

# **AFRICA TODAY**

## **Perspectives on the Political Economy of Africa:**

**The Concept of the Peasantariat**

**The Crisis in Agriculture**

Article by  
Jack Parson

Review Article by  
James D. Graham

Important Recent Books on Migration, Zimbabwe,  
Lusophone Africa, Military Affairs, Literature

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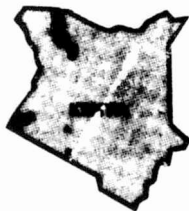
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**Editor's Note**

We have for some time been announcing a forthcoming issue on Migration, but several of the articles we hoped to include proved to be unavailable for prompt publication. All of our editorial consultants who saw it were, however, excited about Jack Parson's study of Botswana and the seminal concept of the peasantry which emerges from it. We therefore decided to publish it in the issue without waiting for the others. James Graham's review article on agricultural policy and William Lye's review of some relatively recent studies of migration proved to be useful companion pieces. In the remaining space we have been able to present a significant number of reviews of important recent titles related to Botswana itself, its neighbors, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, to military matters and to literature.

Jack Parson anticipates that his formulation may evoke critical response. Readers so inclined are invited to respond with articles of their own, letters to the editor, correspondent's reports or review articles on related literature.

In our next issue we turn to what we anticipate will be a major theme in *Africa Today*: Human Rights in Africa. The issue will present the major papers presented at a conference on that theme held at the University of Denver in November, 1984, sponsored by the Joint Committee on African Studies of the American Council of Learned Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The papers have been revised by the authors in the light of the creative interchange of ideas that took place at the conference.

Manuscripts are also in hand for the remaining three 1985 issues, which will focus on the Crisis of the State in Somalia, then Crisis in African Agriculture, and Urbanization in Africa.

We plan to publish these as rapidly as our finances permit. The gift appeal launched in May has brought in over \$1500 but much more is needed. If you can, please send your tax-deductible gift now. All these issues could be in your hands by January 1986 if you have the needed resources to proceed.

At a recent associates meeting, 1986 issues on the Theme of Women in Africa and the Nyerere years (1954-1985) were projected. Prospective contributors are invited to contact us.

We also call your attention to the tour announced on the opposite page. Readers who have not yet been to Africa will find this a useful introduction to the continent at an affordable price.

Edward A. Hawley



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## **The Peasantariat and Politics: Migration, Wage Labor, and Agriculture in Botswana**

Jack Parson

### **I. Introduction: On Understanding One Hundred Years of Wage Labor Migration in Southern Africa.**

Oscillating patterns of migratory wage work characterize the lives of millions of persons in southern Africa and have done so for a hundred years. Studies of these patterns abound describing their characteristics, persistence, causes, and consequences. What is left to be said? Actually a great deal. For although much of what must be described about migration has been tackled, analysis of the underlying conditions creating and reproducing labor migration has rested largely on an uncritical acceptance of received theory.

Conventional theory views this pattern as a result of the juxtaposition of traditional and modern society, migratory labor representing the entrance of pre-industrial peasants into the market place. Migrants are thus 'transitional' tending to become 'modern' but retaining many of the attitudes of 'traditionals' regarding wage work as well as a nostalgic attachment to rural life. It is generally assumed that the pull of the city's 'bright lights' and a more comfortable living create a tremendous 'pull' toward wage work and that agriculture is a less attractive alternative. Agriculture is thought merely to be a supplement to the wage workers' livelihood, or, vice versa, wages supplement agriculture.

It is important to emphasize that in this view agriculture is a more or less separate alternative to wage employment. The resulting 'dual economy', one rural and agricultural, the other urban and industrial, corresponding to the usual 'traditional-modern' dichotomy, becomes the assumption upon which analysis proceeds to conclusion and which becomes the basis for development plans. This without doubt is the underlying formulation for Botswana's development plan including rural development policies as well as wage policies in urban areas.

Jack Parson is Associate Professor of Political Science at the College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina 29424. This article is a revision of a paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, December, 1983. Dr. Parson has recently returned to the U.S. after a year at The University of Botswana.

It is important to note that such analyses regard the activities of the state as neutral in creating the pattern and as a positive instrument organizing what is viewed as an inevitable process of change from traditional to modern. Hence, for example, in Botswana state-determined minimum urban wages are calculated in a manner thought to stop the drift to the city and rural expenditures are supposed to increase the attractiveness of agriculture.

An alternative approach has been to view migration as an articulation of modes of production within the political economy literature.<sup>1</sup> The penetration of capitalist relations of production in the colonial period articulated pre-capitalist to capitalist society, firmly subordinating the former to the latter, creating patterns of underdevelopment and poverty in the places from which wage workers were coercively recruited and impoverishing their agricultural potential. Such patterns allowed very profitable capitalist production. But in the underdeveloped areas we see stagnation and an incomplete and hence distorted, if persistent, form of pre-capitalism.

Both views account for the pattern of migratory wage labor in its economic, social, and political respects. The latter theory, of course, stands as a critique of the former and the two, in the end, are incompatible. Conventional theory tends to assume the inevitability and desirability of a managed transformation in the direction of capitalist development. The 'articulation' literature regards that as not only exploitive but also questions the ability of the underdeveloped areas to undertake autonomous capitalist development at all.

This article attempts to develop this debate and in the process illuminate the difficulties of both those views. What is known about wage labor migration in Botswana is summarized in the next section. A theoretical explanation then follows, developing the argument that the internationalization of capitalism created new forms of working class in the periphery, here a peasantry in Botswana. That class is viewed not as the result of movement from traditional to modern society or as an 'articulation' of pre-capitalist to capitalist society. Rather the relationship is one in which important aspects of pre-capitalist society are transformed in their use in a process through which it is dissolved into a new but fully developed form of capitalism. Colonialism as the political mechanism in this process is discussed, as are its consequences in generating nationalism. Some of the resulting contradictions and effects in the post-colonial period are indicated in the final section. While the conclusion highlights the tentative nature of the argument and need for further analysis, it indicates the need to revise the assumptions and conclusions of conventional theory and the literature on 'articulation'.

1. See, for example, Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid", in *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1972, pp. 425-456, and Martin Fransman, *The State and Development in Swaziland 1960-1977*, ID. Phil. Thesis, The University of Sussex, 1979.

## II. Labor Migration and Botswana: Characteristics and Patterns.

Wage labor migration in southern Africa has been an overriding pattern of life for millions of people in the past 100 years. For Botswana oscillating migration for work to South Africa and within the country has been and continues to be the characteristic way of life for the vast majority.

The recent census and National Migration Study (NMS) show that 84 percent of the population is rural and that 80 percent of rural dwelling units (rural households) have a wage worker present or absent in the unit.<sup>2</sup> This represents roughly 29 percent of the labor force (15 years of age and over) or 163,674 individuals, 36,174 of whom are outside the country.<sup>3</sup> Most households in Botswana, urban and rural, have connections with wage work. Less than one-quarter rely on the agricultural economy alone but this would include a small minority of rich cattle owners and the poorest, most remote rural dwellers. In the eastern north to south corridor, where most of the population live, the proportion of households with a wage worker is around 90 percent.<sup>4</sup>

There is an extensive proximate cause of this pattern, namely the fact that neither agriculture alone nor wages alone is adequate to provide the income (in-kind and/or cash) necessary for subsistence. A 1974 survey showed that 91 percent of households 'infrequently or never' produced enough food for self-sufficiency.<sup>5</sup> The fourth national development plan noted that while more than 80 percent of the population were engaged in agriculture one way or another, agricultural production contributed only about 35 percent of total rural income, a rather small proportion.<sup>6</sup>

An extensive survey of rural income in 1974/75 concluded that, even with a combination of sources of income, nearly half the households were below a rather harsh poverty datum line (PDL), and about two-thirds were below the 'effective minimum level.'<sup>7</sup> No more than 9 percent of rural units

2. 1981 Census Preliminary Results reported in the *Statistical Bulletin September 1981*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (Gaborone: The Government Printer), p. 1V.

3. National Migration Study, Final Report, *Migration in Botswana, Patterns, Causes and Consequences*, henceforth cited as NMS, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1982), pp. 24, 25, 30, and 37.

4. See David Cooper, 'Socio-Economic and Regional Factors of Wage Migration and Employment', in NMS, p. 316.

5. *A Study of Constraints on Agricultural Development in the Republic of Botswana*, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1974), p. 7.

6. *National Development Plan 1976-81*, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1977), p. 135.

7. *The Rural Income Distribution Survey in Botswana 1974/75*, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1976), pp. 221-223. Henceforth cited as RIDS.

could live on cattle sales and no more than 10 percent produced enough crops for subsistence during the period of the migration study.<sup>8</sup> 1976 data indicates that in urban areas 67 percent of citizen wage earners were below the average urban poverty datum line of P 108.85 per month for a household of five persons.<sup>9</sup> An inability to win subsistence through one or the other activity leads most households most of the time into a variety of activities including agricultural and wage components. Cooper thus concludes that "the vast majority of rural Botswana households should be viewed as worker-farmer units," a conclusion echoed and generalized in the summary to the National Migration Study.<sup>10</sup>

The wage labor/agriculture nexus, and therefore the worker-farmer unit as the primary social unit, has existed from the beginning of the colonial era, described and summarized at its height by Schapera.<sup>11</sup> More recent research also highlights the long time period during which wage labor in its migratory form has been dissolved into rural agricultural production and household life, although the relationship is rarely viewed in these terms.<sup>12</sup>

Contemporary data reveals a common core of dependence on various sources of income in rural households but also the fact that there is diversity in the combination of sources. Table 1, based on 1974/75 data, shows the average value of sources of income for households from the poorest to the richest. The poorest 10 percent of households rely heavily on employment/transfers of wages (in cash and in kind) from absent workers and upon gathering to reach a livelihood that is roughly 53 percent of the PDL, 71 percent of which is in-kind. The next 15-50 percent of the households rely on a combination of employment/transfers for 50 percent of household income while agriculture provides an additional 16 percent, providing a livelihood which is 75 percent of the poverty datum line, of which 49 percent is in-kind. The richer 35 percent (from 60-95%) rely heavily on employment and transfers (36%) but derive an equal amount from crops (4%) and cattle (32%) and exceed the poverty level as a result. The richest

8. NMS, Vol. 1, pp. 38-39.

9. Employment Survey (August) 1976, (Gaborone: The Government Printer), Table 5, p. 9, and Poverty Datum Line for Urban Areas of Botswana, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1976). More generally see E.B. Egner and A.L. Kausen, Poverty in Botswana, National Institute of Development and Cultural Research, Working Paper No. 29, March, 1980. The Pule (P) is the basic unit of Botswana currency.

10. Cooper, op. cit., NMS, p. 316. See also NMS, p. 37.

11. See I. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, (London: Oxford University Press, 1947).

12. See for example, David Massey, Labor Migration and Rural Development in Botswana, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1980), Carol Kerven, Underdevelopment, Migration and Class Formation: North East District, Botswana, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), the introduction to the NMS, Vol. 1, pp. 10-15, and Francis Wilson, Migrant Labour in South Africa, (Johannesburg: The South African Council of Churches and SPRO-CAS, 1972).

**Table 1: Selected Sources of Income for Various Income Levels of Households in Rural Areas**

Source of Income	Household Percentile			
	5-10%	15-50%	60-95%	97-99.79%
Crops	6%	9%	4%	0%
Livestock	5	7	32	64
Employment	15	36	32	9
Transfers <sup>a</sup>	21	14	4	0
Manufacturing	5	8	1	0
Trade	0	2	2	22
Gathering/Housing	28	15	5	2
Taxes	0	-1	-2	-7
% of income in-kind	71	49	42	32
Total income as % of PDL	53%	75%	271%	1,157%

a. of wages in cash of kind  
Source: Government of Botswana, Rural Income Distribution Survey in Botswana 1974/75 (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1976), pp. 97-100.

households (97-99.79 percentile) are those outside the wage employment nexus, deriving a huge 86% of their substantial income from livestock (64%) and trade (22%). Their income exceeds the poverty line by a factor of 1,157 percent.

This data shows on average that rural households have a variety of income sources. It shows clearly as well that on average agriculture provides a reasonable living for only the richest households. However such averages do not allow a description of different patterns within these broad tendencies. In Table 2 data from the National Migration Study shows how the agriculture/wage labor nexus is not only pervasive but also has various combinations. Wages accrue to nearly three quarters (72%) of households. In nearly two-thirds (62%) of households a combination of wages and agriculture provided a living. Only 24 percent relied solely on agriculture.

**Table 2: Proportion of Households by Sources of Income**

Source	Proportion
None	3%
Wages Only	10
Wages and Cattle	6
Wages and Crops	20
Wages, Cattle and Crops	36
Cattle and Crops	11
Crops Only	11
Cattle Only	2

Source: Republic of Botswana, Migration in Botswana (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1982 — see footnote 3, hereinafter referred to as NMS) Figure 10.5, p. 563.

The largest proportion of rural dwelling units (36%) rely on the combination of wages, cattle, and crops. The second largest strata (20%) combine wages and crops. Six percent rely on the combination of wages and cattle, a strata which highlights the unequal distribution of cattle ownership (see below). Together these three strata account for 62 percent of rural units. At most 24 percent rely on agriculture alone, however this would include both very poor and very rich households judging from the Rural Income Distribution Survey summarized in Table 1. No more than 10 percent rely on wages alone and 3 percent have no visible means of support.

While wage work is characteristic of around three-quarters of households and in no region does it affect less than half of all units there are variations by region, by whether wage workers are living in the main unit, by the destination of absent workers, and by the type of work engaged in.

**Table 3: Proportion of Rural Units With a Wage Earner (Either Present or Absent) by Region**

Region	Proportion of Units With a Wage Earner (Either Present or Absent)		
	Average	Villages: Center and Peripheral	Non-Village Sub-Periphery
South	81%	87%	74%
Central	79	86	72
North Eastern	81	—	—
Ngamiland	59	—	—
Kgalagadi	93	—	—

Source: NMS, Table 5.3, p. 315.

Table 3 indicates the regional incidence of wage work. Outside of Ngamiland, at least 8 out of 10 households have a wage worker either present or absent. In the Central and Southern regions the incidence of wage workers is most characteristic of large and peripheral villages, decreasing but still an overwhelming pattern in non-village and sub-peripheral locations. It is also the case that except for Ngamiland, where wage earners tend to be present in the unit, absent migratory wage earners tend to be the norm. Overall 68 percent of rural units had one or more absent wage earners while 45 percent had one or more present wage earners. Further, the incidence of wage earners, both present and absent, tends to be most characteristic of concentrations of dwelling units in villages. 85 percent of village units, as against 72 percent of non-village units had wage earners.<sup>13</sup> Finally, over the period of the NMS many households showed tremendous variation in whether or not people were working at the time of enumeration leading

13 Cooper, *op. cit.*, NMS, pp. 310-315.

Cooper to conclude that "... wage employment in the Botswana towns and rural areas, for the mass of unskilled workers who form the bulk of the labour force, is oscillatory and sporadic."<sup>14</sup>

Table 4 gives a rough indication of the type of employment engaged in by wage earners present in rural units including a significant variation depending on whether that employment is in a village or non-village site. In villages men tend to be employed as skilled and unskilled service or production workers (60%), a further 12 percent being employed in clerical/sales jobs. Such employment is generally at the lower end of the wage scale. Women in villages tend to be in the lowest paid occupations, 57 percent being in unskilled service or production jobs and domestic service with a further 20 percent in clerical/sales positions. In non-village areas nearly three-quarters of men are in unskilled jobs in the service/production/animal husbandry sectors, more than half in the last category. Women in non-village areas tend to also be in the lower paid categories as in villages.

**Table 4: Selected Occupations of Present Wage Earners in Village/Non-Village Locations by Sex**

Occupation	Location			
	Village		Non-Village	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Clerical/Sales	12%	20%	1%	12%
Service/Production Skilled	14	6	5	0
Service/Production Unskilled	46	27	22	16
Domestic Service	2	30	0	24
Arable Labor	1	0	7	8
Animal Husbandry	6	2	51	9
Other	18	16	14	29

Source: NMS, Table 5.6, p. 322.

Absent wage earners, the more numerous categories, are to be found mainly in unskilled and semi-skilled employment in Botswana towns (44%) and villages (22%), lands/cattlepost locations (5%), South African mines (19%), and other jobs in South Africa (8%). The choice of migration in or outside Botswana appears to be associated with a combination of education and poverty sometimes related to location.<sup>15</sup> The better off medium and small villages tend to send migrants to Botswana towns while non-village

14 *Ibid.*, p. 319.

15 NMS.

areas, the smallest settlements, tend to send migrants to South Africa. Large villages tend to send migrants equally to Botswana towns and South Africa, however there those at the bottom end of the socio-economic spectrum tend to go to South Africa, while the better off in village units tend to gravitate to Botswana towns. In all cases the National Migration Study shows that education plays a significant role in the type of job which can be secured (basically between unskilled and skilled) which is also related to this geopolitical stratification.<sup>16</sup>

There is also a regional variation in terms of Botswana or South African employment for absent wage earners (see Table 5). Although the South region represents only 40 percent of the population it supplies 56 percent of those going to the mines, while supplying only 25 percent of those working in town. The North East, with a high incidence of wage work, supplies a disproportionate 29 percent of those working in town as does the Kgalagadi with an export of labor twice the rate of its proportion of the population.

Table 5: Frequency of Absentees Going to Botswana Towns or South African Mines by Region

Region	Frequency		Proportion of Total Population
	Town	Mines	
South	25%	56.6	40%
Central	42	30	36
North East	29	5	13
Ngaruland	1	4	10
Kgalagadi	4	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Source: NMS, Table 5.9, p. 331

This aggregate picture thus shows a generalized pattern in which households combine wages with other activities to win a livelihood (in absolute and relative terms). But the pattern shows a variety of strategies depending upon the spread of activities engaged in, and the type and location of the wage and agricultural components. This leads to Kerven's general conclusion that "the movement of peoples between these locales is a manifestation of the search for adequate and secure incomes by families who either cannot maintain themselves within any one sphere of activity, or else who perceive that their adequate incomes can be reinforced and augmented by participation in a variety of economic activities."<sup>17</sup> The political significance of this pattern is discussed in Part IV below.

So much for the place of wages in rural household income and its place in geopolitical and social stratification. The other descriptive element necessary to begin an analysis of the phenomenon is an indication of the causes of oscillating migration in the first place. While a number of elements are indicated they generalize into a primary cause of economic necessity. Households need (in an absolute sense and relative to a customary or expected standard of living) an income beyond that generated in agricultural production.<sup>18</sup> One contemporary explanation is simply that after 100 years the phenomenon of present and absentee wage earners in rural units has become 'traditional' or customary. It is likely that many households do not reflect on what, if any, alternatives exist to such low paid wage labor. Engaging in such activity within the unit is simply part of life for some members for some years. More materially, this is, as Kerven develops the analysis, related to the 'life cycle' of households in their effort to maximize income and spread risks in an uncertain social and natural environment.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore in part an effort to ensure income stability in the likely event of drought or other natural disaster.

