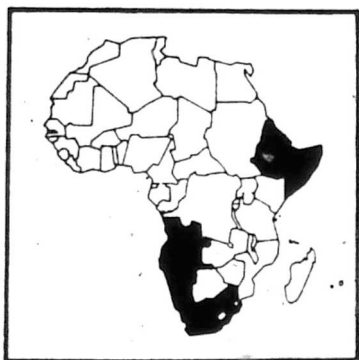


# **AFRICA TODAY**



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## AFRICA TODAY

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Number Four

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2nd Quarter, 1981

Editor's Note

This issue may appear to have been put together backward. We begin with letters to the editors, continue with the book reviews, and insert a brief article just before our end sections, which are appearing for the first time in three issues, and therefore are considerably longer than usual.

We had hoped to publish this exchange of letters much sooner, as we feel the issue of interpretation concerning Angolan liberation history which is under discussion is a critical one, but the special issue on the Sudan and the subsequent constraints of space have forced deferment until now.

We call the attention of those who were frustrated by the typographical errors in the last issue to the corrections to be found on page 71.

The "look at books" leads off with two books that will probably have more influence on U.S. perceptions of South Africa than any others published in the past decade. In both cases our reviewers find the expression of evident sympathy with the majority plight in that country to be seriously compromised by a failure to probe to the critical depths of that plight. These and the other reviews on Southern Africa and the letters provide one of the two focal points of this issue. The other is the situation in the Horn, where three reviews and Rita Pankhurst's report of her recent visit to Ethiopia provide varying perspectives.

Edward A. Hawley  
Executive Editor

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AFRICATODAY

## **Understanding Angola's Past and Present:**

### **An Exchange of Correspondence**

Douglas Wheeler defends John Marcum

The Editors, AFRICA TODAY:

With reference to Immanuel Wallerstein's review of John Marcum's two volumes, *The Angolan Revolution* (MIT Press, 1969 and 1978), pp. 67-71 in Oct.-Dec. 1979, *Africa Today*: Some sage once wrote that some reviewers don't review the books in front of them but use them as a handy forum to parade their latest theories or pet ideas and if the work under scrutiny happens to get in the way more is the pity, but since reviews are usually unpaid... As an introduction I should warn readers that I will do what these reviewers do but I do so with the conviction that sometimes Angolanists need to band together and that this review of John Marcum's work is worthy of a reply from someone who receives no royalties from MIT Press.

In my opinion Professor Wallerstein's review is perplexing, tendentious and full of vacuous jargon; the review perhaps does not measure up to the term "unfair" since it is not properly speaking a full and careful review of the material in two volumes with more than 800 pages. The piece doesn't take an orthodox approach to the elements which are normally found in a scholarly review: attention to an outline of contents, an assessment and analysis of the sources used, a look at style and an analysis of other work in the field in conjunction with a study of the major themes. Instead, Professor Wallerstein chooses to make a few points about some events in the 1960-70 period, some remarks on theories, and then a thinly disguised partisan defense of the MPLA as a nationalist party and then a government in power.

Apparently Professor Wallerstein decided to ignore most of volume 1 and a good part of volume 2 when he makes the one substantive, semi-factual point: claiming on p. 71 that author Marcum has virtually ignored what Wallerstein describes as "the interaction between events in Angola and events elsewhere in Africa." A study of both volumes of the work nicely dismisses Professor Wallerstein's only semi-factual argument. Volume 1 is replete with a full discussion of how events in Algeria, both Congos, and elsewhere in Africa are related to events in Angola and Mozambique. In volume 2 the author's discussion of the international and intra-African situations is almost as full; a glance at the Index

4th Quarter, 1981

of volume 2, also, suggests careful attendance to international factors and forces: references and entries for "China," Congo-Brazzaville, and Congo-Kinshasa (now Zaire), the ALC, the UN, OAU and Algeria, to give only a few examples, amount to between 30-60 entries apiece. This point of the reviewer, then, is not unfair; it is simply quite inaccurate.

Professor Wallerstein's main gripe, however, is theoretical and interpretive. While damning Marcum's masterful expertise and his coherent, consistent and thorough study with faint praise, the reviewer goes on to claim that the major interpretive point for the analysis of the Angolan revolution, "tripolarity," is "fundamentally off base." Professor Wallerstein prefers a neat "dichotomy" of the Angolan nationalist movements so that the leader is presented, much in the manner of a Medieval morality play, with a simple juxtaposition of "the good" and "the evil." For readers who haven't guessed which parties play which roles in this jargon play there is no mystery here: The MPLA represents "good" and the two rival parties, FNLA/GRAE and UNITA represent "evil." Wallerstein discusses briefly Marcum's three "poles," 1) MPLA-Luanda-Mbundu, mainly urban elite leadership, 2) FNLA-Bakongo, and 3) UNITA-Ovimbundu plus Chokwe, mainly rural, peasant. But, without citing evidence, he even expresses doubt that the "Mbundu" ethnic characteristic of the MPLA has substance. Superimposing on the Angolan revolution and its complex history his own desiderata of "world systems theory" Professor Wallerstein suggests that "bipolarity" not "tripolarity" characterizes the Angolan nationalist situation, that only the MPLA has been successful in combining orthodox nationalist demands with "social" revolutionary concepts and demands, while the two main rival parties have failed to do this.

There is no space to discuss the relevance or irrelevance of Professor Wallerstein's world systems theory and his placing of Portugal and the Angolan situation in this scheme. One point should be made, however: while Professor Wallerstein appears to believe that Angolan nationalism's tardy development is related to a kind of "delayed development model" under the influence of Portuguese colonialism, there is much evidence that Portugal's situation cannot be stereotyped so easily, that indeed non-capitalist elements in Portuguese colonialism may be as important in historical, political, attitudinal and cultural ways as the so-called "capitalist" elements.

Professor Wallerstein's major point about "tripolarity" appears to be based not on facts or on any special knowledge about Angolan politics but on political sympathies and feelings which tend to stereotype and oversimplify what is a complex problem or set of problems. Again without substantive evidence, the reviewer makes his critical points about the rival FNLA and UNITA parties by means of several assertions, including the now hackneyed point of "guilt by association," branding FNLA and UNITA with relations with South Africa.

