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LIBERATION
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AFRICA TODAY is indexed in the Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS); the Social Sciences Citation Index; Social Sciences Index; Current Contents; re Africa; A current bibliography of recent literature (Documentation Service Africa-West Germany) and the International African Bibliography and abstracted and indexed in ABC POL SCI, Historical Abstracts and/or American History and Life.

Editor's Note

A regrettable misprint on this page in the last issue turned a dollar sign into the numeral 1. We had at that point received 58 gifts totalling \$3,534 — not 13,534. Despite that false illusion of affluence, gifts have continued to come in. The 91st gift, bringing the total to \$4,202, has now arrived. Orders received as a result of the appeal have brought total receipts to \$5,012. In all, 124 readers and authors have responded. Our thanks to each one. We continue to invite gifts, and would especially appreciate suggestions of possible corporate, foundation or individual donors who might be willing to match the generosity already demonstrated.

One response to the appeal came from a lapsed subscriber who lamented the low ratio of articles to book reviews in recent issues, a concern that we share. This first issue on his new order will do nothing to meet that criticism, but we think future issues will. And while not all books reviewed in this issue are new (another criticism), readers will find some stimulating theoretical discussion and useful summaries of not readily available information in many of the reviews as well as in Michael Beaubien's article and Dan Connell's Correspondent's Report.

Finally, our promises for a speeded-up production schedule have once again been frustrated, but the basis for the optimism remains. Special thanks go to Jim Ainsworth for his able work in compiling the end sections and index. We offer no promises this time, except to do our best to narrow the gap between issues.

Edward A. Hawley



*Amandla
Ngawethu!*

"Power is Ours"

Zain Quotation

DESIGN BY CHAR LEWIS / AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Coming Events

The 26th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) will be held in Boston, Massachusetts at the Park Plaza from December 7 to 10, 1983. The theme of the meeting will be "The Food Crisis in Africa." Papers and panels from every discipline relating to the theme as well as other aspects of African Studies will be presented. The Program Director is Edouard Bustin, African Studies Center, Boston University, 125 Bay Road, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

The 6th annual National Third World Studies Conference will be held October 27-29 at the Peter Kiewit Conference Center, The University of Nebraska at Omaha. The keynote speaker, Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., Dean of the Fletcher School of International Law and Diplomacy, will speak on "The U.S., the U.S.S.R. and the Third World." Prompt proposals for complete panels can still be considered, as can expressions of interest from persons willing to serve as discussants. A principal theme will be "Western Media and the Third World — Is the Coverage Adequate?" For further information write Peter D. Suzuki, Ph.D., co-director, Third World Studies Conference, The University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska 68182. (Tel. 402-554-2376)

Metropolitan State College will offer the Fifth African Heritage Institute study tour to Africa during January 1984. The three-week study tour will include visits to Senegal, Gambia and Morocco. Estimated cost is \$1700 and will cover airfare from Denver, hotel, two meals a day, and several excursions. Participants may earn 4 semester hours of credit. Enrollment is limited and deadline is November 15. For further information contact Dr. Akbarali Thobhani, Afro-American Studies, Metropolitan State College, 1006 11th St., Denver, CO 80204. (303) 629-2543.

The artwork found in this issue* is taken from postcards designed by Charlotte Lewis for the Portland Area American Friends Service Committee participation in African Liberation Day, May 25th of last year. There are four designs available: "Liberation Liberation Liberation"; "You Have Struck a Rock"; "Amandla Ngawethu! Power is Ours" with fist and "Amandla Ngawethu! Power is Ours" with child. The cards are priced at 15¢ each. Please specify design as well as quantities in placing orders. For orders in small quantities please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Orders can be made through the American Friends Service Committee, Pacific Northwest Region, Portland Area Program Office, Portland, Oregon 97214-1678.

*Reduced from actual 7"x4" size. See front cover, p. 2, p. 44, p. 52.

Announcements

The supplement to the 1982-83 DIRECTORY OF FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS doing lecturing and research in the United States includes five African scholars. Unfortunately, by the time this reaches our readers, only Adolphus A. Turkson, from Ghana, will still be in the U.S., at the Music Department, Portland State University, Oregon, until August, 1983.

The *Institute of Commonwealth Studies* is inviting contributions to a collection of papers to be edited under the title "Assistance to Refugees; Alternative Viewpoints." The focus will be on refugees in Africa, but papers based on relevant experience elsewhere will also be welcomed. There are plans to organize a workshop early in 1984 to which contributors will be invited. Interested contributors must submit a short summary of their work (about 250 words) before July 1, 1983. Draft papers should be received by October 1, 1983, when arrangements for the workshop will be made. Paper summaries should be sent to Refugee Assistance: Alternative Viewpoints, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA England.

The International Division of the *American Friends Service Committee* in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is advertising a position for Assistant Coordinator of the Africa Programs. This office implements field programs in Ethiopia, Somalia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Zimbabwe and Southern Africa, supporting local and expatriate staff in programs which include technical and material assistance in rural and urban community development; popular education, leadership training, and support for local community organization; intra and inter-national linking of individuals and organizations for exchange of ideas and experiences. Under the supervision of the Coordinator of Africa Programs, the Assistant Coordinator will:

- support the administration of African Programs and carry particular responsibility for the Southern Africa International Affairs Program (SAIAR), the Technical and Material Assistance Program for Southern Africa (TAMAPSA), the Women and Development Program in Guinea-Bissau;
- coordinate the budgeting and financial requirements for all Africa Programs;
- provide liaison with Southern Africa Program staff in the Peace Education Division;
- relate to the Africa Panel in matters of policy setting, budgets and program evaluation for supervised programs.

The salary range is \$16,000-\$18,500, depending on skills and experience, plus benefits. To submit a resume or request more information, contact: Karen Cromley, Personnel Dept., 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7000.

The *South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC)* has learned that a South African Football player from apartheid South Africa, a member of the apartheid rugby organization, a member of the apartheid police force, and one who is having his military service deferred, one Naas Botha, will be joining the Dallas Cowboys football team in August as a place kicker. SAN-ROC wishes to protest this violation of the United Nations Resolution calling for an embargo on sports, culture and academic exchanges with apartheid South Africa. SAN-ROC proposes to launch a vigorous campaign of protest on this matter and calls on all in the United States who are opposed to racism to join them in this protest. For further information and to express your support, please contact: SAN-ROC, P.O. Box 59364, Chicago, Illinois 60659.

The Cultural Boycott of South Africa

Michael C. Beaubien

Millie Jackson and Frank Sinatra probably did more to resurrect the international cultural boycott of South Africa than any of its advocates. Their widely publicized visits to South Africa helped revitalize the international movement to enforce the cultural boycott and prompted the decision by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to compile a list of all performers who travel to South Africa.

During a 1980 visit to South Africa, Millie Jackson met with representatives of MDALI, a cultural organization dedicated to improvement in the status of Black South African artists. When MDALI representatives asked her to cancel her performances in support of the United Nations sanctioned cultural boycott, Jackson is reported to have told them, "I am not a politician and I am not going to mix my career with politics. All I want is the money." Jackson has subsequently argued that her statements were intentionally distorted.

Nevertheless, Millie Jackson's alleged insensitivity angered both MDALI and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), a black South African political group. They issued a joint call for a domestic boycott of all foreign artists and the compilation of a boycott list for international circulation of all entertainers who visit South Africa. Thus, the growth of a boycott movement within South Africa and the cooperative effort between AZAPO and the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid can both be described as "Millie's" contributions.

Frank Sinatra's 1981 summer engagement at the Sun City Hotel Casino and Country Club in Bophuthatswana was Pretoria's most ambitious effort to undermine the cultural boycott. Sinatra was reported to have received \$1.79 million for a series of nine concerts. Such lucrative contracts have started a stampede of American artists eager to perform at this Las Vegas-type resort.

The most significant aspect of Pretoria's victory, however, was how Sinatra's performances were used to bestow legitimacy upon South Africa's

1. Sowetan, April 29, 1981.

Michael C. Beaubien is a freelance journalist who has written extensively on Southern Africa and teaches a course in journalism at The City College of New York.

bantustan policy, the foundation of the apartheid system. The myth of the "Tribal homeland" as a separate and independent country was echoed in the announcement of Sinatra's press agent who said, "We think the establishment of Bophuthatswana as an independent country is the right step for their (South African) future development."²

Sinatra's visit and the rising numbers of American artists who have followed his lead have rejuvenated the movement of anti-apartheid activists in the United States to enforce the cultural boycott. Organizations which have recently begun to initiate activity in support of the cultural boycott include: TransAfrica, American Committee on Africa, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Black United Front, Continuations Committee of the October Solidarity Conference, and the Black Music Association. This heightened activity can be described as "Frank's" contribution.

The cultural boycott was but one component of the international campaign to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The origins of this campaign are found in the political history of that country. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, described the ANC's use of the economic boycott as a political tactic during a 1956 campaign in an address this year to the U.N. Special Committee. He stated:

A. J. Luthuli, 'invoked' a new tactic — that of inducing the white electorate to put pressure on its own racist government. This tactic consisted of a call, first for a boycott of selected consumer goods by the population in South Africa, and later, still in this year 1958, a call on the international community to boycott all South African consumer goods . . . This call was made in the first instance to a meeting of independent African states, held in Addis Ababa in June 1960. It was subsequently submitted to the 1960 session of the United Nations General Assembly by the African delegates.³

Yet the U.N. had begun to examine the issue of apartheid even earlier. The history of United Nations' activity on the question of apartheid makes fascinating reading in a new work, **Apartheid: The United Nations and Peaceful Change in South Africa** by Ozdemir Ozgur. Ozgur wrote that

The United Nations has been concerned with the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa since the first General Assembly session in 1946 . . . The United Nations has unanimously determined that apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security.⁴

2. Sowetan, May 11, 1981.

3. Oliver Tambo, *The Crucial Need for United Action by the International Community*, United Nations Center Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, (6/82). February, 1982, p. 3. (statement by Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, at a meeting of the Special Committee Against Apartheid held at U.N. Headquarters on January 12, 1982 to launch the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa.)

4. Ozdemir A. Ozgur, *Apartheid: The United Nations & Peaceful Change in South Africa*. (N.Y.: Transnational Publishers, Inc.) 1982.

The record of this activity can be found in the sixty-four resolutions passed by the General Assembly between 1946 and 1981. Many of those resolutions included as many as eighteen subtitles dealing with specific policies of the apartheid system. The Security Council, however, has only passed twelve resolutions during the same period with the first coming in April 1960 and the last in June 1980.

The first United Nations activity directed toward the establishment of a cultural boycott of South Africa is found in U.N. Resolution 2396, which was adopted by the General Assembly on December 2, 1968: The resolution requested "All states and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, and other exchanges with the racist regime and with other organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."

Over the years the wording of similar resolutions has undergone an interesting metamorphosis. In 1972 the General Assembly invited "all organizations, institutions, and information media to organize a boycott of South Africa in sports and in culture and other activities." Resolution 3324 of 1974 found the General Assembly requesting "all governments to prohibit all cultural, educational, scientific, sporting and other contacts with the racist regime. . ." But by 1980, the General Assembly was appealing directly to "writers, artists, musicians, and other personalities to boycott South Africa."

The 1980 Resolution (35/206E) also requested that the Special Committee Against Apartheid promote such campaigns for the total isolation of South Africa. The Special Committee was established by the General Assembly in November of 1962 (Resolution 1761). The Committee was initially charged with monitoring "the racial policies of the Government of South Africa under review when the Assembly is not in session," and "to report either to the Assembly or to the Security Council or to both, as maybe appropriate, from time to time." The Special Committee is composed of 18 member states which include: Algeria, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In furtherance of its 1980 mandate and in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly designation of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa, the Special Committee has proposed a number of actions. In the Special Committee's 1981 report to the General Assembly, the Committee proposed to "initiate a register of cultural contacts with South Africa in order to promote an effective boycott." In addition, the Committee plans "to organize in 1982 an international conference of cultural personalities for action against apartheid and

to sponsor international and national art exhibits and other events against apartheid."

The most recent resolution passed by the General Assembly which endorsed the academic, cultural and sports boycott of South Africa was Resolution 36/172I of December 1981. The final vote was 124 for, five against and fourteen abstentions. The United States, along with West Germany, New Zealand, Portugal, and Great Britain were the only dissenting votes.

Unfortunately, the U.S. vote against the 1981 resolution endorsing the boycott was no exception. Camille Branton, in her study of the U.S. voting record at U.N. from 1946-1976 for the 1977 third quarter edition of **Freedomways**, wrote, "During the entire 32-year history of the United Nations existence, the U.S.'s voting patterns reveals that this country, through six different administrations (three Republican and three Democratic), has never once wavered from its infamous stand of being one of the most reactionary forces in the world against the total eradication of colonialism. In the U.S. attempt to preserve a fading and collapsing colonial world system, they have voted against every liberation movement, including all attempts by the U.N. to assist the colonized in their efforts to end alien domination and to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination."⁵

While Camille Branton's characterization might seem a bit polemical, one would do well to note the 1976 study of the U.S. voting record by Africa Fund, the research component of the American Committee on Africa. The 31st General Assembly Session of 1976 was a landmark session for southern Africa. More resolutions concerning southern Africa were proposed and adopted than at any previous point in U.N. history. Each of the 37 resolutions that were introduced and approved received the backing of the overwhelming majority of the nations represented. The U.S., however, had compiled a unique record: "It was the only country that did not vote 'yes' on a single southern Africa resolution put to a roll-call vote. Of the 25 resolutions submitted for roll-call tallies, all passed with more than 90 countries in favor. The U.S., on the other hand, abstained 13 times, voted against 19 times, didn't vote twice and never cast a vote in favor."⁶

Another study produced by the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid revealed that the United States voting record for 1981 showed little improvement. During the 1981 session of the General Assembly, sixteen resolutions on apartheid were adopted unanimously or by overwhelming

5. Camille A. Branton, "A Matter of Record: The History of the United States Voting Pattern in the United Nations (1946-1976). **Freedomways**, (Third Quarter) Vol. 17, Number 3, 1977, p. 155-163.

6. Gall Anon Recd., **Southern Africa: The United States Record at the United Nations, 1976**, The Africa Fund/American Committee on Africa, 1977.

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majorities. The U.S. voting record includes: two votes for, twelve votes against and two abstentions. The only two yea votes recorded from the U.S. came on resolutions which were adopted without roll-call votes. On Resolution 36/172C which condemned South African acts of aggression against Angola and other independent African states and Resolution 36/172N which endorsed the program of work for the Special Committee Against Apartheid, the U.S. was the lone dissenting voice.⁷

American unfamiliarity with this country's voting record at the United Nations or with the issues that concern the U.N. community of nations is not surprising given the coverage provided the United Nations by the major media. Yet, Richard Lapchick, national chairperson of the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS), a coalition of fifteen political, religious, civil rights, and sports organizations concerned with equality in sports, described for the audience of a recent U.N. program how South Africa uses this public ignorance for its benefit. "South Africa relies on the fact that this is an uninformed American public, most Americans don't know what apartheid is, and therefore South Africa feels that with these sports and cultural contacts they can make further headway," Lapchick said. "They can convince us that South Africa isn't so bad."

For instance, how many Americans are aware that the United States is South Africa's largest foreign market and its leading source of imports? According to 1980 figures released by Pretoria's Department of Customs and Excise, the U.S. imported some \$3.3 billion in metals and minerals such as platinum, diamonds, manganese and Krugerrand gold coins. In return, the U.S. exports to South Africa were valued at \$2.5 billion for 1980, 17% higher than the previous year. U.S. corporate investment in South Africa has been growing at a rate of 25 percent per year, the most rapid rate of any U.S. foreign investment. U.S. capital earns an average rate of profit of 14.9% after taxes.

Clearly, the climate created by the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" and the growing relationship between South Africa and the U.S. has made it especially difficult for anti-apartheid activists to convince American artists of the criminal complicity associated with performances in South Africa.

This problem is compounded by the American predisposition to view the question of apartheid within the context of America's history of race relations. Ambassador B. Akporode Clark, former Nigerian Ambassador to

7. **Resolutions on Apartheid Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1981**, U.N. Center Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, (1/82), January 1982.

the U.N. and past chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, was one of many Africans who have sought to point out the weaknesses of such an analogy. At a historic meeting of the Special Committee in June of 1981, Ambassador Clark told the audience:

"... We will have to emphasize, as the President of the African National Congress did, that the struggle against apartheid is not the same as the struggle for human rights or civil rights in the U.S. In the U.S. it was assumed that all Americans were citizens under the same Constitution. The deprivation, the humiliations which some people suffered in the U.S., particularly in some states, were regarded as aberrations of the Constitution. But in South Africa, you cannot protest... In the U.S. everybody assumes equality under the law, or at least under the Constitution; but in South Africa seven-eighths of the population are being denied, are being stripped of whatever rights they had as Africans."⁸

Very few Americans have a clear understanding about the true nature of apartheid. Jean Paul Sartre may have expressed it best when he appeared at a press conference sponsored by the French Liaison Committee Against Apartheid in Paris on 9 November, 1966. Sartre stated:

Apartheid is both a practice and a theory. The practice is known euphemistically as "separate development." In other words, it is the enforcement by a minority of three million people of European origin of a policy designed to keep in slavery 14 million inhabitants of African or Asian origin or of mixed descent. These 14 million inhabitants have no political rights. They cannot vote, hold meetings, form political organizations or belong to trade unions... They have no economic rights and no rights of ownership... This structure of politics and practice which we call apartheid is obliged to rely on police terror tactics... This then is the practice of apartheid. The practice is justified by a theory: across-the-board racism, the absolute superiority of the white race over all races. This doctrine is created by circumstances themselves. The need to obtain cheap labour at zero-level wages leads virtually to the maintenance of slaves. The result is that the South African white quite naturally describes as sub-human one whom he does treat like a sub-human being.⁹

The practice of apartheid has tremendous consequences for the Black majority. Bernard Magubane in his excellent work, *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, provided a revealing summary. He wrote:

In South Africa, a pyramid of wealth and social power exists as a fact of daily experience. Whites, who constitute less than 20 percent of the nation's population, consume more than 60 percent of its income, have legal occupancy rights to 87 percent of its land, and fill most of its skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Inequality of revenue and wealth is not only an economic fact; it implies inequality of life chances. Infant mortality statistics for Africans in South Africa

8. Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress Addresses U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, (V. Concluding Remarks by H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark), U.N. Center Against Apartheid publication, 1981. (pamphlet containing principal speeches at June 11, 1981 meeting of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid in New York)

9. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Those Who Are Confronting Apartheid Should Know They Are Not Alone*, U.N. Center Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, (10/81) April, 1981, p. 3. (statement at press conference sponsored by the French Liaison Committee Against Apartheid in Paris on 9 November 1966)

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have not been available since 1957, but it is estimated that the rate is five times that for whites and three times that for Asians. Estimates range from 200 to 450 infant deaths per 1,000 live births.¹⁰

One might also add that South Africa has the highest per capita prison population in the world at 440 per 100,000 people. (The U.S. is second at 189 per 100,000.) The daily average prison population is 101,000, with 200,000 alone arrested in 1979 for pass law violations. In 1980 South Africa sentenced 173 to death by execution and executed over 130. South Africa continues to hold over 520 political prisoners ("security prisoners") who have been convicted under one of the country's draconian security laws such as the Terrorism Act, the Internal Security Act, and the Unlawful Organizations Act.

