assistant Secretary Lannon Walker concerning US military and development aid to Zaire before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. A very favorable picture of Zaire is given.


Zaire's principal financial backers have advised Zaire that "further rescheduling of the public debt, increased financial help at favorable terms, and substantial balance of payments support" are needed in order to help rehabilitate the country's economy.


A very pessimistic view of the numerous problems facing the current Zairean regime. Mobutu is described as the "epicentre of le mal zairois." Poor financial planning, student unrest, and international (US and France in particular) concern for Zaire's "poor African image" are discussed in depth. The article also covers Angolan-Zairean relations and their long-term effects on the stability of the Mobutu regime.
Zambia


When noting the growing urban-rural economic disparity, Dodge points her finger at governmental policies: a basic urban developmental bias, development of only the more relatively affluent provinces, and an agricultural pricing policy that has worsened the urban-rural terms of trade. Among her suggestions are that the government reform its inefficient agricultural monopolies and that it lessen its emphasis on capital-intensive development.
ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in September 1980)

Africa General


This book attempts to describe the evolution of some key transportation networks in Africa. There is a heavy emphasis on southern Africa, including Tanzania and Zaire (about three-quarters of the volume) and on railways, although there is some coverage of navigable waterways and roads.


Subunits of the article include: "Petroleum Production (general)," "The Gulf of Guinea: Nigeria, Gabon, Angola, Other and Future Producers," "The Chad and Zaire Basins," and "The Impact of High Oil Prices on African Economies." Various charts and maps are also included.


Soviet Policy in Africa is neither opportunistic, as the deliberate abandonment of Somalia illustrates, nor is it part of some "grand plan" as the Soviets, like other powers, have had to continually compromise their approaches in the face of the unpredictability of African affairs. The author sees, instead, a transitional policy on the part of the USSR that is the result of Moscow changing from an international entity that fostered revolution and disruption for its own sake to a superpower that seeks long term, tangible influence, political and economic, from alliances with stable and viable African regimes.


This recently updated issue brief covers the global and regional considerations facing the American policymakers in the Horn of Africa. Also included is an outline of current legislation relevant to this area and a chronology of major events since July 1974.


An overview of the various conflicts on the Horn involving Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, and the Sudan, as well as the roles played by the former
colonial nations and the great powers. With all these actors involved, the author feels that tensions should be defused before the conflicts escalate well beyond their boundaries.


"The outcome of the Angolan civil war seemed to confirm that only France was politically capable of intervening to halt Soviet expansion in Africa. France reassessed its links in Africa and a series of new cooperation agreements was signed. Thus, while the last French colonial presence in Africa was ended when the enclave of Djibouti became independent in 1977, less than 12 months later not only were there more French troops in Africa than at any time since 1960, but they were actively engaged in fighting in Chad, Mauritania and Zaire."


This is an examination of the overall strategic potential of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Djibouti. After measuring each of the nation's capabilities in specific categories the author attempts to evaluate the significance of the area as a geographic entity.


The front-line states met in Lusaka in spring of 1980 to plot the "economic liberation and integrated development" of black states in southern Africa. The conference particularly emphasized transportation and communication, establishing a commission in Mozambique to coordinate existing transport and communications facilities.


The author stated that the USSR has three goals in the Middle East and Africa. First, the Soviets seek to project their power into the strategic positions of these parts of the world. Secondly, Moscow, through its own non-military efforts or by way of interventionist actions of its client states, attempts to provoke changes, especially in Africa, which they judge to be in their favor. And finally, the USSR is determined to improve its position in the Indian Ocean which will bolster its gains in Africa and the Middle East.

Burundi

"Burundi: A soluble dilemma?" Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 18, 3 September 1980, pp. 3-5.
The Tutsi-dominated Bagaza government continues its attempts to forge 'national reconciliation', the catchphrase of the government. No one knows how this will work with the majority Hutu population (85 percent). The article closes with a brief analysis for Burundi-Rwanda relations toward each other and toward the superpowers.

Equatorial Guinea


A five-line announcement of Liniger-Goumaz' "fourth volume of bibliography" on Equatorial Guinea.

Ethiopia


Ethiopia's ruling Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), or Dergue as it is commonly called, is one of the most secretive of ruling bodies. In fact, perhaps the most striking aspect of the PMAC has been the successful secrecy about its membership, origins, method of work, and disputes. This article, written by an author who remains anonymous to protect himself and his sources, is an attempt to provide data about the PMAC, its origins and structure.

Ghana


The Western news media is censured for "crisis or negative" reporting on Africa. In particular the BBC is singled out for a "jaundiced" report on Ghana in which Flt Lt Rawlings is exalted while President Limann is presented as a politician who is "awed by the fact that he is President."


A critical analysis of the performance of the Ghanaian economy since the restoration of civilian rule in 1979. President Limann's economic policies receive especially negative reviews.


A summary of the recent political controversy surrounding the rejection by Parliament of the nominations of Chief Justice Apaloo and Justice Abban for membership on the Supreme Court. Also included is a denial of wrong-
doing by Apaloo and a statement by the People's National Party (PNP), the party in power, rebutting assertions made by the opposition party, the Popular Front Party (PPF), which supports the nominations of the two justices.


Recounts events in Ghana immediately after the June 4 coup. Flt Lt Rawlings and the People's Redemption Council (PRC) exhorted the people to carryout a "real" revolution, revolution of the spirit to end corruption and restore national pride. Also discussed are civilian-military relations, the press, and the 1979 political campaign. The author is sympathetic to the goals of the PRC.

Liberia


Not only has Liberian head of state, Sgt Doe, been rebuffed by other African leaders, trouble is brewing at home. Friction within the military dominated People's Redemption Council (PRC) and between the PRC and the mostly civilian cabinet have combined to create an uncertain future for the stability of the revolution.


A statement by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs to a Congressional sub-committee. US concerns for Liberia are: to avoid an economic collapse; to encourage a return to civilian rule; to assure the Liberian Government of US support for its basic security considerations; and to promote the long-term development of the country.

Malawi

Financial Mail (Republic of South Africa), 6 June 1980, pp. 1109-11.

Malawi's enigmatic status as the "lost" frontline state in the southern African context, and political changes in the countries (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) bordering her, pose interesting questions for that country's future direction. This article weighs the probable changes that Mugabe's election will bring about in Malawi and the possibility of the People's Liberation Army of Malawi, the armed wing of the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) playing a future pivotal role.

Mauritania


Mauritania's President Heydallah's decision to free the slaves (Narratines) is likely to offer opposition groups abroad a unifying issue
and, by aligning themselves with the threatened traditional ruling class, opposition elements can gain support for continuing their struggle. The Paris-based umbrella opposition organization, l'Alliance pour une Mauritanie Démocratique (AMD) has a nebulous program for a multi-party system in the country and the preservation of "balanced relations with all its neighbors." Financial support comes from Gulf states. The principal tactic of the AMD appears to be to exploit Moorish-Black antagonism inside the country and to discredit the military regime in Arab capitals.

_{Namibia}_


Fairly detailed review of recent events.


Documents Namibian—basically Ovambo—resistance to Portuguese, German, and South African control. The forerunners of SWAPO first gained mass support from the exploited contract labor force. SWAPO turned to armed resistance in 1966 following the inability of the UN and World Court to diminish South African control over Namibia. Although informative, the article rarely touches upon the spillover effect of South African events upon Namibians or the ethnic divisions which have hindered SWAPO's hopes.

_{Nigeria}_


An analysis of the strains in the political alliance of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP). The discord is partly due to NPP cries for greater participation in the decisionmaking process. More importantly, NPP legislators refused to go along with the NPN proposal of establishing Presidential Liaison Officers (PLOs) in each of the 19 states. A reconciliation was announced in June and there is even talk of fusing the two parties. Most observers do not expect any attempts at union to proceed smoothly.


A tour d'horizon of Nigeria written by various authors. Topics covered include: foreign policy, Anglo-Nigerian affairs, the President, the economy, oil, technology, labor relations, religion, transportation and corruption.


Assesses Nigerian political affairs since the return to civilian rule in October 1979. "The legislature continues to play the dominant role in Nigerian affairs, and is easily the most powerful legislative body on the
African continent." Since the death of J.S. Tarka, the Tiv tribal group has been without a leader; the article suggests several candidates who might assume a leadership role in the Tiv community.