But it is further related primarily to the organization of agriculture in terms of land and cattle ownership and use. Although the bulk of the land (more than 90%) is communally owned, de facto use rights and shortages in some areas restrict or limit the ability of the rural population to produce crops. Thus in parts of the South and in the North East land shortages account for a long history of migratory labor to South Africa and to Botswana towns.<sup>20</sup> But in addition, the inability to produce crops on the land is closely related to the availability of draught power (oxen) at the appropriate time. That is closely related to patterns of exceeding inequality in cattle ownership and the control of cattle. The rural income distribution survey showed that nearly half (45%) of the population owned no cows at all and that a further 39 percent owned between 1 and 25. Thus nearly 84 percent owned 25 or fewer cows. 97.2 percent owned 100 or fewer.<sup>21</sup> This restricts or eliminates the ability of many households to plough at all or at the right time.<sup>22</sup> While various cattle-loaning relationships (e.g. *mafisa*) redistribute the use of some cows there are no guarantees that oxen will be available. *Mafisa*

18. See Jack Parson, "Through the Looking Glass: Inequality in Post Colonial Botswana", paper presented at the Southeast Regional Seminar on African Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, 11 April 1981

19. See Kerven, *op. cit.*, NMS.

20. See Massey, *op. cit.*

21. RIDS, p. 111

22. See Michael Lipton, *Employment and Labour Use in Botswana, Final Report*, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1978), Vol. 1.

16. NMS, pp. 42-44. See also Jack Parson, "Political Culture in Rural Botswana: A Survey Result", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 15, (1977), pp. 639-658.

17. See Carol Kerven, "The Effects of Migration on Agricultural Production," in NMS, p. 533.



may more often simply turn out to be a form of wage labor, often unpaid.

To this situation must be added some of the effects of migration itself. For example labor migration removes a certain amount of male labor needed to clear land and plough. In addition, it has created a large number of households which are headed by females whose ability to independently engage in agriculture is severely limited.<sup>23</sup>

But finally we must also recognize that the *type* and therefore remuneration of wage labor also plays a critical role. In the situation as described it surely makes the most economic sense for rural households to abandon agriculture for the relative security of wage labor only; but they do not. The reason is that the jobs in which migrants work are at the low and/or bottom end of the income distribution, so much so that wages for this group in Botswana cannot sustain a household in the urban area. Hence the wage component of the equation causes in turn the retention of a rural base where a portion of total household income can be independently generated and where the cost of living (housing, gathering, small stock) is much less than in urban areas. This is more especially the case because wage labor is rarely tied to viable pension programs, day-care facilities, or other social supports for family welfare which therefore have to be provided in the rural areas. Wage labor itself therefore causes the retention but also limits the worth of small scale agriculture. The cycle is thus complete and the intertwining of wage labor and agriculture shows a structure and stability that almost alone accounts for its persistence.

The significance of the work summarized here is difficult to overrate for it substantially undermines the assumptions upon which are based conventional development theories as well as much development planning. It does so by demonstrating that the assumption of a dual economy and society, one traditional and rural separated from the other, modern and urban, is invalid. On the contrary, it is shown that rural and urban social and economic life are inextricably interwoven into a single fabric of existence. One does not simply supplement the other. The persistence of 'traditional' agricultural and social practices are not a romantic hangover from a more primitive age; not does the persistence of traditional society represent a sentimental attachment to 'the land.' The 'modern' society is not one superimposed on top of 'traditional' society. It is rooted in the relationship between wage labor and rural life in which there is no necessary tendency for one to prevail over the other, although it is also far from a stagnant relationship. Therefore 'development' must represent something other than the juxtaposition of

separate 'modern' and 'traditional' societies and the inevitable, if lengthy and difficult, disintegration of the latter by the former.

This evidence also questions the extent to which this pattern represents an 'articulation' of one (pre-capitalist) instance to another (capitalist) one if we are to understand that this articulation means that each instance remains distinct. It would be difficult to sustain the argument that the rural element retains sufficient integrity (which must mean that pre-capitalist laws of motion are determinant in some respects) to be considered as a unit only articulated with (rather than dissolved into) capitalist production and society.

For Botswana, a crucial conceptual and methodological insight, forming a foundation for these conclusions, is to shift the unit of analysis away from the individual unit of the migrant or farmer to the collective household level defined in terms of 'economic and social interdependence.'<sup>24</sup> Once the unit of analysis is recognized as a collective one, defined by its social and economic transactions, then it is also apparent that such a household has an integrity of its own which bridges or rather incorporates its physical dispersal to a number of geographical locations, rural and urban, within the wider society. It also recognizes that decisions about engaging in alternative economic activities are crucially determined by one's place in the collective household and are not to be seen as purely the result of an individual rationale. The household therefore becomes "segmentalized into a number of components, each of which operate semi-autonomously at certain levels, but which coalesce at certain other levels . . . The typical household usually segments also interact with each other, in addition to coming together with the core unit."<sup>25</sup> Each segment is engaged in an economic zone characterized by a major economic resource (cattle, land, water, employment, social services). The division of the segments to these zones is based on a collective rationale, the motivation of which is to spread risk and maximize returns by dispersing into a number of activities.<sup>26</sup> While, therefore, each segment is characterized by certain primary activities and incomes, subsistence and social reproduction depend upon its relationship to other segments through the core.

This is simply another way of saying what many have said before, namely that for most households most of the time survival depends upon both rural households' agricultural production and wage employment in rural and urban areas the income of which dissolves into subsistence for this most

<sup>24</sup> See NMS, Appendix V, "The Concept of Household in Botswana Society" by Carol Kerwen, p. 903.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> See Kerwen, *op. cit.*, and Wendy Izzard, "The Impact of Migration on the Roles of Women," in NMS, pp. 654-718. See also C. Bond, *Women's Involvement in Agriculture*, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1974).

complex collective unit. This means that there is an intimate relationship between rural and other 'sectors' to the point where it no longer is meaningful to maintain a conceptual distinction between them. If this is so, then there is no 'dual' economy or articulation of modes of production but rather a single economic and social nexus. The study of development therefore must become the study of that single nexus of social production and reproduction and not how one sector relates to another.

However, this description alone cannot fully account for the phenomenon. For example, it does not answer the questions of how the inequality of cattle ownership is created and maintained, nor how and why it is that wage and agriculture policies combine to reproduce this situation. It does not address the general question of the theoretical and political significance as well as the underlying foundations of this broad pattern. The following section addresses the theoretical issue, the outcome of which leads to a political analysis.

### III. Notes on the Origin of Working Class Species : The Peasantariat

The questions are, how are we to understand the conditions which create this pattern, what conceptual currency allows its analysis, and what is its trajectory? In other words, what are the crucial foundations of rural household life, what is the theoretical standing of the resulting group and its strata, and are there tendencies for it to change in any particular direction?

The position of this paper is that a political economy approach rooted in an analysis of capitalism provides the most adequate answer. It will be shown that these households constitute a peasantariat class, a working class in peripheral capitalism which has a history, a distinct set of contradictions, and a trajectory. Furthermore, this working class base has important implications for the definition of bourgeois classes and their class programs, in other words implications for the character and trajectory of capitalist development in Botswana.

The peasantariat (households, rural dwelling units) came into existence in the late nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth centuries. The motivation for its creation was the internationalization of the process of capital accumulation first developed in Europe. Its specific southern African project involved the first two mineral revolutions for Botswana. The discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa generated an interest in British capital's profitable exploitation of those minerals. The requirement was a mass of unskilled and cheap labor.<sup>27</sup> In other words, the process of capital accumulation in mining required a large quantity of unfree labor presenting itself.

27. See, for example, Martin Legassick, "Gold, Agriculture, and Secondary Industry in South Africa, 1885-1970: From Periphery to Sub-Metropole as a Forced Labour System," in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, (Editors), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1977), pp. 175-200.

There were two complicating factors. One was the 'competition' for cheap labor in South Africa between the agricultural and mining sectors and among the mines themselves. Second was the fact that such labor was not automatically forthcoming from Africans who were otherwise more or less self-sufficient. Sufficient African discretionary labor was not forthcoming in the quantity needed or at the wage required.

Three implications resulted. First was the need to cast a wide net, beyond South Africa itself. Second was the need to use extra-economic means to create a supply of labor. But third, given the specific and limited need for labor in the mines more or less alone, and the absence of a need to otherwise dispossess labor in the supplying areas, there was no need to completely dispossess an independent (or more accurately, tributary) peasantry. In other words there was no necessary pressure, as was the case in Europe, to create a completely 'free', i.e. solely dependent on wages, working class, a proletariat. Indeed the downward pressure on wages in order to achieve profits and the absence of competition for labor *outside* of South Africa cried out for a new form of working class.

What could be better for mining capital than a workforce which could and would more or less bear much of the cost of social reproduction without using wages to do so? In short, nothing could be better. Colonialism provided the means in southern Africa to create such a working class partly proletarianized (expending unpaid labor) but also retaining essentially pre-capitalist systems of rural agricultural production and social reproduction, including the formal organization of political control. Wages then would not even have to reflect the cost of necessary labor, thus allowing the realization of not only the total of absolute surplus value but also a portion of the value of necessary labor.

Inter-colonial recruitment for mine labor in South Africa solved the problem of 'competition' for labor in South Africa. The combination of the mines in the Chamber of Mines organized a monopoly which made unnecessary competitive recruitment patterns, which ensured a single (low) wage structure and uniform conditions of work. Migratory contracts ensured that workers would not be accompanied by their families. Taxation and land dispensations created a need to earn cash, and restrictions on the ability to earn it in Bechuanaland made mine labor a singular avenue to procure cash. Colonial political actions (taxation, tribal boundaries, and parallel, followed by indirect, rule) and inactions (the absence of development in productive forces in Bechuanaland) combined to begin and reproduce the process. The result was the transformation of a pre-capitalist tributary *peasant* into a colonial peripheral capitalist semi-proletariat or more simply what

I call a 'peasantariat'.<sup>28</sup>

Not only that. The existence of the class was the critical evolutionary social constellation in the course of political struggles during the colonial period, because it was crucial to the definition of the petty-bourgeoisie which led nationalist causes. Even more than that, this class has become a generalized nationalist class in the post-colonial period. It is now the characteristic working class in post-colonial Botswana as the result of the second mineral revolution: the discovery of minerals, particularly diamonds, in Botswana itself. The peasantariat form of working class is fundamental to mining in Botswana and has been generalized in agriculture, commerce, and in government (the industrial class). The state continued to create the political conditions necessary for this to be reproduced, particularly through a wages policy and in its expenditures.<sup>29</sup>

In other words, in the post-colonial period the conditions of accumulation caused the deepening of peasantariat relations of production. These were reproduced and generalized through a politically independent Botswana state controlled by a petty-bourgeoisie and based on peasantariat political support. Thus the peasantariat participates in its own subordination.

This indigenous process of capital accumulation, articulated to international mining capital in the post-colonial period, was based on peasantariat labor. The surplus realized in mining profits, in the cattle industry, and in the form of salaries did not in any significant respect require any change in the social relations of production first imposed in the colonial period. In fact, the process of accumulation more or less continued to depend upon this form of working class. There was nothing in the process requiring a change in the structure of the class.

This sequence of events, the reasons for it, and the broad outcome seem to me indisputable, although I expect a large number of my colleagues to dispute it bitterly. Assuming its indisputability, there is an important issue here: namely, whether this is, as I wish to argue, a class in capitalism or is it a transitional class-in-formation, an inchoate proletariat viewed in the long moment of its formation? Is it to be viewed, in other words, as a class the result of which *must* be the formation of a proletariat, is it an 'in-between' semi-proletarianized peasantry which is necessarily an unstable class tending toward either being a peasantry or proletariat, and thus, the result of an 'articulation' of a pre-capitalist ('traditional') to a capitalist ('modern') mode of production, or is it a fully developed form of working class in conditions of peripheral capitalism?

28. See Jack Parson, *Botswana, Liberal Democracy and The Labor Reserve In Southern Africa*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).

29. See Jack Parson, "The Trajectory of Class and State in Dependent Development: The Consequences of New Wealth for Botswana," in *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 21, (1983), pp. 265-286.

I believe it is the latter. The actions of the colonial state undermined the autonomous development in relations of production and political relations in the pre-capitalist society beginning in the late 19th century. The retention of the political form of traditional states (e.g. the chiefs) and society (e.g. household production) were the sufficient and adequate social and political relations for the process of accumulation in mining in southern Africa. These relations continue to underlie that process. Thus society was transformed from pre-capitalist to peripheral capitalist. The colonial state insisted on and mediated this shift from peasant to peasantariat through indirect rule and the transformation of a tributary ruling group into an intermediary governing class, the chiefs. The colonial state retained the ideological and material (cattle-owning) class and state relations of the pre-colonial period. The colonial state insisted only that taxes be collected, order maintained, and that no political challenge be made to the domination of the colonial state or to the process of capital accumulation in mining.

Thus, the retention of communal land rights, tributary relations of cattle production and political relations served the interests of capital accumulation because these now became the basis for wage labor in mining and later in other sectors. Hence, as Marx concluded, "the process of dissolution which turns a mass of individuals into a nation . . . into potential free wage labourers — individuals obliged merely by their lack of property to labour and to sell their labour — does not presuppose the disappearance of the previous sources of income or of the previous conditions of property of these individuals. On the contrary, it assumes that *only* their use has been altered, that their mode of existence has been transformed. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

As long as those conditions for accumulation prevail, then so long will there be a peasantariat working class, just as in the places where capitalism first developed the adequate form of working class was a proletariat. In fact, parenthetically, the reproduction of the proletarian form in the capitalist core dictated (perhaps it still does) the peasantariat form in the periphery. In fact the peasantariat form may well be a generalized form in Africa. Is there really so much difference between the Botswana peasantariat working in mines and the Ugandan peasantariat producing its food and a small quantity of cotton or coffee for the capitalist market, the price for which commodity historically assumed the more or less self-sufficient rural household?

Most generally, this suggests that the existence of the peasantariat is the result of a broad historical process analogous to an evolutionary process of transmutation in the biological origin of species. Moreover, as with

30. Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, Eric Hobsbawm, (Editor), (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1964), p. 105 (Emphasis in the original).

species, the condition of its creation, which may be the result of a dramatic (political) event (e.g. primitive accumulation), leads to its persistence and only slow environmentally induced changes. Its 'law of motion' remain intact. Description and analysis of the species, once it appears, must then be conducted and its actions evaluated in terms of the conditions of its emergence and the environment within which it acts and is acted upon.

This does *not* argue the case for social Darwinism. Far from it. For the peasantry is not the result of a biological inheritance of the social attributes of pre-capitalist people in an environment of industrial work. One can safely leave that interpretation for those clinging to the 'dual economy' thesis. Rather, it is an argument that the underlying principle of selection is social, i.e., the logic or process of capital accumulation. Its enforced domination in at least certain places outside those of its original emergence propelled changes in society which resulted in new species of working class not unlike that in sense, perhaps, the variation in Galapagos tortoises.

Generally, when we look at the world of capital accumulation the striking thing is the great variety of species performing work, that is producing surplus value which feeds into a process of capital accumulation. If this is so, then an examination of the origin of these species is crucial. For in unlocking the key to these origins we will find the underlying principle of social selection in the world and therefore in the historical process of capitalist development, the principle of its dynamic tendencies, and the trajectory of its transformation.

Having turned that key, we can then understand a variety of phenomena. It explains the existence of the core and periphery and the ties that bind one to the other. But it also causes a complex analysis of each instance opening up the various levels of analysis in each place from the logic of capital to its geopolitical and temporal expression, and the consequent class relations and struggles.<sup>31</sup> Further, while it does not presuppose change in any particular direction, it also does not prejudge change when it occurs. As conditions of accumulation change, whether in the North American/European core or the periphery, so we have seen and will continue to see change in the class composition and behavior of those societies.

#### IV. The Peasantry in the Political Economy of Botswana

Ultimately the usefulness of this conceptualization depends on whether or not it generates superior insights into the life and future of classes in Botswana. What is explained by the data within this theoretical orientation?

31. For a similar formulation of this point see Colin Leys, "Capital Accumulation, Class Formation and Dependency — The Significance of the Kenyan Case," in *The Socialist Register 1978*, Edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville, (London: The Merlin Press, 1978), pp. 241-265.

A complete analysis is well beyond the scope of this article. However this section suggests a number of resulting insights which together should illustrate the usefulness of the theory.

First, of course, one must have some idea of what is to be explained. In a nutshell what has to be explained for Botswana in the post-colonial period is the tremendous economic growth and extensive if contradictory class formation which has happened in the context of remarkable political stability through liberal democratic structures based on regular competitive elections.<sup>32</sup> Between 1965 and 1980 Gross Domestic Product increased by almost 2,000 percent. This growth resulted mainly from a congenial partnership between the Botswana government and multinational mining capital, largely the DeBeers Diamond Mining Company of South Africa. The enormous profits from the mines derived in part from the payment of wages less than those in South Africa. The mechanism was a wages policy equating worker wages with the average return for traditional farmers in rural areas. This policy nearly alone defines the political action which ensures the persistence of the peasantry in Botswana. It also illustrates the political purposes to which the 'dual economy' theory may be put.

The returns from mining were invested in building a powerful government apparatus, a result of which is a large government-employed peasantry (the industrial class) and petty bourgeois salariat (in professional and managerial cadres). The wages of the former conform to the wages policy. The salaries of the latter do not and have been used to support a comfortable urban lifestyle as well as a portion being invested in developing cattle holdings and commercial businesses.

The elected political elite comprises much of the cattle-owning class in rural areas utilizing peasantry labor either in *mafisa* type relations or as wage labor on cattleposts. The Tribal Grazing Lands Policy (TGLP), assuring exclusive individual use rights of communally owned land, and actions to assure access to the European market for beef, are the characteristic policies through which this bourgeois class seeks to secure its economic base. This cadre shows remarkable continuity from the colonial/nationalist through to the present post-colonial periods.

The surplus generated has been produced largely by the peasantry to whom on balance it has not been returned. Urban development has largely benefited a growing petty-bourgeois strata whose support requires the continuation of existing relations of production in mining. In rural areas the infrastructure and the main allocations in agriculture disproportionately benefit

32. This analysis draws generally on my earlier work and is more developed in the book and article cited in footnotes 28 and 29.

the larger cattle-owners and arable farmers. Allocations of income to the peasantry have occurred in part through increases in urban minimum wages and educational, water, and health services in rural areas. However these allocations have had the effect only at best of maintaining the grossly unequal distribution of income at its historical relative level.

The political basis for these patterns, ironically enough, has been a functioning and stable liberal democratic system. It is ironic because it depends on the overwhelming electoral support for the petty-bourgeoisie by the peasantry organized through the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and recorded in competitive elections in 1969, 1974, 1979, and 1984. In those elections the peasantry regularly returned large majorities for the BDP, although not unanimously, and although the actions of that elite are not congruent with the material conditions of peasantry life.

It seems to me that the natural history of the peasantry class, as against other explanations, best accounts for these broad patterns. The structural and ideological determination of that class in its evolution provides an explanation for these developments and provides a broad definition of the petty-bourgeoisie and its response to the post-colonial environment.

The creation and refinement of peasantry relations of production and political relations in the colonial era provided a fully developed base both for nationalism and the post-colonial period. For example, the development of the *internal* economy in mining and large-scale agriculture did not require the introduction of new relations of production, merely their extension into new activities. And in that process the peasantry benefited in the expansion of opportunities to work in Botswana itself. This widening of opportunities, even if at low wages, undoubtedly increased the security and quantity of household resources without any perception of the deepening of peasantry relations of production. There was little, in other words, in the life of the peasantry indicating the need for spontaneous political action. The closest approach to that has been in isolated instances where TGLP implementation resulted or might result in the actual physical dispossession of the peasantry.