While the practice of apartheid is of such abhorrence as to warrant international concern, there are many who contend that the theory of apartheid poses even greater dangers. Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), warned, "What is happening today in southern Africa is serious in the extreme. Racism, established as a theory and institutionalized in the form of apartheid, constitutes a threat to all the freedoms won throughout the world because it has become a centre of inspiration and a rallying point for those movements elsewhere which maintain, less overtly, that a particular race is superior to the others and is destined to dominate them."¹¹

This same warning to the world was echoed by Jean Paul Sartre's 1966 presentation with an even more dire prediction. Sartre said:

This idea that a strong state can practice apartheid, that is to say, racism reaching the point of its most relentless effects, with complete impunity, is one of the reasons for the re-emergence of Nazism in Europe and U.S.A. The idea inspires young fascist movements; the latter, which for their part are finding a real base in Europe and the United States, proclaim in their manifestos, among the first three or four principles, their defence of apartheid and the Government of South Africa... If such practices are tolerated, if we continue to tolerate them, then South Africa which is today the hub of fascism, will send the fascists back to us to teach us a painful lesson.¹²

South Africa has earned the concern of the international community not only because of the theory and practice of apartheid but also because of

10. Bernard Makhosweze Magubane, *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, N.Y.: Monthly Review Press, 1979, p. 1-2.

11. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, *UNESCO and the Struggle Against Racism and Apartheid*, U.N. Center Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, (15/79), June, 1979, p. 5-6. (statement made by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) before the World Conference of Youth and Students of Southern Africa held in Paris from 19 to 22 February 1979, under the auspices of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid)

12. Sartre, *op. cit.*, p. 4 & 7.

the significant threat the apartheid regime poses to world peace. Oliver Tambo, President of ANC, the oldest liberation movement in Africa, described this problem during visits to the U.N. in 1981. Tambo said, "The eternal peril has been planted into the Pretoria-Washington axis. It means that the South African problem will increasingly, rapidly, unfold and escalate into a raging war engulfing all of southern Africa. Certainly, the vigorous arming that is going on in our time seems to envisage and to be a preparation for an approaching world war. It is not being too speculative to suggest that southern Africa could provide the necessary spark."¹³

Dr. Alex Ekwueme, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, explained the significance of the call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions when viewed against South Africa's threat to world peace. At the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa sponsored by the United Nations in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, Dr. Ekwueme stated: "We owe it as a duty both to them (Black South Africans) and to ourselves to bring this pernicious system of apartheid to an ignominious end by acting collectively to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mankind must once and for all dramatically and decisively repudiate this racist doctrine which seems to undermine human civilization itself. We neglect to do so only at our eternal peril."¹⁴

The African National Congress President, Oliver Tambo, was just as forthright as to why the United Nations had been unable to win Security Council backing for the imposition of mandatory sanctions. President Tambo said, "In common cause, the governments of the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, France and the United States together with hundreds of transnational corporations have vested interests in perpetuating the survival of the apartheid system. The most determined efforts to secure a Security Council resolution imposing sanctions on this regime have been defeated, presumably in the interests of maintaining the status quo in both Namibia and South Africa."¹⁵

While the cultural boycott is but one component of the international campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, it is an increasingly important one and of special concern to South Africa. Richard Lapchick observed, "South Africa is able to tell their white constituency when these entertainers come, particularly the black entertainers, that the world doesn't boycott South Africa, that the U.N. can pass resolution after resolution but when entertainers and athletes arrive, that they are the people of the world"

¹⁶

13. Tambo, *op. cit.*, p. 13. (June 11, 1981 address to U.N. Special Committee meeting).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

16. "Should We Entertain Apartheid," program sponsored by Department of Public Information for Non-Governmental Organizations, United Nations, N.Y.C., March 18, 1982.

James North, the Johannesburg correspondent for *In These Times*, noted the impact of the international boycott on white South African morale. He wrote, "The number of whites who oppose apartheid is small but growing; more important is the number who question the regime's direction, give only half-hearted, grudging support or even contemplate emigration. A large number of factors affect white morale, but one clearly is the hostility the apartheid system continues to provoke worldwide and the anguished feelings among white South Africans that they have few friendly allies . . . International support movements can limit the boost multinationals and other outside forces give to apartheid and thereby speed up the liberation struggle and lessen the bloodshed."¹⁷

There are so many American artists traveling to South Africa as of late that the international cultural boycott of South Africa seems non-existent. Among the thirty or more American entertainers to have performed in South Africa during 1981 are Candi Stanton, Joe Henderson, Cher, Isaac Hayes, Curtis Mayfield, Village People, Osmonds, Dakota Staton, Tina Turner, Lou Donaldson, George Shearing, Glen Campbell, Sha Na Na, Beach Boys, Brook Benton, and Helen Reddy. On May 16 Stephanie Mills and Neil Sadaka opened at the Sun City resort in Bophuthatswana, South Africa.

The list of artists who have refused to perform in South Africa is equally impressive. Ben Vereen, Gladys Knight and the Pips, the Floaters, the Jacksons, Elton John, Roberta Flack and Phyllis Hyman have all declined to entertain apartheid. While most American artists are guaranteed at least \$250,000 for a tour, Roberta Flack was offered \$2.5 million. In response to her \$100,000 offer, Phyllis Hyman said, "I could not tour South Africa under any circumstances. I have a moral commitment that supersedes money."

Anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. were encouraged over the recent decision of George Wein not to take the Newport Jazz Festival to Bophuthatswana. George Wein said that he was "sympathetic to the opponents of apartheid and supportive of the cultural boycott." While Thomas Shepard, an associate producer for Wein, added, "George had some initial confusion over Sun City and Bophuthatswana. He was told that it was an old African kingdom."

Foremost among the proponents of the myth of Bophuthatswana independence are Southern Sun's Managing Director, Sol Kerzner, and Southern Sun's General Manager, Peter Bacon. Southern Sun's hotels are the largest hotel chain in southern Africa and the principal owner of the Sun

17. James North, "The Regime Gets the Message," *In These Times*, November 11-17, 1981, p. 7.

City \$42 million entertainment complex in Bophuthatswana. Both Kerzner and Bacon have developed a close relationship with Lee Solomon, Chairman of the William Morris Agency, in an effort to recruit American artists for South African tours.

Another major actor in this drama is Robert Leonard of Red Beard Presents Productions Ltd. of Las Vegas. Leonard has taken so many American entertainers to South Africa that he is often called the "American connection" in South African papers. Among the American artists he is responsible for taking to South Africa are Freda Payne, Billy Eckstine, Gwen Brisco, Joe Henderson, Carla Fontana, James Moddy, Lou Donaldson, Karne Nelson, and Bob Anderson. During an interview Leonard stated, "Politics and music are two different realms of activity, they should not be mixed."

For those artists who do travel to South Africa, they should recognize that they are treading on dangerous ground. Such a warning was provided by Gordon Winter in his sensational expose *Inside Boss*. Winter wrote, "Pretoria has a raging phobia about famous stars who visit South Africa, as they have high voltage publicity potential. A politician might knock apartheid but when a famous star does so it usually rates headlines in newspapers all over the world."¹⁸

By way of illustration, Winter mentions the 1970 tour of Percy Sledge, the first black American entertainer to be granted honorary white status, while recounting the exploits of Patty Patience, a black South African intelligence agent. Winter wrote, "Pretoria thought he might cause trouble on an anti-apartheid level and decided to plant a girl-friend on him who could watch him at close quarters. The girl was Patty. She was flown to South Africa especially for the assignment, which she carried out expertly by quickly becoming an important member of Mr. Sledge's entourage. The famous singer left South Africa before his tour was completed without giving any sound reason. Only Patty and BOSS know the answer to that."¹⁹

If anyone has any doubts about the effectiveness of AZAPO's call for an internal boycott, they should talk to the O'Jays. The O'Jays, a black American vocal trio, arrived in Johannesburg on April 6, 1981 for a seven concert tour. After AZAPO's call for a boycott, the O'Jays' tour collapsed due to financial problems and low attendance at concerts. The black South African promoter, Victor Mazibuko, is reported to have lost \$42,000. When the O'Jays departed, their manager, Stu Ric, was forced to remain behind. South African authorities had impounded his passport and air ticket pending legal action.

In addition to surveillance by South African authorities and possible

financial failure, South African exile Sathima Ibrahim warned about the potential for violent confrontations. During a U.N. program in March, she said, "We want you to know that our people, especially our youth, have strong aspirations. They are militant. At this point in time, they will not be satisfied with entertainment."

During the height of the O'Jays boycott, the tour promoter, Victor Mazibuko, had his home stoned and pelted with gasoline bombs. Ray Charles failed to heed AZAPO's request that he cancel a concert scheduled for Black Consciousness Day on October 19, an important anniversary in the history of black political struggle. Charles' entourage was later stoned during a visit to the black township of Welkom. In addition, Lovelace Watkins, an American singer now living in London, has said repeatedly that he will never again attempt to perform in Soweto, because he was nearly killed the last time he was there.

Among the factors contributing to the intensity of emotions around the cultural boycott are the incredible naivete and insensitivity demonstrated by black American artists. Not only have the artists demonstrated little respect for significant holidays in South African history, but also little understanding or concern for conditions facing black South Africans. Candi Staton is reported to have told the *Sowetan*, a black South African newspaper, that she had never heard of Soweto and she was under the impression that blacks and whites were allowed to live in the same neighborhoods.

Lee Variety, the leader of the Variations, is quoted as describing AZAPO as "opportunists without a body." During an interview with the *Sunday Times*, Variety stated, "These people are on an ego trip trying to further their personal political ends. We are not going to allow anyone to tell us where we must perform and where we can't perform."

These comments and a host of others prompted one columnist for the *Sowetan* to write, "We are just about getting disgusted with the same stories given by various black American artists who perform here, particularly those who profess an astonishment that blacks are living under dubious conditions. It would be much more honest for artists from abroad to come out straight with the truth. They have come here for the money. Those controversial statements only serve to inflame the sense of betrayal most black South Africans feel when black Americans arrive to entertain apartheid.

American artists must not underestimate the kind of support that AZAPO's call for a boycott of foreign artists enjoys among black South Africans. Surveys among black readers by the *Sowetan* reveal overwhelming support for the boycott from the majority of those polled. One reader stated, "There was a time when we were proud that Ray Charles and Isaac

18. Gordon Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police*. (N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1981) p. 176.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

Hayes would never come here, because we believed that they were with us in the struggle. But one by one they are proving us wrong. They have hurt our pride to the jubilation of our oppressor."

This is not to deny that AZAPO's initiative doesn't have its critics. There are several black South African artists who have publicly stated their fears that isolation from foreign artists would further impoverish the lives of blacks. There are also substantial differences between MDALI and AZAPO over implementation of the boycott. MDALI appears more willing to compromise and to reach some kind of accord with foreign artists involving the use of black promoters, guaranteed rates for local black artists and donations to black charities. Despite the lack of any unanimity of opinion within South Africa, the international community is convinced of the necessity for the total isolation of South Africa.

First and foremost among the advocates for a total boycott is the continent of Africa as represented by the Organization of African Unity. Ambassador Yusoff Maitama-Sule, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Nigeria to the U.N. and present Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, sought to remind an Atlantan audience of the depth of Africa's commitment to this effort. He stated, "Africa is totally identified with the struggle in South Africa as it is the last and crucial stage of the continent's struggle for emancipation. To us in Africa, this is a matter of life and death."²⁰

While Africa has clearly played a leading role, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist community of nations and the Nordic countries remain steadfast supporters of the boycott. Ambassador B. Akporode Clark, past Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee, told a U.N. audience that the current U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa would not contain the international movement for isolation. Ambassador Clark stated, "South Africa will remain a pariah of the international community as long as it practices apartheid, and it is the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Socialist countries and the Nordic countries that have made South Africa a pariah state. No other power can remove this status until South Africa purges itself of this terrible stain and moral evil."²¹

Consequently, American artists who travel to South Africa are confronted with the possibility of being banned from a significant portion of their potential overseas market. In addition, organizations such as Trans-Africa, American Committee on Africa and Operation PUSH are presently gearing up to implement the boycott list domestically. American artists will soon also have to consider whether it is profitable to perform for apartheid.

20. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, *The Legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the Campaign for Sanctions Against South Africa*, U.N. Center Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, (3/82), February, 1982.

21. Tambo, *op. cit.*, p. 21. (V. Concluding Remarks, H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark).

Correspondent's Report:

Return of the Ugly American

Dan Connell

When Graham Greene coined the phrase "The Ugly American" in the 1950s he used it to describe an elderly volunteer in southeast Asia whose only ugliness was physical, and who was in behavior the exact opposite of the stereotype that came to be associated with that phrase. The term came to be used, instead, to typify the brash *nouveau riche* tourist or government bureaucrat who bullied his way through the "third world" with a crass, chauvinistic and oversimplified view of the European colonies. Today's version is more polished — but apparently no less flawed by cultural and political myopia. He (and she) is alive and well among the swelling ranks of North American pleasure seekers, business agents and diplomats in the newly independent developing countries. But what is perhaps more disturbing is his new role as globe-trotting journalist.

During six years of freelance reporting in East Africa, I have crossed paths with him many times. He is apt to make his headquarters in Nairobi, Johannesburg or Abidjan, less because these are primary sources of news than due to their familiar Western-style surroundings. These African capitals are modern, relatively efficient, and quite comfortable, with their European and North American restaurants and country clubs, their supplies of imported luxury goods and, above all, their pro-U.S. regimes.

On the road, the dapper reporter can usually be found with his credit cards and travelers' checks at the bar of a Hilton or an Intercontinental Hotel, relaxing between frantic two- or three-day dashes from one airport

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to another as he drops into exotic lands to interview a handful of local officials and U.S. embassy spokespersons on the current crisis, perhaps sprinkling the resulting story with colorful tidbits gleaned from man-on-the-street exchanges or barroom conversations. If the news is hot and there are many reporters on hand, they may simply interview each other.

Rarely does this high-powered journalist venture out of the capital city during these brief junkets. When he manages to, it is often in an air conditioned Range Rover (the upscale version of the hardy English Land Rover), complete with official translator and bottled water. Thus insulated from the indigenous population, he hops from one stop to another, swooping into somnolent villages to scoop up titillating quotes from the dazzled "natives" either to back-up the lead already drafted in the capital or simply to amuse the distant reader.

The favorite hard-news items are wars, famines and coups d'etat, which for sheer impact value are more likely than not to find their way into print. In this respect, the foreign correspondent is perhaps best likened to the metropolitan reporter who chases fire engines and ambulances. But he may also do a series on a particular country's social or economic infrastructure, if either the United States or the Soviet Union is deeply involved there. In the former case, the story will counterpose existing problems to planned solutions. In the latter, it will contrast unfulfilled promises with current failures. Or, if the reporter has the extra time and the inclination, he may rattle off the odd feature on some distinctive aspect of local exotica.

What is clearly missing from this trickle of eclectic coverage is the probing behind-the-scenes examination of structural and historical factors that underlie and define the parameters of particular headline-grabbing events. At a time when the United States is more than ever before involved in the emergent nations of Africa, this sorry state of affairs is worse than disappointing. It is also dangerous.

If we as a people are consistently misinformed or ill-informed by our media, we are certain to be misled by our political representatives, not to mention the transnational corporate interests which strongly and effectively influence our foreign policy. Yet that is precisely what we are faced with today, against a backdrop of deepening economic crisis, political instability and rising militarism across Africa and here at home. In this respect, the failure of the news media is both a symptom and a cause of a pervasive crisis in democracy itself.

The most serious short-coming of U.S. journalism in Africa is the paucity of coverage of these countries, save during a moment of natural disaster or manmade misfortune. But the intervening descriptions of African societies, typified by a recent travelogue by the outgoing *Los Angeles Times* Africa correspondent, are perhaps more damaging — both

to our comprehension of faraway events and to the image of us fed back to Africa — for they set the context for the splashier stories and for policies set in Washington to deal with them.

Bemoaning the passing of the romantic era of European discovery and conquest, reporter David Lamb writes that "the huge African continent — four times larger than the United States — has been reduced to mere pockets of hospitality where the tourist can travel freely, safely and comfortably." With everything from messy guerrilla wars to Marxist governments, food shortages and border disputes interfering with the innocent tourist, only five of 51 African states are recommended for North American visitors: Kenya, the Seychelles, Senegal, Ivory Coast and South Africa. "If you're worried about being overwhelmed by culture shock," he remarks of Ivory Coast, "this may be the place to start your African holiday."

Unwittingly, Lamb exposes a central feature of the problem, for he — like most U.S. reporters assigned to this extraordinarily diverse and perplexing continent — takes as his point of departure the society and the culture from which he comes. Everything in Africa is measured against this standard rather than against its own distinctive past. Not surprisingly, most comes out wanting. Yet what is most clearly revealed in the lengthy and detailed article is the writer's notions of how to catch a fleeting glimpse of Africa and Africans.

In Kenya, the home base for more than 30 Western journalists, Lamb recommends a visit to the Ark, a first class safari lodge "where you can sip cocktails on the deck while animals gather at the floodlit water hole nearby." For the more adventurous and enterprising traveler, the writer suggests a drive through the highlands north of Nairobi. "It's beautiful country, much like the New England states, and coffee plantations, hillside villages and bustling markets you will pass on the way give you a good feel for what rural African life is like."

This can be characterized as the **National Geographic** approach, otherwise known as "a day at the human zoo." But beneath the veneer of harmless patter lie a number of deep-rooted and destructive assumptions which have important political implications. Chief among these is the message that Africans have made a mess out of self-government and were perhaps better off under colonial rule. If we here are convinced of this, what matter if Washington decides to intervene to bring civilization to the natives? Or what doubt can there be that the Soviet Union or Cuba are actually pulling the strings of those "puppet" African leaders who oppose U.S. policy?

Where the reporter offers a mirror to reflect random images of southern California in the backwaters of Africa, he should be equipped with

a high powered magnifying glass to penetrate the clutter of unfamiliar and diverting impressions that first strike him. And he can do no less for the unsuspecting visitor, let alone the culture-bound reader who may never have the opportunity to explore for him or herself. He must also be willing to get his freshly pressed safari suit dirty, to endure the endless frustrations of bureaucratic chaos and mistrust that often greet the Western visitor, and he has to take the time and the trouble to research the background to contemporary developments.

For an audience whose basic picture of Africa comes from Tarzan movies and Cold War speeches, it is not enough to casually record immediate observations, however "accurate" they may be. Pre-existing stereotypes and prejudices have also to be challenged and the empty spaces filled in from the past. How is East Africa different from the West, North and South? How much real control do Africans throughout the continent have over their economies? What have European and North American corporations taken out of the continent compared to what is now available to local businesses and governments, and what fetters on development were carried over from the colonial era? There can be little doubt that answers to these and similar questions would make Africa's current dilemmas — and the attitudes of many African nationalists toward the U.S. — a good deal easier to understand.