Sierra Leone


President Steven has been courting France to increase French participation in the Sierra Leonean economy, especially in the diamond industry. Questions the benefits Sierra Leone derived from hosting the OAU Summit. The main beneficiaries of the brief construction boom were wealthy Lebanese merchants. To ensure internal security, President Stevens relies on the "loyal and well armed" State Security Detachment (SSD) which includes some Guineans. A 20-man Presidential bodyguard also is from Guinea. The President keeps a close watch on the army and personally controls its ammunition supplies.

Somalia

Africa Confidential, 3 August 1980, pp. 5-6.

Somalia's drastic economic plight—the result, in large part, of that nation's erratic foreign policy—shows no sign of improving despite the recent agreement with the US covering the use of military facilities. This agreement, for instance, has strained relations with Iraq, one of Somalia's most generous aid givers. And Somalia's continuing irredentist claims against Kenya have caused Saudi Arabia, which has tried to mediate this dispute, to question its role in the face of Somalia's intractable stance.

South Africa


A major focus of the recent hostilities in South Africa was the Cape school boycott. The Committee of 81 issued an ultimatum for nonracial education. Demands include increased financing, independent student representative councils, and an end to political expulsions and intimidation.


Alines South Africa with the West and with "China's Maoist leaders who want to use the situation in the south of Africa for their own ends." Without the assistance of the NATO nations and multinational monopolies, South Africa would have long ago surrendered to liberation forces. By supporting South Africa, the West and China "become accomplices in the crimes perpetuated by that regime against the African . . . ." An uncritical review.

Review, with pictures, of South Africa's Defense Force. Notes the massive white mobilization (white children begin military training at the age of 12; 300,000 boys are in cadet training), rigorous training (helicopter pilots are cross-trained in jets), and the nation's growing arsenal (the state-owned ARMSCOR "produces virtually all of the country's military needs" and while it has developed only two indigenous weapons, "the South Africans are good copiers" of such weapons as the Israeli Galil assault rifle and Israel's Gabriel naval missile). Jensen's article also deals with the navy's spectacular Silvermine communications center. Yet, the article concludes, "in the end, survival for white South Africans may depend less on guns than on goodwill."


South Africa is passing through rapid, and often overlooked, changes which might ease racial tension and eventually allow for a peaceful resolution. Prime Minister Botha has championed political change ("We must adapt or die") while traditionally conservative Afrikaner are becoming increasingly educated and less fearful of change. Meanwhile, the booming economy is offering increased employment.


A flattering review of several indigenous South African combat and counter-insurgency vehicles, along with the argument that South Africa's mineral and geographical positions are vital to the West. Noting present Israeli-South African cooperation, the author contends that "simple moral and pseudo-moral judgments are not enough. The Western powers have to get their hands dirty, have to become directly involved."


"The material and political conditions for increasing organized and armed resistance...now exist" but are being confronted with a new strategy by the South African Government. The government has constructed such buffer devices as community councils to shield the government from direct criticism. Additionally the white government is offering limited political redress to urban blacks. This limited reform, however, is coming at the expense of the rural blacks and is used by the government to convince the world that the government is abolishing most--or all--of apartheid.

Strongly biased presentation of the merits of the white regimes in southern Africa, believing them to be threatened by the Soviet Union. Examines the possible effect of sanctions upon South Africa, the military capability of South Africa, the importance of the Cape route. . . . Often anecdotal but occasionally informative. General Walker is a former NATO Commander-in-Chief for Allied Forces in Northern Europe.

Sudan

Frost, Michael. "Sudan: Confidence is high in economic turn-about." Middle East Economic Digest, 18 July 1980, pp. 6-8 & 46.

The Sudanese Government is determined to start an economic recovery, despite continuing problems of labor and commodity shortages and the lack of foreign exchange. Infrastructure schemes are being completed and the discovery of oil may solve the foreign exchange bottleneck. Opportunities for new investment are still limited but there are loopholes—especially for foreign businessmen—which bring good rates of return.

"Moslem Brothers exert their hold on National Assembly." Middle East Newsletter, 11-24 August 1980, pp. 5-6.

The improving economic climate which is promised by the country's oil potential and reflected in the West's new interest in Sudan could all come to nothing if political obstacles rise in the way. The Moslem Brothers in the National Assembly are one potential problem. Large-scale economic and tribal troubles in the Southern Region pose another potential problem.


"By eschewing ideological commitments, the regime has kept aid flowing from diverse sources. However, the interplay of political forces on the domestic level has hindered progress toward achievement of a relevant development ideology. In the early years of the regime, dependence upon some member of the Sudan Communist Party and persons of the leftist ideological orientation affected policy. The Sudan has not played as active a role in African affairs as it has on Arab issues."

Tanzania


This book is a collection of essays stemming from a 1976 Toronto conference devoted to the subject of Tanzania's transition to socialism. It includes an introduction and essays representing both favorable and critical opinions as to the nature and success of Tanzania's political and economic departure. Taken as a whole, the reviewer found them to be provocative and insightful reading.
Uganda


The military takeover in Uganda has strengthened the cooperation and alliance between Kenya and Sudan that was brought about by Tanzania's invasion of Uganda and the ouster of Amin. The issue of Uganda has polarized East Africa into two camps, and the only hope that the problem can be resolved hinges on the complete withdrawal of Tanzanian troops and the release of former President Binaisa.


This book's focus is divided in three as it deals with the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods in Uganda's history. The reviewer felt that the coverage of the pre-colonial period was competent, and that the author's grasp of the colonial segment—the time when the country began to coalesce—was very good. The only major problem the reviewer had with this book was the relative dearth of current political history, which he admitted, though, was still based on opinions rather than facts.

Zaire


Despite Zaire's financial and domestic troubles, there is little evidence of a coherent opposition inside Zaire, although exile movements in Belgium are trying to forge some unity.

Zimbabwe


Zimbabwe must make up for lost time: during U.D.I. Western nations built trading links with the front line states. Yet Zimbabwe should benefit from lower transport costs and a desire among the frontline states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa.


Rising oil prices and the world recession have tightened international capital markets while stripping nearby less developed countries of foreign exchange to purchase Zimbabwean products. However, because of international sanctions, Zimbabwe is currently underborrowed to international lending agencies and therefore should fare better than most LDC's.

Reprinted from the London Daily Mail, this article chronicles the Rhodesian Special Air Services attempt to kill Joshua Nkomo in his Lusaka home.


Based on interviews with Rhodesian guerrillas, each chapter deals with a small guerrilla band ("The Crocodile Gang") and chronologically traces the movement's search for tactics and strategy. Somewhat awkwardly written because of stilted dialogue and Raeburn's ideological bent, the book is still worthwhile, especially when tracing the sometimes divisive effect of foreign ideologies upon the guerrillas and when explaining how the guerrillas used history and spirit mediums to support their Chimurenga ("armed struggle"). Introduction by James Baldwin and Afterword by A.R. Wilkinson.


"The famed Rhodesian Selous Scouts rely on this handbook . . . . Logistical planning instructions cover patrols, base camp attacks . . . . Technical information covers radio equipment and antennas, grenades . . . . weapons specs."
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Africa General


While lamenting the dominance of English and the decline of French on the international scene, the series of articles still manages to present the dynamic force of French, especially in the Third World. Africa contains the majority of French-speakers in the world, and it is here that language and culture have taken on a new dynamism. The role of language in culture and nationalism and its importance are underscored.


A globalist view which believes that the Soviet activities in southern Africa must be seen not as regional and isolated incidents but in the broader context of Russian expansion. The book examines the Soviet "drive" into southern Africa and surveys the area's sea lanes and land transportation links. Skurnik concludes, "this reviewer's impression is that gloom is premature, but also that Western vigilance is in order."


One of the many studies on the Sahel drought of 1968-74, this study goes beyond description and assigns causes. In tracing the history of the severe drought, French political and ecological policy are blamed as responsible for the intensity of the disaster.