The apparent improvement (if marginal) in the material life of the peasantry highlights the reproduction of peasantry political relations and the structural impediments to the independent political organization of the class. Historically the peasantry was un- or ill-educated, physically dispersed to various locations and economic activities, and consequently bereft of independent leadership and without a clear conscious political program rooted in either its agricultural or wage work components. In the colonial era this political vacuum was filled through indirect rule. Political control was exercised by chiefs and their cadres who were also often cattle owners combining the political legitimacy of pre-colonial status and position with the

statutory authority of colonial rule. In the 1940s and 1950s these were joined by the teachers, clerks, and other educated cadres of colonial rule and in the early 1960s these combined to create the BDP. Because of this base peasantry political support was almost automatically forthcoming. Given the continuity in economic and political relations in the post-colonial period and the success of the policy of economic growth based on mining, it is not surprising that the peasantry has yet to develop a political position independent of its petty-bourgeois cattle-owning, traditional, leadership. Hence the peasantry as yet sees no alternative to continuing its support for the BDP, especially in rural areas.

The natural history of the petty-bourgeoisie is likewise defined by its origins in the colonial period and its peasantry base. It was the natural leadership for the nationalist movement expressing peasantry grievances as well as its more self-conscious dissatisfaction with the colonial dispensation. Once independence was won in 1966, it had no reason to question the economic relations of the labor reserve political economy. In fact its future seemed to depend upon the extension and development of those relations. An alliance with mining capital was not a problem. Although the place of mining capital in the political economy represented a primary contradiction for the peasantry, there was not the perception that such an alliance would be harmful. The minerals were doing no good underground. There were no indigenous classes in a position to appropriate the surplus in minerals independently. On the contrary an alliance with mining capital which could generate free-floating resources was seen simply as a *bonanza* allowing the growth and development of the petty-bourgeoisie.

There were also no fundamental conflicts among the factions or segments of the petty-bourgeoisie. Once the subordination of the chiefs was accomplished and the central government's power established, the infrastructural development benefited all factions, although agrarian elements were the first to receive large resources. Although by 1980 more intra-petty-bourgeois conflict emerged (e.g. among its cattle-owning, commercial, and bureaucratic components) there was a high degree of unity.

Hence the combination of the peasantry base and petty-bourgeoisie unity along with continuity in relations between the two account for growth and stability in post-colonial Botswana.

But these relations also highlight the underlying contradictory foundation which illuminates political debate and economic conflict, and therefore defines the trajectory of change in Botswana. Peasantry economic interests must concern their security on the land and in the wages paid relative to a customary standard of living, upwardly mobile aspirations (e.g. for their

children), and expectations generated since independence. Hence, there has been conflict over the TGLP and concern about the more recent Arable Lands Development Policy. There have also been strikes or industrial action particularly from the mid-1970s onward. Such economic interests, although incoherently expressed and geographically isolated, provide an underlying source of tensions rooted in the material position of the peasantry.

It is also clear that the petty-bourgeoisie responds appropriately to such challenges. Strikes were broken and unions disorganized.<sup>33</sup> A healthy respect for the peasantry base is illustrated in the great caution exercised in dispossessing rural populations. In other words the trajectory of development in Botswana shows the trajectory of this form of peripheral capitalism in terms of both growth and its particular problems.

This juxtaposition of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry and the domination of the latter by the former through material and political means defines the primary features of conflict and continuity. A more complete and nuanced analysis would have to explore the differentiation within classes and the political relations which result from this factionalization. For the peasantry this includes recognizing that within households members are more or less dependent on wage labor or agriculture. In addition, the geopolitical location of their primary activity is important. Thus rural female heads of household may polarize toward the Botswana Democratic Party while male relatives employed in town, transferring resources to rural areas, may polarize toward the opposition Botswana National Front which, at least nominally, articulates the grievances of the working class. The petty bourgeoisie also contains a factional structure composed broadly of those located primarily in the bureaucracy and/or commerce and/or agriculture (cattle and/or crops as well as marketing) whose economic and political interests converge (e.g. in relations with the peasantry) and diverge (e.g. in the struggle for resources necessary to expand their accumulation or enhance their security). There is also intra-petty-bourgeois tension based on access to the center of political power within the BDP and some movement of excluded elements into the leadership of the National Front. Intra-petty-bourgeois conflict can therefore lead to the mobilization of peasantry factions around political parties other than the Democratic Party. In the 1984 elections opposition parties accumulated 32 percent of the votes for National Assembly seats, the National Front accounting for just over 20 percent itself. Opposition candidates won 6 of the 34 elected seats as well as majorities in the

Councils of three of the five towns (Francistown, Gaborone, and Jwaneng).<sup>34</sup> In general this means that the class structure and politics of this peripheral capitalist society are not stagnant; the political struggles and trajectory are dynamic within the context of the underlying relations of production.

## V. Conclusion

This article argues that this structure of peripheral capitalism is defined by its relationship to the development of capitalism as a world system. In national terms in the periphery this relationship creates internal class relations resting on a peasantry working class base; externally it creates relations of domination of the periphery by the core. The development of the core and periphery are therefore defined by the primary and secondary characteristics of each as capitalist social formations; however, these characteristics, including the class structure and contradictions, are different in the core and periphery because of the relation of domination which created that distinction in the first instance.

The analysis of development in an instance of peripheral capitalism, such as Botswana, should not, therefore, begin with the assumption that it is part of the core as such or its becoming like the core necessarily. It should be regarded as a fully functioning and developed economic and political entity. It will have particular historical characteristics but 'moves' because of the primary and secondary characteristics of its definition as a capitalist social formation in the periphery.

The limits of development in peripheral capitalism are the limits posed its place in a world system. In Botswana these limits are defined internally by the peasantry base in relation to the petty-bourgeoisie and externally by the degree to which the core is or is not able to maintain direct domination. Development in the core is likewise limited by an internal class structure and the core's ability to maintain direct dominance over the periphery. The relationships between the core and periphery created the differences between these types of capitalism and therefore the necessity of their separate but not unrelated analysis.

33. Jack Parson, "The Working Class, the State, and Social Change in Botswana," *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 5, 1980, pp. 44-55. See also James Cobble, "Wages Policy Problems in the Small Peripheral Countries of Southern Africa, 1967-1976," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 2, 1977, pp. 441-468.

34. Republic of Botswana, Report to the Minister of Public Service and Information on the General Election, 1984, (Gaborone: The Government Printer, 1984).

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James D. Graham is Professor of History at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan.

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emphasizes the social and political significance of agriculture to Africa's beleaguered national economies, "in self-provisioning of the farming population, in supplying the home market, and in earning foreign exchange . . ." for, as Barker contends, "rising agricultural production is essential for any broader increase in living standards" among Africans, or for any significant advances in Africa's industrialization. (p. 14) Since anyone who is interested in African agriculture and development is also aware of the immediate food crisis there, some readers may feel that thirty dollars could be more humanely employed than in purchasing this book; and it is to such readers that this review is directed. My conclusion is that *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa* is a worthy investment, for at least twelve good reasons, twelve thoughtful and insightful chapters about different manifestations of economic development policy and processes of social transformation in rural Africa.

Barker's introductory chapter to this collection of essays, for instance, is quite useful as a concise summary of relevant theory. He sets forth the broad outlines of three overriding theoretical debates about agricultural development policy in Africa — debates over dependency ("how much weight to give transnational forces as opposed to internal ones"), modes of production ("whether to stress production or exchange"), and the proper role of the state "in relation to class and economic forces". (p. 15) Thereafter, he also discusses general processes of rural transformation, which have often emerged as sources of tension between various "family-local" systems and the international "agro-industrial" system. Such processes of rural transformation, throughout contemporary Africa, raise policy questions about (1) whether to devote more land and labor to raising food or cash crops; (2) whether and how to accelerate or arrest the development of rural classes of employers and employees (peasant differentiation); (3) how to increase the productive and also maintain the reproductive functions of family life in rural situations where real earnings and consumption are decreasing; (4) how to coordinate the production priorities of transnational firms or agencies with those of local producers; and (5) whether to encourage large-scale, capital-intensive agriculture or small-scale, labor-intensive family farming. Barker's discussion of these ongoing theoretical and policy questions is both brief and stimulating; he suggests that all these issues are part of the general "process Marx called the subsumption of labor by capital;" (p. 28) and he concludes that "increased agricultural productivity will be realized in Africa" and that "peasant farmers are likely to become more active in politics" around "questions of distribution and quality of community life. . ." (p. 29)

The issues raised in Barker's introductory chapter are creatively explored by the other contributors to this volume, providing integrative theoretical coherence which such collections of essays often lack. Most of the contributors, for instance, touch upon basic relationships between "transnational agencies" and "national and local contexts" in discussing agricultural policies and processes in Africa; but the chapters on transnational agribusiness (by Barker and Mohamed Halfani) and the World Bank (by John Loxley) are broader in scope, with less specific local focus than the rest. Other chapters in the book's first section about "Transnational Agencies and Agricultural Change" include William Jerman's "USAID in the Sahel" and Linda Freeman's contribution on "CIDA and Agriculture in East and Central Africa." The second section of this book, emphasizing "National and Local Contexts" of agricultural policy and process, includes chapters which also discuss the role of transnational agencies in African

James D. Graham

agriculture. The *Compagnie Francaise pour le Developpement des Fibres Textiles* (CFDT), for example, is studied in relation to its role in national development policies and peasant differentiation processes in Upper Volta (by Myriam Gervais) and Ivory Coast (by Bonnie K. Campbell); while Brooke Grundfest Schoepf offers a critique of UNESCO's "Man and Biosphere" Program in Shaba Province of Zaire. The central theoretical chapter in this second section, "State and Agrarian Transformation in Nigeria" by Michael Watts and Robert Shenton, refines and illustrates some important historical relationships between "absolute and relative surplus value" and "the primary accumulation of capital." (p. 177) These theoretical discussions are extended, and more specifically grounded, in subsequent chapters which feature local case studies — in Sudan (by Taisier Ali and Jay O'Brien), Zambia (by William Cowie and Jotham Momba), and Mozambique (by Otto Roesch). Because of the useful and provocative insights about transnational, national, and local approaches to agricultural development and rural transformation contained in these chapters, it is unfortunate that *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa* lacks a conclusion; instead, readers are left to draw their own conclusions from the wealth of general theory and specific observations which emerge from a careful reading of this volume.

The two section headings group the essays coherently. Barker and Halfani open the "Transnational Agencies and International Change" section with a concise theoretical introduction to historical and contemporary developments in the international agro-industrial system, as it has been operating in colonial and contemporary Africa. They focus on how transnational corporations (TNCs) have come to operate in close conjunction with national bureaucrats and policy-makers in independent Africa, whether they be capitalist or socialist in orientation. Such TNCs have worked with African governments in providing "Green Revolution" inputs like seeds and fertilizers; and they have also cooperated in establishing urban-centered, consumer-oriented, "import-substitution" and processing enterprises in African nations, such as beer, textile, or canned fruit and vegetable operations. In these contexts, transnational rural development policies impinge on, and perhaps "subsume" local peasantries; and these processes of rural transformation, which transnational development policies have induced, provide an integrative theme for *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa* — the theme of peasant differentiation.

Processes of rural transformation and peasant differentiation have grown out of multilateral and bilateral aid, as well as TNC investment, especially during the past thirty years. Different lending policies have prevailed in different decades during that time, but Loxley's chapter on one World Bank, Jerman's on USAID, and Freeman's on CIDA all acknowledge and criticize the influence of policies recommended by the "Berg Report" on transnational lending agencies since 1981. Since it originated in the World Bank, which remains Africa's single most important source of agricultural credit, Loxley's chapter on World Bank lending policies is particularly incisive in its exposition and critique of the Berg Report. World Bank lending policies in the 1980s, as recommended by Berg, were designed to encourage African production of agricultural exports by focusing on more developed regions and larger farmers; but Loxley critiques this approach as neglecting the basic needs and food requirements of African farmers, as well



as quickening the processes of peasant differentiation among regions and individuals alike. In both USAID and CIDA, according to Derman and Freeman, capital-intensive and market-oriented projects in line with Berg Report recommendations have guided the United States and Canada in their aid policies as well — despite all the economic inequities and social dislocations which such policies in the past have demonstrably induced in rural Africa. In all these essays, such closely-related theoretical and policy issues as modes of production (capitalist vs. socialist), the proper role of state support (promoting agricultural exports or basic needs), and dependency (foreign trade vs. domestic production) are dealt with thoughtfully, in the context of both past practices and current problems.

The second section of essays, "National and Local Contexts begins with two excellent chapters about cotton-growing projects funded by CFDT in Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Ivory Coast. Taken together, these chapters illustrate how bilateral and bureaucratic involvement in the expansion of West African cotton production has led, in Ivory Coast and also in Upper Volta, to "the neglect and decline of food crops, a loss of food autonomy, more work for women, and new lines of social differentiation." (p 160) According to Gervaise and Campbell, such cash-crop development projects have aimed at encouraging those identified as "modern peasants" to develop initiative, new technologies, and higher productivity; yet the outcome has been to create new classes of peasant property owners and wage workers, as well as increasing the work load, and diminishing the economic independence of rural women. Such transnational policies of export-crop production have demonstrably contributed to regional and local class differentiation among West African peasantries (including profound modifications of women's family roles in production and reproduction). These processes of rural transformation seem more advanced in those instances (as in Ivory Coast) where transnational agencies have cooperated most fully with national bureaucracies, to establish and maintain capital-intensive rural development projects which impinge powerfully on an earlier local "community mode of production." (p. 138)

Policies of economic development and processes of rural transformation, as articulated by transnational agro-industry and implemented by various national bureaucracies, have developed within a well-studied historical framework; and a brief history of Africa's largest national economy (Nigeria) serves as a theoretical centerpiece to this second section of the book. In a broad and stimulating interpretation of "the primary accumulation of capital," Watts and Shenton argue that capital accumulation in colonial Nigeria hinged on the export of cash crops through the extraction of absolute surplus value, in a poor but an increasingly commoditized colonial economy; with the influx of new oil revenues after independence, the pace of commoditization and class differentiation accelerated in rural areas, even as Nigeria's growing cities engendered a sharply increased demand for food. Thus far, the Nigerian government has been unable to channel their petrodollars into lower food costs, new technologies, or appropriate consumer incentives that would allow them to increase "the rate of appropriation of relative surplus value;" (p. 192) and they suggest that Nigeria's national leadership cannot rely forever on the absolute surplus value extracted from rural cash cropping, without also investing in improved techniques and incentives for producing food in the countryside.

The last four chapters provide diverse and complementary case studies of recent and contemporary circumstances impinging on important issues raised

in the volume. Theoretically, all six case studies presented in these chapters illustrate various processes of local peasant differentiation, and each makes some valuable contribution toward achieving critical understanding of broader policy choices. National development policy in both Sudan and Zambia, according to Ali and O'Brien and Cowie and Momba, has promoted agricultural production by providing political support for an elite "agrarian bourgeoisie" or "a small select class of loyal and productive framers;" (pp. 206, 249) again, the processes of peasant differentiation in these localities have developed more fully (than, e.g., in Sudan's Um Fila) where agricultural life has become most fully commoditized. In another locality, where peasant differentiation has not yet fully proceeded, rural peoples in Zaire have manifested lack of confidence in, and passive resistance toward, government strategies of economic development and rural transformation. In Shaba Province, according to Schoepf, local chiefs still tend to identify with and represent community interests, sometimes in opposition to national and transnational policies; nevertheless, these same chiefs are among those whom she identifies as an "emergent class." (p 286) Although nothing is mentioned about any such emerging class among the peasants of Gaza Province in Mozambique, who are perhaps even more resistant to government policies than are their counterparts in Zaire, Roesch argues that a principal reason for the Gaza peasantry's reluctance to cooperate with FRELIMO's production strategies has been the lack of commercial and consumer incentives. In terms broadly reminiscent of policy debates during the famous "Scissors Crisis" which preoccupied Soviet leaders during the NEP Period of the 1920s, Roesch recommends (as did Shanin, Chayanov and others during NEP) that the best way to achieve higher production in agriculture is to increase "the supply of basic consumer goods . . . even at the cost of a reduction in the rate of accumulation." (p 313). After the manner of Goren Hyden's *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley, 1980), Roesch describes a largely "uncaptured peasantry" in Mozambique; while Schoepf writes of a resistant peasantry in Zaire which is rapidly becoming "captured" in the commoditization and rural transformation strategies of national and transnational policies.

#### A Reader's Reflections

In any collection of essays about controversial issues of political economy, arguable theories and perspectives abound. What is reassuring about *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa* in this regard, however, is that relevant theories are concisely explained in the context of scholarly perspectives which seem to be derived from reliable research. All the subtleties of such controversial and complex economic theories and processes of social change could not possibly be elaborated in a single introductory chapter; nonetheless, it is unfortunate that the editor's admirably precise introduction and exposition of theory is marred by too cursory a dismissal of "three extreme positions," including the concept created and insightfully developed by Goren Hyden of "uncaptured" peasantries in rural Africa, as "mistaken." (p. 17) Because of my high regard for Hyden's creative analysis of Tanzania's "uncaptured peasantry," (cf., Graham, *African Historical Studies*, 15, 1982, pp. 496-501) I was particularly disappointed to note

that this concept was introduced only superficially in Barker's introductory chapter; and then it was immediately dismissed as being "badly off the mark." (p. 10) By failing to incorporate this important concept into his broader theoretical framework, Barker has limited the scope of his own analysis and deprived his readers of a useful integrative theme which could also have served as a basis for developing a creative concluding chapter. In fact, several of his contributors refer quite directly (often in paraphrase) to various local peasantries as being relatively "captured" or "uncaptured." Passages from Gervais ("this form of resistance comes from the control the peasants still have over their food production"), Ali and O'Brien ("they maintain possession of their land and retain formal independence from capital in their disposition of family labor power and in the management of the productive process"), or Roesch ("the peasantry has had little desire to engage in surplus production"), (pp. 140, 228, 310) illustrate the applicability of Hyden's concept to some "uncaptured" peasantries discussed in this book. Schoepf's conclusion, on the other hand ("there is no hope that communities of small cultivators can outweigh the national and international forces shaping bureaucratic decision making"), (p. 286) seems to suggest that presently uncaptured peasantries will inexorably (if not inevitably) become commoditized, subsumed, differentiated, mobilized, transformed, or otherwise "captured" by international market forces and national bureaucracies. Chapters by Campbell and Cowle and Momba describe African peasantries who have already been "captured" by processes of commoditization and/or policies of command. Thus, there would seem to be a spectrum — ranging from relatively "uncaptured" to relatively "captured" peasantries — in modern Africa. This spectrum roughly seems to correspond with the relative penetration of transnational capital, especially during the past century, into different national and local economies. In this context, it could be hypothesized that the most important dialectic between rural Africans and colonial/national bureaucracies (supported by transnational economic interests) has been the largely unarticulated debate between those in favor of preserving some elements of an "uncaptured" peasant "economy of affection," as against various and conflicting capitalist or socialist theories about how best to "capture" local peasantries into "rural development" or "rural transformation" projects.