Toward the end of his review, Professor Wallerstein does make an important point concerning a "fact" but then leaves behind the international context of the Angolan civil war and re-enters the theoretical and sympathetic

realm where he feels more comfortable. The year 1975, he suggests, was a crucial turning point for Angola and for nationalism. The MPLA government's victory in the internationalized civil war, however, appears to be explained not by foreign intervention, or a failure of foreign intervention, but by a mysterious ideological nobility and self-sacrifice on the part of the MPLA. Professor Wallerstein forgets that as of April 24, 1974, the day before the coup in Lisbon, the MPLA was at a low point — even with its "anti-systemic" ideals intact — with little or no Soviet support, serious defections, splintering, and eroding success in the field against the Portuguese armed forces. The military situation in Angola was far from that in Mozambique or Guiné-Bissau. In neglecting the international power and intervention factors, Professor Wallerstein has removed reality from the history of the crucial period of March 1975-March 1976 when more Africans were killed in combat and murdered than were killed in 13 years of the anti-colonial struggle.

It is especially indicative of the bias and confused nature of this review that such objection is taken to what Professor Wallerstein describes as a "homily" directed to the MPLA leadership once in power. In my opinion, if this passage (vol. 2, p. 279) is a homily (it might better be described as friendly advice and wisdom based on massive evidence and expertise and sympathy) it is appropriate and justified and should be carefully studied by Angolan leaders of all races and parties. To put it another way, if the UNITA and/or FNLA parties had won the civil war and entered power in Luanda — in view of the history of ethnic, personal, ideological and regional divisions in this land — the very same homily would be called for.

In conclusion, while I believe that Professor Wallerstein's main point about "tripolarity" is quite wrong, he does raise an important question about how little we really know about Angolan nationalism, the revolution, and Portugal's roles, despite John Marcum's *magnum opus*. With the availability of more records, however, this situation may change. When the Portuguese secret police burned most of their files before they departed in 1974-75, it was not known that copies of these files and other records remained intact in Lisbon. This represents a historical treasure trove which could provide a great deal of knowledge about Angolan nationalism. This writer has been fortunate to gain access to the PIDE/DGS files in Lisbon (in 1980) and to read sections of files on the Portuguese-speaking African states' nationalist leaders, cadre, etc. What I found tends to support the interpretation of John Marcum in terms of so-called "tripolarity" and the complexity of divisions among nationalists, both in Angola and elsewhere. To be brief, three points emerged from what I read in a preliminary survey: 1) the Angolan nationalist movement was much more complex and divided than has been imagined; it was fairly thoroughly infiltrated (MPLA included) with pro-Portuguese informants, spies and traitors, who reported to the Portuguese authorities, made assassination attempts and who did some sabotage. One sees no "tonal dichotomy" nonsense here. 2) Portuguese colonial elements were just as divided and not mono- or duo-lithic, for a war within Portuguese ranks proceeded. There was a war between the secret police and the Armed forces well before 1973, when the Armed Forces Movement began to organize a professional protest group, and the

Portuguese State rarely could know what was really going on in Luanda, or did not want to know. 3) In terms of the perception of economic exploitation as a factor in nationalist activity — this was always present; but the files I read revealed the essential roles of other factors, political, personal, cultural and attitudinal.

Finally, with due respect for the many contributions of Professor Wallerstein to African Studies, in the case of his review of a masterwork on Angolan nationalism and its moving history I feel that it is characterized more by feeling than by reason and fact, that when it comes to attempting to understand the Angolan labyrinth I will take John Marcum, the "gentle complicator," over the "terrible simplifiers," any day of the academic year.

Douglas L. Wheeler,  
Professor, Department of History,  
University of New Hampshire, Durham;  
Research Associate, African Studies Center,  
Boston University

#### Immanuel Wallerstein Replies

The Editors, AFRICA TODAY:

Douglas Wheeler does not agree with my interpretation of modern Angolan nationalism and prefers that of John Marcum. I don't see why he needs to mix this with a dyspeptic account of the alleged "unfairness." Book reviews should not be tables of contents. Marcum's two volumes will remain for a good long time the definitive work on Angolan nationalism. No one writing in the field will be able to ignore them. That is why it is all the more important that a reviewer raise the question, if he feels so, that the analytic stance is mistaken.

I have discussed matters Angolan with John Marcum for at least 20 years. The difference of optic was always there. I respect him as a scholar and his book as a work of scholarship. Must I therefore agree with him?

There is nothing in this particular controversy that need exceed the bounds of civility.

Immanuel Wallerstein  
Professor of Sociology, State University of New York at Binghamton  
Director, The Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics

#### The Interplay of Theory and Data: An Analysis of Marcum, Wallerstein, and Wheeler

This commentary is written in the hope that one who is not an expert on Angola but is interested in the utilization of systematic data to test theories of sociopolitical change in Africa can shed some additional light (while at the same time reducing the heat) on the issues raised in the preceding letter to the editor and the book review to which it refers.

Was Immanuel Wallerstein's review of John Marcum's *The Angolan Revolution* fundamentally inappropriate, as Douglas Wheeler claims? The answer is clearly yes and no. In the first place, while Wheeler sees only damning with faint praise, the review can also, and I believe more accurately, be read as containing much genuine praise, especially for factual mastery, although this is certainly mixed with severe criticism. More importantly, the thrust of Wallerstein's criticism, as both he and Wheeler recognize, is to suggest that an alternative theoretical framework would have provided a more adequate explanation of the data which Marcum presents. This is not merely a partisan attack, although Marcum and Wallerstein clearly have differing evaluations of the MPLA, but involves basic theoretical differences. If scientific progress can be made through the confrontation of theories, a more thorough examination of the theoretical differences between these authors can be extremely useful.

Marcum's theoretical framework focuses on overtly political organizations and their leadership. It is primarily through the social composition of the leadership that he relates political organizations to broader internal social forces. On pp. 46-58 of Volume II he elaborates on the brief statement of these relationships in Volume I which Wallerstein quotes. Leaders of the three insurgent movements differ with regard to ethnicity/religion, class, cultural assimilation, race, and ideological commitment. Wallerstein suggests that Marcum "basically downplays" this last difference, which is the crucial one because, if it were combined with steps taken to implement ideology and the constraints imposed on Angola by the capitalist world-economy, it would reveal the other differences to be much less significant than Marcum claims they are. Wallerstein argues that the social composition of leadership is much less significant for the ideologically guided MPLA — a social movement — than for the other, essentially non-ideological, nationalist movements, and that differences in leadership composition are far less significant than the social-nationalist movement distinction. Thus he believes there are two rather than three theoretically significant poles among Angolan insurgent movements.