This article, one of several on the same subject by Mr. Nicolas, examines the complexities of African Muslim culture, its relations to the divisions in the Arab world, and its accommodations to modern occidental culture. Simplistic arguments are rejected, and generalizations prove unsatisfactory. Islamization is viewed as a dynamic process whereby conservative and modernizing currents interact.


One in a series of several articles on Francophone West Africa, this article deals specifically with the Communauté Économique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (The West African Economic Community), exclusively tied to France by a common colonial experience and a common currency. Rondos discusses how the organization serves to maintain preindependence trading patterns and dependence on France.
Interview with Uwechue in which he speculates that South Africa will resolve its problems through violence ("The so-called moderates will pace their moves only in relation to the extreme Right . . .").


Several aspects of the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and West Africa are examined, the most notable of which is an article on economic relations.

Angola


"One of the finest contributions to the literature on African nationalism," emphasizing political elites and interparty relations. Weiss believes, however, that Marcum should have offered much more analysis of mass mobilization by the three parties.

Benin


Discusses conditions in Benin through an examination of the agricultural sector. A Beninese ministerial report states that many of the problems in this sector can be traced to insufficient extension services to the peasants, stealing from cooperatives, and an excessive bureaucracy.

Botswana


Reviews Botswana's stability and increasing prosperity despite the effects of the Rhodesian war. Takes note of several possible problems: huge wage differentials between black and white mining personnel, the recent death of President Seretse Khama, and the location of South Africa on her borders. Includes an unctuous biography of Khama's successor, Quett Masire.

Chad

Lanne, Bernard. "Nord et Sud dans la vie politique du Tchad (1946-1979) (North and South in the Political Life of Chad (1946-1979))." Revue d'Etudes
Analyses which emphasize the religious character of the Chadian civil war are viewed as simplistic in an article which stresses instead the ethnic and geographical dimensions of the conflict.

Equatorial Guinea


The 11-year rule of Macias N'Guema made Equatorial Guinea one of the poorest countries in Africa. One year after his overthrow oil companies are showing new interest and the government is welcoming international aid, shunned by the former dictator. But despite a government decision to devalue its currency, it is still worthless outside the country. This problem is the single largest obstacle to development efforts in Equatorial Guinea today.

Ghana


An assessment of civilian rule in Ghana since Flt Lt Rawlings transferred power to the victors of the 1979 elections. For the first half of the year, the People's National Party (PNP) administration considered the military to be the major threat to stability. It feels this threat has been neutralized by the retirements of Rawlings and Brigadiers Nunoo-Mensah and Quainoo. Now the greatest danger is perceived to be the slumping economy.


An analysis of Ghanaian President Limann's first year in office which discusses the "Apaloo affair," salary scales for members of parliament, and governmental subsidizing of the news media.


A critical assessment of Hilla Limann's presidency which focuses on his mismanagement of the economy, inability to deal with striking laborers, and confrontation with the judiciary. Flt Lt Rawlings is favorably portrayed as are the Tsikatas, his supposed ideological mentors. The author concludes that "the industrial sector and the urban unemployed . . . may pose a greater threat to the future stability of Ghana than the military."
Ivory Coast


An assessment of the October 1980 Ivory Coast Democratic Party (PDCI) Congress. Politically, the results seem to indicate that the youth wing of the party gained in influence at the expense of the "old guard." The post of party secretary, held by P. Yace, was abolished. Emphasis was placed on maintaining stability during this period of broadening political participation. With regard to succession, President Houphouet-Boigny stated that he will leave that matter to a "team" of people, and that he will not concern himself with it.

Kenya


Pastoralists and modern high-energy technology are in confrontation in Kenya. Tension is predictable but the desirable outcome is less obvious. Given the pastoralists' fragile semiarid environment, the future of human habitation may be more appropriately tied to their style of life.

Liberia


Reports on the trials of the alleged participants in a countercoup in Liberia. Also discussed are the current labor unrest and the progress being made by the "free education" program of the People's Revolutionary Council (PRC).

Mali


In light travelogue form, the uniqueness of the Niger River floodplain at Segou, a region contrasting greatly from the Sahara Desert which borders it, is described.


The bleak picture painted by economic conditions in Mali are assessed and discussed. The weakness of the present Malian Government under its present military leadership and its inability to act is considered by Rondos to contribute greatly to Mali's economic problems.
Mauritius


Soviet-American interest and confrontation in the Indian Ocean are at the heart of complaints by Mauritius that it was tricked into selling Diego Garcia. Demands that Diego Garcia be returned to Mauritius and that the Indian Ocean be turned into a zone of peace receive little sympathy in this article.

Namibia


By the mid-1980s world demand for uranium will begin to exceed supply. Cognizant of this, the five western industrialized nations responsible for securing Namibian independence from South Africa will defer to their own economic needs rather than to the political rights of the Namibian people.

Nigeria


Details the proposed amendment to the Nigerian Constitution which would change the composition of the National Economic Council (NEC), an advisory group to the president on matters of the economy. The proposal calls for the dropping of the vice president and state governors as members of the NEC and replacing them with skilled economists. Opponents of the amendment claim that the legislators are merely reacting negatively to an earlier ruling of the NEC which recommended a cut in pay and allowances for federal and state officials.


Discusses the current situation in the Nigerian National Assembly in which legislators are voting according to their consciences rather than along party lines. Other issues troubling the President include: unfavorable judicial rulings against executive actions, the antagonistic response to a revenue allocation report, and trade union demands to increase the minimum wage.


A commentary on President Shagari's broadcast on Nigeria's 20th Independence Anniversary. Among issues discussed are Nigerian foreign policy which,
Shagari insists, must be backed up by "a well-equipped and highly-disciplined defense force capable of defending (Nigeria's) territorial integrity." The prospect of attempting to acquire a nuclear capability to counteract a perceived threat from South Africa is raised.


A series of articles written by several authors commemorating two decades of independent rule in Nigeria. David Williams recalls the independence celebrations of 1960 and discusses the efforts of the military government toward the restoration of civilian rule. Martin Dent examines the constitution in the context of political developments over the past year. Nigeria's development as an oil exporting power is detailed by Martin Quinlan, and Alex Rondos addresses Nigeria's foreign policy within West Africa.

"Wrestling with the Multinationals." Africa News, 1 September 1980, pp. 2, 9, 10.

Reviews the state investigations of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) and several large foreign oil firms. Nigeria is increasing its efforts to attract US investment by liberalizing restrictions on the repatriation of profits, and the "indigenization decree" of the military regime is under reconsideration. The Washington Post's accusations against Chief M.K.O. Abiola and ITT are summarized.

Senegal


Homage is paid directly to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow and by extension to all of Africa on his recent unanimous mandate to head UNESCO for a second term. Mr. M'Bow's intellectual and administrative skills are highly praised in light of prejudices against Third World personalities in positions of world authority. UNESCO's direction and difficulties also receive notice as projections for the future.


This optimistic appraisal of the probable succession of the Number 2 man in Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, by the director of the major party publication, Politicien, presents a slanted, but possibly correct, assessment of the Senegalese political situation today. Diouf's success in obtaining a larger than sought loan from France on his own which forestalls or postpones difficulties and the fragmented opposition nearly assures an orderly change of leadership in the view of the author.


A timely assessment of Senegal's economic picture, the article presents statistics and an analysis of a beleaguered economy. Faced with the recurrence of drought, Senegal faces serious shortages. In spite of increases in
industrial production, overall receipts showed little change over 1978. Projected mining and petroleum production holds promise for the future.


In an interview, Senghor reiterates his stand that Africa needs a collective security force. He strongly states that the communist nations with nearly 60,000 Cubans, Soviets and East Germans in Africa, and not the West pose the greatest threat to peace and security on the African continent.

South Africa


Essentially a handbook of the Tswana homeland granted nominal independence by South Africa. Uncritical, this review touches lightly on physical infrastructure, political system, defense, mining, and recreation.


A well-known teacher of conflict resolution, Professor Fisher suggests that white South Africans need to consult with all groups on an equal basis. Using a flow diagram and charts, Fisher argues that the process of resolution often contributes to the results achieved. Placing his model in the context of South Africa's internal and foreign relations, Fisher states that understanding the other party's present perceptions is necessary before any successful political change.