But it would be wrong to single out David Lamb as an especially poor example of the U.S. journalist in Africa. On the contrary, his reporting has in four years contained some of the more insightful commentaries in an otherwise generally barren selection. The problem rests not so much with individual reporters but rather with a broad complex of cultural, institutional and economic and political factors which combine to bring powerful pressures against responsible investigation and communication of the African scene. Nor is this a peculiarly African problem, though it is perhaps a more pronounced trend there than elsewhere.

To begin with, the reporter carries with him the habitual and deeply embedded racism and national chauvinism that pervade U.S. society. But in the context of the coincident social class gap between him and the vast majority of the local populace, these factors assert themselves less in the writing of stories, where the reporter is highly conscious of language per se, than in the choice of subject and the means taken to gather material for it. A graphic example of this came in 1979 with the coverage of the elections in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), where virtually the entire Western press corps failed to recognize the groundswell of popular support for the nationalist candidates. Who were these reporters interviewing — and under what circumstances — prior to the vote? The answer is revealed in many of the stories of that time which quote diplomatic sources, local officials and black

employees of the white establishment (often at their place of work).

Another flagrant example of pointedly inadequate coverage came in 1981 with the death of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. In a manner reminiscent of the fall of the late Shah of Iran, U.S. journalists belatedly discovered a shocking degree of popular discontent with the strongly pro-Western leader after his abrupt and untimely departure. Again, one can only wonder with whom these reporters were speaking prior to the event, for Sadat's lack of grass roots support was clearly visible (outside Cairo) in the mid-1970s, the more so after the signing of the controversial Camp David Accords with Israel in 1978.

In my own experience in the Horn of Africa, similarly misinformed and misleading coverage has long marked the pro-U.S. regimes of Siad Barre in Somalia and Gaafar el-Nimeiri in Sudan, both of which are today on the brink of civil wars. But the most striking case has been that of the 20 year Eritrean war for independence from pro-Soviet Ethiopia. Usually reported on from the comfortable distance of Nairobi, this long simmering conflict was the subject of political obituaries in 1978 after a massive Soviet buildup in Addis Ababa, yet it is now raging again at near World War II levels, much to the dismay of pundits and policy-makers who have consistently depended upon sources far removed from the situation to buttress their absurdly cavalier post mortems.

The common thread throughout these individual illustrations is the gap between the reporters and the political and social outsiders in each country. Yet it is the latter who so often reassert themselves to shape the contours of major news events. It is worth examining why this is so in such a consistent way, for it is this aspect of U.S. Africa coverage that seems to me to lie at the root of the problem.

As is the case throughout Western industry, the increasing centralization of production — in this case of "news" — is creating a uniformity in the product itself. A handful of media giants, including the major TV networks, the international wire services, a few newspapers like the **New York Times**, the **Washington Post** and the **LA Times** and **Time** and **Newsweek** magazines, have set up key bureaus around the continent. The capital needed for these operations precludes serious competition from smaller outfits, while the tie-ins to local outlets are squeezing out freelance contributors. The upshot is a sort of foreign news oligopoly that feeds mass market coverage to hundreds of small clients with precious little variation or depth.

The expenditures necessary to cover Africa at this level — in terms of equipment, communications, transportation, administration and day-to-

day expenses — severely limit the field to the biggest media outlets. In turn, the cost of subscribing to them leaves little room in the budgets of local outlets for alternative sources or independent reporters. At the same time, these costs sharply limit the big producers to a small number of “major stories” that get covered over and over again. Time restrictions and the need for high volume output are the principal factors here, much as cost-effectiveness governs production decisions in any highly capitalized industry.

If expenses are to run into hundreds or even thousands of dollars each day, and if the particular correspondent or film crew is responsible for a more or less fixed amount of product, there will be little room to dig below the surface of a story. If at the same time, he is catering to a vast array of subscribers across the U.S., he will also be inclined toward a non-controversial lowest-common-denominator approach to content. To compensate — or perhaps to mask this — he will shoot for a slick, professional style, which in any other industry would be termed packaging. If, on top of this, he is assigned to cover anywhere from 15 to 50 different countries, he will not be very likely to capture the nuances of the story even if he sets out to in the first place.

These factors combine to encourage the reporter — regardless of his personal intentions — to depend heavily on briefings by local officials and foreign diplomats for his main source material. Out of this, a symbiosis evolves that neither party is apt to jeopardize for fear of losing future contact. And with the increasingly high salaries and expense accounts paid to major media correspondents, this working relationship becomes reinforced at the social level, as reporters share their leisure time with local elites and the diplomatic corps, unwittingly but effectively fencing themselves off from the majority of the population. The result is a vicious circle in which policy forms the basis for news coverage and news coverage spawns policy.

It is at this point that the image of the “ugly American” forcibly asserts itself. For however suave and sophisticated the modern U.S. reporter may be, he is widely — and, I think, accurately — perceived by many Africans as an on-site representative of hostile Western interests with neither genuine respect nor understanding for the subjects of their coverage. Leaving aside the essential issue of political and social bias, though, it is the contempt for Africa and Africans implicit in articles like David Lamb's glib travelogue that outrages many people, even friends of the United States. And it is precisely this type of persistent insult that in turn encourages third world states from a wide variety of political systems to support the current effort to restrict Western reporting in the ongoing UNESCO debate.

The likely result of these United Nations-sponsored discussions will almost certainly be the imposition of strict limitations on access to third

world countries and on uncensored filing from them by the Western media. Just as inevitably, there will be an outcry here about “freedom of the press.” But under the circumstances, we must ask, freedom for whom and to what end? Not for the peoples of Africa to have their cultures, societies and political systems honestly and accurately portrayed to the rest of the globe. Nor for readers here to learn what is really going on there and why. Rather it is the freedom — or should we say the license — for the mega-media to profit from the misery and the misfortune of the poorest sector of the world's population.

Coping with this sorry state of affairs is one thing, but it has also to be actively combatted. The first step is to pull together those individuals and groups already concerned with the problem to carry out concrete research and to build an alliance capable of exerting pressure on the media and the publishing industry as a whole. The Organizing Committee for a National Writers Union (OCNWU) is one place where such efforts are already under way. But it needs to include the publishers of the small specialty magazines and newspapers, now the only consistent source of indepth Third World reporting, like **Southern Africa**, **Africa News**, **MERIP Reports**, as well as the Black press here and independent booksellers, librarians, teachers and others who can in turn educate and organize readers about these issues.

The union is now discussing plans to aid the small press by encouraging name writers to make contributions and by publicizing the alternative press. It is also looking into setting up speakers' bureaus to bring writers on Third World issues into contact with readers. A campaign to oppose the higher postal rates and the threat to tax exempt status of the small press is under consideration, but in the long haul, it will take a broad coalition of people to stand up to the profit-hungry publishing industry if we are to turn this information crisis around.

If we are serious about freedom — for the people who consume the news as well as for those who produce it — it is high time we cleaned up our act. Recent coverage of both sides in the El Salvador conflict offers some grounds for optimism. But it is worth pointing out that it was freelance writers and filmmakers who broke the ice on this formerly one-sided story. If Africa coverage is to improve, the monolithic structure of news coverage has to be opened up. Readers, viewers, reporters and small and medium media outlets hold the key to this. Whether they are willing and able to band together to counter current trends may well decide whether we as citizens will have the ability to comprehend and influence a range of policy decisions now looming on the African political horizon.

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A Look at Books



Insightful Marxist Analysis: Dunayevskaya's Perspectives on Africa

Kevin Anderson

Raya Dunayevskaya, **ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION** (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1982), pp. xii, 234, \$19.95 hardcover, \$10.95 paperback.

Raya Dunayevskaya, **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**, (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1982, orig. 1973), pp. xxvii, 372, \$10.95 paperback.

Raya Dunayevskaya, **MARXISM AND FREEDOM: From 1776 Until Today** (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1982, orig. 1958), pp. 381, \$10.95 paperback.

THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION. Marxist-Humanism: Its Origins and Development in the U.S., 1941 to Today (Detroit: Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, 1981), pp. 6561+, \$60 microfilm.

The titles listed above constitute the bulk of a forty year contribution to political and social theory by the well-known Marxist humanist writer Raya Dunayevskaya, who in 1982 completed her third book on Marxist theory. This

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writer is already familiar to long-time Africa Today readers through her first-hand reports on The Gambia and Ghana (July and December, 1962). The new editions of her work by Humanities Press (1982) and the Wayne State University microfilm collection (1981) have finally made the whole of it easily accessible to interested scholars. Each work listed above offers theoretical and empirical insights for Africanists. This review will look briefly at each to get an overview.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* centers around analyses of women and non-Western society in relationship to overall theoretical issues in Marxism. In the section on Luxemburg, she unearths valuable and new material on the relationship of Africa to the disputes inside the West European left, particularly the German SPD. In 1911, when Luxemburg broke with the conservative SPD leadership three years ahead of Lenin, Dunayevskaya shows that it was Luxemburg's opposition to German colonialism in Africa that precipitated the split and the ensuing debate. In 1911 Luxemburg had criticized the party leaflet on Morocco thusly:

"Let us add that in the whole of the leaflet there is not one word about the native inhabitants of the colonies, not a word about their rights, interests and sufferings because of international policy. The leaflet repeatedly speaks of 'England's splendid colonial policy' without mentioning the periodic famine and spread of typhoid in India, extermination of the Australian aborigines, and the hippopotamus-hide lash on the backs of the Egyptian fellah." (25)

She also traces Luxemburg's concern with the question of Namibia. Having shown that, Dunayevskaya goes on to present a critique of Luxemburg's position on national liberation, where Luxemburg opposed national independence movements as utopian and reactionary in the era of imperialism. She also gives an incisive critique of the philosophical and economic underpinnings of Luxemburg's great work on the theory of imperialism, *The Accumulation of Capital*.

In the section on women's liberation, Dunayevskaya discusses the relevance of early African women's revolts such as the 1929 Igbo Women's War against British imperialism to present-day struggles of women in the Third World. She analyzes women's participation in modern upheavals in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau as well as Portugal in the 1970s, and goes from there to a critique of the Chinese and more recent Third World revolutions from the vantage point of women's liberation. She views women as a crucial and newly emergent "revolutionary subject" in the 1980s.

The last section of this book deals with Marx. Much of it centers around his last writings on Russia and on non-European society such as his little-known *Ethnological Notebooks* and his 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich on the possibility of a direct transition to socialism from the Russian pre-capitalist communal village. Dunayevskaya shows that all of Marx's major last writings, including the last edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (Paris: 1872-75) which he personally prepared for the printer, show the importance of this theme of alternate paths to human emancipation. Dunayevskaya quotes Lafargue's 1882 complaint to Engels that, after his trip to Algiers, "Marx has come back with his head full of Africa and the Arabs" (191). She concludes the book by arguing that with these last writings "Marx's legacy is no mere heirloom, but a live body of ideas and perspectives that is in need of concretization." (195) Nowhere are such late writings of Marx more relevant than to African studies, where Marxist class analysis is increas-

Kevin Anderson

ingly being applied. Dunayevskaya's new reading of Marx shows an openness on his part seldom found in post-Marx Marxists. She shows that he intended much of the framework of *Capital* only for America and Western Europe and was working at his death on new approaches to non-European society.

Philosophy and Revolution was originally issued in 1973 and has been republished with a new introduction. The core of this book's discussion of Africa is in the major chapter "The African Revolutions and the World Economy." There, Dunayevskaya maintains that: "The African revolutions opened a new page in the dialectic of thought as well as in world history" (213). She then discusses African nationalist leaders and theorists such as Nkrumah, Senghor, and Fanon. It is Fanon whom she finds the closest to her own view when she writes that despite the great achievements of the independence struggles, "we must soberly face the present bleak reality" (217). She concludes:

"The greatest of these tragedies, however, is not the external but the internal one, the separation between the leaders and the led in independent Africa. It is to this we must turn because without masses as reason as well as force, there is no way to escape being sucked into the world market dominated by advanced technologies, whether in production or in preparation for nuclear war." (218)

The rest of the chapter explores the neocolonial relationship of the world economy to Africa and offers a critique of dependency theories as well as conservative development theories.

But its Marxist analysis does not end there. Instead, Dunayevskaya continues it by returning to where she began: the living human subjects who have the power, in her view, to alter economic relationships, the African masses. She argues that despite the world economy "neocolonialism could not have been reborn so easily in Africa had the revolutionary situation continued to deepen." (236) At the core of her analysis is the inter-relationship of political and economic factors:

"Precisely because the African masses did, at the start, feel that they were not only muscle but reason, holding destiny in their own hands, there emerged what Marx in his day called a new energizing principle. This resulted in the growth of production even in societies whose economy was restricted to a single crop." (237)

Despite the setbacks of neocolonialism, she concludes the chapter by arguing that the situation in Africa was still "fluid" in that: (1) new revolutions were ready to emerge in southern Africa, (2) the youth had shown resistance to neocolonialist regimes, (3) the neocolonial social structures in Africa were hardly as firmly implanted as, for example, those in Latin America.¹

But Africa has importance in *Philosophy and Revolution* far beyond the single chapter on Africa. Dunayevskaya's central concept is that of an "open" or "un-chained" dialectic where, she argues, Hegel (and Marx) "present the structures

1. I have employed this framework in my paper "The Tanzanian Model of Third World Development: After Twenty Years," presented to the Eastern Sociological Society, Baltimore, March 1983.

not as mere fact, not as hierarchy, not as pinnacle, but as movement" (39), and view human reality as "one long trek to freedom" (43). The African revolutions of the 1950s and 1960s were, to Dunayevskaya, a key example of the centrality of a dialectic of freedom to human history. For such a Marxist, African revolutions are not a place to "apply" a ready-made theory, but a unique human experience out of which Marxist theory can be reconstructed for the present. *Philosophy and Revolution* also contains valuable discussion of Lenin, Mao, Marx, and Sartre, theorists not without relevance to African revolutionaries.

Dunayevskaya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom*, originally published in 1958, at first glance seems to contain little on Africa. But there is much of importance to Africanists, such as the lengthy economic and political analysis of the outcomes of two major revolutions, the Russian and the Chinese. In analyzing post-revolutionary Russia and China, Dunayevskaya uses with great subtlety her concept of state-capitalism, first developed in economic writings in the 1940s. But in keeping with her present Marxist humanist stance, she stresses not only economic and political categories, but also philosophical and ideological ones, as well as the relationship of spontaneity to revolutionary upheaval. The analysis of China reads especially well in 1983, given the collapse of the Maoist dream during the last decade. This section had earlier seemed too sharply critical of Mao's experiment to many readers. The concepts of state-capitalism and of spontaneity and humanism developed in this book offer many vantage points for a Marxist analysis of the contemporary African scene. Her overall concept of socialist humanism, first articulated here, was developed parallel to that of socialist humanists in Africa such as Nyerere and Senghor, and especially Fanon, who wrote during the same period.

The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection includes virtually all of Raya Dunayevskaya's voluminous other writings, plus many by people with whom she has worked, from her earliest days as secretary to Trotsky in 1937-38 to today. Of special importance to Africanists are the following documents: (1) Her 1959 pamphlet *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* (2688-2723); (2) her writings on West Africa in 1961 and 1962 before and after her trip there (2906-3153 passim, 3184-3251); (3) a 1976 series of "Philosophical-Political Letters" (5182-5300) which include discussion of the Portuguese and African revolutions of 1974-76, the civil war in Zimbabwe and the Soweto uprising; (4) the 1978 pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* (5305-5363), written by two colleagues of Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan, and introduced by her.

Taken as a whole, Dunayevskaya's three books and the Wayne State University collection contain an important contribution to African studies by a writer who has spent a lifetime as a political activist as well as a theorist. The passionate commitment to human liberation is never absent from Dunayevskaya's work, yet at the same time there is no lack of theoretical and analytical rigor.

A Provocative Marxist Analysis of The Kenyan Economy

William W. Hansen

Gavin Kitching, *CLASS AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN KENYA: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie*, Yale University Press (New Haven: 1980) 479 pp., index, \$39.50.

It is Gavin Kitching's stated intention in this work to accomplish two things: to write an economic and social history of Kenya and to make a contribution to the application of Marxist theory to what he calls 'non-capitalist' societies.

In the preface Kitching makes explicit his debt to E.P. Thompson, to whose work the sub-title is an intended allusion. One wishes, without being overly critical, that Thompson's influence extended also to literary style in the writing of history — criticism directed not only at Kitching but to most of the rest of us as well.

The first 410 pages, comprising the first twelve chapters, are devoted primarily to the first of the above-stated intentions; an economic and social history of Kenya. They are meticulously researched and extremely valuable, but are also an overly tedious and repetitive account of agricultural development in Kenya along with the simultaneous making of an African petty bourgeoisie.

Kitching's use of the term 'non-capitalist' is somewhat confusing since he is clearly not referring to those states generally considered socialist and he explicitly rejects using the term 'pre-capitalist.' In fact, he argues, the reification of the concept of 'pre-capitalist modes of production' (and of mode of production in general) is "the single major theoretical impediment to the effective (Marxist) analysis of actual production in the Third World"; an impediment the author attributes to the negative influences of Althusserian theoretical work (pp. 4,5). Kitching argues, to the contrary, that outside the socialist countries there is only the world capitalist mode of production of which Kenya and the Third World are an integral part. Given this taxonomy, what does 'non-capitalist' mean in a world that is either capitalist or socialist?

Kitching argues that Kenya is the quintessential petty bourgeois society; that is, neither fully capitalist (defined as a condition in which labor power appears primarily as a commodity) nor pre-capitalist because it has been penetrated by and brought under the sway of the world capitalist mode of production. But no mere dependency theorist is he. Kitching is making, in theoretical terms, a contribution to the Marxist debate regarding the articulation of modes of production.

Basic to Kitching's argument is the access of certain Africans early on in the colonial period to relatively better paid wage labor which, in turn, was the

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result of this nascent petty bourgeois stratum having had at least the rudiments of western education. From the point of view of colonialism these educated Africans were invaluable tools in transforming the sedentary-pastoralist society that was pre-colonial Kenya to its own ends. The consequence of the "universal factor of early access to formal education, usually through the mission schools" (p. 309) allowed this stratum to gain relatively well paid positions as artisans, chiefs, headmen, and clerks.

The initial capital used to start up African petty trading enterprises came from savings these Africans were able to make from their wages. Kitching argues that the inter-war years were a period of great advancement opportunity and estimates the savings possibilities to be 20-30% of the gross income of those Africans with above average incomes (p. 279). A fortuitous combination of opportunity and foresight enabled these men (and they were overwhelmingly male) to take advantage of the chances for accumulation that were being opened up. Pre-colonial Kenyan society, Kitching points out, measured wealth in numbers of wives and livestock. An entire chapter (Livestock, Money and Bridewealth) is devoted to this fascinating discussion. Those Africans who were both farsighted enough and able to, began to acquire land through freehold, lease, and customary law. Wealth was becoming measured in money, land, and capital. One significant consequence of this was for women increasingly to be removed from their previous position of control over African agricultural production.