Wheeler concludes that, on the basis of the data, Marcum is right and Wallerstein is wrong; but I would argue that, on the basis of the interplay of theory and data, they are both at least partially right. Wallerstein is right in pointing out that the social composition of a movement's leadership does not necessarily determine its role in society, and in suggesting that Marcum's already rich analysis would be further enriched by a systematic discussion of

whether, and in what way, the MPLA is fundamentally different from the other movements. But Marcum is also right in stressing the realities of leadership composition. However much the MPLA is set apart by its ideology and actions based on this ideology, it still recruits its leaders disproportionately from certain ethnic, cultural, and racial segments of the Angolan population, and this fact is bound to have considerable significance in the context of intense competition among political movements. Marcum is right in stating that observable interorganizational conflict has been tripolar since 1966, and Wallerstein may also be right in suggesting that the significant conflict for determining the direction of change in Angolan society is that between the MPLA and the other movements. What is needed, I suggest, is a theoretical framework which encompasses all of these realities, and development of more precise indicators for its key concepts to facilitate the testing of various interpretations.

Incidentally, while all students of Angola will be glad to hear of Wheeler's discovery of the PIDE/DGS files in Lisbon, they will also recognize the need to utilize these files only with great caution as data on actual events in the Angolan insurgency.

James R. Scarritt  
 Professor of Political Science  
 University of Colorado at Boulder

## A Long, Year-End Look at Books



### James Michener's *Covenant* with the *Status Quo*

Renee V. Hausmann

James Michener, *THE COVENANT* (New York: Random House, 1980) 892pp. plus glossary and genealogies. \$17.95 hardcover. \$4.95 paper (New York, Fawcett, 1982) 1238 pp.

As concern for the volatile situation in South Africa grows, so does the list of books published to further understanding of the conflict. Yet all of the historical and political analyses combined are unlikely to reach the wide readership of *The Covenant*, James Michener's most recent novel. Not only has this work

Renee V. Hausmann, on leave from the English Department of the University of the District of Columbia, is doing research, under a Fellowship from the National Endowment of the Humanities, on South African novelists as interpreters of their country's culture and conflict, and preparing an anthology of fiction by South African women.

4th Quarter, 1981

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held a steady position on the bestseller list, but excerpts were serialized in "Reader's Digest" and "People" magazine and it was a Literary Guild selection-of-the-month. To the extent that literature exerts an influence, *The Covenant* is influencing, perhaps shaping entirely, many people's viewpoints about South Africa apartheid. In fact, a prefatory note indicates that while the manuscript was being proofread, "extensive rioting" was occurring in South Africa and that the novel "prepares the reader for these happenings and others that will follow." Such expectations are certainly misleading, perhaps downright dangerous.

The South African government's initial banning of *The Covenant* and the publicity asserting Michener's deeply-felt sense of responsibility to every segment of that country's population suggest that the work is somehow iconoclastic. This claim may be true enough with regard to Boer and British characters who exist in all the complexity of real human beings. The same is not true of black characters. On the contrary, instead of challenging traditional assumptions, *The Covenant's* stock portraits of blacks support the most traditional of racial stereotypes.

From the early days of their South African history, blacks are presented as Rousseau-like primitives. In touch with fundamental rhythms and forces, they are instinctively capable of giving expression to them. Michener instructs us that the young Bushman Gao's painting of his tribe's hunt "was a product of man at his most unsullied." (p.14) Similarly, the half-Madagascan, half-Malaccan Bezel was naturally "an artist, not only in wood but in all building," (p. 183) and Dikkop, "an unusual Hottentot . . . lived with its [South Africa's] trees and bushes and birds; and if he could not read books, he could certainly read the documents of nature about him." (p. 270). A variety of the noble savage, these men appear as counterpoints to the more ratiocinative Europeans. Deborah and Emma, the former Malayan, the latter Madagascan, distinguish themselves as gifted singers. Deborah also proves herself in touch with nature in her intuitive knowledge of plants, and Emma becomes popular with white children because she "can sing, and make games with string . . . and tell . . . about ostriches and meerkats." (p. 363)

Of course, these may be enviable talents. Few blacks in the novel, however, exhibit the reason and logic side of the characterization coin. In fact, they are evidently not expected to in view of such statements as this one: that the Coloured soldiers lack "the military precision" of the Boers, but "they ride with such joyous abandon that they more than compensated for the deficiency." (p. 477).

We meet black characters in another stereotypical guise, this one painfully familiar: the contented slave. At the death of religious fanatic Hendrick Van Doorn, for example, the Hottentots "stood respectfully to one side. They had loved the old trekboer as a father . . ." (p. 259) Michener's slaves seem grateful for the kindly patriarchy of bondage. Thus, at the end of his life, the weary Dikkop wants to return to his mistress' service because "he usually thought of himself as 'her boy'"; he "had lived his life in the shadow of the white men, and in their shadow he was content to end his final days." (p. 274)

In *The Covenant*, after the British officially outlaw slavery, the master-slave relationship continues on the basis of mutual affection. When an English missionary asks the Hottentots if they are free to leave De Kraal of the Van Doorns, they answer, "Where would we go?" Nineteenth-century blacks are portrayed as believing "that they belonged with the Boers, not in the way a slave belongs to an owner, but in a paternalistic pattern, as much a part of the white family as children." (p. 449) Even later, Micah Nxumalo rides into battles of the Boer War because of his "affection for [Jakob] Van Doorn and his respect for the old General [Paulus] De Groot." (p. 570) Perhaps these descriptions are meant to indicate only the mask worn before whites. Yet Michener never gives the black characters the inner life necessary to convey conflict between what they feel and what they allow the world to see.

Michener's most cherished portrait is the tragic mulatto, "the amorphous, undigestible mass of people called Coloured." (p. 370) This group receives his greatest sympathy, as he proselytizes about their mistreatment. As members of neither the black nor the white community, these, Michener avers, are the real victims of South Africa. He presses the point when early on the slave Deborah and the Dutchman Willem Van Doorn give birth to a son — Adam. Whether the birth is meant to symbolize a new race or foreshadow the end of innocence is not entirely clear. What is clear, however, is that any association with Coloureds is ennobling. The Christ-like missionary Hilary Saltwood marries Emma (whose color is described as "sooty-blackness . . . almost blue," p. 320), only to endure greater hardship and die a martyr. In marriage, Bezel and Petronella Van Doorn "are as happy as human beings were allowed to be on this earth," a literal relationship seemingly rivaled only by its metaphor, the "lovely relationship between the two woods, dark and light" (p. 190) in the cupboard Bezel crafts.