Overview of South African Air Force planes and training accompanied by a history of the air force and a lengthy example of a search and rescue mission. Excellent color photographs.


Definitely misnamed, since most of its chapters do not deal with South Africa but with an examination of communist theory. Notes obvious reasons for communist interest in South Africa and believes that communism can be combatted largely through public relations and a strong military.


Two of South Africa's major liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, continue to face the problems of protecting internal leadership and preserving the links between an exiled leadership and its mass of supporters. Marx suggests that increased repression has often unified, rather than divided, the two organizations.

Excellent study of the various economic, technological, and political effects of foreign capital upon South Africa. Examines South Africa's apartheid structure, black and coloured attitudes towards foreign investment, and whether investment strengthens apartheid or creates liberalizing influences. Includes important case studies of foreign investment (oil, computer and electronics, minerals, and automotive).


Amusing and informative analysis of how the South African Government continually introduces new words as packaging for traditional practices of apartheid (referring to a former Prime Minister who boasted that he stood on the neck of the blacks, North contends that the present Prime Minister "is still standing there, thumbing through his thesaurus").


A "slim and succinct volume" which offers the first major appraisal of independent Transkei. Stultz and Young agree that the newly created state structures will provide an important training and institutional base for future black leaders. Stultz maintains that the Xhosa elite in Transkei benefit from independence and that the urban Xhosas outside of Transkei are the major losers while the peasants within Transkei's borders are largely unaffected.


Realistic labor laws have "brought South Africa many years of industrial peace." Despite such questionable assertions, the report does provide some useful analysis of the first sections of the controversial Wiehahn and Rikert reports on labor conditions.


Examines South Africa's role in world mineral reserves and exports and why the United States should exercise "resource diplomacy." Suggests that the US does not appreciate South Africa's importance ("South Africa is more important to the survival of the USA than the USA is to South Africa") while disputing the claim that the West will always have access to the minerals, no matter which government is in power.
Sudan


Tribal and intertribal disputes in the Southern Region have increased over the last year by an alarming proportion. At the bottom of it lies not only one of the severest droughts in the history of the Region, but also an unprecedented illegal trade in firearms precipitated by the discovery of more gold in the Kapoeta District. There are increasing doubts that the central government can make its presence felt in many parts of the Region.


Mr. Gatkuoth is currently the Vice-President and Regional Minister of Finance and Economic Planning for the Southern Region in Sudan. He had served previously as Acting President of the Southern Region when Joseph Lagu was prevailed upon to step down from office. In this interview, Mr. Gatkuoth discusses the problems facing "law and order" in the South.


Essentially, it is too early to say if Sudan has large quantities of oil. This article includes a 3-page interview with Sudanese Energy Minister Dr. Sherif el Tuhami. Tuhami discusses policy considerations for Sudan, and elaborates on his self-sufficiency within 3 years goal.

Tanzania


Tanzania is attempting to bridge 10,000 years in a lifetime without surrendering its traditional cooperative value of "ujamaa," a Swahili word indicating a society of the extended family. The country's long-term goal is industrial and agricultural self-sufficiency, but the foreign technology necessary for this dream must be purchased from the industrialized countries at disadvantageous terms. Mining of iron, coal, nickel and phosphates ought to move to the center of the national economy.


This article focuses on the debate between Xan Smiley, editor of Africa Confidential, and the Tanzanian Government. Smiley argues that Tanzania's experiment with socialism has been a failure. Dar es Salaam responds that the country's woes are representative of the "statistical poverty" of Tanzania and are not the result of a socialist system. Indeed, they point out that in good years, Tanzania is able to export grain for lack of storage facilities. They assert that socialism has begun to show benefits to the country's standard of living.
Togo


Comments on Togo's attempts to counteract reports unfavorable to President Eyadema which have appeared in the international press. Although seldom vocalized, there is discontent with the President within Togo, particularly among the lowly-paid and unemployed. Development projects of questionable value, ethnic favoritism, and nepotism are the most frequent accusations made against the government.

Zaire

"Target One: Zaire." Africa Confidential, 1 October 1980, pp. 3-4.

According to intelligence sources in Paris, the Russians are now ready to encourage urban guerrilla warfare in Zaire. The operation will be launched from neighboring Congo-Brazzaville and may begin before the end of the year.


This very brief article details efforts by the Paris-based International Human Rights Federation (IFHR) to investigate reports of a massacre of 215 young people in Jul 80 at Kasai.

Zambia


A thoughtful review which contends that Shaw and Anglin attribute too much authority to established structures and not enough to the charismatic Kenneth Kaunda. Yet the book does offer a "comprehensive treatment of Zambian options in the face of specific challenges," most notably with a chapter on Zambian policy toward the Angolan civil war.

Zimbabwe


An observer during the last election, Cliffe notes the "dirty tricks" initiated by the government and worries that most of the perpetrators have retained influential positions. Yet such actions as having soldiers impersonate anti-Christian guerrillas failed in part because of an already existing clandestine political network. Cliffe singles out the original and significant role of children—mujibas—who linked isolated villages to the Patriotic Front. While Cliffe worries that the Mugabe government may come under the sway of international capital (and South Africa), he suggests that the politicized rural areas will serve as a radical redress.

A guardedly optimistic view of Zimbabwe that believes that the Western press has exaggerated Mugabe's problems, notably the Tekere murder case. Yet the article does acknowledge the serious problems of land redistribution, lack of substantial international aid, and the difficulty of military integration.


A demolishing review of a book which is weighted down with "sociological jargon and convoluted sentence structure" and which has interpretations "bear[ing] no relationship to the realities of the situation." Cit
es black parliamentarians as the source of black opposition to the Rhodesian Front and defines the Patriotic Front as "terrorists."


Deals with Major Mike Williams' service with Rhodesia's Grey's Scouts. Williams was an early veteran of America's Special Forces who, in the mid-1970s, enlisted in the Greys, a counterinsurgency mounted cavalry unit. Although self-serving and sometimes tedious, Major Mike does offer some information about Rhodesian operations and personalities.
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Africa General


Homage is paid to the "school of Pharo", (a medical school in Marseilles), the training ground for French physicians battling tropical diseases. Africa has become the center of its efforts as diseases once considered under control have resurged. The history of the "school of Pharo" is also a history of tropical medicine in Africa.


This book is a Soviet overview of the economic development struggles that have been faced by African nations during the past decade. Given special treatment are the problems of political development and the attempts to become economically independent from the West.


"The author details the presence of the Soviets in Africa over the last decade, suggesting that the Soviets see Africa not only as one aspect of their global push for hegemony, but also as the latest and most promising arena for reducing Western and enhancing Soviet influence."

A collection of articles dealing with national liberation movements and revolutionary democrats' efforts to rid the African continent of imperialism and racism.

**BOTSWANA**


Notes the economic and political success of the Khama regime: per capita income quadrupled in the first 10 years of independence while President Khama maintained a democratic system in the midst of deteriorating stability among his neighbors. Yet Khama has passed on several problems to his successor, Quett Masire. In the 1980's, Botswana will continue to suffer from shortages of water, petroleum and skilled local manpower, as well as from growing political pressure from South Africa.

**BURUNDI**


Burundi and Rwanda suffer from similar problems: critical fuel shortages, poor transportation and communication connections, overpopulation, limited agricultural production, etc. The article concludes with an overview of recent positive advances in these areas.

**CAMEROON**


A brief analysis of political rhetoric in Cameroon in which three issues are examined: the setting and content of the rhetoric; the relationship between symbols and policies; and the shaping of political reality.

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC**


One year after the fall of the Bokassa regime, President Dacko has successfully "forestalled the expected battle" for the CAR and nullified much of the internal opposition while he continues to consolidate power. The key factor in the new government's efforts continues to be solid French economic and military backing.
CONGO


A Madison Avenue-like promotion for Brazzaville's centennial celebration in October 1980. The article contains a rather detailed history of developments in Brazzaville, including an abundance of statistics and photographs. Particular attention is paid to rapid changes over the past 20 years.

ETHIOPIA


GABON

"Un commando de l'air in Gabon (An Air Commando in Gabon)." TAM (Terre Air Mer/Ground Air Sea), 11 September 1980, p. 7.