During and after World War II a qualitative change occurred in Kikuyuland. Instead of African cultivators simply marketing their surplus (that amount of production above subsistence requirements) many peasants began utilizing their land solely for cash crop production. The impetus for this switch came from wartime price fluctuations which gave some cultivators a chance to speculate by growing cash crops that fetched higher prices. The money earned was later used to purchase food requirements at lower prices; thus less labor time was exchanged for more through the market. The qualitative change lay in the fact that it increased the number of people completely dependent upon and firmly integrated with the capitalist market system; a phenomenon concentrated in those areas closest to the growing Nairobi market.

These changes were within the context of a colonial induced transformation of the land tenure system that saw a shift from simultaneous land use rights to one of exclusive land use — in short the bourgeois form of land tenure. Those Africans willing and able to take advantage of this at the fortuitous junctures constitute the class whose creation the author is attempting to trace. Kitching refers to these early accumulators as being tough, persevering, and creative men who took full advantage of the limited opportunities available to them. In what might be termed, in the Weberian sense, the 'protestantization' of the petty bourgeoisie, Kitching writes:

In addition the experience of succeeding against the odds, by a mixture of good luck, initiative and ruthlessness, colours the attitude of most successful African families in Kenya toward the poor. They very often see the responsibility of the poor as being to emulate the successful and to make their way in the world by their own efforts, an individualistic attitude which is understandable among men who have themselves been in poverty, or whose fathers were. (p. 310)

It should be emphasized here, however, that the author is not simply describing the origins of the present day wealthy Nairobi elite. The petty bourgeoisie

is itself highly differentiated and exists in towns throughout Kenya.

Kitching argues that independence produced almost no structural change in the Kenyan political economy: "... so far as the pattern of differentiation between Africans is concerned the essential parameters had been laid down by 1952." (p. 315) Furthermore, "the position of European-owned commercial and industrial capital was entrenched politically and economically, and gained the patronage and support of the new African rulers." (p. 317)

If the primary mechanism for accumulation on the part of the Kenyan petty bourgeoisie has historically been savings derived from access to above average wages earned overwhelmingly through state employment, the question becomes how does the state finance its wage bill. Kitching's response is that the state functions as a form of merchant capital; that is, it gains its revenues primarily through the sphere of exchange. On the one hand, the state, as does merchant capital proper, buys cheap and sells dear. The difference between the two prices constitutes a sort of state profit made in a process that does not increase the total sum of commodities in circulation because the state is primarily engaged in exchange rather than production. Kitching, however, acknowledges that only a small proportion of state revenues are accrued in this direct manner of state (or parastatal) buying and selling. The other vehicle for raising revenue through the sphere of exchange — a vastly greater amount — is through direct (34%) and indirect (57%) taxation. In this manner the state finances its wage bill.

It is here that Kitching's argument becomes a bit more complicated as well as confusing. For example, he notes that regardless of where and how along the chain of exchange the government collects its tax receipts: "... it is the final consumer of imported goods, of domestic manufactures or of exports who ultimately meets the tax bill." (p. 416) Because Kenya's export trade is geared toward Western Europe and North America the final consumer is either the advanced capitalist industry (raw materials) or the western working class (consumer goods). In the case of imports it is the rural producers and urban workers in Kenya. One fails to see how this informs the reader of anything more than the general observation that ultimately the working masses pay the bills. So, what else is new?

The more important point the author is making is that the Kenyan tax structure is such that it constantly skims off a profit on already produced goods as they circulate and in so doing produces about 90% of state revenues. This in turn is used to fund the state wage bill. The wage bill, as has been mentioned earlier, keeps viable the dominant political and economic class and provides, such as it is, the main source of investment funds and capital accumulation in Kenya.

The problem is that this form of accumulation has several structural limits. The Kenyan state could increase its revenues by raising the price of its exports. Kenya, however, occupies such a peripheral position in the world economy that this would be impossible outside the context of a general price rise on a global scale. In short, Kenya does not have an OPEC oil card. In the case of Kenya the increased revenue would be offset by a similar rise in the cost of imports. As Kitching points out, Kenya's solution is the road already trod by much of Latin America — external borrowing to cover the gap between rising expenditures and static or declining receipts. Of course this alternative has its own well known problems — witness Mexico and its \$81 billion external debt. At the same time

Kenya has no choice but to keep expanding the state sector and the jobs that it entails if for no other reason than to ensure social and political stability as the supply of job seekers constantly increases.

Kitching argues convincingly that "The central weakness of the internal structure from the point of view of capital accumulation is simply that labour power within (Kenya) is not predominantly a commodity." (p. 419) The consequence of this is that much of Kenyan production (particularly agricultural), both in terms of means of production and labor power, takes place outside the monetary sphere and is of a very low order of productivity. Significant amounts of labor time and demand are used up either in immediate subsistence production or in barter exchange.

The answer to this problem, of course, is industrialization. However, as Kitching correctly points out, this would entail a revolutionary change in the very system of accumulation that brought the present dominant petty bourgeois class into being in the first place. Kitching is precisely correct when he writes:

The beauty of the mature capitalist mode of production as an agency of capital accumulation is the following. Since the vast bulk of labour power is a commodity the control of wages represents effective control over the bulk of consumption within the economy. Since the worker cannot live on the single commodity which he produces, he or she must continue to sell his or her labour power, and must exchange the money form of that labour power for other commodities to live. Thus if, over the long term, the productivity of labour power is increased and real wages rise it is possible simultaneously to expand output and consumption of that output. (p. 419)

Thus to unlock the structural constraints affecting the Kenyan economy it must, in simple terms, industrialize. "It must endeavour to increase the production of use values, and of use values with a higher exchange value, if substantial capital accumulation is to occur. It cannot depend (indefinitely) upon price manipulation." (p. 420)

Kitching argues, again persuasively, that the necessary investment funds to begin this process could come out of the wage bill. Although the public sector is clearly predominant the author makes the same assertion regarding private sector wages which he shows also to come primarily from the non-productive sector; that is, the wholesale, retail, transport, and service industries. The evidence, he suggests, indicates that the bulk of this "investment pool" fails to go into the expansion of industrial and agricultural productivity but re-enters the sphere of exchange — commercial and service activities of various types.

It is here that the author equivocates a bit. What are the chances of significant changes in the investment pattern — a pattern typical of the petty bourgeoisie everywhere? It is, he suggests, an "open historical question" as to whether this state class will attempt to convert itself into a bourgeoisie proper by investing in production. This strikes the reader as unsatisfactory since Kitching's own argument, at least implicitly, indicates the opposite is taking place; that is, the Kenyan petty bourgeoisie is deepening its investment in the sphere of circulation. The logical path of inquiry — and one that is not pursued — would be to examine the reasons (structural, ideological, etc.) for these investment decisions. Is this petty bourgeois class capable or incapable of transforming itself? If it is, then Why, How? When? If not, Why Not? It is much too serious an historical question, in the words of the author, to leave open.

Kitching concludes with an interesting historical excursion into Marx' concept of class and the nature of exploitation. As the author points out, Marx abstracted an ideal type capitalism in which one class (the bourgeoisie) owns all the means of production, and another (the proletariat) is forced to sell its labor power for a wage in order to survive as it owns no means of production itself. Marx developed this abstract model in order to examine the inner workings of the capitalist mode of production. Although this 'ideal type' does not exist anywhere in totality, it is most closely approximated by the conditions in Western Europe and North America. Since this is not the predominant condition of labor and capital in Kenya (primitive accumulation in the Marxian sense has not taken place to an advanced degree and Kenya is clearly neither a slave nor a feudal society) class exploitation in the above 'deep' Marxian sense does not exist in Kenya.

This might sound like a startling assertion but Kitching does have an interesting and provocative argument. In short, the Kenyan petty bourgeoisie both sells its own labor power (to the state or to the private sector for wages) while at the same time it hires labor power in agricultural or other businesses in which it has invested its savings. It should be remembered now that Kitching is referring to that stratum which receives 'above average' wages — an admittedly differentiated and imprecise category. Thus while one can reasonably locate that group which has a higher standard of living (bourgeois stratification theory) it is very difficult to locate the nature of class exploitation in this abstract Marxian sense. Simply said, although surplus labor is appropriated in Kenya, it is not clearly appropriated in the production process itself as in the case of fully developed capitalism since mature capitalist relations of production do not predominate.

Thus Kitching writes:

We must look for exploitation then not in the direct relation of surplus labour appropriator to surplus labour source but in the capacity of various strata to accumulate money in the form of capital . . . Very simply, those who can accumulate money and capital on any scale at all must be in control of part of the product of Kenya's surplus labour. (p.449)

Thus exploitation in the sense of appropriating surplus labor can be located more by inference than directly in a specifically identifiable production relationship. Kitching concludes that a form of Marxist analysis must be used that substitutes for classical or technical Marxian class analysis a concept he calls the 'mode of appropriation of surplus labor.'

To conclude, Gavin Kitching has produced an excellent piece of work both in the 'standard historiographical' sense and as a piece of Marxist theory. It is clearly not an undergraduate text and a full appreciation of the work would require the reader to have some familiarity with Marxian theory and method as well as with some of the debates within Marxism. Those philistines unwilling to make that effort can restrict themselves to the first twelve chapters.

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Invaluable Resources on African Politics in South Africa

Richard Dale

Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, **CHALLENGE AND VIOLENCE, 1953-1964** (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), pp. xx, 825; \$22.50.

Gail M. Gerhart and Thomas G. Karis, **POLITICAL PROFILES, 1882-1962** (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), pp. xxiii, 178; \$19.50

Susan G. Wynne (compiler), **SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL MATERIALS: A Catalogue of the Carter-Karis Collection** (Bloomington: distributed by the Indiana University Press for the Southern African Research Archives Project, 1977), pp. xx, 811; \$35.00.

The Karis-Gerhart and Gerhart-Karis works constitute the third and fourth volumes, respectively of the monumental **From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964** edited by Professors Thomas G. Karis of the Department of Political Science of the City College of the City University of New York and Gwendolen M. Carter of the Department of Political Science at Indiana University. Volume three contains seventy-seven separate documents, arranged in chronological order and grouped under three general headings: "The Congress Movement, 1953-1956," (pp. 99-270), "The Last Stage of Non-Violence, 1957-May 1961," (pp. 379-641), and "The Turn to Violence Since May 31, 1961" (pp. 699-799). Each of the three clusters of documents (nos. 1-20, 21-62, and 63-77) is introduced by an essay (pp. 3-98, 273-378, and 645-698), each of which is admirably documented (with 272, 230, and 124 endnotes, respectively). Dr. Gail M. Gerhart, who has become well known for her 1978 University of California Press study, **Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology**, wrote portions of two of the three introductory essays (namely pp. 16-19 and 307-344) in **Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964**.

What is so remarkable about the third volume of the Karis-Carter magnum opus is that it can be used by both novice and senior scholar alike because it contains excellent primary materials (the documents) and a host of attractive

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Editor's Note: Our apologies to Professor Dale and to our readers for the late publication of this review, submitted to us almost three years ago. That the manuscript was only recently found improperly placed in our "completed correspondence" file is indicative of the understaffing problems which have plagued us for many years, but which are steadily being overcome thanks to James R. Ainsworth and Kipley Guinn, who joined us at the start of the year. Since these books have to be considered among the dozen or so top research efforts on Southern Africa to appear in the last decade we felt it important to publish the review, even at this late date. Another review by Professor Dale, submitted at the same time, also appears in this issue.

features that are interwoven with, help locate, and provide background and explanatory materials for these documents. Hence, the essays — which are works of scholarship in their own right and can be read as such — are supported by a thoughtful bibliographical essay (pp. 807-810), chronology for the years covered by volume three (pp. 801-806), and an index of both personal names and organizations (pp. 811-825).

The fourth volume is primarily written by Dr. Gerhart (p.xxi), and it includes both a bibliographic essay (pp. 169-172) and an index of names (pp. 173-178). There are a total of 333 biographical sketches in the fourth volume, along with some 68 photographs (on pp. [xxvi-xlv]). The authors provide an explanation of just who was included among the 333 and who was not, and for what reasons (pp. xvii-xix), and they attempt to generalize about the socioeconomic and class origins of the biographees (pp. xix-xx). They feel much more confident, however, in discussing the importance of education attainments for the biographees, especially the African ones who received their secondary education in noted missionary schools and certain South African universities which were expressly for Africans or which were non-racial in their admissions (pp. xx-xxi). Both Professors Karis and Carter are well aware of the gaps and possible inaccuracies in volume four and regard this work as an ongoing process in which they have invited other scholars to join (pp. xvii-xxiii). Of the 333 names, roughly 18% (59) contained no date of birth or of death, so that the claims of incompleteness are expressions of hard fact and not necessarily of false modesty. A large number of the profiles are relatively short, but fortunately for the research student, those dealing with more contemporary figures tend to be longer and more complete. It should come as no surprise to the scholar of South Africa that a number of the biographees have left South Africa for exile in the United States, the United Kingdom, or Botswana.

Susan G. Wynne's catalogue of the Carter-Karis collection, which is available from the Chicago-based Center for Research Libraries, covers seventy-one reels of microfilm. The enumeration of the microfilms is somewhat confusing, for it uses regular numerals plus numerals followed by either an "A" or a "B." In what might be termed the regular mode of enumeration, the catalogue indicates the contents of reels 7-27, in the "A" suffix series it lists reels 1A-22A, and in the "B" suffix series it provides details on reels 1B-19B and 21B-29B. The compiler does not suggest why there is no inventory for what may be presumed to be reels 1 through 6 and reel 20B. Presumably, these reels may be among those that Professors Karis and Carter have withheld from circulation because of political retribution against those persons still resident in South Africa (pp. i-ii). The compiler, who was a graduate student in political science at Indiana University (p. ii), utilized a typology or system for classifying these documents developed by Alan R. Taylor, an erstwhile librarian at the Central African Federation Archives in Salisbury and subsequently Africana librarian at Indiana University (pp. vi-vii).

Taken together, these three volumes constitute a treasure trove of material on African political activity in South Africa, and, as such, they will not only be regarded as a scholarly achievement of the highest order but also a great gift to their colleagues and to future generations of those who specialize in South African politics. Hopefully, such a fine collection of primary and secondary

Richard Dale

sources will be put out by these two prestigious presses for other nations in Southern Africa. Such collections, particularly when as well indexed as these and when accessible to others through the medium of inter-library loan, will help to reduce the ordinarily horrendous costs of undertaking research in Southern Africa itself and will bypass the nettlesome issue of securing visas for research in South Africa — costs and issues with which Professors Karis and Carter are only too familiar. These works ought to find a place of honor in all university research collections in North America, the United Kingdom and the European continent, and Africa, and they should become standard works for the libraries of Western and African foreign offices and international organizations concerned in part or in whole with the vital and important nation of South Africa. These three works will undoubtedly stand the test of time and enrich the storehouse of knowledge about the beloved, yet vexing country which has the longest unbroken history of African nationalist organizational behavior.

The "Sullivan Principles" Exposed

Ed Ferguson

Elizabeth Schmidt, **DECODING CORPORATE CAMOUFLAGE: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid** (Washington, D.C., Institute for Policy Studies, 1980) \$4.95.

What are more than 350 U.S. businesses doing in apartheid South Africa? Making profits, of course. But the 135 that had implemented a code of business reform by late 1979 called the Sullivan Principles, understood the question as something more than a rhetorical one with a single answer. The image they projected was that of a "progressive force" for political and social change as well. The Sullivan Principles to which they adhered were designed to create equality in the workplace and, they argued, by ending racial discrimination and creating equal employment opportunity in the firm they would undermine apartheid from within.

Elizabeth Schmidt is not one to accept images lightly, so she took up the challenge of the "reformed" corporate image and tested it against the South African practice of the Sullivan signatories. The result is her engaging book, **Decoding Corporate Camouflage: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid**. In it she combines a keen understanding of contemporary South African history with a careful analysis of the 1979 "progress reports" of those 135 corporations to reach the conclusion that the image did not conform to reality. Through a critical evaluation of these documents she demonstrates in a convincing manner that the capital intensive nature of those firms create relatively few jobs for blacks. Changes in employment practices are not impressive since the adoption of the employment codes and what changes have taken place are often presented in a deceptive manner. The corporations operate within the framework of South African law and their strategic role in supplying advanced technology and expertise work to strengthen rather than weaken the South African regime. Her conclusion is

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that U.S. corporations perpetuate apartheid in a "modernized" form. The new corporate image is intended to placate critics at home by camouflaging corporate practice abroad.

The 120 page book has a neat format which includes a concise background to apartheid and U.S. investment, examination of the evidence from the 1979 reports, and presentation of her conclusions. The clear prose is accompanied by informative tables and graphs. There is a good map of South Africa with the "homelands" identified. An appendix of 25 pages includes the guideline to the Sullivan Principles; the names of the 135 signatories as well as the names of the remaining U.S. businesses in South Africa which did not sign the Sullivan Principles; a 1977 document from the African National Congress and a 1979 resolution by 200 black religious leaders in the U.S. calling for U.S. corporations to get out of South Africa rather than "reform" their activities. The book ends with a brief bibliography, a list of activist periodicals and organizations for those interested in Southern Africa support work.

In her historical account of the economic roots of apartheid, the author demonstrates that it is cheap labor created and maintained by institutionalized racism that draws foreign corporations to South Africa. The "attractive investment climate" cannot withstand the eradication of apartheid. Reforms which perpetuate cheap labor can be tolerated when domestic or international opposition makes them necessary. But the reforms must be superficial and cannot alter the overall structure.

It was the increasingly militant strike activity by workers and students in South Africa during the 1960s and 1970s that put "reform" on the agenda of overseas corporations in that country during the past decade. The U.S. response took the form of the Sullivan Principles in 1977, shortly after the Soweto uprising.

The U.S. code had been preceded by a British "reformed" code in 1974 and it was followed by similar codes adopted by the European Economic Community in 1977 and Canada in 1978. Schmidt notes that the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions were set up by the South African government for the same purpose of "plugging the loopholes" to make the existing system work.

An interesting account of the Reverend Leon Sullivan, the individual whose name became synonymous with the U.S. code, is given by the author. Sullivan was a black civil rights activist who played a key role in the struggle against racist employment practices in his hometown of Philadelphia in the 1960s. For reasons that are not given in this book, Sullivan became the first black appointed to the board of General Motors in 1971. At that time he supported divestment as the only means for dealing with apartheid: U.S. businesses must pull out of South Africa. In the next few years he "mellowed" among board members who did not share his position. By 1977 he abandoned his earlier position and took up the position of reform based on a code of six employment practices named after him. This corporate "solution" was based on the premise that U.S. business should stay in South Africa as a "progressive force" for change rather than pull out.