Generally, capitalist economists have favored market-induced commoditization along with peasant differentiation, as the most effective means of fostering "rural development"; while socialist economists have favored government-induced mobilization of peasantries and discouraged the development of rural consumerism, as the best means of fostering "rural transformation." The founders of the two great traditions of economic development theory, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, both regarded peasants as backward-looking and unattuned to the imperatives to economic development (both founding fathers also regarded industrial labor as monotonous and stultifying, if not dehumanizing). Smith lamented the inefficiency of rural labor, as reflected in their "habit of sauntering and of indolent careless application;" (George J. Stigler, ed., *Selections from The Wealth of Nations*, 1957, p. 6) while Marx decried "the idiocy of rural life" and the parochial perspectives of local peasantries ("the individuality and exclusiveness of their interests [which] prevent from generating among them any unity of interest, national connections, and political organization. . ."). (Samuel H. Beer, ed., *The Communist Manifesto*, 1955, pp. 14, 64). Since those times (c. 1776-1851), mainstream capitalist and socialist theorists have scarcely questioned

their common overriding goal — economic development. Capitalist economists, from the times of Malthus and Ricardo or Sismondi and Say, have generally argued about "demand-side" or "supply-side" priorities; while socialist economists, at least since the great debates of the NEP period, have disagreed about giving development priority to heavy industry, state farms, or peasant cooperatives and smallholders. It is not surprising, given the long-standing theoretical debate between the two great economic traditions as well as the complex sub-issues of development priorities within each larger body of theory, that theoretical debates about economic development have proliferated into increasing complexity. For all the differences in perspective, emphasis, or interpretation about economic development theory which have thus proliferated (especially during the past century since Marx's death and, in relation to Africa, the Berlin Conference of the mid-1880s), however, there seem to be three broad areas of agreement — concepts in economic development theory on which mainstream capitalist and socialist thinkers generally agree. Both capitalist and socialist traditions seem to agree that: (1) economic development is reflected by significant increases in labor productivity and generated by some form of capital accumulation; (2) such increases in productivity must embody more efficient technologies, or other improved means of production, in addition to longer hours and harder work (increasing the relative, as well as the absolute, surplus value of productive labor); and (3) significant increases in labor productivity due to technological change must *ipso facto* bring about some form of social transformation (which developers and transformers are convinced will "be good for" the affected peasantries as well as for society in general). For all the words of grief written about the breakup of family productive systems and the corresponding traumas of adjustment to new family-wage economies during the past two-hundred years,\* mainstream capitalist and socialist economists have debated many complex questions about how such social transformation should proceed. Meanwhile, various peasant communities, and a few "utopian" economists, have asked whether agricultural development and rural transformation should be forced on them at all.

To the extent that peasants, in Africa or elsewhere, have maintained control over their own means of production and reproduction (their land, tools, food and "economy of affection"), they have remained "uncaptured" by capitalist or socialist leaders who would wish to differentiate or mobilize them into more productive work modes. From this volume of essays, it seems that transnational agro-industry continues to seek to subordinate peasant labor everywhere to the overriding demands of economic development, although it also seems that Africa's agricultural economy is not yet fully "captured" or commoditized. There is enough evidence in these chapters to suggest that the debates over economic development and social transformation which have preoccupied capitalist and socialist theorists for the past two centuries are, in crucial ways, not as significant as the ongoing conflict between economic developers and social trans-

\*An important process to consider in this context, along with peasant differentiation, is how women's productive and reproductive roles change as rural societies "develop" away from the "household mode of production" (which Gervais calls the "community mode of production"), toward "family-wage economies." During this process of social transformation, according to Louise Tilly and Joan Scott in *Women, Work, and Family* (New York, 1978), women "were eliminated from participating in most of the more productive, better-paying jobs" during the early industrial era in Britain and France, and they also "had increasing difficulty combining their productive and reproductive activities." (144-45)

formers, on the one hand, and the relatively "uncaptured" and only partially commoditized peasantry, on the other.

The editor and contributors of *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa* have made significant headway in both reducing and illustrating an inordinately complex body of conflicting development theories into a single coherent and accessible volume. Some of this complexity derives from the different specialized terms which different scholars apply to theories and processes that are often quite similar in content. Here, as in other such works, more attention could have been devoted to defining and structuring broad theoretical terminologies (economic development and social transformation) in such a way as to embrace a variety of more specialized terminologies. Within the broad category of economic development, for instance, fall Barker's "three important debates" about theory — all of which can be regarded, as Loxley implies, as components of the overriding theoretical debate between capitalist and socialist modes of production (pp. 73-74). An important sub-theory in this overriding debate is raised in Watts and Shenton's discussion of "primary accumulation," encumbered as it is by such specialized terms as "absolute surplus value" (roughly meaning longer hours or harder work) and "relative surplus value" (roughly referring to improved technologies, lower food costs, or incentives). Here, Watts and Shenton re-work Marx's ideas about "So-Called Primitive Accumulation" and link them illustratively with their own observations about the ongoing process of "commodification" in rural Nigeria. "Commodification," another important sub-theory derived from Marxian thought, can be correlated with Lenin's classic description of "peasant differentiation" in discussing economic development theory with particular reference to rural transformation:

The further penetration of commodity production into crop cultivation, and, consequently, the keener the competition among agriculturists, the struggle for land and for economic independence, the more vigorously must this law [peasant differentiation] be manifested, a law which leads to the ousting of the middle and poor peasants by the peasant bourgeoisie. (*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Moscow, 1977, p. 76)

Theoretical debates about agricultural development in Africa, then, embrace such powerful sub-theories as primary accumulation and commoditization; while rural transformation processes there also embrace such sub-processes as peasant differentiation and the changing roles of women in family-wage economies. If theory is to reflect or guide policies and processes of change, in the various contexts of Africa's current agricultural crisis or in other times and places, it must be both clear and operational; and this collection of essays represents a significant collaborative effort to clarify and illustrate a useful range of theoretical perspectives impinging on *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa*.

## **Three Views of the Migrant Labor System in South Africa**

William F. Lye

W. R. Böning, ed., **BLACK MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA: A Selection of Policy-Oriented Research.** (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1981) pp. vii + 184, bibliography. \$11.40 paperback; \$17.10 hard cover.

Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall, **WORKING FOR FREEDOM: Black Trade Union Development in South Africa throughout the 1970s.** (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981) pp. xiv + 118, bibliographic notes. Paperback, n.p.

Philip Mayer, ed., **BLACK VILLAGERS IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY: Anthropological Perspectives on Labour Migration in South Africa.** (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980) pp. xiv + 369, bibliography, index. \$29.75, hard cover.

One of the most pernicious aspects of life in South Africa is the migrant labor system. It arose early, even before the discovery of minerals, and persists despite a century of criticism and rejection by thoughtful people. These volumes assess specific aspects of the problem from totally different vantage points. Mayer provides an academic analysis of the effects of migrant labor on village life in rural South Africa, Böning attempts to propose policies for achieving change, and Luckhardt and Wall offer a polemical account of labor union history. None offers a comprehensive introduction to the subject. For that the reader can profitably turn to Francis Wilson, *Migrant Labour in South Africa* (Johannesburg: 1972).

Inasmuch as all but one of the authors in these books are white, and none has experienced life under the system, it may be useful to recall four personal impressions recorded by Wilson at the conclusion of his research on the subject. This highly educated and experienced South African professor first noted his astonishment at the pervasive extent of the system, spreading beyond the mines to every industrial center; secondly, the ignorance of white South Africans about what happens under the system; thirdly, the unease of the officials who operate the system and do not know what goes on; and lastly, the urgency of the situation. He concludes by stating, "I cannot convey adequately the sense of hurt rage of black South Africans at what is being done to them. Anybody who believes that blacks are contented with the migrant labor system in South Africa is living in a fool's paradise . . ." (preface). This report was published one year before the first wave of labor unrest swept the country. These books all reflect more recent circumstances.

The most conventionally academic of the three is the compilation from the "Migrant Labour Project," which Phillip Mayer directed from Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape. As he states, "The domination of village life by industrial society is a major social phenomenon which, in its specially severe South African form, has not yet been sufficiently explored in its own right." (p. xi) Mayer's own study addresses the changes over time of the dichotomy between the traditionalistic "reds" and the school people, which he describes as "resistance ideologies." William Beinart examines the early effects of migrancy on agricultural production in Pondoland between 1900 and 1950. A major difficulty with the system of migrant labor

William F. Lye is Dean of The College of Humanities, Arts & Social Sciences at Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

is the distribution of remittances (wages which are returned home) throughout the home community. Andrew Spiegel looks at the case study of two adjacent villages in southeastern Lesotho. C.W. Manona examines the effects of the system on marriage and family life, using a case study from the Ciskei. P.A. McAllister demonstrates how the Gcaleka incorporate migration in their community through the use of ritual. He suggests that by ritualizing it the "Red" Gcaleka are able to reinforce conservatism of the community. But he concludes:

Migrant labour is, of course, also a threat to the community. A man goes out to build a homestead, yet while away it might be neglected. His migrant earnings benefit the community, but his labour power is lost to it for a long period. Some men abscond and are lost to the community for many years or permanently. Others acquire new ideas at work, ideas that might threaten or disrupt the home structure and ideology. As we have seen, the ambiguity is ritually resolved to some extent, both on the level of values and belief, and in the practical sense. (p. 251)

M.C. O'Connell extends that theme to show how migrancy has undermined traditional and Christian values and relationships. The last essay by J.K. McNamara discusses the importance of ethnic and family ties in providing networks of social relationships for workers at the mines.

While Mayer's book concentrates on the effect of migrancy on the home communities of the workers, Luckhardt and Wall, in *Working for Freedom*, examine the conditions of workers at the industrial sites. Their study of black trade union history during the 1970s includes important data, but their analysis is so polemical and ideologically slanted towards the left as to lose objectivity. Nonetheless, important subjects are considered: industrial relations in South Africa, the history of non-racial trade unions, the development of independent black trade unions during the 1970s, the economic crisis which shook South Africa in the 1970s, the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions and the policy changes implemented as a result of them, and the reaction of black workers to the "hypocrisy of these reforms." The authors also analyze international reaction to the new laws under the title "Complicity or Solidarity." Their contention is that the international campaign against apartheid constitutes only a "pat on the wrist" (citing a Cape Times article) to justify continued investment.

Luckhardt and Wall reject the Sullivan Principles and other similar attempts from abroad to regulate international businesses operating in South Africa. (pp. 97-98) They also reject claims of reform by the South African government, such as the new labor regulations arising from the Wiehahn Commission or concessions to urban blacks at the expense of migrant laborers resulting from the Riekert Commission report as blatant attempts to divide the working class by creating an urban black middle class allied to the government:

The failure of government legislation and practice based upon these commissions is not automatic. Suffering and hardship for the majority will increase in the short run, and there will no doubt be many who will crawl opportunistically for the trappings of middle class status. But South African history has shown that for every one person coopted a hundred, even a thousand, step toward a unified resistance and struggle. For every Riekert regulation, a new squatter camp! For every Wiehahn law, an independent and democratic black trade union! For every so-called "reform," another step towards revolution and liberation! (p. 65)

The authors criticize the AFL/CIO as an ally of American capitalism (p. 103) and a supporter of racially separate "parallel" trade union leaders rather than the genuine labor movement.

They conclude with an analysis of events since the seventies showing that the economic crisis has been overcome, and therefore the "struggle continues." Readers are surely sympathetic to the plight of black workers, but they deserve a more objective and dispassionate source of information.

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A more direct assessment of migrancy is found in *Black Migration to South Africa*. Rohning and his colleagues of the International Labour Office examine the effects of migrancy on supplier nations. The authors chose two objectives: "First, how can one improve the working and living conditions of both the migrants and their dependents as long as migration continues?" and second, "What ways and means are there for reducing the migrant-sending countries' dependence on employment opportunities in South Africa under the migrant labor system as it has been constituted by the White ruling minority?" (pp. 1-2) Bohning explains further that the objective is not to accommodate to the apartheid regime: "Change can arise either way: through deprivation or through unfulfilled rising expectations. It usually comes by the latter way. Only the anarchic fringe of revolutionary philosophy did not share our concern with the first policy objective." (p. 2) This book concentrates on Lesotho and Swaziland.

An important overview by C.W. Stahl is followed by a case study of Swaziland by F. deVletter. Two chapters then address the first policy objective, to improve conditions for the workers and their families. deVletter explains the deplorable conditions at the gold mines and offers concrete suggestions for improvement, starting with the recommendation that workers be treated as professionals and allowed to benefit from their seniority. Elizabeth Gordon addresses the plight of the families left behind in Lesotho. She particularly recommends changes in the remittance system which would allow workers to send money home during the term of the contract from the 60 percent of their wages now withheld until the end.

The second objective, to reduce the dependence of the labor supplying countries, is more complex, more long-range, and more political. The concluding chapter, by Stahl and Bohning, is described as a holistic "think-piece." It depends on the cooperation of the supplying nations and the concurrence of the mine owners. The proposal calls for the formation of an "Association of Home Countries of Migrants (AHCN)," who would negotiate to reduce gradually their flow of migrants over a 15 year period. This also calls for the supplying countries to develop employment alternatives. To accomplish this, the AHCN would apply the pressure to force South Africa to pay for the creation of these job alternatives. The authors claim that the government of South Africa or the mine owners could handle a slightly larger cost of the migrant labor supply in exchange for a systematic withdrawal over a phased period. That would allow the mines to develop alternative labor supplies within their country. If South Africa would not act "rationally," the authors propose that the AHCN appeal to the United Nations for funds to enable an immediate and total withdrawal of their workers.

The authors recognize this to be a hypothetical model. Nonetheless they point out that South Africa has sufficient labor within its boundaries to replace foreign workers. They also recognize that the companies may not wish to do so because of the bargaining power of this larger supply of labor. They also recognize the need for cooperation amongst the supplying countries, but note that Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have already established a South Africa Labour Commission, indicating that cooperation is possible.

Stahl and Bohning base their proposals in part on a simulation of migration planning by W. Woods, et. al., which suggests that withdrawal would necessarily add substantially to rural poverty (pp. 132-133), because a chronic problem of overgrazing is intensified by the migrants injecting additional herds on the ranges, and by replacing the cash needs of the community which would otherwise be obtained from the scale of surplus cattle.

On balance, the suggestions for ameliorating the present conditions of workers appears to be more practical and likely to be implemented. A country like Lesotho, with such limited resources, cannot easily replace migrant labor in the limited

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economic potential of the country. Nonetheless, the "link-piece" challenges the imagination to search for a solution, especially now, when South Africa threatens to close its borders to migrants in retaliation for recent international pressures.

Through these three books do not provide a comprehensive examination of this problem, they focus our attention on specific aspects of it, and they contribute worthwhile additions to a fuller understanding.

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## The Transition

### From Rhodesia To Zimbabwe: The 1979 Lancaster House Conference

David S. Cownie

Jeffrey Davidow, A PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: The Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia, 1979 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), preface, pp. 143, \$16.75.

On November 11, 1965, Prime Minister Ian Smith issued the infamous Unilateral Declaration of Independence, thus beginning the short, violent history of the renegade British colony of Rhodesia. Despite Smith's claim that whites would rule Rhodesia "for a thousand years," it was less than fifteen years later that minority-ruled Rhodesia was transformed into majority-ruled Zimbabwe. The cost of the transformation was high, especially for rural blacks. Between 20,000 and 50,000 Zimbabweans were killed, over 250,000 had fled to neighboring countries, the economy was in ruins, and the very social fabric of the society had been challenged.

The factors which led to the crisis of the 1960s and 1970s were varied. Privilege based on race created inequalities unmatched anywhere in Africa. Infant mortality rates for whites averaged 16.2, roughly equal to that of the United States, while the level for blacks was substantially higher. Educational services, affordable and mandatory for whites, were neither affordable nor mandatory for blacks. Land was divided 'equally' between less than fifty thousand white farmers and over six million Africans, with the best half, as well as extension services, going to the former. The denial of all political, social, and economic rights to the black majority, illustrated by these examples, led to increased African protests against white domination in the early 1960s. When peaceful avenues for change were closed, sustained guerrilla warfare began.

To stem the growing crisis, the British made numerous attempts to reach a negotiated settlement, but their efforts were repeatedly derailed by the Smith regime. However, changes were occurring in Rhodesia. With the war increasing in intensity, the delayed effects of the sanctions taking their toll, and the independence of Mozambique in 1975, pressures were building on the Smith regime to offer concessions to the African population. The internal settlement, signed on March 3, 1978 by Ian Smith of the Rhodesian Front, Bishop Muzorewa of the United African National Council, Jeremiah Chirau of the Zimbabwe United People's Organization, and Ndabaningi Sithole of the African National Council left the governing process unaltered; white privilege was maintained, and redistribution did not take place, and the judiciary and bureaucracy continued in their present form.

David S. Cownie is a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in the Department of Political Science at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas. He is currently in Botswana doing field research.

The glaring inadequacies of the agreement led to the Lancaster House Conference, the subject of Jeffrey Davidow's eloquent book *A Peace in Southern Africa*. The author is particularly well qualified to undertake such an analysis. Following three years with the U.S. Embassy in South Africa and over two years at the State Department as the Rhodesia Desk Officer, Davidow was sent as a U.S. diplomatic observer to Salisbury by President Carter, responsible for monitoring the progress of the Muzorewa regime, the first U.S. consular official in Rhodesia since consular services were discontinued in 1970 in accordance with U.N. sanctions. Davidow's diplomatic background is reflected in the book, as he focuses on the actions taken by official actors in the negotiation process.

The book is exceedingly well-structured. After a general introduction Davidow discusses the evolving situation which set the stage for the Lancaster House Conference, with an explicit account of the internal settlement of March 1978. The responses by Britain, other Commonwealth members, and the Front Line States which ultimately led to the Lancaster House Conference are subsequently detailed. The influence of Kaunda and Nyerere in bringing the Patriotic Front to the bargaining table is viewed as particularly critical. The perception on the part of the Muzorewa-Smith regime that they would benefit from the constitutional conference is also viewed as important in bringing the Rhodesian government to the bargaining table.

Chapter three examines in detail the nature of the three parties involved in the negotiations: the British, the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo, and the Rhodesian regime of Muzorewa and Smith. Chapters four, five, and six discuss the three issues pursued at Lancaster House — the constitution, transitional arrangements, and the ceasefire — all of which offered significant problems for the Conference. Davidow notes the success the British had in pressuring the Patriotic Front through the use of the 'stick,' while offering the 'carrot' to the Muzorewa-Smith regime. The author views as particularly important the recognition by the Patriotic Front that the British might settle with the Muzorewa-Smith regime, and how this led to the Patriotic Front accepting unfavorable resolutions.

Davidow's admiration for the negotiating skills of the British team headed by Lord Carrington permeate the entire book, and is summed up clearly and concisely in the chapter entitled "Accounting for Success." In the final chapter the author argues in support of the use of third-parties as mediators in conflicts similar to the one in Zimbabwe.

The weaknesses of the study must be noted. Davidow is justifiably quick to call the Lancaster House Conference a success. Yet the price of this success is not adequately explored. As Davidow himself notes, the British exerted a great deal of pressure on the Patriotic Front to accept the terms offered by a conservative British government and agreed to by the Muzorewa-Smith regime. This agreement has already led to problems within Zimbabwe. The government must purchase white land at the current market rate when owners decide to sell or when the land is fallow. The process of land acquisition is cumbersome and expensive, an undertaking which has intensified the problem of land hunger and has led to a resultant increase in the number of squatters. In addition, U.S. and British aid for resettlement purposes, promised at the Lancaster House Conference, has not been forthcoming. Also, the impartiality of the judiciary has been increasingly questioned by the Mugabe government. Finally, whites have been guaranteed representation in the Parliament far beyond their proportion of the population. These and other factors have limited the Mugabe government's

room for maneuver, and have hindered the country's development efforts.