A brief article containing details of the joint Franco-Gabonese maneuver "Franceville 80" which took place in Gabon last summer. Particular attention is paid to the French elements of the exercise. The article concludes with excerpts from a journal kept by an NCO who was attached to the ground forces.

GAMBIA


Despite the failure of the drought-ravaged groundnut crop and a slackening of the tourist industry in fiscal year 1979-80, Gambia managed to reduce inflation for the fourth consecutive year. Its inflation rate is the lowest in West Africa and one of the lowest in the world. Due to a stable political system, Gambia is able to attract international aid to finance its development projects.

GHANA

A brief summary of the recent criticism of the ruling People's National Party (PNP), its alleged attempt to control the press, and its efforts to oust Justice Apaloo from the Supreme Court.

"Ghana: Gloom." Africa Confidential, 1 October 1980, pp. 3-5.

The political situation in Ghana is described, including the internecine dispute with President Limann's People National Party (PNP), the rash of strikes, the PNP attempt to remove Justice Apaloo from the Supreme Court, Limann's pressure on the national press, and the harassment of Flt Lt Rawlings and his colleagues.

NIGER


The effects of the disastrous drought of the early 1970s have not been completely erased in Niger but, due to modest and careful planning, Niger seems on the road to food self-sufficiency by next year. This year's crop suffered from a return of drought conditions, but only a 10 percent drop from last year's production will mean that even this year the country will nearly meet its food needs.

NIGERIA


Nigerian President Shagari's trip to the United States in October was intended first to improve US-Nigerian relations, and second to highlight the extent of Western involvement in South Africa. He called for the UN to launch a "decade of reparation and restitution for Africa" and urged increased pressure on the white government in South Africa.


A summary of an interview with People's Redemption Party (PRP) Governor Rimi of Kano State. Rimi faults PRP leader Aminu Kano and National Secretary Sam Ikoku for violating the PRP constitution, denies that there is a split in the PRP, but admits to a "disagreement." Unlike Aminu Kano and Ikoku, Rimi opposes any ties with the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN).


A general survey of the first year of civilian rule under President Shagari. The "herculean" task of development is discussed along with Nigeria's poli-
tical "teething" problems, in which the executive, legislative, and judicial branches are all exploring the limits of their respective domains.

"Nigeria's future hangs in the balance." To the Point, 7 November 1980, pp. 14-15

A predictably gloomy assessment of the problems facing Nigeria over the next 25 years. Nigeria is portrayed as a bumbling giant whose time is running out; it will take a "superhuman effort" for the government and people to "put their country on the road to economic and political stability."


Essentially an interview with Nigerian Vice President Alex Ekwueme in which he explains his official duties and relates the achievements of the National Party of Nigeria's first year in power. As a former architect and town planner, he decries the lack of "forward planning" in the state corporations and vows to change it.

SENEGAL


Recent events which led to the "invitation" of Senegalese troops to Gambia are viewed in light of tensions inherited from the colonial partition. While Qaddafi and Libya serve as the official pretext, tensions in existence since the two countries gained independence may figure in the intervention of Senegal.

SIERRA LEONE

"Rumors of election." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 41, 43.

There is talk in Sierra Leone of the possibility of a sooner-than-expected general election. Both the 1973 and 1977 election were marred by irregularities and political violence. The reasons advanced for the speculation about new elections are that President Stevens wishes to silence critics who claim that his one-party state is turning into a dictatorship, and that there is a common desire among the Sierra Leonean electorate to rid parliament of "inefficiency and corruption."


Briefly discusses the National Alliance Party (NAP), a Sierra Leonean opposition exile group which angered President Stevens by demonstrating during his visit to New York to address the United Nations. The NAP claims 300 members living in the US and much sympathy from other Sierra Leoneans who are afraid to support the movement openly.
SOUTH AFRICA


Plays down the power of the informal alliance existing between Israel, South Africa, South Korea, and Taiwan. Notes that this "Gang of Four" lacks a common race or culture as well as a common enemy or territorial interests.


Based on lengthy interviews with 80 Americans influential in shaping US policy towards South Africa. Emphasizes the present lack of American black influence ("We have access, we have visibility, but we don't have power"). Many of the interviewees agreed (a) "little or no consideration is given to ... influencing blacks in South Africa" and (b) "This is almost a no-win situation, in which you are going to have make very difficult choices, minimize losses, and hopefully come out with a little integrity."


Notes the history of South African troops in Namibia since 1914, observing that the armed forces have remained the "dutiful and creative servant of the state." Since 1914, the Defense Force has expanded from conventional to nonconventional warfare and from strictly violent methods to programs of civic action. Raises the possibility that the South African Defense Force may engage in "incipient praetorianism" if discontented with South Africa's political disengagement from Namibia.


Opposes the Second Police Amendment which drastically curtails public—press and family—knowledge of detained individuals. States that "over 90 laws" limit freedom of the press.


Notes the importance of the National Institute for Metallurgy in South Africa's $10 billion a year mining industry. The NIM has developed processes to exploit ore bodies previously regarded as too complex or of minor grade. Mentions new extraction processes for gold and platinum group minerals. Numerous photographs.

"Illuminates some key problems within, between and surrounding African (anti-apartheid) movements and organisations." Criticizes the Black Consciousness Movement for stressing individual rather than group identity, and the Black Peoples' Convention's lack of radicalism. "A very competent and thoughtful account of the Soweto revolt."


An up-to-date description of the South African Defense Force. Examines South Africa's "Total War" strategy, military economy, and recent performance in Namibia, Angola, and Rhodesia. Includes a map of major military bases and a fairly comprehensive list of military ordnance.


This series of articles examines the personnel and equipment of the Defense Force (with a separate article on the Crotale-Cactus missile), the nation's arms and nuclear industries, Namibian uranium, and the alleged nuclear blast in 1977. Includes pictures of various Mirages, AML 60/90 (Eland) armored reconnaissance carriers, a mounted cavalry unit as well as a map of principal air and naval bases.


Somewhat unconvincing thesis that Americans should direct their reformist energies not towards the supposed liberalism of the English community in South Africa but towards an apparently receptive and malleable Afrikaner morality.


For plot and historic continuity Michener traces three families—one black, one English, and one Afrikaner—over several hundred years of South African history which included the Great Trek, the Boer War, and the consolidation of the present white republic on Calvinist doctrine. "It is precisely because Michener has been so scrupulously evenhanded throughout this book that his dismay in its conclusion at the excesses of apartheid, of an ideology gone beserk, is so chillingly credible."


Observes the continuing alliance between South Africa's 120,000 Jews and Israel (South Africa's Jews contribute more money to Israel per capita than any other Jewish enclave). Believes that South African Jews are turning a blind eye to apartheid, noting a comment by a leading South African Jew that
"We are people, not paragons." Concludes that Israel-South African ties are "growing and deepening while the whole world is moving in the opposite direction."


A major in the South African Air Force, Nothling contends that nonwhites comprise an increasingly large share of the Defense Force while also receiving better treatment and greater benefits than before.


On the 25th anniversary of the African National Congress' Freedom Charter, the ANC's Secretary General presents the Congress' views on present South Africa. The ANC, which is "anti-racial and non-racial", is campaigning for release of Nelson Mandela, severely castigates Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a turncoat, and criticizes foreign investment for buttressing apartheid.


While noting a few valuable works, Seiler bemoans the overwhelming lack of studies on Afrikaner politics. He believes that "in large part because of failures to understand Afrikaner nationalist perspectives and governmental policy-making processes, American efforts to assess policy changes in South Africa suffer."


After considering such recent government actions as the Wiehahn, Riekert and, especially, the Schlebusch proposals, Professor Stultz suggests that only minor reform has occurred recently in South Africa. Obdurate bureaucracy or existing apartheid legislation often negates new reform. While much of white South Africa now accepts that apartheid has failed, it remains uncertain about future political legislation or structures. Having decided that "racial discrimination against 'blacks' remains deeply ingrained," Stultz concludes that South Africa will continue to drift politically unless and until the government restructures the South African political system into a federation that will expedite profound political reform.