The primary documents on which Schmidt bases her investigation are the "progress reports" or completed questionnaires submitted by the 135 signatories to the Sullivan Principles. She weighs them for evidence of progress as defined in the code: indication of desegregation in the workplace; introduction of equal pay for equal work; job-training and advancement for black employees; and improvement in the quality of black workers' lives. She is to be commended for her persistence in working through materials which, she concludes, were designed to conceal as well as reveal. She observed, for example, that a corporation had

only to introduce a single black supervisor where there was none before to "improve" employment practices 100% and receive a mark of "good progress" from the Arthur D. Little Company which created and evaluated the questionnaire forms. Another practice of the corporations was to "promote" blacks to positions vacated by advancing whites without substantially increasing the wage of the blacks. The position had been given a lesser title to rationalize the lucrative practice. By such means the Sullivan Principles could be made a very profitable code by which to operate. Schmidt uncovers other cases of tokenism and deception on the part of the corporations and the Arthur D. Little Company.

The weakness in this pioneering work is unavoidable and common to works about South Africa which are limited to written and published sources. We do not hear from the Africans themselves. In this case, the black employees of the U.S. corporations are silent. She compensates by presenting statements by distinguished black leaders like Percy Qoboza, Dr. Nathan Motlana, and Bishop Desmond Tutu. Schmidt can also take pleasure in knowing that this innovative study and its omission is the stimulus for a recent study by a team of German investigators into the South African employment practices of 12 firms headquartered in the Federal Republic of Germany. Those investigators managed to interview the black employees of the firms. Their findings, based on those interviews, confirm Schmidt's conclusion that the "fair employment" codes of foreign enterprises in South Africa are merely window-dressing for an exploitative relationship based on race and class. The German report, entitled "The Dilemma of Code Three," is available from the South African Council of Churches, Khotso House, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg 2001.

Two points should be made in conclusion. Schmidt has anticipated the skeptic who argues that U.S. corporate practice in South Africa might have improved since 1979. In the Spring 1982 issue of *Ufahamu* she publishes her most recent findings based on the October 1981 "progress reports" of 144 signatories. She concludes that corporate practice has not improved; indeed, she discovers that in certain areas the small gains observed in 1979 were no longer apparent. This most recent issue of *Ufahamu* is available for \$3.50 from the African Activist Association, African Studies Center, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The final point is for those who read the book and agree with her conclusion that corporate "reform" is a fraud and does nothing to eradicate apartheid. But, if the Sullivan Principles are merely corporate camouflage, what can be done by those in this country who want to contribute to the struggle against apartheid? We must learn from the people in Reverend Sullivan's hometown of Philadelphia. Through local efforts the divestment campaign built up to the point where, on June 17, 1982, the mayor signed into law the strongest divestment bill passed by a major American city. Approximately \$70,000,000 of the city's pension fund will be divested over the next two years from U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa and Namibia. We must note this significant development in Reverend Sullivan's backyard. The message is clear: corporate complicity with apartheid can only be ended by popular movements, not by the corporations. Let us practice what Reverend Sullivan preached before his "historic compromise" with the board of General Motors in 1977.

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The Human Cost of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town

William F. Lye

John Western, *OUTCAST CAPE TOWN* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981) xvi + 373 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, bibliography, notes and index. \$22.50, hardcover. (Also, Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau, 1981).

Outcast Cape Town demonstrates conclusively the validity of using yet another discipline to evaluate the impact of apartheid on the social fabric of South Africa. This time John Western applies the field of Social Geography to analyze the Group Areas Act as it intrudes upon place and the interaction of the Coloured people of Cape Town.

Western's cool, dispassionate analysis of the facts contributes much to the credibility of his work, though his intense feeling penetrates through to the reader, particularly in his concluding chapter. The reader cannot escape the conclusions which his study produces: the Group Areas Act has created a pernicious effect upon the citizens of that great city, but it has done so differentially. While it is demonstrated to have achieved one ideal of apartheid: that of the physical separation of the ethnic groups, Western shows that it as strongly failed in another goal: that of reducing friction. Western's contention is that people who once saw themselves as fellow Capetonians have now become strangers and antagonists isolated by space from each other — the Cape Coloureds have no longer a direct interest in the mainstream of the life of that city.

The outline of his book is simple. He begins by identifying "Themes and Actors," the Coloured people, by offering a brief sketch of their origins and of the stereotyped perception Whites have of them. Then he examines what Cape Town once was before the Group Areas Act. He next describes the theory and intent of apartheid.

Using the theory of apartheid, Western creates a "model" city. He next manipulates that "ideal" to conform to the limits imposed by the existing developments in Cape Town. Having completed his theoretical and applied modeling, he next examines what actually happened in the city, concluding that actually politics achieved between 71 and 80 percent of the theoretical model, thus confirming the extent to which social planners were prepared to carry their beliefs in changing the existing urban landscape.

Part III, "People" is perhaps the most moving part of his study. In it he examines the impact of the removals necessary to achieve the plan on the lives of the Coloured people of Mowbray, a southern suburb of the city. Through his reports of an elaborate survey he conducted amongst ex-Mowbrayites who experienced removal, he tells of the impact of that brutal law on individual per-

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sonalities. He coolly describes the statistical impact of the changes in terms of the inconvenience or convenience of the moves in regard to such factors as access to work, to family associations, to shopping, to church attendance, to transportation, etc. Western's charts on the changing values of the Mowbray properties, and his many maps, charts and photographs summarize his story well. The scholarly dispassion of his writing heightens the emotional impact for the reader. But, perhaps the most telling parts of his writing are the quotes from victims of the system, carefully pared to address only specific subjects under examination.

His treatment of the "Gentrification" of the Chelsea cottages vacated by the removals and then occupied by "young liberals" at favorable prices touched me personally. I visited the area while the removals were under way and knew of the financial boon this process gave to whites.

The final section of the book, entitled "Prospects," describes the essential failure of the Group Areas Act. It describes the spontaneous emergence of squatter shantytowns created by the swarms of migrants who exceed the planners' intentions. This particular phenomenon began as early as the Dutch settlements began. Recent new articles (e.g. *The Star*, December 4, 1982) demonstrate it is still a problem. The author describes the emergence of these squatter communities and estimates that as many as a fifth of the population of Cape Town live in them.

The author's treatment of "Influx Control" laws and the "Eiselen Line" which the government uses to define the Cape District as a White and Coloured preserve by expelling Black Africans, extends his thesis beyond the removals of the traditional Coloured residents of the city of the Cape Flats. Here he discusses the crowded shantytowns of squatters which illegally crowd the fringes of the city. In this he emphasizes the breakdown of state planning. He writes of vacillations of government; sometimes ruthlessly harassing and expelling the illegal Blacks back to their Homelands and bulldozing their shanties, sometimes benignly ignoring them, or even consulting with self-made leaders amongst the squatters in an attempt to create some order out of the chaos. While this is also a story of "Outcast Cape Town" it differs from the main thrust of the book. Nonetheless, it reflects another grim side to apartheid.

The last chapter offers reflections and predictions regarding the outcome of the policies of the Group Areas Act. The author personalizes his predictions by relating the experiences of his own research to a more recent return to Cape Town at the critical time of the breakdown of order amongst the Coloured communities of Cape Flats. His conclusion is frightening: "Humanistic geography, among other things, implies looking at the city through the texture of the lives of its inhabitants. Seen this way, the astonishing physical beauty of the Cape Peninsula is metamorphosed into a remarkably bleak experience of living for many Capetonians. . . . Not only is such an account distressing, it bodes ill for any peaceful future." (p. 327)

This articulate book is sober reading for every serious student of the region.

Contrasts in Attacking Racism in South Africa

Richard W. Sales

L. Ted Behrens, *I AM SOUTH AFRICA* (New York: Vantage Press, 1979) pp. 96; \$5.95, hardcover.

Paddy Colligan, *SOWETO REMEMBERED: Conversations with Freedom Fighters* (Atlanta: World View Publishers, 1981) pp. xiv, 115; \$3.25, paperback.

How can Americans be convinced of the evil of the system of Apartheid as it is practised in South Africa? Here are two widely contrasting approaches. The first is a short autobiography by 'Lot' Behrens, a man born 'Coloured' in that sad country. What Behrens experienced is somewhere between the white middle class upbringing, with few aspects to distinguish it from the sort of life most Americans experience, and the life we shall probably never know, the black Sada-Dimbaza upbringing, shrouded in disease, poverty and ignorance. He was poor but bright and in those days of swiss cheese apartheid, he slipped through the holes to reach university and a brief teaching career. It was music that turned Lot Behrens from the semi-privileged position he enjoyed toward the situation of the black majority in his country. In his book the turn is documented with lines from what one guesses were songs he wrote at various times.

Behrens was not a political figure, yet he was picked up with others in a police crack-down when students at Fort Hare went on strike, and, like so many in South Africa who do not enjoy the privilege of being white, the experience left an indelible mark. His book, unpretentious, sometimes rambling, very human, may reach some people who never thought of the situation in South Africa in terms of personalities and human lives.

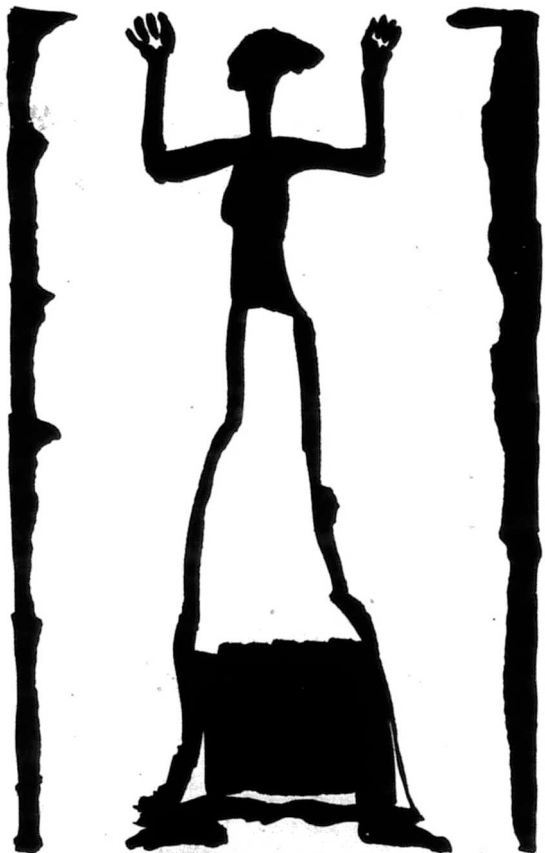
Colligan, by contrast, writes in a deliberately leftist style. Although he subtitles his book "Conversations with freedom fighters," don't look for autobiographical chapters. It is rather the case that each interviewee is a vehicle for exposing another aspect of South Africa's inhumane situation. His audience, as Larry Holmes states in the introduction, is already dedicated, and his purpose is "that his book will be a valuable resource . . . in deepening active support for the African Revolution." This is not a book to give to the chairman of the local bank or Aunt Nellie to heighten their consciousness.

One chapter in particular impressed me. That was Ellen Musialela's chapter speaking about the service of Namibian women to SWAPO, and the battle they still must fight amid the freedom struggle to be regarded as fully devoted and equal parties to the fight. It impressed me because in it I felt I met a real person whose personality shone through the prose. In others the humanity of the inter-

Richard W. Sales, after 25 years in South Africa and Botswana, is now a theological educator in Zambia. In 1982 he was Visiting Professor of the World Church at Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois.

viewee often seemed submerged in a series of standard phrases while Colligan's running commentary provided the story line and the facts. And on the subject of facts, a fair number were stated without giving sources. This, I believe, is dangerous, because the defenders of Apartheid are armed with piles of sources and the net effect can too often be a matter of "Yes, they did" — "No, they didn't."

The sense of outrage engendered in a sensitive person by Behrens' artless life story is almost wholly lacking in Colligan's work. His book is for the already angry, to fan sparks into flame.



“YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK...”

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Lesotho's Dependency

Richard Dale

Gabriele Winai-Ström, *DEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCE IN LESOTHO, THE ENCLAVE OF SOUTH AFRICA* (Uppsala, Sweden: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978), pp. 186, Skr. 45:..

Among Africanists and students of African international politics, it has been conventional wisdom that the Kingdom of Lesotho is a client or hostage state of the Republic of South Africa and hence worth studying only in the context of South African hegemony in Southern Africa. This assumption goes back as far as the late Jack Hapern's Penguin paperback *South Africa's Hostages* (1965) and perhaps even further to the 1935 Pim Report on the Financial and Economic Position of Basutoland, sponsored by the British Government.

Gabriele Winai-Ström, a member of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University in Sweden, has previously published two monographs on Lesotho under the aegis of this particular Department at Uppsala University, and it appears as though this book is the published version of her doctoral dissertation on Lesotho, presumably written under the direction of Professor Lars Rådebeck (p. 5). The author has conducted field work in Lesotho on two separate occasions (1970 and 1975) and has also conducted interviews with Basotho in Sweden, which are now available in a monograph form, *Opinions of Ruling and Exiled Leaders of Lesotho* (cited on p. 164, note 24 and on p. 170, note 23). Whether she has a reading and/or speaking ability in Sesotho is not clear from the text or endnotes, but if she did not have such fluency, it seems not to have diminished the quality or quantity of research she was able to conduct in the Kingdom of Lesotho itself.

Dr. Winai-Ström's interest in Lesotho stems from her larger interest in the field of dependency theory in international political economics, a theory which usually traces its empirical roots to Latin America (and its links with the United States of America). Consequently, her detailed table of contents indicates the somewhat limited range of her inquiry to such topics as socioeconomic change (chapter 2), political parties (chapter 3), state institutions (chapter 4), and governmental development policies (chapter 5). The overarching notion of this study is that Lesotho has a penetrated polity, economy, and society and is less able to defend its sovereignty now than it was in the 19th century, which appears to her as the golden age of Basutoland. Other scholars have taken this line of reasoning one step further and designated South Africa as a sub-imperial power which does the bidding of its Western investors; under such circumstances, these scholars would assert that Lesotho is dominated by South Africa which, in turn, is a Western proxy. Naturally, there are other ways to organize and conceptualize studies on Lesotho which include, among others, the analysis of small power foreign policies — something which Dr. Winai-Ström seems to ignore — and how best to strengthen Lesotho relative to South African blandishments by the use of external allies and patrons — something which the author does to a rather limited extent.

The book is very well documented (with some 439 endnotes), it contains two maps, but not a single large-scale map of Lesotho, and 27 tables and diagrams.

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as well as two appendices. The bibliography (on pp. 177-186) is especially helpful in terms of Lesotho government documents, but unfortunately it omits the name of the publisher for books and the appropriate pagination for articles. The book contains a small number of syntactical flaws and spelling or printing errors, and its most important drawback is the lack of a detailed index; otherwise, one would be tempted to recommend it as a solid reference work. All things considered, however, it is a substantial, well-organized, thoughtful, and provocative work of scholarship dealing with an important theme in the literature of dependency in the third world.

The Hoover Institution Archives

Janet L. Stanley

Charles G. Palm and Dale Reed. **GUIDE TO THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES**. Hoover Bibliographic Series, 59. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980) pp. 418; \$50.00

The Hoover Institution Archives, representing documentary residuals from the active and extensive scholarly programs at the Hoover Institution since its inception in 1919, focuses on political, economic and social materials in keeping with the research mission of the parent institution. Although more than 3500 accessions deposited through 1978 are listed in the present volume, only a very small proportion of the Archives relates to Africa: 5.4 percent by actual number and 1.1 percent by volume of collection. The African accessions encompass papers and documents relating to colonialism, colonial administration, ethnography, nationalism and revolutionary movements. It is necessary to use the subject index to locate these African materials, since entries in the body of the guide are arranged alphabetically. Fortunately, the index is both detailed (one quarter of the volume) and well-constructed. Subjects, place names and personal names are indexed—even ones which do not appear in the main entry notations, e.g., the index citation for Adegoke Adelabu refers the user to the George Jenkins Papers, although the main entry does not reveal that materials directly relevant to Adelabu exist here. Hoover Library microfilms of other archival deposits are also catalogued and indexed in this guide. The introductory essay describes the history, scope and use of this major archival repository.

For Africanists the guide to the Hoover Archives supplements but does not replace the earlier guide *African and Middle East Collections: A Survey of Holdings at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace*, by Peter Duignan (Stanford, 1971), 37 pp. Nor does it supplant the description of the Hoover Institution found in the even earlier *Handbook of American Resources for African Studies*, by Peter Duignan (Stanford, 1967), pages 121-127, which itself is currently being updated by the forthcoming African Studies Information Resources Directory. Nevertheless, the present guide to the Hoover Archives, because it is after all a catalogue and not a descriptive survey, will be more appropriate and useful in research library reference collections rather than for personal acquisition.

Janet L. Stanley is Librarian at The Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

Essays on Nigerian Political Economy

Peter Koehn

Gavin Williams, **STATE AND SOCIETY IN NIGERIA** (Idanre, Ondo State: Afrografika Publishers, 1980) pp. 164; N 4.50.

State and Society brings together a number of essays previously published by the author (including "Politics in Nigeria" by Williams and Terisa Turner) in a single paper-bound volume. The book presumably is aimed principally at readers within Nigeria. In particular, the publishers "strongly recommend it to the policy makers and aspiring politicians in Nigeria . . ." (cover).

Gavin Williams has articulated an important perspective on Nigeria's political economy, adequately represented by the selections included in this volume, that merits wide dissemination and consideration in Nigeria. Nevertheless, *State and Society* is likely to disappoint many readers for several reasons. First, the author has added little new discussion of contemporary political and economic relations or further reflection on prior conditions to his previously published accounts. Aside from a ten page "Postface" and an even briefer selection on "Agriculture in Nigeria, 1979", all of the essays found in this book were written in the early or mid 1970s.

One especially regrets that Williams did not utilize the opportunity presented by publication of this book to assess recent developments affecting Nigerian society. Fewer than half of the ten pages written specifically for this volume (pp. 15-19) are devoted to extending his historical/class analysis to cover such important post-1975 events as the transition to civilian rule, the 1979 elections, the creation of additional states, industrial expansion, worker wage demands and farmer protests, and government fiscal and economic policies. The postface fails to mention, no less to explore, the significance of the 1976 local government reform, the Land Use Decree of 1978, the move to relocate the federal capital at Abuja, and shifting revenue allocation patterns.

In addition, no effort has been made to link the essays presented in *State and Society* either conceptually or chronologically. The result is an incomplete and at times confusing collection of the author's treatments of selected aspects of Nigerian society. Indeed, the two main selections included in the book ("*Nigeria: A Political Economy*" and "*Politics in Nigeria*") contain redundant descriptions of the impact of the Udoji awards (pp. 54; 98-9), labor agitation (pp. 43, 54; 82, 86, 94-5), indigenization measures (pp. 51-2; 94), the expansion of federal government authority (pp. 48-50, 54-5; 86, 95, 100), the "institutional revolution" to be guided by state technocrats (pp. 49-50; 92, 95), and other subjects. Such repetitious treatments reinforce the initial sense of disappointment one experiences upon discovering that *State and Society* constitutes a reproduction of the author's earlier essays rather than a fresh, integrated, and comprehensive analysis and critique of Nigerian society and politics.