We are further enjoined to believe that greater than the actual chains of bondage is the stigma of living in "that human wilderness called Coloured." (p. 199) While Michener rightly criticizes the practice of using mathematical computations of blood to define character, he does not create real people whose actions defy the concept but instead states again and again how sad is the plight of the "fearless, faithful Coloured" (p. 480). Such sentimentalism undercuts the force needed to portray the peculiar suffering of the Coloureds, a group often considered a microcosm of South Africa.

The exotic primitive, the contented slave, and the tragic mulatto are not likely to improve understanding of the struggle for majority rule in South Africa. New neither in conception nor typology, these stereotypes are an unfortunate part of America's literary tradition. Indeed, the influential poet and critic Sterling Brown formulated these categories, along with several others, and inveighed against them — nearly half a century ago.<sup>3</sup>

When Michener's black characters are not oversimplified into stereotypes, they exist to represent ideas, also a one-dimensional depiction. This is not to question the verisimilitude of the actual historical figures, such as Shaka, Dingane, or the Reverend John Dube. Michener is nothing if he is not an assiduous and accurate researcher.

1. All quotations are from the Random House 1980 edition of *The Covenant*, unless otherwise indicated.

2. The term "black" is used throughout the article to include the group legally classified as "Coloured."

3. Sterling A. Brown, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," *The Journal of Negro Education*. II (April 1933), pp. 174-203.



But he is not writing a political tract; he is writing an historical novel, a form distinguished by its ability to make us feel the impact events have on persons actually living through them. His talent in developing Boer and British characters who acquaint us with the historical period in terms both immediate and personal underscores his failure with blacks. Explaining at great length the indignities native Africans have suffered, Michener familiarizes us with their viewpoint. Yet he never delineates flesh-and-blood individuals who experience a range of joys, doubts, fears, passions, mistakes, and triumphs.

The truly memorable characters and relationships in the novel belong to Afrikaners and the English. We are likely to remember Detleef Van Doorn, Maud and Laura Saltwood, and the couple Paulus and Sybilla De Groot after we close the book. No black characters rival these. The Nxumalo family is supposed to parallel the Van Doorns and Saltwoods. Even on the basis of arithmetic, however, no parity exists. In the genealogical charts, names of the principal figures appear in bold type: eighteen Van Doorns, seven Saltwoods, four Nxumalos. Since the Dutch history in South Africa antedates the British, the first two numbers are understandable. But only four Nxumalos in 500 years?

Quantity, however, has never been a valid measure of a novel's worth. Quality is. And in quality Michener betrays his black characters most seriously. Although he begins to draw distinct human beings, he rarely gets beyond outlines. We have the feeling of being forcibly drawn to acknowledge the facts of black life and history, but we rarely feel them.

Micah Nxumalo, who fights the Boer War at the side of the Afrikaners, seems an unquestionably loyal servant, yet he participates in the reformist-minded African National Congress. Why do we not see his inner life that either allows such seeming inconsistency or reveals turning points? Micah's son Moses is a rebel who flees the country, then, hearing of his father's death, returns to "the gentle slavery" of Vyrmeer: a story told in very few pages. Surely the conflict between individual freedom and family responsibility is a fit subject for fuller character development. We know Daniel Nxumalo on about the same level as we know his English contemporary Philip Saltwood with one enormous difference: we share Philip's personal life, his disappointment in love, his loneliness. We can only assume that the sensitive and courageous Daniel has an equally intense personal side.

The black characters apparently do not go home. We scarcely hear about, let alone meet, their wives and families. The absence of memorable black women contrasts with the host of extraordinary Boer and British women. Although their huts are mentioned, rarely do we go inside black characters' homes to share dinner scenes or conversations. Blacks speak precious little dialogue, again a contrast to the voluble British and Boers. Usually, Michener lets the narrator explain what black characters are thinking or feeling; they speak for themselves primarily when espousing a political doctrine, e.g., participation in the African National Congress or the trial of Daniel Nxumalo.

The author tells us that the English philanthropists love the black masses in Africa but become uneasy when a specific black person takes up residence on English soil. Michener apparently suffers from a similar affliction. In *The Covenant* his blacks remain largely and comfortably abstractions, existing as a "wonderfully African" presence rather than as particular individuals.

Michener's novel further belies his avowed belief in the worth of black culture through recurring comparisons with western society. He assures us

that the indigenous Africans are as good as their western counterparts. The stone paintings at Zimbabwe that record tribal history "could be read by the Mhondoro and his king as easily as European monks unraveled the writings of their historians." (p. 51) Native rulers, "given time and proper instruction," could prove "as able as the Aztec rulers," perhaps "markedly superior to the confused brothers of Prince Henry." (p. 60) Blacks in South Africa, even today, are not falling behind the West; Daniel Nxumalo "read rather more widely than young men his age at Stanford or the Sorbonne," (p. 777) and after earning his doctorate accepted an assignment unsurpassed in difficulty by those accepted by Harvard or Oxford graduates.

Likewise, blacks are no worse than their western counterparts. After a graphic account of the atrocities of the dictator Shaka, Michener offers the caveat that such behavior must be "judged against the excesses which others, sometimes better educated and Christian, had perpetrated," Vasco da Gama, for instance. (p. 410) Meting out punishment, nineteenth century chieftains assigned death for some 50 or 60 offenses, "about the same number as applied in Europe at this time." (p. 374)

While writers often employ comparisons to narrow the distance between unfamiliar and the familiar, the comparisons in these examples imply measurement. South African blacks' experience, Michener suggests, neither exceeds nor falls short of the experience of the West. If he truly believes that the achievement of blacks is strong enough to stand on its own, then why are we assured that "any being who had the intellect to devise this arrow [the Bushman's ingenious weapon] could in time contrive ways to build a skyscraper or an airplane"? (Prologue) Why, unless to acknowledge a model, to legitimize a lesser culture?