Begins by asking how South Africa may contain terrorism within tolerable limits and then concludes that political reforms are the best answer. Believes that South Africa has a tremendous need for a popular constitution and that the government must obey its own laws: "if the government fails to act within the law then it cannot expect its citizens to do the same." Willers offers a useful distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare and concludes that an alliance of middle classes, both white and nonwhite, is being forged which, by pushing political evolution, could deter revolution.
SUDAN


Attempts to make a statistical assessment of the progress achieved in the Sudan since independence on 1 January 1956. Barbour compares information from official sources from 1955-57 with the most recent available government figures. Subunits of the article include: "The Achievements", "The Expectations", and "Development Projects."


The old slogan "bread basket of the Middle East" has been thrown out of the window. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, Sudan has reversed its wheat growing policy and is turning back to cotton, groundnuts and other export crops.


As the 1980-81 cotton season begins, Sudan finds that it can sell more cotton than it grows. The question is whether to use it at home or to balance the external debt. A rather optimistic view of the role cotton can play in Sudan's economic future.

TOGO


Discusses Togo's attempts to improve its image abroad and to discredit the Olympia brothers (the sons of the late President Sylvanus Olympia) who, Eyadema maintains, were responsible for a mercenary attack in 1977. The overall tone of the article is critical of Eyadema: it cites instances of excessive security precautions and the reluctance of Togolese to speak out against the government.

UPPER VOLTA


The success of the onchocerciasis (river blindness) eradication program coordinated by the World Health Organization, though extremely costly, had held out promise for new settlement and development in rich riverain areas.
Now the astronomical costs of resettlement, $25,000 per family in Upper Volta, threaten the viability of the program. The problems of the present program, its mistakes and possible future solutions are examined.


Although the November 21st military coup overthrowing the short-lived civilian government of Upper Volta takes newsworthiness from the article, possible causes leading to a military takeover can be seen. The inability of the Lamizana government to settle a teachers strike which led to a general strike may well have been a major cause of the former President's comrades in arms decision to remove him.

ZAIRE


Analyzes the evolution of the economic aspect of "Zairianization" in the capital and its implementation in the interior of the country. Schatzberg concludes that the promised reforms "did not change the [existing economic] system, but merely continued it." The "politico-commercial bourgeoisie" profited financially from "Zairianization."

ZAMBIA


A chronology lists actions President Kenneth Kaunda took from 9 October to 24 October regarding an alleged coup attempt. "The analysts' problem is that, at first glance by no means all the detentions (in these days) appear to be linked, yet some of the government's charges of corruption did appear to be a subterfuge in order to play down the extent of political dissent against the leadership."

ZIMBABWE


Robert Mugabe's electoral victory has brought confidence but problems in agriculture, rural reconstruction and employment remain, apart from long-term worries. Grundy reports that white businessmen are happy with two of Mugabe's cabinet appointments: Dennis Norman as Minister of Agriculture and David Smith as Minister of Commerce and Industry.

LeMelle was member of an independent group of American observers of the February 1980 election in Zimbabwe that was won overwhelmingly by the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo. His major point is that the Front won the election even though there was much intimidation and little real policing by the British.


Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe traveled to the US for a week recently to build up support in this country and at the UN. He met with President Carter and members of Congress to seek aid but no aid was immediately forthcoming. He is seen as toning down Marxist rhetoric and appealing for Western business investments.


The major part of the article reports on Prime Minister Mugabe's plan to move ZANLA and ZIPRA guerrillas from rural areas into staging areas near towns. The government is starting to move the soldiers despite fears by townspeople that their presence will cause problems. The two areas are townships in Salisbury and Bulawayo. The author also cites a security problem because of attacks on police stations and farms in the Mtoko District, northeast of Salisbury, shooting incidents in the rich farming Goromonzi-arkturus area near Salisbury and grenade explosions in the black-populated townships around the capital. Mugabe has sent forces consisting of ZANLA and ZIPRA men.


Reflections on the transition of Zimbabwe to an independent state. Traces British strategy when negotiating and then administering the cease-fire (Soames particularly singles out the advantage of having neutral troops located with the opposing forces, and not between them). Believes that the principle of constitutionalism is Britain's most important legacy. Quoting the first Duke of Wellington, Soames adjures that "if there must be revolution, let there be revolution under law."


The author reports on the project by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to repatriate refugees in neighboring countries during and after the election period of February 1980. He believes Rhodesian authorities used the screening procedure to weed out guerrillas as well as deter blacks from entering the country in time to vote. As a result, many refugees re-entered surreptitiously.

Quotes Minister of Finance Enos Nkala on 24 July when he presented the 1980-81 budget as saying government policies in regard to instituting socialism will be pragmatic and mild. The Minister hoped real growth will accelerate to 6-7 percent in the mixed economy of state and private enterprise. Contains a breakdown of budget line items.


A series of articles on the political and economic prospects immediately after the electoral victory of the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Prime Minister Mugabe's Cabinet is listed. There is a short history of the country and the guerrilla war. The authors tend to praise Mugabe's first "moderate" steps in taking economic control from the whites.


A summary of activities of the new government since independence, including the dismantling of the protected villages, the establishment of a minimum monthly wage and the integration of the guerrilla armies into a national force. One of Mugabe's primary problems is to replace General Walls, the retired armed forces leader, with a general who will effect the integration smoothly.


The general thrust of the article is that Mugabe is moving Zimbabwe forward. It cites rising tension between Mugabe's followers and Nkomo's followers. The writer believes some of Mugabe's advisers want the quick establishment of a one-party state, but this can't be done until "there is a semblance of a national army" in lieu of separate guerrilla forces.


The article lists some aspects of the 1980-81 budget, including the cost of security down to 20-21 percent from 40 percent the previous year. Although the deficit will increase, it will be easier to finance because of international aid, loan recoveries, and blocked funds from Britain ceded to Zimbabwe as part of a debt settlement agreement. Also, Finance Minister Nkala is encouraging foreign investment.


In fiscal year 1981 military spending would be down, spending on health, education and other social programs would be up. The budget projection is based on several assumptions: imports for the current calendar year will rise by 55 percent, with exports gaining by 40 percent leaving a $97 million deficit in the current account of the balance of payments.
A section with three articles by Zimbabwe officials: "Poised for a Green Revolution", by E. G. Cross, Chief Economist, Agricultural Marketing Authority; "High Stakes in Mining" by Zivaishé Ratisai, Economist, Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines; "Revitalizing Transport" by P. G. H. Lamport-Stokes, Secretary of Transport and Power.

"Much of Africa Strangled is made up of new highly critical surveys requested by the presidents of Zambia and Tanzania, providing the most up-to-date analysis available in book form of the two neighboring former British territories."


An interview with Jacques Berque concerning the challenge to, and the challenge of, contemporary Islam. Modernizing tendencies are confronted by the Islam of the ayatollahs and ulemas.


In addition to often hostile attitudes and actions, both official and unofficial, African immigrants in France are encouraged or forced to leave France and return home. Many find that they are unwelcome or cannot be reintegrated at home. The tragedy is doubled when viewed from a developmental aspect. Skilled manpower so needed in Africa is under-utilized when available.


The United Nations has designated the 1980s as the International Water Supply and Sanitation Decade. Shortage of water alone is not the major consideration of experts as 80 percent of all illness in developing regions is blamed on water-borne or associated illness. Problems and programs of the past, as well as future advances in technology, are presented in a timely and interesting discussion.


Profiles ten Americans who have served for foreign countries. Three served in Africa: William Brooks, a former Green Beret who fought with the French
Foreign Legion in Djibouti; George Bacon, a former CIA and Special Forces officer who was the only American to die in the Angolan war; and John Early, formerly of the US Army who directed Rhodesia's HALO (High Altitude Low Opening) program. Reasonably well-written and sometimes informative, most notably when describing Early's airborne delivery system.


Modernization is producing severe dislocations in many African societies. The author puts blame on: the introduction of the salary system, the rapid rate of urbanization, and the influence of Western culture. Among the symptoms cited as evidence of growing stresses in Africa are: abandoned children, infanticide, abandoned parents, increased incidence of insanity, and prostitution. Much of the blame is placed on African elites who participate with Western powers in weakening African culture. Rejecting Islam and the "Tanzanian model" as means to alleviate Africa's identity problem, the author vaguely suggests "solidarity" as a possible answer.