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In spite of these limitations, *State and Society* still provides an important reference for those unfamiliar with Williams' work. Policy makers would be well advised, in particular, to devote serious consideration to his penetrating and provocative insights regarding the role of workers as "a 'political elite' expressing the demands of the poor in general . . ." (pp. 45-7), the exploitative and inefficient nature of high-technology agricultural development schemes organized along state socialist as well as capitalist lines (pp. 137-44, 160-1, 12-13), and the impact of the "commercial triangles" composed of "private Nigerian middlemen, state 'gatekeepers' or compradors, and representatives of foreign firms" which shape state policy and economic relations (pp. 89-90, 103-4). The main contribution of these essays lies in the author's incisive, historically informed analyses of macro-level political-economic relations. To the various topics treated in these selections, Williams consistently applies a critical perspective that is grounded in and guided by "radical rejection of 'development' through the exploitation and subjection of producers, whether in the name of 'socialism' or 'liberalism', and a commitment to the 'emancipation of labour', the creation of conditions which enable people to produce freely, in cooperation with one another, rather than under the direction of capital and the state" (p. 12).

The author shows little interest in predicting the future of Nigerian society in any of these essays. He does explicitly discard his early faith in the capacity of the state to bring about the national development of capitalism (pp. 12-15). He also anticipates further political instability in Nigeria under military or civilian rule (pp. 103-4).

Basically, however, Williams is vague and cautious about prospects for change in prevailing social, political, and economic relations. Is Nigeria moving from classic dependence into dependent development in ways that resemble Brazil's experience, as Peter Evans suggests?¹ Unfortunately, Gavin Williams has not specifically addressed this question in *State and Society* (see p. 14). Other issues with important implications for the future are raised in the book without being treated exhaustively. Thus, while Williams decries the inability of industrial workers and cocoa farmers "to challenge the system of income distribution and the distribution of political power in Nigerian society" and their failure to create "any broader political organizations of the working class, or of the poor," and foresees "no immediate prospect of the emergence of a significant socialist party" (pp. 19, 47, 131), he elects not to explore the primary reasons why mass collectivity mobilization has failed to occur in Nigeria.² As a result, he is unable to offer any concrete insights concerning how the principal constraints on political change might be overcome and the creation of a popular and powerful "socialist movement" facilitated (see p. 19).

1. Peter Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 308-15.

2. For instance, he completely disregards the actions, values, and interests of the intelligentsia.

Ethnicity and Political Cohesion

Omatayo E. Asgill

John R. Cartwright, *POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN SIERRA LEONE* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) pp. 308; \$17.50.

This study investigates the administration of the first two leaders of independent Sierra Leone, namely the Margai brothers. It observes that the style of leadership pursued by each was diametrically opposed to the other. While Dr. Milton was conservative, paternalistic, abstemious, and preferring a "brokerage" system of political action, Sir Albert was flamboyant but prodigally incautious, and without a consistent political ideology.

However, Sir Albert's comparative failure was hardly a consequence of his style of leadership; it was partly a legacy of Dr. Milton's conservatism which had tended to exacerbate ethnic suspicion. Sir Albert, on the other hand, did not himself possess the resources to cope with a variety of emergent post-independent political developments, and social and economic expectations which were becoming rife towards the end of Sir Milton's term of office. For example, a growing political awareness had created many interest groups, and increased access to education had come with a questioning attitude and "a weakening of the mystique of authority." More immediately, the combination of cupidity, naivete and an unintelligent overearnestness in initiating economic projects led to very disastrous deals. Sir Albert's final desperate acts to rely too heavily on Mende support and to attempt to impose a one-party state brought about his downfall.

Cartwright's work appropriately begins with an incisive analysis of the political history of Sierra Leone: the "Creole-Countryman" hostility brought about by the lack of political foresight on the part of Creole leaders (the U.P.P.) in advocating separatism when they had no meaningful electoral advantage; the Mende-Northerners tension which led to the formation of self-preserving ethnically-based political parties; and the challenges to the authority of traditional chiefs who were now compelled to function within the wider limits of a nation-state, especially with the introduction of the 1951 constitution, the first major step towards independence.

Indeed, the author is correct in deducing that ethnicity and regionalism are the strongest bases for political cohesion in Sierra Leone. He demonstrates more intimate knowledge of the interaction and behavior of ethnic and cultural groups and their ramifying aspirations which, in turn, inform the policy and reaction of leaders.

Also, the writer presents a perceptive analysis of the changing social attitudes and patterns of economic relationship which point towards "modernization" but which are frustrated by a corrupting relationship of dependence on major foreign firms, and the Lebanese. More significantly, he notes that there are severe prob-

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lems when a leader in the third world attempts to alter a "peripheral relationship," a hangover of a colonial economy, and which leaves such countries "at the mercy of capitalist price-fixing cartels." He sees these problems as arising from the very conspiracy and self-interest of the developed world. A self-reliant industrialization by a third world country is likely to produce at the outset only second rate goods which a growing complacency in attitudes and taste among its citizens predictably will reject. In the case of Sierra Leone, matters are not helped at all with an economy that is over-dependent on depleting mining resources.

A major risk in this study is the ambitious attempt to reduce Sierra Leone politics into a paradigm of African or third world states. Cartwright at one point admitted, in fact, that his aim is to endow the book with a prescriptive value! The examination of political leadership in Sierra Leone is subordinated, too often, to generalized discussions of political and geo-economic structures of the third world. One questions the choice for this purpose of Sierra Leone with a population of three and one half million people vis-a-vis other more populous countries with far more significant prototypal impact. Apparently, a brief spell of lecturership at Fourah Bay College seems to have presented the opportunity to produce a book on Africa. Elaborate theorizing, as with ethnic organization and mobility, especially outside the subject of Sierra Leone, renders this study needlessly pedantic and tedious in parts. A corollary is the failure to resist long-drawn deductive minutiae which tend to detract from the force of an argument.

Certainly, John Cartwright cannot pretend to be unaware of the loaded pejorative meanings of the word "tribe" which occurs throughout his book. "Experts" on Africa, it is expected, should be more discriminating in their choice of words, especially those which only perpetuate unfair stereotypes of the continent. The research method adopted has very dubious scientific validity. The translations of a set of student evaluators who conducted field interviews without tape recorders, or any attempt at verbatim transcription, leaves much to be desired.

Some statistical figures need to be revised. On p. 36, the Creoles are 50,000, presumably by the end of the slave trade, but on Footnote 59 p. 205, Freetown population (1948 census), which includes all ethnic groups, is only 64,576 — with "non-natives" (Creoles) 17,331. If these figures are correct, then the incongruity of a decline in the population of Freetown ought perhaps to be explained. (Of course, there was a massive exodus of "liberated Africans," mainly of Yoruba extraction, who repatriated to Nigeria.)

Despite its short-comings, this study on political leadership in Sierra Leone is exhaustive, well-structured and vividly expounded. As a case study, its relevance goes beyond the particulars of Sierra Leone, and, indeed, succeeds in some respects as a model of the predicament leaders face today in African countries.

A Provocative Study of Islamic Politics

Erving E. Beauregard

Alexander S. Cudsi and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, eds., *ISLAM AND POWER* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 204 pp., \$20.00.

Islam and Power resulted from a series of seminars and conferences sponsored by the Hellenic Mediterranean Centre for Arabic and Islamic Studies. Following the introduction by Cudsi, the Centre's Director, and Dessouki, Cairo University, the ten contributions are "Activism and Quietism in Islam: The Case of the Early Murji'a" by Michael Cook, University of London; "Towards a Muslim Theory of History" by Thomas Naff, University of Pennsylvania; "The Ideologisation of Islam in the Contemporary Muslim World" by Ali Merad, University of Lyon; "Changing Concepts of Authority in the Late Ninth/Fifteenth and Early Tenth/Sixteenth Centuries" by Ann Lambton, London; "Ayatollah Khomeini's Concept of Islamic Government" by Abbas Kelidar, London; "Official Islam and Sufi Brotherhoods in the Soviet Union Today" by Alexander Bennigsen, Universities of Paris and Chicago; "The Resurgence of Islamic Organizations in Egypt: An Interpretation" by Ali E. Hillal Dessouki; "Religious Resistance and State Power in Algeria" by Jean-Claude Vatin, University of Aix-en-Provence; "Islam and Power in Black Africa" by Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, London; and "Islamic Resurgence: A Critical View" by P.J. Vatikiotis, London.

What emerges is the general vindication of the volume's title. Islam, being a total way of life, must enter the world of every believer's existence. Inevitably, this must surface as the use of power in every context — political, economic, social, cultural, and religious. Such a development is all the more evident in the 20th century when vast upheavals have produced the marked resurgence of Islam.

We need reminders, as Naff produces, of the intimate tieup in Islam of historical memory (or historicism) and salvation. Since salvation demands public behavior which stems from understanding Allah's impositions, this issues only from accurate knowledge of the words and deeds of Muhammad, his Companions, and early successors (p. 24). Since throughout the ages both the forces of evil, renegades within the bosom of Islam and the external secular/religious titans, have buffeted Islam, there exists perennially the fertile ground for a *mujaddid* (renovator). Hence there should be no surprise at the contemporary phenomenon in this vein of resurgence.

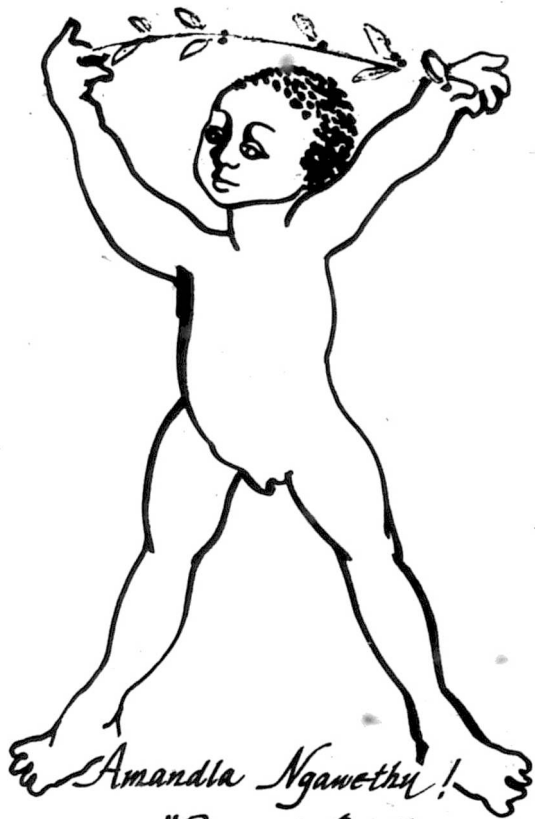
Moreover, the invocation of the historical memory should prepare humanity for the Muslim use of power in a sense that might be revolting to the non-believer. As Kelidar notes, Muhammad "personally punished offenders, chopped off the thieves' hands, flogged and stoned adulterers and adulteresses respectively in order to ensure the prevalence of his just rule. . . ." (p. 81). Thus Muhammad's successors have the same obligation of enforcing obedience to the laws of Islam. Consequently, ". . . what Khomeini seeks in the propagation of his concept of Islamic government is to theocratise the state and politics, and at the same time politicise Islam and the religious establishment" (p. 85).

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Considering the unbreakable link of historicism and salvation in Islamic thought, one may quarrel with Vatikiotis who calls for a serious reform of the theological edifice in order to revive Islam. Since the proper life, both individually and collectively, is riveted in the beliefs, sayings and customs of the earliest Muslim community, Muhammad's own, it would be the basest treachery for the believer to assail this most fundamental framework of unblemished orthodoxy.

O'Brien's contribution whets the appetite for some mention of contemporary happenings in Muslim Africa. The role of Islam in inspiring Polisario in the Western Sahara deserves some attention.

Although closely printed, the notes will appeal to the scholar and the index is serviceable. Yet the cost comes high for this thin book.



Amandla Ngawethi!
"Power is Ours"

ZULU QUOTATION

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Evaluating Achievements & Failures of African States

Otwin Marenin

Crawford Young, *IDEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982). xvii, 376pp. \$29.95.

About twenty years have elapsed since most African states regained their independence. It is time, argues Young, to take stock of what has happened in those years and to judge how well or badly African governments have performed. He proposes and uses six general criteria: growth (measured by the expansion of peasant agriculture rather than GNP); equality (dispersion of amenities to rural areas, indirect taxes, pricing policies for agricultural commodities, mortality rates, minimum wage scales); dignity (emigration and size of refugee populations, size of security forces); autonomy (degree of foreign penetration and control of the economy, debt burdens, reliance on expatriate personnel); participation (in politics, at all levels); and societal capacity (the state's planning and implementation policies). The central question which guides his selection of cases and organizes his discussion is this: does ideology matter? African states in 1960, in retrospect, differed little in performance and ideology; twenty years later one can observe vast differences in performance, from limited successes to catastrophic failures, on all six criteria. Distinct political ideologies and camps have emerged as well. Any differences in performance, then, linked to ideological stances and if, how?

In chapters 2, 3 and 4 Young outlines the common ideological themes of Afro-Marxism, populist socialism and African capitalism as pronounced in the writings and speeches of the political leaderships of selected countries. Short capsule histories complete each chapter. Congo, Benin, Madagascar, Somalia, Ethiopia and Mozambique are described as representatives of the latest ideological camp, Afro-Marxism. The political and economic features of populist socialism are outlined in studies of Tanzania, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana (under Nkrumah), Mali (under Keita) and Guinea. Successful examples of African capitalism are found in the Ivory Coast, Kenya and Nigeria while Zaire and Gabon exemplify its excesses and failures.

Chapter 5 examines the linkages between domestic ideology and external relations. African states are not seen as subservient to foreign allies, be these from the West or East. Important countervailing ideological themes common to all African states — non-alignment, perceptions of the North-South chasm, the liberation of southern Africa — mitigate ideological affinities as does the need to live within the constraints of a capitalist world system. Even African Marxist regimes distrust Soviet demands for bases on their soil and find the economic and financial support available from the Soviet Union sparse indeed.

Chapter 6 presents the scorecard and re-evaluates the linkage of ideology to policy. The score reads like this: growth — in general, capitalist states have done better, yet there are success stories in the other camps; equality — successes and failures are found in all camps; autonomy — successes and failures everywhere; dignity — assaulted not by ideological design but by the

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fears of insecure and paranoid rulers; participation — a mixed bag; societal capacity — inconclusive differentiation. In sum, on all criteria, the question whether ideology matters cannot be answered conclusively. The evidence does not point clearly to a preferred path for development. There simply are too many differences within each ideological camp, on all criteria, to establish a general connection between ideology and performance.

Ideologies do not determine choice, yet they may set the boundaries within which choices are made. Ideologies set goals and priorities; ideology shapes and flavors everyday life (Maputo is a different city from Abidjan); yet shifts in ideology, the development of ideological distinctions reflect not underlying changes in material conditions but are created and espoused by political elites as they assume power in order to differentiate themselves from their predecessors. Ideologies are the product of political struggles among elites — this holds especially true for the rise of Afro-Marxism.

If ideology, as Young argues, "takes us some distance to an understanding" (p. 296) of policy and performance, what then helps us complete the journey? Young returns to the same theme again and again — competent leadership. Only leadership can explain the "basic competence and probity" of some states and the "calamitous cases of mismanagement" (p. 7) in other states. All African states labor under constraints imposed upon them, externally and domestically. Yet choices exist, can be taken and must be carried out. The drift into greed and corruption and repression depends less on ideological stance than on the character of the leadership.

There is a subdued sense of pessimism which prevades the book. Visions of chances which were squandered by private or communal greed, laid low by ineptitude, ambushed by grandiose dreams — such are easy to cite. Examples of venality in extremis, disregard for rights, enforced departicipation can easily swamp hope and optimism. It is curious that the two examples Young finds potentially most promising as guides and tests are at the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum: Nigeria and Mozambique. Nigeria is praised for its past and present allegiance to democratic ideals, however imperfectly realized. Mozambique is seen as a bellwether for the future, as the test case for an alternative to development not yet consistently attempted in Africa. If Nigeria, with its potential and existing wealth and experience in democratic politics, and Mozambique, with its revolutionary fervor and honest leadership, do not succeed in promoting the dignity and enhancing the well-being of their citizens, then who will?

Young's conclusions provide little comfort to advocates of either path to development; and also raise a number of theoretical issues. If ideology matters sometimes and sometimes not then what other conditions are necessary to make ideology an instrument of development? Some model linking these and other variables needs to be specified and justified. Such a model still awaits.

Young's argument is fair and compassionate. The capsule histories of the countries he examines are beautiful examples of how to condense, simplify and use data without losing the essential picture. Yet simplification invites critique. The choice of six criteria, the specific indicators for each criterion, the placement of some countries in ideological camps, the commonality of themes in ideology — all these can and will be argued. And so it should be. Yet the book will stand as a standard text, as one man's informed, subjective yet balanced, comprehensive and succinct overview and evaluation of African politics.

The Goba of Zambia:

Sound, but Static Ethnography

Chet S. Lancaster, *The Goba of the Zambezi: Sex Roles, Economics, and Change*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), xvii, 350 pp., \$19.95, hardcover.

This is a thorough, culturally sensitive ethnography in the time honored American tradition. Based on a grant-funded field study conducted largely through interpreters from March, 1967 to March, 1969 the work exhibits an ahistoricalness common to such dissertation focused studies. The seventeen pages of chapter one "The Goba: A Historical Introduction" ought to have been historiographically updated with more recent, specific, and twentieth century oriented oral-based social and cultural history sources. The work may be useful as a base line study. But the rapid and sweeping changes in this area in the 1970s necessitate more comments on the "ethnographic present" used throughout than are implied in the short concluding chapter. Lancaster displays little understanding of the constant flux which is the most pervasive reality of African ethnic identity. By clinging to an inherently misleading view that the Goba, or any other ethnic cluster, necessarily persist with any measure of stability over time, Lancaster maintains a structural-functional fiction. Even at the time of his study the political situation required limiting his observations to the Goba in Zambia since those living across the river in Zimbabwe were separated by a hostile political boundary as well as the river. Events in the fifteen years since that time ought to call his inherently static picture into question.

Furthermore, Lancaster displays little experience of a deep "emic" understanding of the Goba culture. He admits, for example, that the bent-at-the-waist hoeing position of the Goba women is "... likely to cripple an unwary anthropologist." But he passes this off lightly by simply saying they become "accustomed to low, backless sitting stools and habitual bending at the waist for farming, working, sweeping, washing, and sitting..." (p. 72).

Though this focus, with its self-avowedly non-sexist approach, adds interest to the work, the very nature of the study, fluctuating as it does between the poles of macro-theory and the very localized case study, raises more questions than it answers. The social history of the area over the past 2000 years has been so discontinuous that Lancaster's view of a fixed precolonial "golden time" of women's ascendancy in the "the battle of the sexes" is very open to question. It is likely that the Goba patterns that he observed in the late 1960s were themselves very short term phenomena. Such short term phenomena would be of little interest to the evolutionary theorist, historians, economic anthropologists, and development planners for whom Lancaster presumes such data are important.

The book ought to be included in any library with a substantial African collection. It is a sound, substantial and well written work.