No one expects *The Covenant* to have the philosophical seriousness of a *War and Peace* nor the towering character of an *Ivanhoe*. Yet this historical saga is expected to be a popular source of information about South Africa, even an interpretation of what Michener himself calls "the South African racial crucible." Without question he contributes to an understanding of that troubled country in terms of facts and figures. It is no small accomplishment to acquaint a large audience with the Broederbond, the Natives Land Act, the uniquely South African type of banning, the Black Sash, even the geography. Further, Michener's compelling Dutch characters encourage readers to appreciate the predicament of the Afrikaners, who, unlike the British, identify South Africa as their homeland.

Yet try as he might to champion the cause of blacks by enumerating their hardships, reminding us that they constitute the large majority of the population, and insisting that changes must be made, we are never quite convinced. He unfortunately fits into a tradition of American literature we dared hope was behind us. In 1916, celebrated scholar Benjamin Brawley looked to "some day when the Negro will cease to be a problem and become a human being."<sup>4</sup> Despite his fervent pleas to recognize "the flint-hard gems in the human conscience," Michener brings us no closer to that day. Without living-and-breathing black characters, he will cause few readers to confront deeply-rooted beliefs about race and racial policy. Ultimately, James Michener's covenant is with the *status quo*.

4. Benjamin Brawley, "The Negro in American Fiction," *The Dial* LX (11 May 1916), p. 450.

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## The Rockefeller Report:

### Important Insights, Critical Omissions

Wilfrid Grenville-Grey

**SOUTH AFRICA: TIME RUNNING OUT**, The Report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy toward Southern Africa, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1981) 515 pp., \$8.95.

**South Africa: Time Running Out** is a major and timely contribution to the evolution of U.S. Foreign Policy toward Southern Africa. The Commissioners of the Report are well-known and respected. Among them were Franklin Thomas, President of the Ford Foundation, and Chairman of the Commission; Robert Good, former American Ambassador to Zambia; Ruth Hamilton, Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University and Charles McColough, Chairman of the Xerox Corporation. The staff, John de St. Jorre, Mark Fasteau, Milford Fierce and Paul Lancaster, were all expert, both in political science and African affairs. The list of private, local, state and federal organizations who were consulted before publication was impressive. The Report runs to nearly 500 pages and reputedly cost \$2 million.

The contents are comprehensive and well-edited. Some chapters — notably those on Civil Liberties, White Rule, Strategic Minerals and the United States and Southern Africa achieve the best standards of scholarly journalism. The Report, too, as Franklin Thomas justly claimed in the introduction, did not neglect the human factor. Interleaved throughout the analysis are verbatim interviews with South Africans of all races and classes. These are outstanding and are striking documentary evidence about the continuing human cost of apartheid. Finally, the recommendations are clearly set out and precisely stated.

It is no surprise therefore, that the publishers, California University Press, claim that this apparently definitive report is "full and fair." We shall contend in this article, however, that, in several crucial respects, this claim cannot be substantiated. African political and trade union movements over the last twenty years are neither fully nor correctly presented. The issue of occupation of land and its redistribution in the future is not squarely dealt with. The views of key allies in working for change in Southern Africa — Sweden, Great Britain, Brazil, Holland — are neither described nor analyzed. These are central issues and failure to set them in proper focus will mislead policy makers and the whole American public. We believe if the Report is not corrected in these crucial respects, then the makers of U.S. policies with South Africa over the next five

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years will be like surfers, desperately trying to climb aboard the crest of a wave which will have left them, irrevocably, too far behind.

But before we examine these important areas where the Report is either misleading or wrong-headed, it is good that the Report forcefully dispels several widely quoted myths about South Africa which appear to be particularly popular and widespread during these first years of the Reagan administration.

The first myth is that Prime Minister Botha and his Minister of Home Affairs Peter Koornhof are making progress in dismantling apartheid. In a devastating chapter on Civil Liberties, the Report shows decisively that freedom of expression and information, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and freedom of movement continue to be drastically restricted by law throughout South Africa. Even more fundamental, the tough pretrial laws at present on the statute books including indefinite detention, mean that those who resist the regime have no civil rights at all. The chapter concludes "if anything, recent actions of the government indicate the hardening of attitudes on civil rights under the national security rubric." (p. 78)

The Report demolishes the old canard that though apartheid may be bad, it is the only barrier in front of something much worse, a communist takeover of state power in South Africa. The Report argues that the real danger is not in some hypothetical majority rule situation in the future (after all, things may turn out as in Zimbabwe), but now, "when the Soviet Union can plausibly characterize its military backing for black South African liberation movements as support for the cause of racial justice." (p. 391) The chapter on U.S. interests then goes on "the most effective way for the U.S. to counter Soviet influence is by encouraging a negotiated solution to South Africa's problem." (p. 391)

The third myth that the Report explodes is that the Soviets could seriously consider an all-out invasion of Southern Africa. The conclusion of the commission is that even if the Russians decided to commit all its various airborne and naval infantry units to an operation in Southern Africa, their forces would only total 150,000 men, perhaps backed up by 50,000 Cuban troops, and a much smaller East German contingent. Against this combined force, South Africa could produce an army of well over 400,000 (including reservists). In addition, the authors report, "the U.S. Marine Corps is fifteen times as large as the Soviet naval infantry and can sustain operations for a month, without resupply, compared with a week for the Soviet forces." (p. 328) The commission concludes, "all things considered, the Soviet Union's ability to launch an all-out assault on South Africa seems highly circumscribed for the present." (p. 329)

In the same vein, the Report dismisses the likelihood of the Russians trying to mount a blockade to cut off the 2,300 western ships which run the Cape every month. A military analyst makes the dry comment that "It is hard to think of the Cape route as a 'choke point' once you consider the logistical requirements of somehow blockading the sea between the Cape and Antarctica." (p. 330) It is the Straits of Hormuz, not the Cape, which is the potential "choke point."

Finally, the Report demolishes the myth that the end of apartheid might mean the end of the United States' vital supply of chromium, manganese, vanadium and platinum from mines inside South Africa. The Report gives this subject a thorough analysis and concludes that stockpiling, recycling, and diversification to the source of supply make it practically certain that South African minerals do not, in fact, exercise a potential stranglehold over the U.S. economy. The Report concludes, "our judgment is that stoppages, should they

occur, are likely to be partial, intermittent, and short term." (p. 450) One should also note that, even if an unfriendly government came into power in South Africa, it would still have to find funds to pay for its economic programs and a crucial source of those funds would be the continued selling of scarce metals to the west.