The author believes that "peaceful coexistence"--the slogan that introduced the abatement of the Cold War and the beginning of detente between the USSR and the United States--did nothing to improve relations between the USSR and Communist China. Nowhere, according to the author, is the rivalry more evident than in the Third World.

CHAD


Historical and statistical, the article nevertheless provides information to further understanding of the serious divisions in Chad. The significance of the name Sara, (from Nassara or Christian, according to a major interpretation, and thus non-Muslim and exploitable for slaving) provides the basis for the title of the article and special meaning to the present-day conflict in Chad.

DJIBOUTI


Djibouti's most serious problem as a nation is the troubled relations between the Afars and Issas, the two principal ethnic groups. Neither group is
rights of the Afars. This inequality has led to civil disturbances by the Afars and a newly developed sense of nationalism that the authors contend will be the key to the continuation of Djibouti as a nation.

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA**


This book contains a historical chronology of Equatorial Guinea, an alphabetized listing of leading persons and organizations, and a rather comprehensive bibliography.

**ETHIOPIA**


This is an analysis of the historical and social foundation of the imperial leadership in the context of the crisis that led to the dissolution of the empire and how this has influenced the revolutionaries' style of leadership. The author contends that the emperor has been deposed but the imperial policy remains, only the style and rhetoric are different.

**GABON**


A very good detailed article on multiple aspects of the Gabonese economy. The article includes interviews with President Bongo and Etienne Moussirou, Gabonese Minister of Commerce, Industrial Development, and the Promotion of Small and Medium sized Enterprises. It also discusses the Gabonese economy in 1979, hydrocarbons, mines, wood, energy and water, posts and telecommunications, transports, banks, and international cooperation. An abundance of statistics.

**GAMBIA**


Fear of intervention by "Libyan agents" prompted Gambia to invite 150 Senegalese troops into Banjul to secure the capital. Gambia broke off diplomatic relations with Libya and accused Senegalese citizen Ahmed Niasse, now in
Libya, of fomenting trouble. As a consequence of the incident, the Gambian Government banned two political organizations: the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA).


Describes aspects of the political situation in the Gambia in the context of why MOJA is given support there. The aims of MOJA-Gambia are summarized.

GHANA


An analysis of the unsuccessful 1967 coup by junior officers against the National Liberation Council in Ghana. At the root of the plotters' grievances were: generational differences between senior and junior officers; excessively rapid rates of promotion which threatened to block later promotions for junior officers; high turnover in command positions; and ethnic differences.


A fairly thorough analysis of the somewhat surprising 1979 elections in Ghana. The People's National Party (PNP) was clearly the most broadly-based, winning just over half of the seats in parliament and at least two in every region. The runner-up Popular Front Party (PFP) was perceived as Ashanti-dominated, being able to win only 13 seats in non-Ashanti areas. The author feels that Victor Owusu, the PFP presidential candidate, was not an attractive choice and Limann's election may have been a reaction against Owusu.


A gloomy characterization of the economic situation in Ghana. Shortages, labor strikes, the so-called "brain drain", and unchartable inflation have all contributed to a condition of "hopelessness."


A rebuttal to charges brought by the Ghanaian Government against Flt Lt Jerry Rawlings, Capt Kojo Tsiaka, and Mr. Tsatsu Tsiaka in which they are accused of collaborating with Wilhelm Harrison Buller to train revolutionaries at training camps inside Ghana. The accused claim that Military Intelligence is waging a campaign to discredit them and divert attention away from "more pressing issues." At one point Rawlings asks, "Why train people when in Accra alone today there are over one million citizens in a revolutionary mood?"

A short summary of the so-called "Buller Affair" in Ghana in which the credibility of the government is questioned. The Ghanaian police are accused of persecuting Flt Lt Rawlings and his colleagues.

GUINEA-BISSAU


Examines the background leading up to the 14 November coup in Guinea-Bissau. Since the Cape Verdian elite is likely to leave Guinea-Bissau, the country's economic crisis may deepen. Offshore oil offers one hope for recovery but this may depend on how the coastal dispute with Guinea is resolved. Although many of the new leaders spent time in Cuba and the Soviet Union, the conclusion is that "the new men in Bissau will move further West."

IVORY COAST

"Ivory Coast: How Real is Change?" Africa Confidential, 12 November 1980, pp. 3-5.

Much has been made of the new "democratization" process in the Ivory Coast. In recent local elections, 65 percent of the party secretaries-general lost their posts. Change at the top of the party hierarchy, however, has been less obvious. The same people who have been running the country for 20 years are still in positions of authority. The article suggests that Henri Konan Bedie is the front-runner to succeed Houphouet Boigny, and in any case, it is likely that a Baoule will be named to succeed the President. M'Bahia Ble, the Minister of Defense for the last 14 years, may be pushed out of office because his power base has grown too large, making him a threat to Houphouet.

LIBERIA


An interview with Amos Sawyer, a leading member of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), in Liberia which first appeared in Africa News. Sawyer discusses the gradual maturity of the People's Redemption Council (PRC), the direction of the revolution, and MOJA activities in Liberia.

MALAWI

Malawi is facing stern economic times partly as a result of the conditions of 
the International Monetary Fund for improving the country's troubled balance 
of payments situation. The author discusses the economic situation and the 
proposed remedies.

**MAURITANIA**

Reviewed in Revue Francaise de Science Politique.

"This large collective volume, which is more than an 'introduction' as the 
modest title would lead us to believe, focuses on the history, culture, 
economy[ and the political and diplomatic system of Mauritania up to the 
removal of Moktar Ould Daddah in 1978] ... The only shortcoming is in the 
quality of the presentation."

**NAMIBIA**

Minter, William. "Introducing Namibia: A Basic Reading List." Southern Africa, 

An annotated bibliography of some 30 publications on Namibia.

"Namibia Being Plundered of Uranium Resources." UN Chronicle, September-October 
1980, pp. 21-27.

Testimony from numerous experts detailing the activities of Rio Tinto Zinc 
and other mining companies in Namibia, a country which produces about 20 
percent of the West's uranium oxide. This situation has given South Africa 
"a preeminent position among the suppliers of uranium and enabled it to 
acquire nuclear technology which it proposed to develop for the manufacture 
of nuclear weapons."

Wellmer, Gottfried. "Germany's Tentacles in Africa." New African, October 1980, 
pp. 59-61.

A relatively new group within the German-speaking community in Namibia is 
apparently exercising considerable pressure against the inclusion of SWAPO 
into a government of independence. The new group, IG, helps operate "as a 
conduit for West German money and influence."

**NIGER**

The role, successes and weaknesses of the state peanut commercialization cooperative in Eastern Niger are discussed in this article. Real success stories of African cooperative ventures are few, and SONARA, (Nigerien Organization for the Commercialization of Peanuts) remains on shaky financial ground. The Sahel Drought of the 1960s and 70s, followed by a government program to increase food self-sufficiency at the expense of peanut cash crops, probably means that SONARA will shift more to marketing at the local level and less to supplying peanuts to the world market.

NGERIA


The author was commander of the Biafran Army throughout the 1967-70 Civil War. "His revelation of the names of those he believes to have plotted the massacre of Nigerians [read Ibos] in the northern parts of Nigeria [in 1966-67] is bound to be...painful and controversial." Madiebo tells stories of "inadequate preparation for war by the secessionist side...and of the almost criminal irresponsibility of the political leadership during the war by secessionist leader LTC Ojukwu...".


President Shagari has done a remarkable job consolidating power and stemming opposition to the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN); the other four parties are in various states of disarray. Shagari has surrounded himself with northern advisors and has appointed mostly northerners to senior military posts. Nigeria's prospects for stability appear bright.


The former Head of State of Nigeria recounts his wartime experiences in a volume certain to cause controversy. Obasanjo questions the abilities of his predecessor as head of state, General Murtala Muhammed, and highlights his clashes with General Gowon. The author's contempt for Biafran leader Ojukwu is never concealed.


Since the return to civilian rule in October 1979, Nigeria's foreign policy has functioned efficiently in spite of having to deal with a new system of government. Those parts of the constitution which pertain to foreign relations are detailed and some early foreign policy decisions of the Shagari government are discussed. Thus far, Nigeria's approach to external relations has been characterized by "Afro-centrism and positive non-alignment."