Another criticism of the book is that Davidow focuses on the negotiating skills of the British team, while underemphasizing the skills of, and tactics used by, the other parties. The critique of Mugabe and his negotiating tactics is particularly poor, and frequently unfairly critical.

A final criticism is of Davidow's belief that the type of third-party mediation which took place at Lancaster House should be used to solve disputes elsewhere. The utility of this method to solve the South Africa dilemma, for example, is questionable. South Africa is in a different position than Rhodesia; an organized opposition on the scale of the Patriotic Front does not exist; South Africa is not as vulnerable to outside pressure; South Africa has a number of influential friends upon which it can depend.

Yet the strengths of Davidow's book far outweigh the weaknesses. Davidow has written a thoughtful, provocative book which will be of interest to anyone concerned with Zimbabwe and the problems it faces. It will also be of interest to students of diplomacy, and is a must for any library.

## Ian Smith and The Fall of Rhodesia

Paul E. LeRoy

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

Dickson A. Mungazi has given us an incisive well-written monograph that portrays the rise, rule and ultimate fall of the arch-racist, Ian Smith of the Rhodesian Front. Mungazi portrays Smith as the insensitive high savior of white domination, who maintained his ruthless oppression through his party's domination of both the legislative process and the armed forces. Smith is compared to past dictators like Adolf Hitler, and the future citizenry of Zimbabwe is warned that they must be on their guard to preserve 'democracy' against any future juntas or one-party dictatorships.

Mungazi's secondary theme is set on the stage of world rivalries and Western powers shaken by the fear of growing communist influences and the potential of a blood bath that could doom all whites. Concerned primarily with the 'white' political maneuverings of the Rhodesian Front Party, Mungazi in clear prose traces Smith's cunningly subtle tactics up to and through the climactic disguise of a white-controlled government with Bishop Abel Muzorewa as its figurehead until its termination by the return of British authority to supervise the elections of 1980, leading to the victory of the Patriotic Front of Robert Mugabe in partnership with Joshua Nkomo.

Paul E. LeRoy is Professor of History at Central Washington University, Ellensburg, Washington 98926.

This work does not pretend to be an impartial history of Rhodesia or even of the Civil War, but claims to be a carefully presented 'saga' of racial struggles between the years 1962-1979. The key internal figures and factions are introduced with their skills and weaknesses. Perhaps too much is made of Ian Smith as a Hitler-like dictator — though this may be in part a natural expression of frustration in reaction to black repression. Mungazi is nonetheless very balanced in describing the political tactics orchestrated by Smith against rival whites, black leaders and foreign attempts to bring about majority rule. A weakness appears in the initial chapter, where he fails to set the historic stage adequately in describing racial discrimination and repression, restricting his focus to the land tenure acts. Though intermittently referred to elsewhere, Mungazi might have here more thoroughly discussed how white policies of leadership including those of Garfield Todd, Edgar Whitehead and Winston Field, built up a structure of white domination in which Africans were treated not as people but as commodities, and restricted to a secondary partnership for all time. Absent is a clear summation of land allocations, economic policies, school and missionary restrictions and police oppressions in a society becoming more and more segregated, increasingly attuned to the example of the Republic of South Africa.

Mungazi is at his best in his discussions of the ouster of Todd, the collapse of Whitehead, the replacement of Field and the rise of Ian Smith, but he might have first discussed in a paragraph or two the creation and collapse of the enlarged Central African Federation, even though he does later refer to the 'Wind of Change' and the Devlin Report. Ignored are the consequences of the success and examples of Hastings Banda and Kenneth Kaunda. Nor is there any adequate reference here to South Africa as an influence on the abuse of power, especially racially.

His portrayal of the black political movements is essentially secondary to that of Ian Smith's seizure of power by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of 1965 which was sustained by the failures to reach agreement with an inept Britain in the meetings on the battleships *Tiger* in 1966 and *Fearless* in 1968, as well as with Prime Minister Alec Douglas-Home in 1971. His survey of the armed struggle does not pretend to be an exhaustive war journal but the essentials are ably and clearly analyzed without getting stuck in the confusions of factions, tribalisms and personality rivalries so true of other works.

Much of the remainder of the text centers on diplomatic pressures to prevent a 'white' Rhodesia under siege from being plunged into the abyss of a racial blood bath as guerrilla activities increased. The chapter on the American role, centered on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, outlines the geopolitical views of the United States and shows the would-be giant of diplomatic excursions as ultimately being duped by Ian Smith. Americans, as usual overly fearful of 'communist influence' (in this case triggered by the presence of Cubans in Angola), participated in negotiations with South African Premier John Vorster, with Britain, and occasionally when convenient with the Front Line States to achieve a negotiated settlement that might ultimately salvage some Western influence while blocking a potential annihilation of whites in Rhodesia. This theme continues with an analysis of the complexities of later conferences and peace efforts, including the Owen-Young Missions of 1977, the Owen-Vance Mission of 1978, the climatic Nyerere-Thatcher plan, the Lusaka Resolution, and the meetings at Geneva and the Lancaster House talks, finally reaching fruition in the return of Britain and Lord Soames' supervision of elections in February 1980.

Ian Smith, blatantly, until the debacle, tried to pretend to have black support, first via black chiefs at the Domboshawa Indaba, then by giving black token seats in his constitution of 1969, and finally by his mock Internal Agreement of 1978 with Muzorewa, Sithole and Chief Chirau. But the 'Gang of Four' was really still led by Ian Smith. Senators like Hayakawa, backed by pressure groups, were nonetheless convinced and Smith's cries of communist threats almost won over Margaret Thatcher, though not President Carter. But guerrilla warfare, the flight of whites and economic collapse wrought the inevitable, considering the odds.

The monograph ends with a strong wish for western style democracy in Zimbabwe, sustained by a free press — a little unrealistic in the face of the present Mugabe-Nkomo tribal and regional misunderstandings. More time might have been instead placed on attempted land reallocations and socio-economic reforms, the very guts of African life and Mugabe hopes.

Clearly a product of both his African environment and a very thorough westernized education, Dickson A. Mungazi, assistant professor at Colgate University in the field of education, has since had published *The Underdevelopment of African Education: A Black Zimbabwean Perspective*.

Able to reduce confusion to clarity, Mungabe further enhanced the value of this monograph by an appendix containing several crucial summations of key documents and agreements, particularly the Internal Agreement of 1978, as well as copies of correspondence of participants inclusive even of that right winger, Jesse Helms, and that eccentric, Hayakawa.

Inserted in the text are a series of photos depicting Zimbabwean villages accompanied by a portrait of Kissinger. It might instead have been more judicious to have added photos of Nkomo, Sithole, Muzorewa, Mugabe, and the absent central character, Ian Smith!

Though this volume is weakened by a lack of an index or a bibliography, Mungazi has added a careful Note section with balanced comments on his written references, limited essentially to a dozen monographs and a reasonable list of periodicals, especially the secondary *Lincoln Evening Journal* but also the far more important *London Times*, *Time* magazine, and one issue of the U.S. Department of State Bulletin. He particularly relied on James Barber, Larry Bowman, Leonard Kapungu, Donald Smith and Kenneth Young. All in all his references are too limited. Nor can it be ascertained whether he acquired information from direct interviews or even used materials from Rhodesia itself, much less governmental documents and notes. He might well have examined R. Kent Rasmussen's *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia*. Regrettably he may not have been able to utilize either David Smith and Colin Simpson's *Mugabe* or David Martin and Phyllis Johnson's *The Struggle of Zimbabwe*, both published in 1981!

Still this monograph helpfully synthesizes a rather confused story of names, events, and factions, particularly in his treatment of internal white Rhodesian politics and the relationship against a hostile world out to secure 'majority rule' — even if essentially due to the fear of communism and the possibility of losing all by intransigence. This work helps explain crucial events in a key part of Africa while filling one more gap in the story of the continuing tide of African Independence.

## **The Last Days of Rhodesia**

### **through Settler Eyes**

Aaron Segal

David Caute, *UNDER THE SKIN, The Death of White Rhodesia* (New York: Penguin, 1983), pp. 448, \$6.95.

White settlers created and controlled a land they named Rhodesia from 1890 until its end in 1980. Although the white population never exceeded 250,000 persons they carved an enclave for themselves and developed an economic base that enabled them to defy much of the world, including Britain and the United States, between 1965 and 1980 following their unilateral declaration of independence.

David Caute, a British historian turned journalist, has written a swift, evocative, and passionate book about the last years of white rule. Relying on tape recorder, intrepidity, and audacity he has put together an account based on interviews with missionaries, black and white politicians, Rhodesian army officers and enlisted men, and many, many stripes of white Rhodesians from the courageously defiant former Prime Minister Garfield Todd to the owner-manager of Salisbury's most expensive whites-only massage parlour. This is not an obituary or a comprehensive history but a first-hand account of the ending of a way of life as experienced by those who were living it. It is documentary journalism at its best with ample servings of all shades of white opinion from the most outspoken racists to those few who welcomed with misgivings the victory of African nationalism.

The interviews with clergy and missionaries are most valuable. Despised by many fellow whites for having inculcated Africans with subversive ideas, the missionaries were often the target of African guerrilla attacks, living as they were in isolated rural areas. Many bravely sought to keep hospitals, clinics and schools open amidst the extortionate demands of undisciplined guerrillas and the intimidation of the Rhodesian security forces.

Details are presented of the violence inflicted on civilians by both sides and the ways in which whites came to rationalize violence by their side. The coming apart of the settler economy, the surreptitious fight of some and the desire of those staying to protect segregated schools, the actual transfer of power and the preceding elections are all vividly captured.

Rhodesia is dead and Zimbabwe lives. The last years of its death agony have been recorded in a manner that enables readers to both relive and understand why and how Rhodesia died.

Aaron Segal is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Inter-American Studies at the University of Texas at El Paso.

## **Media Warfare in Zimbabwe**

Robert B. Boeder

Julie Frederikse, *NONE BUT OURSELVES, Masses vs. Media in the making of Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982), pp. 368, R9.95.

During the final days of the Zimbabwe freedom struggle Rhodesian officials destroyed as much printed evidence about the war as they possibly could. Documents and records were burned and files were shredded in an attempt to hide the truth, but they could not burn or shred people's memories. That is what this book records. It is a remarkable account of a war of words and ideas; of the media war which was fought between the Smith government and the liberation parties for the hearts and minds of rural Zimbabweans.

*None But Ourselves* confirms many troubling allegations about the conduct of the war by both sides. Yes, the Selous Scouts did disguise themselves as guerrillas and proceed to murder white missionaries who were known to support majority rule. It is true that the freedom fighters killed innocent Africans merely on suspicion that they were supporting the Smith regime. The major question answered by the book is how blacks and whites in Zimbabwe, two groups of people living in the same country, could form such radically different perceptions of a shared reality: the liberation war. The author, a National Public Radio correspondent in southern Africa, set out to discover the influences which shaped these conflicting views. She unearthed surprisingly sophisticated propaganda campaigns employing T-shirts, poster, popular songs, records, cassettes, films, radio broadcasts, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, stickers, appeals from ancestral spirits, and public meetings.

When persuasion failed, force was used. People were tortured and murdered, but the guerrillas clearly won the active allegiance of the vast majority of Zimbabweans. Women called "chimbwido" were recruited to gather intelligence for the freedom fighters, carry messages and materials over long distances, and care for the men. Other individuals — teenage herdboys and old men — became "mujiba," the eyes and ears of the guerrillas, who reported on enemy troop movements. These non-combatants performed dangerous tasks at great personal risk to themselves and their families. Why did they take such chances? Because the masses were successfully politicized and chose to identify closely with the liberation armies.

The Smith government offered handsome cash rewards to Africans who provided the security forces with information about the whereabouts of freedom fighters. There were numerous blacks who sold out, but the penalty they paid upon discovery was death. Most Zimbabweans gave their loyalty to ZANU because the party Publicity and Information Department, directed by Eddison Zvogbo, effectively educated them in the aims of the liberation movement. Night

Robert B. Boeder teaches at Campbell University, Blues Creek, North Carolina. He was formerly a Fulbright Professor at Chancellor College, University of Malawi.

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meetings called "pungwe" were held where rural dwellers heard brief, to the point political lectures and sang "chimurenga" (resistance) songs which raised morale and stiffened their resolve to support the war. This was the media of the masses.

More than AK-47s and land mines, it was this open line of communication with the people which proved to be the lifeblood of the guerrillas. It allowed them to convey their needs to the masses and in turn be informed of changing circumstances in the war zones. Contacts between government and people through district officials under the Ministry of Internal Affairs were severed completely. Rhodesian security forces became, in effect, an army of occupation in the rural areas.

When the regime first realized that Africans were helping guerrillas they imposed severe fines and prison terms on offenders. When that did not produce results 750,000 people were uprooted and placed in protected villages which acted as small minimum security prisons. When the inhabitants of protected villages continued to provide the freedom fighters with intelligence the white authorities responded by imposing dusk to dawn curfews on rural areas and shooting curfew breakers on sight. The government also punished the population in districts where the freedom fighters were operating. All businesses, schools, hospitals and clinics were closed; buses stopped running; individuals were arrested, imprisoned, fined and had their cattle confiscated. Since even those in favor of the Smith regime were victimized this policy played into the hands of the freedom fighters and tended to unify Zimbabweans in opposition to the minority rulers.

Radio is the most effective means of reaching large numbers of rural residents quickly and cheaply. During the war Zimbabweans could be arrested for listening to overseas broadcasts, but this did not deter them from tuning to ZANU-produced Voice of Zimbabwe programs on Radio Mozambique. ZAPU beamed news and commentary, speeches and freedom songs into Zimbabwe from studios in Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Cairo and Moscow. Zambia Broadcasting Corporation also hosted a nightly program on behalf of guerrilla forces.

The Rhodesian Ministry of Information responded with anti-freedom fighter propaganda on the RBC. Black programming in Rhodesia was exclusively FM and the government encouraged the manufacture of cheap FM only radios which were distributed to chiefs and village headmen in the Tribal Trust Lands. The white regime considered British Broadcasting Corporation newscasts subversive so it built a clandestine 400,000 watt transmitter called "Big Bertha" in order to jam the smaller BBC transmitter at Francistown, Botswana. Later "Big Bertha" became the Voice of Free Africa (called "A Voz da Quizimba" or "Voice of the Hyena" by FRELIMO) which directed Mozambique National Resistance propaganda into independent Mozambique.

*None But Ourselves* is an unusual title for such a book, but it is appropriate in that the author relies heavily on interviews and press comments by a wide variety of black and white Zimbabweans who participated directly in the struggle. She makes striking use of a large number of photographs to bring us the graphic side of the media war. She also collected many songs reflecting both African and white feelings about the conflict. This book is an absolute 'must' for anyone interested in the recent history of Zimbabwe, the use of propaganda, or the character of insurgent warfare in southern Africa. I just wish that Ravan Press would do something about making its publications more readily obtainable in the U.S.A.

## ***Documents from Zimbabwe's Struggle for Independence***

J. Leo Cefkin

C.K. Nyangoni and G.M.K. Nyandoro, eds., *ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS: Selected Documents*. (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1979), pp. 456, \$30.00.

A collection of documents on the struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia is a welcome addition to the study of how Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. This volume of seventy-three selected documents published between 1957 and 1976 are drawn from speeches, memoranda, resolutions and other sources. It is, in the words of its editors, "an attempt to present the African viewpoint ... how African requests of 'please rule us well' have evolved into the demands 'leave us to rule ourselves or face the consequences.'" It isn't the editors who speak, but the leaders whose words we read.

The documents are organized in four phases of the struggle. The period 1957-64 is titled "The Period of Protest." This section is followed by "The Period of Direct Confrontation," 1964-71; "The Period of Armed Struggle," 1971-74, and "The Period of Armed Struggle and Detente," 1974-76.

In keeping with the years covered in the volume, the emphasis necessarily falls on the struggle against white settler rule. Conflict within Zimbabwean nationalism is, however, not neglected. From the earliest schism in August 1963 to the factionalism of the 1970s, the internal politics of the movement is reviewed through policy statements by leaders of the several factions. That history is relevant to the ongoing turmoil of the 1980s in Zimbabwe which no longer pits the former white ruling class against African Nationalism but now entails a struggle for power between ZANU and ZAPU that suggests ethnic tension as well as political rivalry.

Documents are always welcome. This collection could have been made more valuable if the editors provided brief observations for each chapter or perhaps for each document which would offer the context for the documents included. To be sure, each of the four sections has a brief introduction which is helpful. Without additional elucidation this collection is most useful for those already familiar with the subject matter.

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J. Leo Cefkin is Professor of Political Science at Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colorado

## ***A Useful but Incomplete***

### ***Biography of Cabral***

Aaron Segal

Patrick Chabal, *AMILCAR CABRAL: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 272 pp., \$16.95. paper, \$44.50. hardback.

Amilcar Cabral (1924-1973) is perhaps the most remarkable of all African nationalist leaders. He singlehandedly created an independence movement in the forlorn West African Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau. His humane and pragmatic leadership won widespread international and local support for a prolonged guerrilla war which eventually led to vast changes in Africa and Portugal itself, all this from a man who had earlier achieved considerable success as an agronomist in the Portuguese colonial system.

This first full-length biography of Cabral works best as an analysis of the movement he founded and the Guinean independence struggle. The emphasis on political education, the need to control the military, the practical problems of administering desperately poor liberated areas, and the handling of deep-seated ethnic differences are all ably described. The treatment of the differences between Cape Verdeans and Guineans in the movement, the circumstances of Cabral's assassination, and post-independence conflicts come off less well. The independence struggle did mobilize many Guineans but independence itself has not brought a revolutionary transformation. The author suggests that this is primarily due to the primitive economy and the constraints imposed by "the international economic context." Yet it was Cabral's genius as a leader and his training and experience as an agronomist to understand the need for real material gains for rural people. How is it that his successors have favored the few urban areas and the wage-earners?

It is Cabral the man, though, that is missing in this book. Although there are interviews cited with his first Portuguese wife, his second Guinean wife, and his daughter we learn nothing of him as a family man. We are told that he was close to both his father and mother but that they were separated when he was nine. There is considerable detail on his student and working years in Portugal but little on the impact on him of such deep exposure to Portuguese society. What prompted him to reject assimilation in favor of African nationalism? How was he able to reconcile the Cape Verdean, Guinean, and Portuguese strains in his own identity? Multilingual, was his first language Creole, Portuguese, or the French he used in exile? The definitive biography of Cabral remains to be written.

Aaron Segal is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Inter-American Studies at the University of Texas at El Paso.

## ***Early Resistance To Colonialism in Mozambique***

Ronald H. Chilcote

René Pélissier, *NAISSANCE DU MOZAMBIQUE: Resistance et Revoltes Anticoloniales (1854-1918)*, (Paris: Editions Pélissier, Montaments 78630 Orgeval, France, 1984), 2 vols., 884 pp., 10 maps, paper, \$45.

The French historian, René Pélissier, has devoted two decades to research on the African resistance to Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. He has produced useful volumes on the wars of resistance and the national liberation struggles in Angola, and his most recent effort directs similar attention to the anti-colonial resistance and revolts in Mozambique.