By dispelling these widely-discussed myths, the Rockefeller Report has done much to mitigate what is now called the knee-jerk reaction to possible communist penetration of South Africa.

But now let us look at one of the Report's major deficiencies, the way the Report has dealt with the question of land in South Africa. The first chapter takes a low key approach to this matter, "If it is a myth that the whites who settled South Africa moved into land that lay empty and idle, so too it is a myth that the South African whites today are colonialists of the order of those who snatched up large chunks of the globe in the nineteenth century." (p. 28) We wish it were not so, but the cutting edge of colonialism in South Africa is no myth. The South African colonialists were of exactly the same ilk as other colonialists. They tricked, they robbed, they fought, they conquered to get land which their descendants still hold today. Dutch and English cattle owners took cattle and ranches from their fellow African cattle owners. The average Boer farm in the nineteenth century was 6,000 acres! The colonialists were compelled to fight no less than ten wars between 1790 and 1890 to gain the vast tracts of land they now hold in the Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The descendants of these settlers say they are proud to belong to South Africa today, but their African neighbors voice a most heartfelt complaint that they, the dispossessed, now "belong" nowhere in the land of their birth.

This description of events in South Africa since 1652 is no new "guilty western" understanding of the land situation in Southern Africa. As far back as 1884, the Cape journal *South African Outlook* stated "the land difficulty lies at the bottom of all our troubles. While we ignore this and act only on the acquisitive and annexing principle, and keep constantly dispossessing the Native — all our other efforts of education, Native Commission, New Codes, and legislation in various forms will be but barren and hopeless to produce contentment and peace."<sup>1</sup>

Way back in 1934, and the recent Cape Town evictions seem to show that nothing changes in South Africa, D.D.T. Jabavu pointed out that to be driven out from your own land only to be expelled a little later from the towns in which you had taken refuge was the ultimate humiliation. "The land is our natural dwelling place where the white man originally found us. By taking away the land from us and imposing abnormal taxes he forced us to go to the towns for a living. He now expels us from the towns under the Urban Areas Act (1923) and tells us to go back to the land where he had driven us by the Land Act (1913) and where he himself is now in possession. Between this devil and the deep sea, where are we to go?"<sup>2</sup> Is it surprising that the young Africans of today agonize

1. Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot, *Outlook on a Century* (Lovedale, Cape, S.A.: Lovedale Press, 1973), p. 90.

2. Jabavu, "Bantu Grievances" in Isaac Shapera (ed.), *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), pp. 285-299. (Originally published 1934).

over this burning issue of ownership, when 87% of the population is restricted to only 13% of the land?

Equally unsatisfactorily the Rockefeller Report fails to bring out that the present day Bantustan areas are places where "the soil is the worst and the rainfall is the lowest in South Africa. Thus, the Southern Sotho are confined to Qwaqwa, having been forced to give up their best land on either side of the Caledon River."<sup>3</sup> In Natal, recent efforts to consolidate the 48 fragments of the Zulu homeland, and so make some marginally better land available to the African have met with fierce resistance from the local farmers. The colonialists, as Alan Paton recently remarked in his 50th anniversary lecture to Institute of Race Relations (1980), may not any longer like to refer to themselves as conquerors, but as they still continue to hang on to 87% of the land that is the way they continue to behave.

This central issue of injustice, over the distribution of land, completely fails to find a place in the Report's recommendations, and is not even mentioned in appendix C, where some thirty South African Government actions which might find favor with the U.S. government are listed. (p. 465) The repeal of the Group Areas Act is suggested, but this would not necessarily mean the repeal of the 1936 Land Act. And even if this act were repealed, a major agricultural resettlement scheme would have to be finalized to establish African farmers on the land which would be returned to them. This would be doing the Africans no favors. Capital saved by using cheap labor expelled from white farms, which in earlier times was used to develop industries and mines instead of building up African farming, would be returning to where it was at work in the earlier years of century when enterprising Africans, soon to be eliminated by the settler governments, were successfully supplying agricultural products to the immigrant population on the Rand and elsewhere. 'The new U.S. policy toward South Africa, which it is hoped this report will generate, certainly must have a view about the redistribution of land. And this policy, we believe, has to be thought through in the context of a unitary state. Partition as a solution to the land issue is surely a counsel of despair.

Now let us examine the Report's conclusions about African political parties. The writers of the Report give us high expectations when they give their highest priority to two overtly political aims:

Objective 1. To make clear the fundamental and continuing opposition of the U.S. government and people to the system of apartheid, with particular emphasis on the exclusion of blacks from an effective share in political power. (p. 411)

Objective 2. To promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa with a minimum of violence by systematically exerting influence on the South African government. (p. 432)

One would therefore have expected that the crucially important chapter in the Report, "Black Challenge," would make it clear which were the political groupings with which the U.S. government as "honest broker" might deal and also assist. But this information is not forthcoming. Does the Unity Movement founded by the colored community in the Cape still exist? We are not told. Is there a unifying political thread which keeps the PAC still active today or not?

We are told about the activities of the late Robert Sobukwe, 20 years ago, but the Report has nothing to say of the new PAC leadership under Nyate Pokela. What has happened to the Black Consciousness leaders who were so prominent at the time of the Soweto uprising? Some, we are told, have formed and are active in the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO). But is it true that many more have left South Africa and have joined the African National Congress (ANC)?

Most important, the Report fails to highlight the one organization which since 1912 has been in the vanguard of resistance — The African National Congress. This is extraordinary, when the writers of the Report themselves proclaim "as South Africa enters the 1980s perhaps the most dramatic trend in black politics is the resurgence of the African National Congress." (p. 202)

Yet throughout this chapter, the importance is played down. Under the heading Black Leadership, Nelson Mandela is only mentioned after Ntatho Motlana, Thozamile Botha, Bishop Tutu — even after David Thebehali, "Mayor of Soweto." Precisely three paragraphs are given to Mandela, whereas these are followed by no less than five pages of political analysis about the prospects for Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi may be important in Natal and to 5 million Zulus throughout South Africa, but no one has been able to show Buthelezi's organization Inkhatha can draw substantial membership from groups other than Zulus. Even in Durban, the latest population poll shows ANC receiving 37% of the vote as against only 31% for Inkhatha.