Thomas O'Toole is Program Director of Minnesota Studies in International Development at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

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Cameroonian Politics: Scholarship and Partisanship

Victor T. Le Vine

Richard A. Joseph, **RADICAL NATIONALISM IN CAMEROUN: Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion.** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.) pp. xiii, 383. \$15.00

Jean-Francois Bayart, **L'ETAT AU CAMEROUN.** (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1979) pp. 298. FF 125

Richard A. Joseph, ed., **GAULLIST AFRICA: Cameroon under Ahmadu Ahidjo.** (Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978.) pp. xiv, 217. \$12.50

On November 4, 1982, one of Africa's most durable heads of state, Cameroon's Ahmadou Ahidjo, resigned as President in favor of his Prime Minister, Paul Biya. Ahidjo came to power in 1968 as Premier of what was then the government of the Cameroon under UN Trusteeship. After the country became independent in 1960, Ahidjo was elected President and remained in office until his unexpected resignation in November. Not only is Ahidjo's peaceful departure remarkable — he is only the sixth African head of state to leave peacefully and successfully pass on his office according to constitutional rules, but also the fact of his 24 years in office, a considerable feat in itself. Consequently, three relatively recent books about his regime and Cameroon's politics are of particular interest.

Taken together, the three constitute something of an uncomfortable whole. Joseph and Bayart each published his doctoral thesis, then collaborated to help produce an unabashed hatchet job on the Ahidjo regime. That said, it must be added in all justice that despite the fact that neither author makes any effort to conceal his distaste for the Ahidjo government in his book, the two monographs represent significant scholarly contributions to the sparse literature on Cameroon politics. *Gaullist Africa* is something else.

Radical Nationalism recounts the rise of the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), the country's first — and probably only — true nationalist party through the violent events of 1955, and ends in 1956 with the UPC entering its "guerrilla" phase. The events, however, are the epiphenomena of Joseph's analysis; his contribution lies in three main areas: one, a detailed examination of the urban and agrarian society created by French colonial policies and administrations; two, a revealing analysis of the development of Cameroonian political consciousness during the interwar and 1946-1955 periods; and three, a richly textured discussion, drawn from numerous interviews and illustrative documents of the internal

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4th Quarter, 1982

dynamics of the UPC movement. Joseph is clearly *engagé*, and it is thus hardly surprising that he argues that the UPC had no choice in 1955 but to resort to collective violence. Having been blocked at every turn by a colonial administration bent on keeping Cameroon within the French orbit at any price, by early 1955 the UPC "was not faced with the choice of being provoked or resisting provocation, but rather of being stifled out of existence." (p. 232) There is much more in this excellent study; I found it grounded in impeccable research, and argued with verve and lucidity. It is not, however, above criticism. For example, Joseph's thesis about the UPC having been "pushed" into rebellion by an inexorably hostile French administration is clearly partisan; it tends to overlook the strength of the advocates of revolutionary violence within the party itself; it minimizes the tactical errors committed by the party in the course of its campaigns in town and country (the use of a leftist rhetoric that polarized rather than convinced hearers, heavy-handed methods against opponents, etc.), and it fails to weigh the UPC's tendency to mobilize support on the basis of ethnic identity (which ultimately caused it — probably fatally — to overestimate the strength of its support when it did resort to violence). It was indeed a frustrated party that opted for rebellion in 1955, but it was a frustration that owed as much to the UPC's own failures and inadequacies as it did to the administration's hostility. It is also regrettable that Joseph did not also examine the so called "Bamiléké" phase of the rebellion (1958 to ca. 1964) for the light it sheds on a party that had by then both lost its ideological innocence and become as brutal as the troops and police sent against it. In all, and despite his partisanship, Joseph has nonetheless provided what is probably the definitive study of the UPC and an indispensable tool for all students of Cameroonian politics.

Jean-Francois Bayart is Jean-Francois LeGuil, who spent most of his life in Cameroon and who thus had extraordinary access to the people and documentation on which his book is based. Bayart presently lives in Paris, and edits *Politique Africaine*, a scholarly quarterly dealing with African affairs. *L'Etat au Cameroun* examines the growth and internal dynamics of the Ahidjo regime, what Christian Coulon has called "a kind of anthropology of Cameroonian political life." Its contribution, however, lies not in its detailed discussion of Cameroon's corridors of power, but in its attempt to correct a notable failing of "underdevelopment and dependency" theory, that is, the tendency to place African political systems "less in the perspective of their own history, than within that of the Western world." Thus, according to Bayart, "the penetration of the capitalist mode of production, [as well as] nation-building, derive their primary meaning in relation to the growth of indigenous systems of domination and inequality, whose stakes are above all, 'African'." (p. 14)

Rather than simply treating Cameroun's ruling elite as a compliant tool of foreign capitalist manipulators, he insists on that elite's capacity to effect its own adaptations to the problem of maintaining power — in Cameroun's case, a clientelistic system characterized by an "hegemonic alliance" among modern and traditional social elements. It is this coalition, which is in the process of becoming a true ruling elite, that is the real key to the success of the Ahidjo regime and its unusual stability. This system is not, however, without its contradictions which, taken together, makes its long-term survival doubtful: for example, the very nature of the coalition, with its tendency to favor ethnic, regional, and economic interests at the expense of competence, operates to bring mediocrity to the top of the political heap. The coalition itself was crystallized by the French in 1958 when they propelled Ahidjo into the Prime Ministry. According to Bayart,

"The apparent mediocrity of the man had a good deal to do with his fortune." (p. 49) Once installed in power, Ahidjo proceeded to reinforce the alliance by making himself the hub of what can only be compared structurally to the court of a northern Lamido (a traditional Fulani ruler). Above all, Cameroun's "hegemonic crisis" is fed by the persistent challenge of what Bayart calls "les cadets sociaux" (the class of younger aspirants to power). Forced (it seems) to wait interminably for their turn at the top, poorly integrated into the "hegemonic alliance," and only marginally included in the State's clientelistic network, the *cadets chafe* at their bonds and on occasion (as was the case in the UPC rebellion) find unsettling ways of directly challenging the system. In all, Bayart's analysis is complex, nuanced, and backed by apparent detailed knowledge of the labyrinths of the system.

Bayart's book is not without its problems. Bayart tends to argue by assertion relying too often more on the logic of his ideas than on the evidence. His thesis regarding the *cadets sociaux* flounders because his definition of this group is too broad to be conceptually useful. And finally, his description of the structure of Ahidjo's "hegemonic alliance" has a monochromatic quality due, I would suggest, to his attempt to cram a highly complex reality into (despite Bayart's extensions) what is still a restrictive theoretical framework. Had he been willing, for example, to give Ahidjo himself more credit for political savvy, or to concede the force of the various poles of influence that affect decision-making in Cameroon (among others, the bureaucracy, the business community acting through the Chambers of Commerce or the Social and Economic Council, local and ethnic magnates operating via the informal channels of personal access), his image of the system might have been more realistic.

Finally, Gaullist Africa. One wonders why good scholars such as Bayart, Joseph, Philippe Lippens, and Reginald Green would have agreed to help put together what amounts to a UPC tract on the evils of the Cameroonian system. The inflexibly hostile positions of Mongo Beti and Abel Eyinga (who are included in this collection) are well known and perhaps excusable, given their long absences from the Cameroonian scene and their rigid ideological predispositions. Perhaps Joseph, Bayart, and the others simply allowed their gut feelings to run away with them. There is, admittedly, much that is wrong with Cameroonian politics, not the least of which is its authoritarian bent. But that hardly excuses a book that systematically distorts Cameroonian political, social, and economic realities, and reduces its leading political actors to a series of undifferentiated leftist clichés.

I might agree that one of the Ahidjo regime's failings was its aversion to criticism; these three books were neither sold nor distributed in the country.

An Important History

of Equatorial Guinea

Manuel Envela

Max Liniger-Goumaz. *GUINÉE EQUATORIALE: De la Dictature des Colons à la Dictature des Colonels.* (Les Editions du Temps, Genève, 1982). 228 pp. n.p.

In this valuable book on Equatorial Guinea, Max Liniger-Goumaz, a Professor at the Higher School of Commerce in Lausanne, traces the historical, social, economic and political development of Equatorial Guinea from the colonial period to the present era. In the first two chapters of the book, Liniger-Goumaz provides an historical background of the colonial experience, a general economic-geographical description of the country, and an ethnological description of the major ethnic groups of Equatorial Guinea and their salient personal characteristics.

Liniger-Goumaz places particular emphasis on the third chapter "La République Nguemiste", which covers the period 1968-1980. Of special importance to historico-political scholars is the manner in which Liniger-Goumaz meticulously describes the personalistic and oligarchistic style of rule of the Nguema clan/family which has ruled Equatorial Guinea from the time of independence to the present. Also in the third chapter, Liniger-Goumaz does an excellent job of tracing and elucidating the political evolution of leading political parties, personalities, and political happenings. Throughout the book Liniger-Goumaz focuses too much on the Fang, the largest ethnic group, and fails to give adequate attention and credit to other groups, their leaders and outstanding personalities.

The book should serve as a "gold mine of information" for Africanists, scholars, human rights advocates and the general public. The fact that the book provides an excellent chronological and bibliographical description of some of "the many nightmares" that have taken place and are still continuing in this beautiful corner of Africa should be of great importance to anyone interested in Equatorial Guinea. Liniger-Goumaz has made a great and lasting contribution to the literature of Equatorial Guinea, given the fact that not too many published sources are available on Equatorial Guinea, which is the only Spanish speaking country in sub-Saharan Africa. Liniger-Goumaz draws the conclusion that in order for Equatorial Guinea to pull herself out of the chaotic social, political, economic, cultural and administrative dislocation she finds herself in, it will be necessary to have some sort of "national reconciliation" to permit all segments of society to participate in the political process and in building a brighter future for the country.

Manuel Envela, a native of Equatorial Guinea, is a student of political science at the University of Denver.

The End of Slavery in East Africa

R.A. Obudho

Frederick Cooper, *FROM SLAVES TO SQUATTERS: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya 1896-1925* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. xvii + 328. Maps, Tables, Bibliography. Hard Cover, \$25.00.

From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya 1890-1925 is not only Frederick Cooper's sequel to an earlier publication entitled *Plantation Slavery in East Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), but also the only publication to my knowledge that has analyzed in great detail the transformation and political economy of the post-emancipation period of slavery in British colonies of Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya. Through the skillful use of blending oral evidence, archives and other primary sources, comparative material and quantitative data, Cooper has presented a well-written post-emancipation study of the class struggle between the Arab landowners and ex-slaves on one hand and the British colonial policy on the other hand. The book is well written and impressively researched. It has nineteen tables, five figures, and an extensive and up-to-date bibliography on both primary and secondary sources.

The book covers in detail the transformation of labor systems in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya between 1890 and 1925. This transformation of labor brought immediate conflicting views of labor and agriculture in the East Coast of Africa because the British colonials wanted to create a productive class of agrarian workers; the landlords wanted to continue their domination of the workers; and ex-slaves wanted to gain access to land, thus guiding their own working conditions. In Cooper's own words, the book is

"an examination of complex mechanisms of control that dichotomy of freedom and slavery has shrouded. It looks at British ideas about slavery and wage labor . . . it examines the means by which the colonial state buttressed, or failed to buttress, the domination of landowners . . . it stresses the contrasting ways in which the plantation economy evolved in the two British colonies and the uneasy relationship of plantation labor to peasant production" (p. 4).

In order to achieve this noble objective, the author introduced the book by discussing the British ideology and the African (or rather European) slavery from 1890 to 1907, followed by a succinct analysis of labor and agricultural policies in Zanzibar from 1897 to 1925 in the first four chapters of the book. In chapters five and six, the author discussed in greater detail the labor, land, and plantation colonial economy of the coast of Kenya from 1907 to 1925.

The comprehensive notes and bibliography do help to make this fascinating book a worthy contribution to the history of East African slavery. I am recommending it as a reference work for all Africanists as well as a textbook for those specializing in slavery, race relations, African history, and political

Dr. R.A. Obudho was until recently Lecturer of Africana Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. He is now with the Department of African and Afro-American Studies at the State University of New York at Albany. He has written extensively on urbanization and spatial planning in Africa.

economy of the eastern coast of Africa. All who are interested in the development of history will benefit immensely from this well-written and stimulating book. I highly recommend it to all and every ardent African scholar.

Kingdoms and Horses in West Africa

Aaron Segal

Robin Law, *THE HORSE IN WEST AFRICAN HISTORY*, (New York: Oxford University Press 1981), pp. 224, \$37.50.

The horse and horsebreeding have had it in West Africa. Such is the trenchant conclusion of an attractively illustrated admirable work of scholarship. Beginning with the fragmentary information on the horse in West Africa during the pre-Islamic period, we are treated to a detailed analysis of the introduction and diffusion of the horse, the supply of horses, maintenance, health, training, and equipment, and the uses of the horse for military and non-military purposes. Two concluding chapters insightfully discuss the role of the horse in pre-colonial society and the reasons for its present decline.

Considering the difficult environment that West Africa provides for horses, their introduction in the 11th and 12th centuries and widespread diffusion up to and into the first part of the colonial period is remarkable. The high incidence of endemic diseases, especially trypanosomiasis, the lack of suitable fodder, the costs of importation, and the staggeringly high mortality of horses in the forest and coastal areas all served to limit their diffusion. Their uses were confined to cavalry in the savannah areas, limited transport (camels and donkeys were more suitable) and to lavish ceremonial and sacrificial purposes in the south. Horses were often valued at several or more slaves and their use in the slave trade to pursue runaways led to their further diffusion.

The introduction of bits, bridles, saddles, and stirrups, mostly from the Arab North, increased the utilitarian value of horses. Cavalry did play an important role in state formation in the savannah during the 16th and 17th centuries, although not nearly as critical a role as depicted by some historians. The introduction of musketry and other firearms marked the decline of the horse in warfare and its relegation to ceremonial purposes.

Perhaps the ultimate irony is that horses in Northern Nigeria are succumbing to the growing demand among the Igbo and the others for horsemeat. The author concludes that "in an environment highly uncongenial to horses, the horse culture could not long survive the demise of the particular pre-colonial social and economic structures with which it was associated, which linked horses closely with the dominance of a warrior aristocracy and with an economy based upon warfare and slavery." This is a fascinating study which deserves to be made available in a less than prohibitively expensive paperback edition.

Aaron Segal is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Interamerican and Border Studies at the University of Texas at El Paso.

The Music of the Shona of Zimbabwe

William Komla Amoaku

Paul Berliner, *THE SOUL OF MBIRA: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 280 pp. \$23.75.

It is barely four years since Paul Berliner's *Soul of Mbira* entered the ethnomusicological listings. Like his Africanist counterparts of European descent, Paul Berliner and his study instantaneously became the smash hit of South African music scholarship. Berliner's success as a scholar and performer is evidenced by his demonstration of sensitivity to the music and traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe, all of which is embodied in *The Soul of Mbira*.

As an African, born and bred within the confines of my music and traditions, I have maintained a conviction that no outsider can understand the emotional and psychological qualities of my total life style to the extent of being able to interpret it orally, literally, or in performance, notwithstanding the depth and length of his study. This conviction is based on the fact that traditional African music is situational and psychologically conceived and can only be interpreted meaningfully by those who earn endless birth ties to the land. For example, I cannot accept any suggestion that a non Ewe (the Ewes live in Southeastern Ghana and parts of Togo) can possess the ability, through tutelage, to respond as emotionally and psychologically to my music as I.

The Soul of Mbira gives me mixed feelings, and I am inclined, with caution, to relate some exceptions. Although the study is conspicuously tainted with the author's Western European training, the integrity and symbolic significance of the Mbira among the Shona remains evident in each chapter. In his introductory chapter (pp 1-7) for example, Berliner narrates his field research experiences with which anyone who has been exposed to field work will relate.

Any student of any aspect of African history is far too conversant with the enormity of the task of reconstructing historical events in oral societies in Africa. Berliner's overview of Shona Mbira is, in fact, sketchy and this is understandably so. For Mbira is a sacred traditional instrument whose origins, like those of others, are lost in the midst of antiquity.

The nature and performance of Mbira music, as Berliner describes, is characteristic of earlier studies of similar nature. These descriptions, at first glance, may seem incomprehensible to the lay reader because of the author's use of mathematical tables as a means of illustrating the variety of tunings available on the Mbira DzaVadzimu. However, the author provides twenty two musical examples and as many as fifty plates of the varieties of Mbira and players as further means of illustrating the nature and performance of Mbira and its music. The complexity of the tables is minimized by the provision of musical examples and plates.

William Komla Amoaku is Chairman of the Department of Music at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

Traditional African music is linguistically controlled and any instrument capable of pitch variation could produce sounds comparable to tonal levels in speech patterns. Thus, the Mbira, like the "atumpun" (talking drums of the Akan of Ghana) or any speech instrument found elsewhere on the continent, is identified with its characteristic poetry. It is interesting that Berliner could demonstrate such vivid understanding of this interrelationship and his ability to interpret this complex art from which even the Shona might themselves shy away.

As a sacred instrument, Mbira and its functions in the Shona society are symbolic. Berliner does not take the spiritual potency of the Mbira and its music for granted. Perhaps it was intentional that the author discusses the religious functions of the Mbira and its music towards the end of his study as a means of underscoring the symbolism of the instrument.

Of special interest are the two appendices of song texts and absolute tunings which are intended to assist in following the recorded performance with the text.

Although *The Soul of Mbira* may raise some eyebrows about the validity of the author's observations as a non-African, it, nevertheless, reveals the inherent philosophical and symbolic elements in traditional African art forms. It emphasizes the dire need to examine these art forms as integral parts and not separate entities of a total life-style.

The Soul of Mbira is a useful reference source for those who desire some knowledge about the Shona people of Zimbabwe and their Mbira.

Cameroonian Crafts

Janet L. Stanley

Jocelyne Etienne-Nugue. *CRAFTS AND THE ARTS OF LIVING IN THE CAMEROON*. Photographs by Harri Peccinotti. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982) pp. 156; illus. (color); map; \$22.50.

Although visually appealing and photographically penetrating, this book is neither scholarly nor even very informative. It represents perhaps the well-intended effort to acclaim the traditional arts of the Cameroonian peoples — a publishing endeavor underwritten interestingly by Mobil Oil. Certainly their arts and crafts are rich and varied and deserve thorough documentation — more so because these societies will be subject to so many changes in coming years that the present artistic forms and processes may not survive.

Through several series of photographs with "minimalist" captions and breezy accompanying text, one is introduced to traditional Cameroonian architecture, crafts, including pottery, basketry, weaving, dyeing, children's toys, musical instruments, masks, dances and festivals. All photographs are in color and many are detail or "artsy" shots, e.g., the tip of a conical thatch roof or a bare foot in a bronze stirrup. The author is described as an "authority on African crafts" but her essays read more like fulsome travelogue than serious ethnography. There is really scant information of interest to the art historian or ethnographer. The volume must be aimed at the casual viewer with a passing interest in African crafts and life. There is a brief glossary, but no index or bibliography.

Janet L. Stanley is Librarian, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Publications

1. *The Southern Africa Media Center* is distributing a new film, "The Discarded People," which was filmed clandestinely in the Ciskei Bantustan and later smuggled out of the country. This color film is 30 minutes long. It is available through the Southern Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, California 94103.