This work is organized into three principal parts and ten chapters which provide overview and historical synthesis of the Portuguese conquest and occupation of Mozambique. The result is a detailed account of the Portuguese consolidation of the colony as well as of African resistance.

The first part, "The Bases of the Conquest" comprises a single chapter that focuses on the early Portuguese efforts to gain control in the mid-nineteenth century and summarizes developments from 1854 to 1857 with a look at three geographical areas: the districts of Mozambique and Cabo Delgado; the Zambezie, including the districts of Quelimane, Tete, and Sofala; and the south, including the districts of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques.

The second part, "The Cadre of the Conquest" consists of another chapter focused on imperialism during the period 1858 to 1918. It covers the Berlin Conference, the colonial administrative experience, the policies of António Enes and Mousinho de Albuquerque, and observations on the economy and colonial budget. It also describes the Portuguese military presence, the arrival of reinforcements toward the end of the nineteenth century, the persistence of colonial mediocrity, and the geography of the conquest. This discussion provides the background for the detailed blow by blow account of the conquest itself.

The third part, "The Conquest" contains the remaining chapters: the third on the Swahili and Macua tribes in the Mozambique district; the fourth on resistance in the north and the campaigns of pacification; the fifth and sixth on the Zambezie; the seventh on the struggles in southern Mozambique. Chapter 8 looks at the important Zambezie revolt of 1917 to 1918, while chapter 9 examines the continuing conflict in the north during 1914 to 1918. Each chapter includes

Ronald H. Chilcote is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Riverside, CA.

a table graphically showing dates, location, and personnel involved in the principal actions. The final chapter offers a synthesis of data, including useful tables on military participation, numbers of persons fighting in each of the periods and regions under study; dates and lengths of operations in each region; and a summary of economic and political causes of the unrest, identified by period and region.

A series of appendices provide, first, an outline of the major African resistance leaders and events, by period and region; second, a listing of tribal dynasties by tribe and region; and a glossary of terms. Finally, there is a detailed listing, organized according to archives and sources consulted, bibliographies, general works, manuscripts and documents, university theses, essential periodicals, and primary and secondary sources. Each reference is annotated according to its usefulness. There is also a name index, and the ten maps graphically portray the detail mentioned in the text for the country as a whole and for its principal regions.

One cannot but be impressed by this massive compilation of detail, drawn from available sources. The account is generally descriptive rather than interpretative, and while terminology such as imperialism, nationalism and resistance are employed in the discussion, there is no effort to elaborate conceptualization and theory, and analysis in general is limited. However, Pélissier has reorganized data and information in a way that allows his work to stand as an important historical account and a useful reference work. Students and scholars can use his work as a means of delving into this vital period of Mozambican history.

## **Portuguese Colonialism as Seen by an Insightful Observer**

Douglas L. Wheeler

René Pélissier, *EXPLORAR. Voyages en Angola et Autres Lieux Incertains* (Paris: Editions Pélissier, Montaments 78630 Orgeval, France, 1979), 255 pp., with map of Angola.

This is an extraordinary book about an extraordinary subject: the detailed account of a personal journey of France's foremost writer on Lusophone Africa to various parts of Angola, São Tomé, Príncipe, Cabinda in 1966, with a stopover in Lisbon. As of the mid-1990s René Pélissier has written besides an initial effort in Angola, a book on which we collaborated, two major historical studies on Angola, a historical study on the breakup of the Portuguese African empire by 1975 and a detailed military history of Mozambique. Those works are exhaustively documented from English, French, Portuguese and African sources and are written as histories in chronological order, in great detail. It will be a long time before such works are superseded, even if, which seems doubtful, the Portuguese and

Douglas L. Wheeler is Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.

Douglas L. Wheeler

African archives ever come under an official freedom of information act giving free access to scholars and reporters.

But *Explorar* (from the Portuguese verb which means both to explore and to exploit) is different; it is a very personal account, also detailed, but in the shape of a journey at a given time in history — 1966, between the 1961 beginning of the war of insurgency in Angola and 1974 when a military coup in Lisbon began the dissolution of Portugal's empire in Africa. It is a time I am most familiar with, because I too visited Angola for the first time in 1966 and saw not a few of the places Pélissier is writing about. The book's beginning has a list of personalities with roles, *Dramatis Personae*, with labels which describe their role or function; the actual names are left to the reader's imagination or knowledge. The cast is large, but the identity of most of the characters, though names are lacking, is often clear. "The Explorer" is the author; "The Doctor," is identified as Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), in his dotage at the time of Pélissier's visit and a leader who never set foot in Lusophone Africa. Some of the identities of persons are charmingly covered up, as is for example, the identity of "Charlemagne," the label of "The Emperor of São Tomé," or "Sister Aspice," a "French nun of the political police," "The Abolitionist" (Dr. Adriano Moreira), identified simply as "A Minister of the Overseas in 1961."

Dr. Pélissier has created a nice balance between the lyrical dramatic framework ('on stage' with the characters, he notes, are also "Diverse faces, two good Portuguese, many crocodiles, a colonial war, messengers, trumpets, a grocer and Death.''), and his daily journal which recounts his travels in Angola's capital and interior, as well as trips to Lisbon, São Tomé, Príncipe and the enclave of Cabinda. His writing style is clear and at times verges on the poetic, with many memorable passages. The descriptions of scenes, persons, places and things are brilliantly colored with a pen dipped in realism allied with a quietly mordant wit. As with any good travel account, the observant traveler has a good eye for the small detail, the inner meanings of significant words in the Portuguese language (there is a full and very useful Glossary of Portuguese terms in the back), and the nuances and subtleties of Portuguese and African characters and the nature and tragedy of Portuguese colonial rule and the accompanying war. In his journey of more than a few weeks in 1966, Pélissier saw a great deal in several sectors of Angola and recorded much. Except for the extreme east and south of the vast country, Pélissier visited all the major places and towns and makes trenchant observations. Armed with authorizations and letters from the Ministry of Overseas in Lisbon, Pélissier was allowed into the war zone, and makes some interesting observations about the Portuguese officers and men, African personalities, and the militarized system which obtained at the time.

Several kinds of readers will enjoy this unusual work. It is not for the general American reader who does not read French and knows nothing of Africa, although the reader of French will find the style alone capable of carrying one to the final page. It is for the general reader who knows something of Africa today and who wishes to learn more about the recent history of Angola, potentially an economic-political giant of central Africa. This work is also for the advanced and beginning student of African Studies with interests in central Africa and Lusophone Africa and with a curiosity to learn more from France's leading authority on

Lusophone African history and current situation. Though his dramatized journey is set in 1966, and it was in Luanda in October of that year that I met René Pélissier for the first time, an event which was one factor in the genesis of the collaborative work of general Angolan history, *Angola* (Praeger-Pall Mall, 1971; reprinted, Greenwood, 1978), his observations are accurate for much of the period of 1961-74, during the wars of insurgency, which led indirectly to the collapse of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonial empire. There is another reason why general readers interested in Africa today will find *Explorator* of interest: there is no other work like it, in any language, about Angola, or for that matter, about any other section of southern Africa. As a detailed, prescient personal observation of life in Angola in 1966, a time now being rapidly forgotten, this extraordinary book makes an important contribution to the history of recent colonial studies in Africa. Except for several books by foreign missionaries — a few by Americans, Britons and Frenchmen, and a few by Spaniards and Italians in Mozambique — there is no such detailed, accurate account of such a journey in time and a journey in the mind.

In reconstructing the turbulent, but still largely unknown, history of Angola, specialists will turn again to this fascinating book and will find many rewards in it. The uninitiated can be warned that the excellent Glossary (pp. 251-255), does not include all the Portuguese words used in the elegantly written text. This is where those who know Portuguese will have an advantage, but there is always the dictionary! For example, "Coitadinho" ("Poor little thing") and "escudo" (Portuguese currency) are not included therein, but can be deciphered from other sources.

In short, this is a work which combines the touch of a mind of great spirit and imagination and a sense of realism and truth. Such a combination is too rare in writing about African affairs today and therefore this volume should be given a special place in any African collection. The author's sense of adventure and curiosity are found on every page. In this respect, my first impression of Dr. Pélissier when I met him in Luanda in 1966 was accurate. It was one of those terribly hot and humid Luanda afternoons in October and, as someone accustomed to the humid heat of the Mississippi River valley, even I was unprepared for the Luanda climate and was dressed in light clothing. My friend Pélissier, however, seemed to defy this heat, as he wore a wool jacket of winter weight and appeared to take no notice of the temperature. After some conversation, he lowered his voice and asked, "Have you counted the graves in Dondo?" (where a massacre had recently occurred). I admitted that I had spoken with the cemetery attendant, but that I had not counted those graves. The book *Explorator* represents the detailed record of what Dr. Pélissier saw in his hot but interesting journey as well as a personal reminder to me of how I met this award-winning writer-historian and why I asked him to join me in writing the book, *Angola*.

## ***A Reassessment of Rhodes: Intervention in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland in the 19th Century***

Kevin M. Riordan

Thomas J. Noer, *BRITON, BOER, AND YANKEE: The United States and South Africa 1870-1914* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979) xiii, 192 pp., \$12.00.

Paul Maylam, *RHODES, THE TSWANA, AND THE BRITISH: Colonialism, Collaboration and Conflict in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1885-1899* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980) x, 245 pp., \$29.95.

By way of introduction, Thomas Noer puts forth the thesis that current American policy towards South Africa is a variant or extension of policies of the last quarter of the 19th century; further, he states that the assumptions, expectations and motivation of American policy during the period 1870-1914 proved to be illusory, and that current policy may similarly be based upon false hopes. In the process of developing his thesis he presents a well-researched and highly readable diplomatic history of the period, primarily in respect of American-South African relations.

Recognition of the two independent Afrikaner republics (the Transvaal and Orange Free State) was formally granted in 1870 during the administration of President Grant. From the outset American diplomats shunned involvement in the growing conflict between the Republics and Britain while attempting to stimulate commercial developments. (American exports to South Africa rose from \$629,000 in 1877 to over \$30,000,000 twenty six years later.) Prior to the Anglo-Boer War the United States maintained a formal neutrality, though as Mr. Noer documents there was a profound bias towards Britain by an informal coalition composed of business interests, diplomats, politicians (primarily Republican), missionary groups and liberals (both black and white). This coalition was opposed only intermittently by popular sentiment in favor of (Afrikaner) republicanism versus (British) imperialist expansionism.

Not unlike the present-day situation, American's primary concerns in southern Africa 100 years ago were, in order of importance, commercial, diplomatic and strategic, a distant third. Also, a dichotomous situation existed vis-a-vis Americans resident in South Africa and the American government's overt policies and actions. This dichotomy became embarrassingly obvious after

Kevin M. Riordan lived in Botswana from 1973 to 1980, employed as an architect. He has engaged in intensive private study of southern Africa. He now resides at 5944 S. Datura, No. 1, Littleton, Colorado 80120.

the Johannesburg Reform Movement rebellion and the Jameson Raid of 29 December 1895 to 2 January 1896. The primary planner and the leader of the simultaneous rebellion at Johannesburg was the American mining engineer John Hays Hammond, one of the more highly respected engineers of the time, though a failure as a self-appointed agent of political change in the Transvaal.

It is generally accepted that Hammond was the first to propose the subject of an armed rebellion to Rhodes, that the Jameson Raid was ancillary to the rebellion, and that both the raid and rebellion were foredoomed.

The Americans at Johannesburg numbered over 1500. The expressed objection of the Uitlanders (outsiders or foreigners) to Paul Kruger's government was the lack of the franchise for the Uitlanders in Johannesburg or the Transvaal. This was the commonly professed reason. In fact, Rhodes wished to contain the Afrikaner migration while gaining control of territory to the north and west, for example, Bechuanaland. During this period British involvement and concern were passive; most of all, the British government hoped government hoped to contain and supplant the growing American commercial influence in the subcontinent, and gain territory via proxy by chartering such imperial expansionists as Cecil Rhodes. In turn, Rhodes encouraged adventurers, such as his brother Frank and Leander Starr Jameson, and his employees, such as John Hammond, to take bold and seemingly independent actions which he might disavow if necessary. Such was the case in Hammond's rebellion and Jameson's Raid except in these instances Rhodes accepted the responsibility for his subordinates' acts.

The Uitlanders rightly viewed "Oom Paul" Kruger as being paternalistic and autocratic, and his response to the Raid was predictably swift and sure. For his part, Hammond was sentenced to death though this was conveniently commuted to a stiff fine and an accompanying promise by Hammond of future non-intervention in South African affairs. Kruger's objective was not vengeance but a determination to illustrate that intervention in the Transvaal would not be tolerated regardless of origin or intent, whether peaceful or militant.

Paul Maylam's book complements the above diplomatic history both in time and place. It is a finely detailed and research study in which we see the emergence of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (modern Botswana) alternatively from the standpoint of Rhodes, the British authorities, and the Tswana Chiefs. We also see the machinations and complexity of Cecil Rhodes in a very complete and precise way without the patina of colonialist glory associated with many past biographies of Rhodes.

In both books the Jameson Raid is pivotal. The Raid represented the apex of Rhode's achievements and ambitions. Within a few years thereafter Rhodes was dead and the Anglo-Boer War, the Raid's direct descendant, was declared.

More important in the historical sense, the Raid, which originated in Bechuanaland, guaranteed that the Crown would not only "protect" Bechuanaland but would not allow the development of a Rhodes administration in the Protectorate through charter as had been contemplated during the 1890s.

Maylam's portrayal of the Tswana Chiefs, in contrast to his views of Rhodes and most of the British colonial administrators, is not unflattering. In fact the portrayals are accurate and based upon incident and history rather than say, tribal lore or personal anecdote. Khama is seen to be a strong-willed and autocratic leader as Kruger; among African leaders of the period he must be viewed as one of the more astute, resourceful and diplomatic.

While Mr. Noer's book shall appeal primarily to the generalist, Mr. Maylam's book is designed to aid the specialist in southern African history. For example, his information on the establishment of free-hold farms in the Protectorate is possibly the most complete to date; similarly, the sections dealing with the establishment of the Railways in South Africa and Bechuanaland are detailed and insightful.

Rhodes believed, as did many, that control of Bechuanaland was strategically necessary at that point in history because it was the gateway to the central African interior as originally established by the early missionary explorers. His initial overtures to the Tswana Chiefs, most notably Khama, were well received. By providing warriors, Khama actively assisted Rhodes in the colonization of Lobengula's kingdom. This early collaboration on the part of the Tswana Chiefs made a distinct and lasting impression upon the Chiefs. When Rhodes proposed in the mid 1890s to establish a Boer colony in Ngamiland (northwest Botswana), and when Rhodes also petitioned the Crown for a Bechuanaland Charter, (a similar strategy had been used against the Chiefs of Rhodesia) it became clear to the Tswana Chiefs that neither collaboration nor colonialization would insure their independence or personal rule. As Maylam writes: "It seems that the Matabeleland precedent forever loomed large in Tswana minds." In 1895, therefore, the Chiefs travelled to England to request the protection of the Crown and to lobby against any charter being granted Rhodes or his British South Africa Company.

It is perhaps fitting that Cecil Rhodes ironically met his match in the Tswana Chiefs, and that he was undone eventually by his closest associates in the fiasco of the Jameson Raid and the Johannesburg Reform Movement uprising.

## **A Journalist's Look at Mozambique's Revolution**

Luis Serapiao

Joseph Hanlon. **MOZAMBIQUE: The Revolution under Fire** (London: Zed Press, 1984), pp. 299, \$13.95.

Joseph Hanlon examines post colonial Mozambique under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). He was a correspondent for the BBC for a period of five years. (1979-1984).

In the first part of the book he presents the scenario whereby Mozambique must build its future, then he goes on to describe briefly the origin and the process of Mozambique struggle for the independence. He identifies the socio-economic and political strategies used by the Portuguese colonial government to prevent FRELIMO from coming to power and to discredit FRELIMO's leadership in an independent Mozambique. These strategies were effective in part because of FRELIMO's lack of experience and mismanagement. In the third part Hanlon outlines some of FRELIMO's programs, particularly in the section of health, agriculture, and industry, and explains FRELIMO's nationalization policies, and its effort to implement socialism in Mozambique, particularly in the agricultural sector. After discussing the government and party structure, he analyzes the practical problem that FRELIMO has in defining class struggle within Mozambican context. Indeed, although FRELIMO attacks and condemns bourgeois tendencies, it has been reluctant to give a clear definition of a bourgeois concept within Mozambican society. Finally, in the final segment, Hanlon presents some of the problems that FRELIMO is encountering in the implementation of socialist development in Mozambique.

In my opinion Hanlon presents the most cogent and balanced view of the current Mozambican situation. Indeed, rather than reiterating the rhetoric of FRELIMO's leadership or being apologetic about FRELIMO's mistakes, Joseph Hanlon points out mistakes made by FRELIMO unequivocally, but without the cynicism of those who hate FRELIMO. He also recognizes positive contributions made by FRELIMO (see particularly chapter 8). His unbiased approach in this study of Mozambique is clearly stated: "Mozambique must always be looked at in two different frames of reference: in comparison to other developing countries, and in comparison to its own goals of becoming a modern, developed socialist country. Thus in comparison to other developing countries, Mozambique has made spectacular progress in health, but in comparison to its goals there is an intense and interesting struggle still under way." (pp. 242-243).

Hanlon has adopted a journalistic approach which makes interesting reading, but which neglects the footnoting which scholars would like to see. This book could be more valuable if the sources of information were identified.

However, one must stress that Mozambican people ought to be grateful to Joseph Hanlon for his academic honesty. Scholars and libraries interested in Mozambique should add this book to their bookshelves.

Luis Benjamin Serapiao is Professor in The African Studies and Research Program at Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059.

## **Mercenary Involvement in African Conflicts**

Baffour Agyeman-Duah

Gerry S. Thomas, **Mercenary Troops in Modern Africa** (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984) pp. 157, \$15 paperback.

The unsettled questions of political legitimacy, the snail's pace evolution of a truly unified nation-state, and the incidence of external interventions have all bedeviled the politics of African states in modern times. Consequently, most African states have experienced intense domestic conflicts in their independence struggles and, in the postcolonial era, have had to deal with serious rebellions, coups d'etat, secession attempts and insurgencies. In nearly all such domestic conflicts, factions have been supported directly or indirectly by external forces through the supply of arms, military personnel, or through third parties. One important means of external support in African conflicts has been the utilization of mercenary forces by combatants.

The recent book by Gerry S. Thomas, *Mercenary Troops in Modern Africa*, takes a close look at mercenary involvement in African conflicts. The book examines the extent to which mercenaries were involved in four cases of African domestic conflicts and assesses their successes and failures. The cases are: the Congo independence (1960-63); the Congo rebellion (1964-65); the Biafran secession attempt (1968-70), and the southern Sudan insurgency (1969-70).

The objective of the author is to provide "an instructive profile of the factors and characteristics determining whether a mercenary presence can provide credible military capabilities of relevance to the present levels of high technology warfare" (p. xi). This objective apparently springs from the author's disbelief in the prevailing wisdom that "dogs of war" or "white giants" are no longer invincible in African wars.

To the author, the role of mercenaries in Third World conflicts "must be met with serious consideration," and it is with such apparent seriousness that he attempts to present a "broad and detailed analysis" of mercenary operations "from the military intelligence perspective." The ten chapters of the book are therefore designed to focus on some key military elements of mercenary operations including organization and structure of forces, manpower and recruitment, training, equipment and logistics, operations and tactics, air and naval operations, and force reliability.