If, as the Report belatedly recognizes at the end of the chapter, the ANC is so important, why is there not much more discussion of what the party stands for? Nelson Mandela's views are simply not discussed. Even though he has been incommunicado on Robben Island for eighteen years, some of his more recent views were given to Helen Susman and S.R. Maharaj<sup>4</sup> and are readily available. The voices of all the other political prisoners of all races, some 500 in all, also deserve to be heard. What about the views of Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg?

The ANC cannot be properly presented without some discussion of the views of their leaders in exile. Yet the Rockefeller Report does no more than barely mention Oliver Tambo, exiled leader of the ANC, while his lieutenants Alfred Nzo and Johnston Makatini at the United Nations are simply ignored. These leaders in exile constantly affirm that the Freedom Charter of 1955 must be the basis of the future of the political order in South Africa. This is the key policy document of the ANC, but a proper discussion of it is completely missing from the Report. It is a carefully drawn up political testament publicly endorsed by 3,000 people which offers a starting point for negotiation at a National Convention. Some believe that the Charter is too idealistic, but it contains many clauses which should surely find positive approval in future U.S. policy statements about human rights in South Africa.

We are sure that when the African people, huddled around charcoal fires and candles, talk in private of freedom, their talk is of the Freedom Charter, of the African National Congress, and of Nelson Mandela.

African people are therefore not going to be impressed that the Rockefeller Report calls for expanded contacts with black South African leaders in the following cautious language. "Whatever the future holds for South Africa black leadership will play an increasingly important role. The U.S. government

3 M. Cornevin. *Apartheid Power and Historical Falsification* (Paris, New York: UNESCO, 1980), p. 108.

4 Colin Bundy. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 210.

5 Nelson Mandela. *The Struggle is My Life* (London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1978), chapter 4.

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use a thorn to get it out. Workers are oppressed by political action: they must take political action in reply."

presently maintains informal contact with black South Africans, including church, labor, and business leaders and representatives of the exiled African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress . . . It is important that these dealings with the black leadership not be construed as support for one group or another, or as recognition of claims to be the sole representative of the South African people." (p. 417)

This recommendation, in which contact with the ANC and PAC is given the very lowest priority, is cold comfort and contradicts the Report itself which insists that the ANC does in fact play a dominating role among the liberation movements in 1981.

The Report, however, at least recommends increased indirect aid through contributions to provide legal, medical and educational aid to black South Africans. (p. 418) The Report even recommends support for the International Defence and Aid Fund, which helps prisoners in political trials and supports families of political prisoners. But the sums given so far for this work have been very small — last year \$25,000 for the Defense and Aid Fund compared with a sum of over \$2,000,000 from the Swedish government.

But the central issue is giving money directly to the African political parties and not only through the United Nations or foundations, in order to witness publicly that the American people recognize that Africans have a just cause. Help is needed in so many ways — for refugee camps, for education, for publications and media work, for travel, for the establishment of offices in exile. And if it is objected that this is supporting revolutionaries then, like the American colonists, these Africans are among the most reluctant revolutionaries the world has ever seen. In 1969, Stanley Nkosi spoke for all South African freedom-fighters when he said in court, "Lastly, I honestly and sincerely believe in legality. As long as the laws have as their primary purport the protection and the promotion of the well-being of the people they serve, such laws are just and legal. But when the laws have as their prime aim the protection and promotion of the interest of the few — the whites to the detriment of the majority, the blacks — they are unjust and I can never abide or sanction them. I shall forever work toward the destruction of these laws until justice prevails."\*

If we in the west are not going to do more than just talk with these African patriots, then on their day of victory they will upbraid us in that famous rebuke attributed to Henry IV of France by Voltaire "Hang yourself, brave Crillon: We have fought at Arques and you were not there."

We have attempted to alter the perspective given in the Report to the liberation movements, in particular to the African National Congress. The Report is equally inadequate in describing the history and prospects of the trade union movements. This is particularly surprising as the Report draws attention to the political as opposed to the exclusive economic role of the trade unions as a key factor in bringing about change in the 1980s. So it is astonishing that the labor organization with the longest independent non-racial history — the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) — is not even listed in the index of the Report. Yet SACTU was in equal partnership with the ANC in the Congress Alliance of the 1950s. Nobel Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli, speaking to a SACTU Conference in 1959 as the head of the ANC said, "I am glad SACTU has not listened to the ill advice that they should not be interested in politics. There is a Zulu saying that if you are pricked by a thorn you should also

Luthuli, of course, was referring above all to the abolition of the pass system and to migrant labor. As long as there are 1,200 pages of racial legislation on the statute book in South Africa, trade unions will be compelled to be involved in politics. Many of the 500 political prisoners on Robben Island, men like Harry Gwala, John Nene and Mathews Meyiwa, fought apartheid, either as members of the ANC or SACTU: they used both muscles joined inextricably together, to give them strength in their struggle against repression.

The Report gives the impression that FOSACTU and CUSA are the only federations which fly the flag for independent trade unions. This is not so. SACTU still has officers in exile and the present secretary-general, John Gaetsewe, has built up strong links with Australia and Canada and other trade union leaders in the Middle East and Africa. The recently published history of SACTU, *Organize or Starve* by Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall,<sup>7</sup> has an introduction signed by nearly all the leaders of the major trade unions in Britain.

"Many observers," the Report states "rate the black trade unions as potentially the most powerful force for radical political change." (p. 202) One would therefore have expected the chapter on the United States and South Africa would have evaluated the links of the U.S. trade union movement with this growing movement in South Africa. After all change through industrial action, perhaps leading to some form of general strike, would be infinitely preferable to a military onslaught similar to the Algerian Civil War in which 140,000 FLN troops died and, it is estimated, at least 4 times as many civilians.

But the Report in fact says nothing about the work of U.S. labor unions in South Africa. The subject has, however, been raised in Ann and Neva Seidman's book, *South Africa and Multinational Corporations*.<sup>8</sup> The AFL-CIO founded the African-American Labor Center (AALC) in 1964. The AALC appears to have taken actions, such as financing the visit of Lucy Mvubelo of the South African National Union of Clothing Workers to the I.L.O. and taking a negative view of the great outburst of strikes in the early 1970s, which was not considered helpful by the independent black trade unions. Although African participation is mentioned as desirable in its structure, it is not clear that the American leadership is building up a partnership with the South African union leaders. Clearly the claim that the Rockefeller Report is 'full and fair' cannot, on this vital subject, be substantiated.