124

A commentary on Nigerian Defense Minister Iya Abubakar's claim that Nigeria will develop a nuclear capability to match the presumed capability of South Africa. The author states that South Africa has acquired a 155-mm artillery shell with a nuclear warhead. Nowhere in the article is it mentioned at what stage is Nigeria's nuclear development.


Discusses the politically sensitive problem of resource allocation in Nigeria. The Okigbo commission favors reducing the federal share from 76 percent to 53 percent and increasing the states' share from 21 percent to 30 percent. Under this plan the local share would be raised from 3 percent to 8 percent. The federal government and the oil producing states have divergent views on allocation and it will be a while before any formula is finally agreed upon.

**SENEGAL**


Ousmane Sembene's film Ceddo has been critiqued many times before Copans presents a socio-political analysis. The effects of change wrought by Islam and Christianity, both seen as intrusive on Senegalese society, is viewed as one of the most important elements of the film.


The nature of President Leopold Sedar Senghor's "African Socialism" and the chances that this ideology will survive following the planned resignation of Senghor are discussed. The authors conclude that although the rhetoric of socialism will probably continue, factors such as leadership skills, pragmatism, and support of Muslim leaders are the most important considerations.

DeCupper, Joel. "Senghor S'Attaque a la Corruption (Senghor Tackles Corruption)." *Africa* [Dakar], No. 124, October 1980, pp. 31-33.

In spite of rumors and beliefs by the Senegalese themselves, their country is not the epitome of corruption in Africa. In addition, Senegal continues to attack the problem and has placed a statute creating a offense of "unjustified enrichment" on the books. The tenor of the article is both cynical and hopeful.

The recent intervention of Senegal into Gambian affairs is analyzed. Libya appears to be the official culprit, but conditions in both Senegal and Gambia are in themselves reason for high tensions.

SIERRA LEONE


Examines the issues behind the decision of several Sierra Leone academics to resign from the university and describes the recent student disorders in Freetown.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Afrikaner and Jew Show Route To Reconciliation." To The Point, 12 December 1980, pp. 10-12.

Afrikaners and Jews have drawn closer together since the blatant anti-semitism of the 1930s and 1940s. The article suggests that the Jewish experience of maintaining ethnic and religious identity without exercising political control might encourage Afrikaners to grant concessions to nonwhites.


"Informative, analytical, and well-argued." Chester Crocker examines South Africa's manpower constraints and reduced access to Western technology and wonders how long South Africa's regional military hegemony will last. Scott Thompson has a "shallow and tendentious" chapter on "South Africa in Soviet Strategy" which Jaster describes as a "fright scenario stemming from this substitution of Soviet rhetoric for Soviet realpolitik." Jaster takes issue with Thompson over the depth of Soviet involvement. Suggesting that Russia has exercised caution in southern Africa (no eagerness to block European influence or to blockade South Africa) Jaster concludes that "the USSR has chosen to stir up trouble for the West without getting herself deeply involved."


US energy firms are purchasing South Africa's coal gasification technology. Reportedly, of the first $100 million allocated by the US Department of Energy for design work on synfuel projects, $60 million will go to projects with which South Africa's Sasol is involved either as a consultant or potential licensor.

Maintaining that South Africa considers the Limpopo and not the Zambezi River as her northern defense boundary, Killick believes that South Africa will strive for cordial relations with Zimbabwe. Author also applauds recent racial reforms promised by the South African Government.

SUDAN


Discusses the importance and impact of both the national and regional elections in Sudan during spring 1980. Particular and detailed attention is paid to the election in the Southern Region. A comparison is made between the two primary candidates for the position of President of the High Executive Council for the Southern Region, Lt Gen Joseph Lagu and Abdel Alier.


Professor Beshir teaches in the Institute of African and Asian Studies at the University of Khartoum. This article is a synthesis of two lectures he gave in 1976 and 1977 on the problems of national unity in the Sudan.


South Sudan's economy is suffering badly from the lack of infrastructure and shortages of money and trained manpower. Several industrial development schemes have been planned but have been abandoned or left unfinished because of the central government's failure to allocate sufficient funds. Faced with these problems, the author concludes, it must be only a matter of time before the South decides that it can no longer accept such treatment.


A rather good brief discussion of the "inadequacies and vulnerability of Sudan's fuel transportation system." Particular attention is paid to the rails and to the "under-utilized" river system as they apply to fuel transport.


Sudanese President Nimeiry reportedly has decided to opt for security with his immediate neighbor, Ethiopia, rather than solidarity with a more distant neighbor, Somalia, a fellow member of the Arab League.

Blame for the current North/South problem in Sudan traditionally rested on the British imperial policy which "divided the Arab North from the African South by erecting artificial barriers." On the contrary, this article argues, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium policy of separate administration for the North and South of the Sudan was essentially correct. "The major mistake was its abandonment and the political unification of the two disparate regions on the eve of the imperial withdrawal."


Wentworth begins the article with a brief summary of Sudan's vast economic potential. The bulk of the article focuses on a case study for securing international financing for the Sudanese "El Roubis [industrial] group." Wentworth concludes: "Profitable and successful contracts are readily available today. Aggressive and dedicated financing efforts, however, are usually the key to making them work."

TANZANIA


As President Julius Nyerere begins his fourth 5-year term of office he is confronted with his most crucial challenge of his entire political career: how to uphold ujammma in a changed and less altruistic world. Ujamma, Tanzania's African socialist path of independence, has proven to be an economic failure and the prospects for outside aid coming to the rescue again are remote.

UGANDA


"An eloquent account of very recent Ugandan history by a former professor of history at Makerere University. It will assuredly become an indispensable source of information for future students of Uganda."

Subsequent events in post-Amin Uganda have rendered redundant most of the policy recommendations set out in the first volume by the group of Commonwealth experts led by Mr. Seers. The second one provides a definitive description of the devastation wrought in Ugandan agriculture, industry, transport, and social infrastructure by both the Amin regime and the break-up of the East African Community.

**UPPER VOLTA**


The article appears dated in light of a military coup, but it presents events which can be seen in hindsight as leading directly to a military takeover of the short-lived civilian government.

**ZAIRE**


A very optimistic overview of Zaire's potential for the 1980s. 1980 is a "triple-anniversary year" for Zaire: the 20th anniversary of independence, President Mobutu's 50th birthday, and the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Second Republic. The article contains numerous photos.

**ZIMBABWE**


A general overview of Prime Minister Mugabe's first few months in office. The author emphasizes the political aspect of Mugabe's attempted rapprochement between blacks and whites. He applauds Mugabe's efforts to allow whites to retain property and to maintain some influence in the government.


The authors quote businessmen as saying that the nation must present a show of stability no matter who wins the election. Several paragraphs on the cost of the war. The authors also point out that Zimbabwe made a strong recovery in 1979 from depressed 1977-78 levels.


The article covers the violence in Bulawayo between followers of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Home Affairs Minister Joshua Nkomo, and reports on
"hopeful economic indicators." The author reports that the economy is growing and agriculture is expected to make a quick comeback from the war despite the drought. He quotes a New York Times article (November 2) to the extent that the land redistribution to landless peasants may not be smooth in 1981 if it is overwhelmed by a land rush.


Reports on economic developments and Mugabe's tactics. Quotes the Financial Mail (Johannesburg) that exports will increase this year by 40 percent. Also reports on Mugabe's speech to representatives of the international business community assuring that private enterprise is welcome.

"Zimbabwe Comes in From the Cold." The Economist, 8-14 November 1980, pp. 84-87.

Extremely detailed description and analysis of Zimbabwe's economy, touching industry, mining, agriculture and transport. The author also points out trends concerning imports and exports. The future of the economy is seen as bright because of diversity and sophistication. Three charts included.


The article predicts that Zimbabwe's exports should grow by 40 percent this year which would be double the exports in a 3-year period (for 1977). Yet imports are expected to grow even faster--55 percent. Import prices may not fall this year but they should grow at only a 10 percent rate rather than last year's 37 percent, which is one reason the inflation rate has almost halved in the past year.