The analysis presented by the author will be of tremendous interest to mercenary organizations as well as western governments and intelligence agencies desirous of finding antidotes to the chain of failures of mercenary interventions. The tactical errors and disasters that befell mercenaries in the Congo crisis, the Biafran secessionist war, and during the Angolan civil war are fully explained, primarily by using the personal testimonies of mercenaries themselves. However,

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Baffour Agyeman-Duah recently was awarded a Ph.D. in International Relations at the University of Denver. He is teaching the summer (1985) at The University of Wyoming, and will become in September Assistant Professor of The Division of Social Sciences at Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

the overriding concern of the author seems to be the projection of mercenaries as significant and viable forces in contemporary African conflicts.

One problem that easily comes across to the reader is the ambiguity over the definition of a mercenary. While the author dismisses the traditional definition that tends to emphasize the pecuniary motive, he fails to provide an alternative, except to give an 'operational definition' which simply tells us what a mercenary is not. While it is true to say that in some instances a mercenary may fight for no money, citing Baron Gustav von Rosen in Biafra as an example, it is overwhelmingly evident in the book that most mercenaries get engaged for money. The author's typology (on page 5) is helpful, but it does not provide an answer to the question: Who is a mercenary?

In fact, the definitional problem becomes heightened when the author fails to justify why he focuses on 'the operational maneuver group' in his analysis. It is quite obvious from his own account that all three types of mercenary operations—operational maneuver, coup strike force, and internal paramilitary security—have been employed in African conflicts.

Another problematic is the conceptual framework within which the author attempts to explain the incursion of foreign mercenaries in African conflicts. The thesis is that "the sharp and deep-rooted regional ethnic divisions" (p. 9) of African societies, and the lack of equitable "distribution of both natural and human resources" are the causes of conflicts. Furthermore, and rather curiously, the absence of colonial powers and the inability of the local military forces to maintain order necessitates the introduction of mercenaries by combatants.

This thesis is not only spurious but also begs the question. It fails to explain the fundamental question of why people of foreign origin will risk their lives in "the jungles of Africa." It also glosses over the interest of external powers in some of these conflicts and their policy to provide overt or covert support. Indeed, while we cannot characterize official governmental troop support as "mercenary," it is true to say that in most African conflicts, external powers have overlooked the active recruitment of mercenaries by private agencies and have therefore been, in effect, accomplices.

I should mention one contradiction of major interest. It is the author's attempt to minimize United States and other western countries' direct involvement in African conflicts. For instance, on page 20 he writes about "the absence of direct great power intervention" in the Congo, and characterizes American involvement in mercenary operations as being largely "mythical and certainly overstated" (page 54). Yet, on page 100, he writes about the 1964 United States "air logistic support" to the Congolese army and the "occasional personnel transportation" that were provided. Further, he cites the CIA involvement in terms of recruitment of pilots and provision of combat aircraft for Tshombe (page 97). How can such vivid portrayal of American involvement be called "mythical?"

All in all, the reader will find the usefulness of the book mainly in the detailed information it provides about the structure and operations of mercenaries. The appendix on the literature of mercenarism will also be found useful for those interested in pursuing the subject, so also would be the appendix on Coup Strike Forces. While the book would not be satisfying to those concerned about the negative impact of mercenary involvement in African conflicts, it surely exposes the weaknesses of mercenaries and therefore provides the parameters within which to attack their future incursions.

## **Arms Transfers and Military Buildups: Towards Security or Instability?**

Timothy M. Shaw

Bruce E. Arlinghaus, *MILITARY DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: The Political and Economic Risks of Arms Transfers* (Boulder: Westview, 1984) 152 pp., \$23.50.

Bruce E. Arlinghaus (ed.) *AFRICAN SECURITY ISSUES: Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity* (Boulder: Westview, 1984) 229 pp., \$25.00.

Contemporary analysis of Africa's international relations has been advanced through two parallel strands: political economy and national, regional and continental security. Bruce Arlinghaus through this pair and other books has contributed to both elements, particularly the latter. His notion of "military development" is most useful, relating the reformulation of African security to levels of self-reliance. It is thus quite compatible with the orientation of the *Lagos Plan of Action*: strategic as well as economic self-reliance and self-sustainment. But Arlinghaus' work becomes quite controversial when he advocates assistance: the revival of America's appropriate technology Military Assistance Plan to meet Africa's basic need for arms!

Arlinghaus' assumption in *Military Development in Africa* that Africa's "pull" for New Conventional Weapons (NCW) will continue (p. 14) fails to take into account the intensifying continental crisis, to which self-reliance is a response. However, his caution about the inherent contradiction of seeking security through arms (races) is well-taken: can Africa afford regional conflict and national militarization? Conversely, the intensification of social forces in response to the continuing crisis reinforces prospects for repression. Arlinghaus rightly focuses on the political economy of military development and exposes five prevailing myths of the military (pp. 7-15) yet his mode of analysis is non-materialist so he fails to recognise contradictions within militaries and societies as well as among coalitions. In short, there are limits to his framework. Yet his *Afrocentric* assertion is better-informed - "The political economy of new conventional weapons transfers may undermine the very security that arms and military assistance are designed to promote" (p. 63) - than his *Americo-centric* advocacy: increased US assistance "would meet the demand for African military develop-

Timothy M. Shaw is professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for African Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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ment competitively and insure the creation of some degree of African military self-reliance, while at the same time enhancing US influence and access to this region of increasing strategic and economic importance" (p.99). Thus despite the nice framework, Arlinghaus both contradicts himself and challenges Africa's own priorities in a period of recession. But his argument is well-prepared - over one page of notes for every three pages of text! - and goes beyond *dependencia* assumptions.

Arlinghaus' monograph is more definitive than its companion collection of essays which advance numerous definitions of security and revive several further myths of ethnicity (Olorunsola & Muhwezi), scarcity (Rothchild), domesticity (Deng) and coordination (Ostheimer), in declining order of irrelevance. The remaining chapters are quite worthwhile: African case studies by Baker (Nigeria), Robinson (Libya), Seegers (South Africa) Welch (civil-military relations in "radical" states), and Orwa (security management); and global context by Klinghoffer (USSR pragmatism and problems), Zartman (France's mission) and Selcher (Brazil's ambiguity). Aside from Arlinghaus' compact overview on the interrelations of sovereignty, stability and solidarity, the contributions which are most notable are by Zartman on the continuity of French intervention despite changes in metropolitan and neocolonial regimes, Selcher on the mix of economic and identity interests in Brazil's African policy, Robinson on the myths of and limits to Libyan power in the Sahel, Baker on the limits to Nigeria's power and influence and Orwa on African security concerns, particularly national security (mis)management by crisis (p. 204).

Together, then, these volumes advance strategic studies on Africa in the context of a new awareness of political economy. Yet they could go further and situate both security and political economy in the context of intensifying social contradictions: a more materialist analysis of Africa's vulnerable strategic, economic and class interests.

## Announcement

Readers will be dismayed to learn about the plight of one of our distinguished Africanists, Mahmood Mamdani. Dr. Mamdani was acting Dean of the School of Social Sciences at Makerere University in Kampala. Following a speech he made to the Ugandan Red Cross in March, he was declared an undesirable alien (based on the lack of a 'renunciation of foreign citizenship' declaration in his file, a form which, incidentally, he had filled out in 1963 when he requested Ugandan citizenship). He is presently unable to travel back to Uganda, so a committee has been formed to aid in his efforts to regain citizenship rights. The group is called the *Committee for the Restoration of M. Mamdani's Ugandan Citizenship*, with the following address: 720 Mass. Ave., Suite 5, Cambridge, MA 02139. Readers may recall that Dr. Mamdani played a key role in the "Mawazo" conference described in Volker Weyel's correspondent's report in AT 31/2 and that his book, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda* was reviewed in 31/3. As we go to press, a coup has ousted President Obote, but we have as yet heard no word as to the possible effect of this on Dr. Mamdani.

## An Uneven Evaluation of Recent African Novels

Janis L. Pallister

Eldred Durosimi Jones and Eustace Palmer, eds., *AFRICAN LITERATURE TODAY* No. 13: "Recent Trends in the Novel" (London: Heinemann; New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983) pp. 245, \$32.50 cloth; \$19.50 paper.

Ostensibly one of the most interesting features of this issue is the attention paid here to women writers as an emerging voice of the continent. Thus, the article by Eustace Palmer (associate editor of the journal) dealing with Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* (38-55) has an importance despite the article's many inconsistencies and its stylistic ineptitudes. E.g., Emecheta is characterized in one place as telling her story "almost exclusively from the heroine's point of view," and elsewhere as having an "omniscient" narratological approach, and still elsewhere as being "propagandistic." Other contradictions and severe biases blemish this article, which nonetheless is worth reading for the light it sheds on a fairly new woman writer and, more particularly, on reactions of a male African to that writer.

Important for the same reasons, but unfortunately, also of a somewhat mediocre caliber is Femi Ojo-Ade's "Female Writers, Male Critics" (158-179). Ojo-Ade studies Flora Nwapa's "tragic, traditional heroine," whom he considers to be the "mouthpiece" of Flora Nwapa. Ojo-Ade also gives special attention in his piece to Nwapa's untraditional Efurio, who is viewed as "lord and master of her man" (162). In this article, the heroines of Aidoo, in their "lair of love and lesbianism" are seen as representative of those females, "feminist offspring of western education, [who] fly away from 'pagan' Africa in search of the golden fleece" (165). The lack of objectivity, the heavy irony, the intolerance of Ojo-Ade, especially noticeable in the passage concerning Aidoo, mar his argumentation, as does also his peculiar unidiomatic English ("a . . . stupidity that smirks of bad faith [167]). The article concludes in a highly polemic vein, advising women writers that "the black woman, no matter what her plight through a traumatic history, should stop considering the man as the Other, that is the Enemy" (176), and that the notions of feminism these women espouse are as Western as is the "malady of male chauvinism" (176). Ho-Hum. An infinitely better critique of Mariama Ba's *Une si longue lettre* was given by Professor Lenita Loyce at MLA in December, 1983, and one wonders if women critics would not handle these materials somewhat better, though perhaps it is an *a priori* given that Ba is superior as an artist to Aidoo, if not also, possibly, to Emecheta.

But feminism is not the sole concern of this issue. In it one will find studies of several other recent novelistic trends from Africa: Isidore Okpewho, for example, offers a solid, well-written article regarding Armah's relation to oral narrative tradition as it appears in his novel *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973). In an

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Janis L. Pallister is University Professor of Romance Languages at Bowling Green State University (Ohio). She has frequently contributed reviews and translations to *Africa Today* and is the author of numerous articles plus two books of translations from African poetry (*Esanza*, 1977 and *The Bruised Reed*, 1978, both with Editions Naaman, Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada).

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interesting reversal, "Identity Crisis in the Tragic Novels of Isidore Okpewho" is treated by V. U. Ola, while Bruce King examines in detail the changes appearing in the second edition of Achebe's *Arrow of God* (first published in 1965 and re-edited in 1974). Niyi Osundare has as his concern "to throw light on some of the linguistic and stylistic causes of the obscurity of Soyinka's prose" (36). Unfortunately, identifying causes does not necessarily eliminate the obscurity and therefore the fact that "the reader feels tortured and is forced into yawning despair" (36). While "yawning" is a somewhat trivial reaction to despair this is nevertheless the general reaction that still obtains to Soyinka's hermetism, even after reading Osundare's article.

Perhaps most in keeping with the theme of the volume is F. Odun Bologun's essay on the Nigerian author Kole Omotoso, who, "represents a completely new development in 'African' literature," in that he does not write for the elite classes of "African" society but "concerns himself instead with the common people; and among the common people he singles out the 'dejected, rejected and neglected.'" (98).

Similarly, Norman C. Jones identifies a new emphasis in South African novelists, both black and white; for in recent works, "the cultural impact upon each other of the races living in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa is depicted and its implications explored in the lives of the principal characters . . ." (181). Treated in detail here are Stanlake Samkange's *The Mourned One* (1975), Charles L. Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain* (1975), Doris Lessing's *The Grass is Singing* (1950) and Nadine Gordimer's *The Conservationist*; (1974) as well as her newer novel *Burger's Daughter* (1979).

Mbulule V. Mzamane also discusses Lessing and Samkange in his article on "New Writing from Zimbabwe" (201-225); but the real focus of his discussion in Dambudzo Marechera's *House of Hunger*. According to Mzamane, Marechera, like others of the "new generation," is not preoccupied with early historical themes, but is, rather, "more concerned with the contemporary state of affairs, namely the recent war situation in Zimbabwe" (203), and reveals an interest in psychic responses, portrayed with "an almost total absence of celebration" (203). Mzamane finds Marechera's work to express a disillusionment deeper than Ngugi's or Armah's and a cynicism "more complete than anything Soyinka has ever been accused of" (203). We come full circle here, however when we read that Marechera (like Ousmane Sembene) expresses, in *House of Hunger* (read Rhodesia), "strong feminist views" (207). These views, fully explicated on p. 207 of the volume, are in absolutely no way criticized by Mzamane. Is this because Mzamane, unlike Palmer and Ojo-Ade, has a sympathy with the "feminist view" or is it because here the "feminist view" is filtered through a male author? The questions are, of course, rhetorical.

In any case, I believe there is much food for thought and much valuable information contained in this particular volume of *African Literature Today*, an established series under the general editorship of Eldred Durosimi Jones. Regrettably, however, only one article in the issue is devoted to a francophone author, though the title of our journal is, after all, *African Literature Today*. This is a "study" of Ferdinand Oyono's masterpiece *Houseboy* (tr. 1975). Despite this article's extreme length there seem to me to be no important insights in it that would not be self-evident to any competent layman.

## **The First Shall Be Last: Tutuola's Forgotten Story**

Nancy J. Schmidt

Amos Tutuola, *THE WILD HUNTER IN THE BUSH OF GHOSTS* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1983), xix + 167 pp. \$35.00 cloth, \$17.50 paper.

The recent publication of Amos Tutuola's first long narrative, written in 1948, is primarily an event of historical interest to scholars of African literature. Readers familiar with the richness of Tutuola's other narratives will easily recognize *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* as Tutuola's work, but will find it weak in construction and in some respects verbally pale in comparison with his other narratives.

Scholars will be grateful to Bernt Lindfors for his persistence in seeking Tutuola's first manuscript and making it available for study. In an "Introduction" Lindfors explains how he obtained the manuscript of *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* from Focal Press in London and briefly discusses European and Yoruba literary influences on Tutuola's narrative. In a "Postscript" Lindfors explains how he obtained the manuscript of Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, which will soon be published showing the editorial changes made by editors at Faber. This manuscript will be even more important for scholars than the one of *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts*, since its publication will definitively resolve the extent to which Tutuola's first published work was edited for Western readers. Readers of Lindfors's "Postscript" should be fully warned of the political and social hazards of editing and publishing literary manuscripts in the contemporary context of African literary nationalism.

*The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* includes a reproduction of Tutuola's handwritten manuscript and a printed version of it, including Tutuola's alterations, original pagination, and locations for sixteen photographs which Tutuola included as illustrations of ghosts. The photographs were actually drawings by a schoolboy and could not be reproduced from the negatives obtained from Focal Press. The manuscript is reproduced complete with misspelled words, grammatical errors, infelicitous vocabulary, and inconsistencies in content. It includes relatively few revisions by Tutuola, which may be explained by this being his first effort at narrative writing and by his composing his narratives in Yoruba and then translating them directly into English. Tutuola has said that he is not concerned with standard English; his main aim is for his stories to be African. - However, it is ironic that this unedited manuscript should be published in 1983 at a time when Tutuola is having some of his other narratives rendered into "correct" English, so they can be used in Nigerian schools.

1. Comments by Amos Tutuola at the African Studies Association panel on Oral and Epic Traditions in African Literature, Boston, December 7, 1983.

Nancy J. Schmidt is African Studies Area Specialist at the Indiana University Library, 221 Woodburn Hall, Bloomington, Indiana 47105.

Tutuola has said that he writes narratives because young people are no longer interested in "tribal" stories and that his primary interest is in the past.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts*, like all of his other narratives, is a storyteller's blend of the past and the present. As in his other narratives, Tutuola makes numerous references to calendar dates, clock time, and measurements of size, distance and population. The fifth town of ghosts which the hero visits is, in fact, the bureaucracy of Hell, where the Devil resides with his Ambassador, the Engineering Department keeps Hell Fire burning, the Employment Exchange Office keeps records of sinners, and the Office of the Chief Secretary of Hell employs 2067 clerks. This bureaucracy reflects that of the Department of Labor in Lagos, where Tutuola worked. In the fourth town of ghosts there is a Salvation Army Church run by Victoria Juliana from South Africa, who had been denied entrance to Heaven because she had no baptism certificate. Tutuola was familiar with the Salvation Army Church through attending a Salvation Army school. Through his government employment Tutuola had opportunity to observe bureaucratic rules being mindlessly enforced. It is obvious in the context of the narrative that Victoria Juliana belonged in Heaven, as her character is far more benevolent than that of other inhabitants of *The Bush of Ghosts*.

Common elements of oral narratives are present in *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts*, such as magical transformations of the hero and some of his adversaries into a ram, wind, rock and other forms, and a wide variety of fantastic creatures such as a sixteen headed ghost, a half-man half-crocodile, a ghost with four heads, four mouths and four tails, and a woman with two heads, two arms and six breasts. The general structure of the narrative is composed of numerous episodes, some only vaguely related to each other, but united by the hero's quest in the *Bush of Ghosts* from which no human has ever gone and returned. The quest, undertaken because the hero's father had told him of the *Bush of Ghosts*, takes the hero to five towns of ghosts before he undertakes a nineteen year climb up a mountain to Heaven. However, the quest takes place in the nineteenth century, according to dates in the narrative, and involves encounters with persons, institutions, and artifacts of Christian and colonial cultures, as well as creatures from Yoruba oral tradition and Tutuola's imagination.

As in his other narratives, Tutuola describes many creatures as "terrible"; they are smelly, ugly, cruel and deceitful. Numerous creatures are characterized by their "shouts," of which the Devil has the strongest:

... he shouted so that every part of the town was shaking, and there were many houses fell down, and all the people on the streets were hidden themselves for the fear of the shout, and all the birds on the sky fell on the ground. His noise brought out all the fishes that living under the ocean to see who made the great noise, and there were many trees that fell down and also the mountains around the town were sunk down, and we the hunters that stood before him fainted for two hours before we woke up again (p. 123).

The ugliness of creatures is sometimes attributed to their sinfulness. The ghost with four heads, four mouths and four tails was given his form as punishment

for "troubling the Angels of God in heaven" (p. 51), whereas the half-goat, half-human creatures who live on the mountain that must be climbed to get to Heaven "were among the traitors who betrayed Jesus Christ when He was in the earth" (p. 141). Despite their imaginative attributes, creatures are not described in as much fantastic detail as those in *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*.