2. *Villon Films* has produced "Beyond the Plains," a 52 minute color film about the personal upheaval of a young Tanzanian village boy who leaves his village to receive an education and eventually become a teacher. President Julius Nyerere calls it "the best film I've seen on Africa." "Beyond the Plains" is a 16mm film and costs \$735, \$365 for videocassette. The film can be rented for \$75 (videocassettes are not available for rent). Write: Villon Films, P.O. Box 14144, Seattle, Washington 98144.

3. A slide-tape show about South Africa. "Forget Not Our Sisters: Women Under Apartheid" was recently produced by Barbara Brown, a research associate in African Studies at Boston University. Co-narrated by a white American and a black South African woman, the show vividly portrays South Africa through words, photos and music. It looks at black women's lives both at home and as workers for whites. The show is 38 minutes long and the purchase price is \$100. It is possible to preview the film before purchasing it. Write Barbara B. Brown, Boston Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, P.O. Box 8791, Boston, Massachusetts, 02114. The cost for renting the show is \$15.00 for individuals and community/social change groups if mailed, \$10.00 if picked up; \$20.00 for schools, colleges and institutions if mailed, \$15.00 if picked up. Rental inquiries should be made to the American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

4. *General Microfilm Company* is distributing *AFRICAN DOCUMENTS*, a continuing series of monographs and serial documents and periodicals published on 35mm positive silver halide microfilm. Many of the titles are official publications, while others are sponsored by non-governmental agencies. Most of the titles have been filmed at 14/1 reduction. The retrospective collection of 656 rolls is available for \$28,511.10. The average annual subscription is \$1,000. Add 20 percent to all prices on orders outside the United States and Canada. Shipping is extra. To obtain a complete listing of all the serial documents, periodicals and sets available write: General Microfilm Company, 70 Coolidge Hill Road, Watertown, Massachusetts 02172.

5. We have recently received *University Microfilms International's CURRENT RESEARCH ON AFRICA: A Catalogue of Doctoral Dissertations*. This publication contains 1,262 titles of Doctoral Dissertations, copies of which can be ordered on microfilm or paper from U.M.I. To obtain a copy write U.M.I., P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

6. *The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa* has published a new book, **NAMIBIA: THE RAVAGES OF WAR**, by Barbara Konig. This publication gives an account of the transformation of Northern Namibia into a military zone, and details the repressive regulations under which civilians have to live. It provides detailed evidence of violence inflicted on the civilian population by South African police and their local recruits. It also draws attention to the serious disruption of social services, agricultural production and highlights the consequences of this large scale damage to human and material resources for a future independent Namibia. The book costs £1.50 (UK), \$3.00 (US). Write I.D.A.F., 104-5 Newgate St., London EC1A 7AP, England, from overseas addresses or, in North America, order from IDAFSA-NA, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA. 02138.

7. *The Onyx Press* in association with the *International Defence and Aid Fund*, has published **WOMEN AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA**, by Cheryl Walker. This book discusses women's changing position in the developing capitalist economy 1920s-1960s; women's involvement in the organizations of the national liberation struggle and the formation of the *Fédération of South African Women*. This 309 page book is available from IDAF and costs £5.95 (plus postage if ordering outside the U.K.) or \$12.70 (including postage if ordering from the North American office). Same addresses as above.

8. We have received notice of two new publications from the University of California at Los Angeles. **WALTER RODNEY, REVOLUTIONARY AND SCHOLAR: A Tribute**, edited by Edward A. Alpers and Pierre-Michel Fontaine, consists of nine edited papers originally presented by friends and colleagues of Rodney at a symposium held at UCLA January, 1981 in his memory. Rodney, as most of our readers know, taught for many years in Africa and authored the pioneering work, **HOW EUROPE UNDERDEVELOPED AFRICA**. A Guyanese historian and political activist, he was killed when a bomb exploded in his car in Guyana on June 30, 1980. The second title is **AFRICAN HEALING SYSTEMS**, a collection of papers by Anthropologists, Public Health Specialists, Sociologists, Medical Practitioners, Historians and Africanists for an African Healing Systems Seminar in Spring, 1981, edited by P. Stanley Yoder. This book is 250 pages and costs \$30.00 and can be ordered from Crossroads Press, 225 Kinsey Hall, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, 90024. **WALTER RODNEY, REVOLUTIONARY AND SCHOLAR** is available for \$10.95 paperback and \$17.95 hardcover from the African Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard-10244 Bunche Hall, Los Angeles, California 90024.

9. *The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights* has issued no. 7 of its Child Labour Series, "Child Labour in South Africa." This 88 page book costs \$1.50. It is available from Third World Publications, 151, Stratford Rd., Birmingham B11 1RD, England.

10. We have received **APPOLLONIA**, the annual journal of the newly-formed South Africa-based *Institute for Afro-Hellenic Studies*. The Institute's aim is to "undertake, to stimulate and to coordinate research concerning the Greek civilization and presence in Africa . . ." The 152 page journal has a wide variety of articles in English, Greek and Afrikaans, and the contents make it clear that the focus is on

the Greek community and its culture in Africa, especially South Africa. Sample article titles are: "The Text and Translation of Hebrews 8:8"; "Pascha — An Unpublished Fourteenth Century Poem"; "The Byzantine Icon: Some Aspects of its Historical and Theological Significance" and "Socialist Greece in World Affairs" (by D.S. Prinsloo of S.A.B.C.). The Institute also publishes a semi-annual **NEWS BULLETIN** concerning the Institute's affairs and Greek and Afro-Greek studies, publications and research throughout Africa. No price was given for either **APPOLLONIA** or the **NEWS BULLETIN**. For more information, write: I.A.H.S., 12 Surbiton Avenue, Auckland Park, 2092 Johannesburg, South Africa.

11. *The Troubador Press* has initiated **MBIRA**, a newsletter that serves as an information and resource clearing house for news about African literature and Black writing generally. **MBIRA** is available for an annual subscription fee of \$5.00 or £4.00 for four issues. The Autumn and Winter 1982 issues are free. Write **MBIRA**, Troubador Press Newsnotes, P.O. Box 59364, Chicago, Illinois 60659.

12. *The African Studies Centre* in Leiden the Netherlands has published the fourth issue of its **NEWSLETTER ON AFRICAN STUDIES IN THE NETHERLANDS**, which contains a survey of current and completed post-doctoral research with reference to Africa in the Netherlands. The survey covers research projects undertaken within four non-university institutes in the Netherlands: The Institute of Social Studies, The Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, The Royal Tropical Institute, and the African Studies Centre. The **NEWSLETTER** also contains a listing of doctoral thesis titles concerning Africa from Dutch universities. This publication is available free of charge. Write: The Editor, Newsletter on African Studies in the Netherlands, Afrika-Studiecentrum, Stationsplein 10/12, 2312 AK Leiden, the Netherlands.

13. The latest in the *International Monetary Fund's* **OCCASIONAL PAPERS** series is no. 17, "Aspects of the International Banking Safety Net" by G.G. Johnson and Richard K. Abrams (36 pp.). This pamphlet is available from the External Relations Department, Attention Publications, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C. 20431.

14. No. 111 of the *Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* **STUDIES ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES** series is "National Development Plans and the Standard of Living in Black Africa: The Zambian Case" by Emi Katona. This title is also available in French, Spanish, German, Russian and Hungarian. This 113 page publication can be ordered by writing Kultura, H-1389 Budapest, P.O. Box 149, Hungary, or through a number of worldwide distributors.

15. The latest publications in the **RESEARCH REPORT** series of the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies* include no. 63, "Problèmes de pouvoir populaire et de développement. Transition difficile en Guinée-Bissau" by Lars Rudebeck (73 pp.); no. 64, "Refugee Conventions and the Regulation of Asylum Act of 1974" by Peter Noble (56 pp.); no. 65, "The Political Economy of Food in Nigeria 1960-1982: A discussion on Peasants, State and World Economy" by Hans-Otto Sano (108 pp.); no. 66, "Problems and Contradictions in the Development of Ox-Cultivation

in Tanzania" by Finn Kjoerby (164 pp.); no. 67, "Reflections on the African Refugee Problem: A Critical Analysis of Some Basic Assumptions" by Gaim Kibreab (154 pp.); and no. 68, "Labour Regulation and Black Workers' Struggles in South Africa" by Jens Haarlov (80 pp.). Nos. 63, 64 and 68 cost Skr. 20; nos. 66 and 67 cost Skr. 40; no price was given for no. 65. Write: S.A.I.S., P.O. Box 2126, S-750 02 Uppsala, Sweden.

16. K.K. Roy (Private) Ltd. is publishing the AFRICAN BOOKS NEWS LETTER, a comprehensive and succinct monthly listing of the latest commercial and industrial literature, reports and statistics of the entire African continent. This publication is intended to be a source of market information. The subjects include politics, industry, finance, trade, fishing, agriculture, mining, labor, energy, armaments, construction, corruption, banking, foreign policy, oil, coffee/tea, drugs, taxes. K.K. Roy also publishes an ASIAN BOOKS NEWS LETTER, which is being offered in a combined subscription with the AFRICAN BOOKS NEWS LETTER for Rs. 750 per year. No price was given for a single AFRICAN BOOKS NEWS LETTER subscription. To place an order or for more information, write: K.K. Roy (Private) Ltd., 2 Presidency Court, 55 Gariahat Rd. P.O. Box 10210, Calcutta - 700019, India.

17. The Institute for Policy Studies has issued a new report entitled, "A Continea. Besieged: Foreign Military Activities in Africa since 1975" by Daniel Volman (30 pp.). This study documents the escalation of military activities of the superpowers and their allies in Africa with extensive data on African arms trade, the strength of African military forces and the role of foreign military personnel. This pamphlet is available for \$2.00 from the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

18. The American Committee on Africa has a new pamphlet, "Divesting from Apartheid: A Summary of Legislative Actions on South Africa" by Sandy Boyer. This publication lists by state, city and county the status of all bills and laws concerning the investment of public funds in companies which do business in South Africa. The pamphlet is available on request. Write: ACOA, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038.

19. World Goodwill has published a 23 page pamphlet "Race Relations in an Interdependent World." The pamphlet is no. 16 of the WORLD GOODWILL COMMENTARY series. The series is available upon request. Write: World Goodwill, 80 United Nations Plaza, Suite 566-7, New York, New York 10017-1888.

20. Elizabeth Landis has recently written a 15 page pamphlet entitled, NAMIBIAN LIBERATION: *Self-Determination, Law and Politics*. This succinct analysis of the Namibian situation is available for \$1.00 from *Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa*, room 1005, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

Books Received

Starred titles have been sent to reviewers. Others may be requested by qualified reviewers.

Political Science/Area Studies

*APARTHEID-THE REAL HURDLE: *Sport in South Africa and the International Boycott*. Sam Ramsamy. (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1982) 106 pp. paperback, n.p.

HUMAN RIGHTS: *A Dialogue Between the First and Third World Countries*. Roberta Evans and Alice Frazer Evans. (Maryknoll, 1983) 264 pp. paperback, \$9.95.

I NOMOLI DI SIERRA LEONE. Gello Geogi. (EMI, 1983) 149 pp. paperback, n.p.

IMPERIALISM AND DEPENDENCY: *Obstacles to African Development*. Daniel Offiong. (Harvard University Press, 1983) 304 pp. paperback, \$12.95.

IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND HUNGER: *East and Central Africa*. Robert Rotberg. (Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1983) 270 pp. hardcover, \$28.95.

NAMIBIA: *The Ravages of War*. Barbara Konig. (International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, 1983) 60 pp. paperback, £1.50, \$3.00.

*NIGERIA AND THE U.N. MISSION TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. Festus Ogojoa Ohaebulam. (The University Presses of Florida, 1983) 190 pp. hardback, \$20.00.

*NIGERIAN WOMEN MOBILIZED: *Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965*. Research Series No. 48. (Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1982) 344 pp. paperback \$12.95.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA. John Cartwright. (St. Martin's Press, 1983) 310 pp. hardcover, \$27.50.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSKEI: *The Political Economy of an "Independent" Bantustan*. Roger Southall. (Monthly Review Press, 1983) 338 pp. \$20.00.

TCHAD - LIBYE: *La Querelle Des Frontières*. Bernard Lanne. (Karthala, 1982) 254 pp. paperback, 68FF.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN AFRICA: *Decolonization 1940-1960*. Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis, eds. (Yale University Press, 1982) 654 pp. hardcover \$35.00.

History/Geography

*AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA 1982-83. (Europa Publications, 1982) 1,399 pp. hardcover, \$120.00.

AFTER AFRICA: *Extracts from British Travel Accounts of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Concerning the Slaves, Their Manners, and Customs in the British West Indies.* Roger Abrahams and John Szwed. (Yale University Press, 1983) 443 pp. paperback, n.p.

ALPHABÉTISATION ET GESTION DES GROUPEMENTS VILLAGEOIS EN AFRIQUE SAHÉLIENNE. B. Belloncle, P. Easton, P. Ilboudo, and P. Sene. (Karthala, 1982) 269 pp. paperback, 68F.

AMILCAR CABRAL: *Revolutionary leadership and people's war.* Patrick Chabal. (Cambridge University Press, 1983) 272 pp. hardcover \$34.50, paper \$12.95.

CITY OF BLOOD REVISITED. Robert Home. (Rex Collings, Ltd., 1982) 141 pp. hardcover, \$17.50.

*THE CROSS BETWEEN RHODESIA AND ZIMBABWE: *Racial Conflict in Rhodesia, 1962-1979.* Dickson A. Mungazi. (Vantage Press, Inc., 1981) 338 pp. hardcover, \$14.95.

L'AFRIQUE NOIRE DANS LES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES AU XVI SIECLE: *Analyse de la Crise Entre le Maroc et le Sonrhai.* Zakari Dramani-Issifow. (Karthala, 1982) 257 pp. paperback, 100FF.

MY COMMAND: *An Account of the Nigerian Civil War 1967-70.* General Olusegun Obasanjo. (Heinemann, 1981) 178 pp. paperback, \$5.00.

Economics/Development

*MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF KENYA. Stephen Langdon. (St. Martin's Press, 1981) 229 pp. hardcover, \$27.50.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN ARID REGIONS. Enrique Lopez and Robert Anderson, eds. (Westview Press, 1983) 362 pp. hardcover, \$26.50.

PROLETARIANIZATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN AFRICA. Bernard Magubane and Nzongola Ntalaza. (Synthesis Publications, 1983) 185 pp. paperback, \$8.95.

THE SAHARA: *Ecological Change and Early Economic History.* J.A. Allan, ed. (Westview Press, 1983) 145 pp. paperback, \$13.50.

URBANIZATION IN KENYA: *A Bottom-up Approach to Development Planning.* R.A. Obudho. (University Press of America, 1983) 400 pp. paperback, n.p.

Anthropology/Sociology/Religion

THE FUTURE OF PASTORAL PEOPLES: *Proceedings of a Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, August 4-8, 1980.* John Galaty, Dan Aronson, Philip C. Salzman, eds. (International Research Centre, 1981) 396 pp. paperback, n.p.

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA. Joseph E. Harris, ed. (Howard University Press, 1983) 419 pp. hardcover, \$19.95.

POPOLI E CULTURE: *Note per una Ricerca Etnologica sul Campo.* Achille Da Ros. (EMI, 1982) 220 pp. paperback, n.p.

TRADERS WITHOUT TRADE: *Responses to Change in Two Dyula Communities.* Robert Launay. (Cambridge University Press, 1983) 188 pp. hardcover, \$34.50.

TRANSFORMATION AND RESILIENCY IN AFRICA. Pearl Robinson and Elliot Skinner. (Howard University Press, 1983) 277 pp. hardcover, \$14.95.

VITA QUOTIDIANA DI UN VILLAGGIO BAOULE DELA COSTA D'AVORIO. Vincent Guerry. (EMI, 1983) 127 pp. paperback, n.p.

Education

*THE CHILD AND HIS ENVIRONMENT IN BLACK AFRICA: *An Essay on Traditional Education.* Pierre Erny. (Oxford University Press, 1981) 230 pp. hardcover, \$29.00.

LIBRARIES IN WEST AFRICA: *A Bibliography.* Helen Davis. (Shoe String Press, 1982) 170 pp. paperback, \$31.00.

Literature

AKE: *The Years of Childhood.* Wole Soyinka. (Random House, 1981) 230 pp. hardcover, \$14.95.

BANDIET: *Seven Years in a South African Prison.* Hugh Lewin. (Heinemann, 1981) 229 pp. paperback, \$5.50.

*DEVIL ON THE CROSS. Ngugi wa Thiong'o. (Heinemann, 1982) 254 pp. paperback \$6.00; hardcover \$21.00.

EARLY NIGERIAN LITERATURE. Bernth Lindfors. (Africana Publishing Company, 1982) 198 pp. hardcover \$32.50.

*I WILL MARRY WHEN I WANT. Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Ngugi Mirii. (Heinemann, 1982) 122 pp. paperback, \$5.50.

NIGERIAN KALEIDOSCOPE: *Memoirs of a Colonial Servant.* Sir Rex Niven. (Shoe String Press, 1983) 278 pp. hardcover, \$25.00.

ROBBEN ISLAND: *Ten Years as a Political Prisoner in South Africa's Most Notorious Penitentiary.* Indres Naidoo. (Random House, 1983) 278 pp. paperback, \$6.95.

TOUCHED BY AFRICA. Ned Munger. (The Castle Press, 1983) 408 pp. hardcover, \$14.00.

TWO PLAYS: *The Agony of a Child: African Culture, Philosophies, and Proverbs in Perspective; African Homestead — A Cat-and-Dog Marriage.* Alexander Chamberlain Kemjiritoo Nwere. (Vantage Press, 1983) 59 pp. hardcover, \$6.95.

WRONG ONES IN THE DOCK. T.M. Aluko. (Heinemann, 1982) 186 pp. paperback, \$5.50.

Letters to the Editors

The Editors, Africa Today:

I appreciated Sylvester Cohen's methodic review of my book *Southern Africa Since the Portuguese Coup* in Vol. 29 no. 2 and his concluding remark that more works of this quality on Southern African developments would be welcome. His comment about my personal conclusions is well-taken. I did not want to commit even by implication my contributors and I'm glad that my intention was so apparent.

His question about constructive criticism and regional stability continues to perplex me. Of course, I have written about it since the start of the Reagan Administration — in *Africa Report*, *Orbis*, and in the Johannesburg-published *South Africa International* — arguing that a swift and unequivocal South African acceptance of Namibian independence should have been a prerequisite to constructive engagement. Crocker did not take that line and instead (as the leaked minutes of his April 1981 Pretoria meeting with Pik Botha and Magnus Malan clearly show) offered no refutation even in private to SAG statements of their regional goals. As for the end of white regional hegemony, I did not foresee in turn the birth of black regional hegemony. Some overlapping and competition between SADCC and SA-backed economic institutions in the region is inevitable and acceptable, if the SAG can be made to forsake its destabilization policies. Of course, the thrust of constructive engagement should be within the Republic. This Administration has done very little to help build black unions and education, but I believe the November 1982 report on black education by the Wolpe subcommittee provides a useful framework for such aid.

John Seiler
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

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