Moral lessons are important in *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* as in all Tutuola's narratives. These moral lessons fuse Christian and Yoruba values, with the Christian values being most prominent in their expression. The whole fifth town of ghosts is inhabited by sinners, who cannot get into Heaven because of the wrongs they have committed on earth. The other four towns of ghosts also are inhabited by "those who God drove away from heaven" (p.25), as well as dead persons who were passing through the *Bush of Ghosts* on their way to Heaven. The "most wicked" ghosts were in the second town of ghosts which God kept in perpetual darkness because they were "thieves and sluggards." Those learning proper behavior were in the fourth town of ghosts dominated by the Salvation Army Church and its school. The absence of churches is even commented on in the "beautiful" underwater town of a female spirit who helps the hero on two occasions. They knew nothing of churches in that town because "... they did not know anything called God here, because no body had died among them since they were in that town, and they should not die for ever" (p. 71). There is a church in Heaven, where the hero meets dead people including Reverend D. Williams, Rev. Henry Townsend and Bishop Crowther, who give him presents such as "Bibles, and Song books." The final moral of the narrative, which precedes its conclusion, is clear:

Ah! there was no place like heaven, and we should advise every one of us to deal on with his or her religion with kindness and faithfulness.

There we saw that no funerals, deaths, fight, hungry, prosecutions in the Court, complaining of sickness, and no arguments, or misunderstandings (p. 151).

Just as a storyteller addresses his audience, so Tutuola as a storyteller addresses his readers. However, Tutuola's communication with his readers in *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* differs from that in his other published narratives. Tutuola addresses his readers directly as "my readers" (p. 31) or "my friends, males and females and little children who are reading this book" (p. 19), warning them about the "bad things" to be found in the *Bush of Ghosts*, asking their advice, and inviting them to write to "Miss Victoria Juliana, Record No. 8496874/38, 79821, Angel Street, Paradise, Heaven" (p. 153) to obtain information about dead people in heaven, providing his own address as a back-up and bureaucratic instructions for writing the letters, such as "But see that the names of your dead persons are written clearly or in Capital letters on the back of the 1st envelope" (p. 153). Tutuola's comments to his readers reflect the interaction between storyteller and audience in "traditional" oral narratives, but show how far removed his written narrative is from oral traditions of the past. Tutuola's narrative is fully grounded in the realities of contemporary Nigerian life which he has imaginatively clothed with images drawn from Yoruba oral tradition, Yoruba and European literature and culture, as well as with images of his own creation.

2 Ibid.

## An Atlas of Nigeria

Janet L. Stanley

K.M. Barbour; J.S. Oguntinyinbo; J.O.C. Onyemelukwe; and J.C. Nwafor. NIGERIA IN MAPS (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982). pp. 148; bibliog.; maps

Maps are compact repositories of large amounts of data, information and statistics which can reveal much and illuminate many topics. The present informative compilation of Nigerian maps — 60 thematic maps — is grouped according to subject: Physical geography; Pre-history, historical and political evolution; Social conditions; Agriculture and fisheries; Rural and urban life; Manufacture and power; Commerce; Communications, transportation and planning. They were compiled by twenty-one contributors, mainly geographers, working in Nigeria. All the maps are in black-and-white; they are non-technical, easy to read and understand, and are geared to a wide audience of students, government officials and the informed public interested in Nigerian affairs. Most of the maps are contemporary, incorporating mid-twentieth century data and integrating relevant historical data. Each map has an accompanying text which provides both general background to the topic and an explanation of the map at hand. Almost all are country-wide maps, rather than sectional or regional, although there are some city maps illustrating traditional and modern urban settlement patterns. Although many are conventional maps easily found in other sources (e.g. topography, rainfall, or major food crops), others are extremely interesting for their relatively unusualness (e.g., Major moslem societies and central mosques [Map 24]; the distribution of traditional crafts [Map 49]. Some are very helpful reference maps, such as the "Language and Ethnic Groups" [Map 20]. Many sources were plumbed to bring forth this series of maps — government publications, specialized texts and treatises on a variety of subjects, and other and earlier maps. There is a glossary and a fairly thorough bibliography at the end conveniently corresponding to the chapter headings which documents the sources consulted. This volume is one in a series of "In Maps." Other African countries so far represented "In Maps" are Sierra Leone, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania.

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

## Coming Events

An intensive professional development workshop will be held under the auspices of the International Development Foundation on *Consultancy in International Education* (Washington, D.C. 29-30 August, 1985) and *Multinationals in International Development* at Palm Beach, Florida, 20-22 September, 1985). For further information write: Mekki Mtewa, Ph.D., Chairman, International Development Foundation, P.O. Box 24234, Washington, D.C. 20024.

*The Black Woman Writer and the Diaspora: Hidden Connections* is the theme for an international literary conference to be held at Michigan State University, October 27-30, 1985. For more information contact Professor Linda Susan Beard, Department of English, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

(continued on page 72)

## Publications and Films

1. The most recent title from the *Munger Africana Library Notes* series is: no. 75, **THE NEW ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT** by Kenneth W. Grundy, 26 pp. The cost is \$4. The series is also available by subscription. Address inquiries and orders to Munger Africana Library, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA 91125.

2. The latest publications from the *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid NOTES AND DOCUMENTS* series are: No. 16/84 "Legal Aspects of Unilateral Sanctions Against South Africa: Comments from the Netherlands university lecturers in international law." (14 pp.); No. 17/84 "Crisis in South Africa and Need for Greater International Action Against the Apartheid Regime and Its Collaborators: Conclusions and Recommendations of the Annual Report Adopted by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid on 17 October 1984." (18 pp.); No. 18/84 "Non-aligned Movement and the Struggle Against Apartheid" by Hari Sharan Chhabra (22 pp.); No. 19/84 "Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa" (16 pp.); No. 20/84 "Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, 1 January - 30 June 1984" (48 pp.) and No. 1/85 "Resolutions on Apartheid adapted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1984" (28 pp.). Send requests for specific titles or the series, or for more information to your nearest UN Information Centre. In the U.S. the address is 2101 L Street NW, Washington D.C. 20037.

3. **LABOUR, Capital and Society** is pleased to present the seventh annual REGISTER OF ON-GOING LABOUR RESEARCH as a supplement to the November 1984 issue (Vol. 17, No. 2). If you wish to be included in its next listing write: Register of On-Going Labour Research/Annuaire de la recherche en cours sur le travail, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, 815 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 2K6.

4. **THE POLITICS OF FOOD AID: A Comparison of American and Canadian Policies** (38 pp., \$2.50) by Theodore Cohn is No. 36 in McGill Studies in International Development series. This essay is of particular interest to students and researchers of food aid politics but also to those who are concerned with the US trade embargo of Nicaragua or to those who are following the Canadian response to the famine in Africa. To order copies write: Editorial Section, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, 815 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, PQ, Canada H3A 2K6.

5. **NEWSWATCH, Nigeria's Weekly Newsmagazine** is the title of a new publication concentrating on Nigerian and international affairs. The weekly carries features on politics, business and economy, science, medicine, arts and lifestyles brought to readers by a team of several well known Nigerian journalists and columnists headed by Dele Giwz, Itay Ekpu, Yakuba Mohammed and Dan Agbese. NEWSWATCH is published for N1.50 by Newswatch Communications Limited, 62 Oregun Road, P.M.B. 21499, Ikeja, Nigeria.

4th Quarter, 1984

6. The AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES NEWSLETTER (ISSN 0748-0598) is the name of a new publication focussing on the problem of the African diaspora. According to Volume 1, Number 1 (fall/winter) October 1984, "the basic purpose of the Newsletter is to provide an international medium to present theoretical analysis and debate, research findings, curricular developments, general trends in black thought, and other information pertinent to the relationship between Africans and African descendants abroad." The Newsletter is published in English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, two times a year in October and April for \$10 per year by Howard University Press, 2900 Van Ness St. N.W., Washington DC 20008.

7. In addition to the East African releases described in AFRICA TODAY, 31/2, p. 74, item 7, three award-winning films from West Africa, all produced by Jim Rosellini, are available for your film library or media center from African Family Films.

ADAMA, THE FULANI MAGICIAN (color, 22 minutes) is an intimate portrait of Adama Hamidou, a renowned deaf African dancer, comedian, street performer and practitioner of the ancient *Yan-Taori* magic tradition. This film has won the Blue Ribbon Award at the American Film Festival and other awards at the Humboldt and Aspen Film Festivals.

DIRO AND HIS TALKING MAGICAL BOW (color, 13 minutes), is a portrait of West African musician Diro Dah, who constructs, tunes and plays the *kankarama* (musical bow). This short film has won the Red Ribbon Award at the American Film Festival and the CINE Golden Eagle Award.

DANCE OF THE BELLA (color, 11 minutes) is about dance performed to humming and hand-clapping on the southern reaches of the Sahara desert. The Bella people, having survived seven years of drought and famine, dance at dusk celebrating Tabasky ('Id al-Adha), the major Islamic feast in West Africa. The film won the Silver Star Award at the New York Dance Film and Video Festival.

All films are in 16mm color, optical sound. Previews for purchase available on 16mm film or videocassette (¾-inch U-Matic, ½-inch VHS or Beta). For further information on these and upcoming releases, contact: African Family Films, P.O. Box 1109, Venice, CA 90291. Telephone: (213) 392-1020.

8. The recent RAND CHECKLIST includes two titles that might interest our readers: P-7020, *The New Marxist-Leninist States in the Third World* by Francis Fukuyama, September 1984, 43 pp., \$4 and P-7054, *Communist Ethiopia - Is It Succeeding?* by Paul B. Henze, January 1985, 53 pp., \$7.50. Rand publications are available directly from: Publications Dept., The Rand Corporation, 1700 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90406-2138.

9. The TOGO BULLETIN is published by David Apter & Associates for the Togo Information Service, 16 ½ K St. NW, Suite 102, Washington, DC 20006. The Bulletin is distributed without charge upon request, in the interest of better relations between the people of North America and the Republic of Togo.

10. ADULIS is the title of the monthly publication of the Central Bureau of Foreign Relations of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The publishing director is Amin Said. For more information write: 42, Rue Lebour, 93100 Montreuil, France.

## Books Received

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

### Political Science

AFRICA IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. Wellington W. Nyangoni. (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985) 285 pp. hardcover \$37.50.

\* ARMS AND THE AFRICAN MILITARY INFLUENCE ON AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. William J. Foltz and Henry S. Bienen. (Yale University Press, 1985) 221 pp. hardcover \$22.50.

IN WHOSE INTEREST? *A Guide to U.S.-South Africa Relations*. Kevin Danaher. (Institute for Policy Studies, 1984) 279 pp. paper \$11.95.

THE INTERNATIONAL MANDATE SYSTEM AND NAMIBIA. Isaak I. Dore. (Westview Press, 1985) 230 pp. hardcover \$22.00.

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF AFRICA'S STRATEGIC MINERALS. Oye Ogunbadejo. (Greenwood Press, 1985) 213 pp. hardcover \$27.50.

NATIONALIZATION - A ROAD TO SOCIALIZATION: *The Case of Tanzania*. Dianne Bolton. (Zed Press, 1985) 178 pp. cloth \$26.50, paperback \$10.95.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Timothy M. Shaw and Olajide Aluko, eds. (St. Martin's Press, 1984) 397 pp. hardcover \$37.50.

SOUTH AFRICAN YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: *Volume 9*. (University of South Africa, 1983) 291 pp. hardcover R20-00 (all states in Africa), R25-00 (all other countries); & R15-00 for bona fide students.

STRANGLEHOLD ON AFRICA. Rene Dumont and Marie-France Mottin. (Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1983) 255 pp. hardcover £14.95.

THE SUDAN: *Unity and Diversity in a Multicultural State*. John Oberst Voll and Sarah Potts. (Westview Press, 1985) 178 pp. hardcover \$28.00.

### Economics/Development/Sociology

AFRICAN HEALTH AND HEALING SYSTEMS: *Proceedings of a Symposium*. P. Stanley Yoder, ed. (African Studies Association, 1982) 252 pp. hardcover \$30.00.

AFRICAN REFUGEES: *Reflections on the African Refugee Problem*. Gaim Kibreab. (Africa World Press, 1985) 129 pp. hardcover \$25.00, paperback \$7.95.

AFRICAN THERAPEUTIC SYSTEMS. Z.A. Ademuwagen, et al., eds. (African Studies Association, 1979) 273 pp. hardcover \$35.00.

AGRARIAN REFORM UNDER STATE CAPITALISM IN ALGERIA. Karen Pfeifer. (Westview Press, 1985) 265 pp. hardcover \$26.00.  
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BEYOND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE: *Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980's*. Klaas Woldring. (Mouton Publishers, 1984) 252 pp. hardcover \$44.50.

THE BUREAUCRATIC STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF U.S. FOREIGN AID: *Diplomacy vs. Development in Southern Africa*. Caleb Rossiter. (Westview Press, 1985) 250 pp. hardcover \$21.50.

CONTRADICTIONS OF ACCUMULATION IN AFRICA: *Studies in Economy and State* (Volume 10: Sage Series on African Modernization and Development) (Sage Publications, Inc., 1985) 312 pp. hardcover \$29.95.

ENERGY UPDATE: *Oil in the Late Twentieth Century*. Michael Tanzer and Stephen Zorn. (Monthly Review Press, 1985) 164 pp. cloth \$24.00, paperback \$8.00.

FARM EQUIPMENT INNOVATIONS IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL SOUTHERN AFRICA. Iftikhar Ahmed and Bill H. Kinsey. (Gower Publishing Co., 1984) 345 pp. hardcover \$31.50.

INDIGENOUS AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION: *Ecology and Food Production in West Africa*. (Westview Press, 1985) 192 pp. cloth \$22.50.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT: *Cases from Africa and Asia*. Jean-Claude Garcia-Zamor. (Westview Press, 1985) 264 pp. hardcover \$22.00.

WOMEN AS FOOD PRODUCERS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. Jamie Monson and Marion Kalb, eds. (African Studies Association/OEF International, 1985) 118 pp. paperback n.p.

WOMEN, POWER, AND ECONOMIC CHANGE: *The Nandi of Kenya*. Regina Smith Oboler. (Stanford University Press, 1985) 348 pp. hardcover \$38.50.

#### History

\*AFRICA EXPLORED: *Europeans in the Dark Continent 1769-1889*. Christopher Hibbert. (Penguin, 1985) 336 pp. paperback \$6.95.

BLACK COLONIALISM: *The Americo-Liberian Scramble for the Hinterland*. Yekutiel Gershoni. (Westview Press, 1985) 134 pp. paperback \$19.00.

FROM CONTROL TO CONFUSION: *The Changing Role of Administration Boards in South Africa, 1971-1983*. Simon Bekker and Richard Humphries. (Shuster & Shooter, 1985) hardcover R20.00.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF GHANA. Daniel Miles McFarland. (Scarecrow Press, 1985) 378 pp. hardcover \$27.50.

TOO MANY, TOO LONG: *Sudan's Twenty-Year Refugee Dilemma*. John R. Rogge (foreward by Mansell Prothero). (Rowman & Allanheld, 1985) 195 pp. hardcover \$34.95.

WRITING "INDEPENDENT" HISTORY: *African Historiography 1960-1980*. Caroline Neale. (Greenwood Press, 1985) 208 pp. hardcover \$29.95.

#### Religion

CONSCIENCE AND DIVIDENDS: *Churches and the Multinationals*. Thomas C. Oden. (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1985) 169 pp. cloth \$15.00, paperback \$9.00.

THE LAST IMAM. Ibrahim Tahir. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) 244 pp. hardcover \$14.95.

MAHDIIST FAITH AND SUDANIC TRADITION: *The History of the Masalit Sultanate, 1980-1930*. Lidwien Kapteijns. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985) 366 pp. hardcover \$55.00.

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN THEOLOGY. Gwinyai H. Muzorewa. (Orbis Books, 1985) 146 pp. paperback \$9.95.

THE POLITICS OF SENTIMENT: *Churches and Foreign Investment in South Africa*. Richard E. Sincere, Jr. (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1984) 164 pp. paperback \$8.00.

#### Education/Communications

BRIDGES TO KNOWLEDGE: *Foreign Studies in Comparative Perspective*. Elinor G. Barber, Philip G. Altbach and Robert G. Myers. (University of Chicago Press, 1984) 258 pp. cloth \$25.00, paperback \$12.95.

MASS COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN WEST AFRICA. Frank Okwu Ogboagh. (Hans Zell Publishers, 1985) 329 pp. hardcover, n.p.

#### Literature/Arts

COME TO LAUGH: *A Study of African Traditional Theatre in Ghana*. Kwabena N. Bame. (Lillian Barber Press, 1985) 192 pp. cloth \$21.50, paperback \$10.00.

\*POETRY OF COMMITMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Jacques Alvarez-Pereyre. (Heinemann Educational Books, 1985) 278 pp. paperback \$17.50.

RESEARCH PRIORITIES IN AFRICAN LITERATURE. Bernth Lindfors, ed. (K.G. Saur, 1984) 222 pp. hardcover \$27.00.

\*SONGS IN A TIME OF WAR. Ken Saro-Wiwa (Saros International Publishers, 1985) 44 pp. paperback £1.00.

\*THEATRE AND CULTURAL STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Robert Mshengu Kavanagh. (Zed Press, 1985) 237 pp. cloth \$26.25, paperback \$10.25.

#### Reference

AFRICAN ART: *A Bibliographic Guide*. Janet L. Stanley (Africana Publishing Co., 1985) 55 pp. paperback n.p.

AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION DIRECTORY: and African Participation in Other International Organizations 1984/85. Union of International Associations Series ed. Guides to International Organization (K.G. Saur, 1984) 598 pp. hardcover \$100.

AFRICAN POPULATION CENSUS REPORTS: A Bibliography and Checklist. John R. Pinfeld, ed. (Hans Zell Publishers, 1985) 100 pp. paperback n.p.

AFRICA REVIEW 1985. (World of Information, 1985) 352 pp. paperback UK/Europe L25.00, Africa/Middle East L32.00, America/Asia & Pacific L37.00.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR AFRICAN STUDIES 1980-1983. Yvette Scheven. (Hans Zell Publishers, 1984) 312 pp. hardcover \$36.00.

\*NAMIBIA (World Bibliographical Series, Volume 53). Stanley and Elna Schoeman. (Clio Press, 1985) 186 pp. hardcover \$36.00.

\*THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NAMIBIA: An Annotated, Critical Bibliography. Tore Linne Eriksen with Richard Moorsom. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in cooperation with United Nations Institute for Namibia & Norwegian Institute of International Affairs) (Published as Norwegian Foreign Policy Studies, No. 50) 423 pp. hardcover n.p.

TANZANIA (World Bibliographical Series, Volume 54). Colin Darch. (Clio Press, 1985) 318 pp. hardcover \$48.50.

ZAMBIA (World Bibliographical Series, Volume 51). Anne M. Bliss and J.A. Rigg. (Clio Press, 1984) 233 pp. hardcover \$38.00.

## Coming Events (cont. from p. 66)

The 28th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association will be held jointly with the Middle East Studies Association at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in New Orleans, Louisiana from November 23rd through November 26th, 1985. The Program Chair is Professor Edmund Keller, Black Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. (Phone 805-961-3847. For further information write ASA Annual Meeting, 255 Kinsey Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The 25th Anniversary of the African Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison will be marked by the annual meeting of the African Studies Association. The ASA meeting will be from Thursday, October 30 through Sunday, November 2, 1986, and will be held at the Concourse and Inn on the Park hotels (both located near the state capitol in downtown Madison).

Linda Hunter of the Dept. of African Languages and Literature will act as program coordinator, while Paul Beckett, Program Associate Director, will be local arrangements coordinator for the ASA meetings. For further information write: The African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1450 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706 or call: 608-262-2380.

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