What does the Report have to say about the continual issue of U.S. business in South Africa? After careful thought, the authors recommend that U.S. companies should continue to do business with South Africa, but definitely not business as usual. Companies can and should try to exert the "maximum possible constructive influence" in South Africa, provided they follow a policy of no further expansion, give more than they normally would to social development, and energetically pursue the Sullivan principles. The Report also

7. *Workers Unity*, May 1959, quoted in Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall, *Organize or Starve* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), p. 332.

8. see footnote 7.

9. Westport, Conn: Lawrence Hill, 1977.

6. Glenn Moss, *Political Trials, 1976-1979* (Johannesburg: Development Studies Group, University of Witwaterstrand, 1979), p. 113.

proposes that there should be no new American investment under the present conditions. (This last recommendation flies in the face of the current trend, because in 1980 direct investment increased by four hundred million dollars, at least a 20% increase in total U.S. investment, and more loans were granted than in the previous four years.)

There is surely a sharp contradiction between these two recommendations. It is not logical to insist that, on the one hand, apartheid is at present so oppressive and unacceptable (the chapter on Civil Liberties speaks to just how bad the situation is) that new companies proposing to invest must have nothing to do with such a regime. But then, on the other hand, to hold that those companies already active inside the country should be allowed to continue to carry on indefinitely in trying to change things from within.

Surely if, as the Report contends by including a whole chapter entitled "Fortress in South Africa," the already harsh apartheid regime has now been transformed into a garrison state as well, then the license to American business interests to continue should be strictly limited and circumscribed.

Subscription to the Sullivan principle should surely be made mandatory and not just voluntary as the Report proposes. In the fourth Sullivan Progress Report, dated October 1980, the signatory companies say that only 37 companies out of a total of 116 are making good progress towards the aims<sup>10</sup> and at least another 150 companies have not even subscribed. And during the past year, the Report adds "relative participation of blacks, colored and Asians in training for supervisors and supervisory management and professional positions has decreased since the third report."<sup>11</sup> American companies have already had four years to join up and only a third have done so. In these circumstances, compulsion seems timely and fair. Also if the government took this step it would publicly signify, in addition to the arms embargo, that the American people as a whole were determined to see that American private enterprise should give the maximum attention to social deficiencies prevalent under apartheid. Furthermore, if the Sullivan annual report could not, over the next two years, show really substantial progress by the large majority of companies operating in South Africa, then this attempt at the amelioration of apartheid would have to be abandoned. At this point, withdrawal of investment would seem to be imminent.

And, we suggest American business should also be asked to let the South Africans know, perhaps through a coalition of companies, what are the political changes that are considered essential by American private enterprise. "Merely proclaiming that companies in general are against apartheid and for human rights," (p. 428) makes no impact on the South African government. Companies should speak specifically about Citizenship, the Vote, Land, Education. Maybe this kind of statement could usefully be made in cooperation with South African companies which, at the Carlton Conference in 1979, promised to support the government in return for subsequent political change. As the Financial Mail reports "the companies are still waiting for the government to honour their side of the bargain."<sup>12</sup> If the South African government reacted in an unfriendly manner to what the coalition of companies had to say, then the situation would seem to have become intolerable for U.S. businessmen.

Lastly, American businesses, in cooperation with the government, could set up a foundation to do much more than is at present being done for supervisory and management training. As the Sullivan Report concedes, in the past year the number undergoing training has actually declined. This foundation could also give attention to the training of refugees, many of them political refugees, who are some of South Africa's most able and dynamic young people. Since the demise of the International University Exchange Fund and the general economic freeze in western countries, refugees are having an even harder struggle to find funds for training. The third group crying out for help are the trade unions, both inside and outside the country, and here again, American business would be knowledgeable about the needs and the numbers. Such a foundation would have both a humanitarian and a political purpose and would substantially reinforce the Report's own proposals for supporting the United Nations funds for this work. Again, this proposal would do much for the United States public profile by providing aid which is conspicuously not provided by the present South African government. In relation to the profits gained in South Africa by overseas investments from one hundred years of cheap labor, such a scheme would be fitting and not expensive.

The Report contends, rightly in our view, that the option of sanctions against South Africa "must be kept in the U.S. policy arsenal." (p. 426) It is argued that oil sanctions in particular are now a less attractive option, because, by 1982, 30% to 40% of South Africa's oil will be produced by Sasol and, as was the case in 1973 and 1979, ways can always be found to circumvent a boycott. We remain convinced that a properly organized oil boycott would soon cause enormous damage to South Africa. Sasol has been put out of action once and no doubt could be disabled again. Whatever the historians say, oil sanctions remain a viable option for the future.

One of the recommendations of the Report to U.S. corporations calls for higher than usual level of corporate social and community development expenditures for Black South Africans. (p. 349) Why not also a greater than normal attention to support of independent trade unions, both inside and outside the country, which recognize that under apartheid economic and political objectives are inextricably linked together? Indeed the number of trade union leaders that have been arrested in 1980 have never been greater, and their families need humanitarian support from overseas management and labor.

It is regrettable that Namibia has been dealt with throughout the Report in a perfunctory manner. Further, it is unfortunate that the country is discussed at any length in the Report only in a strictly military context. An opportunity has been lost to outline the tragic history of Namibia, especially during the German colonial period; to stress that, under the League of Nations Mandate, Namibia was never a colony, though treated by South Africa as one; and to point out that after 1971, when the International Court of Justice revoked South Africa's right to govern Namibia, the territory has been the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Also it would have been helpful in 1981 to outline the history of SWAPO, stressing that far from the founders being Marxist trained ideologues, they were people from all parts of the territory who banded together in 1960 to stand up against the injustices of migrant labor laws being perpetrated in their almost empty land. More than 40 of their best leaders are still in prison on Robben Island and their imprisoned leader Toivo Ja Toivo is serving a twenty year sentence.

10. Fourth Report on the Signatory Companies to the Sullivan Principles (Boston: Arthur D. Little, Inc., October, 1980), p. 1.

11. *ibid.*, p. 4.

12. Financial Mail, Johannesburg, June 1981.

One last criticism, the Report is not filled with a sufficient sense of outrage. This might have been achieved by including a statement made by a banned person — Beyers Naude, Manphela Ramphele, Winnie Mandela, or Helen Joseph — in the verbatim interviews. Or some of the really horrifying statistics about life in South Africa over the past twenty years could have been displayed. Since 1961, 8 million prosecuted under the pass laws: since 1948 about 3 million forcibly removed in the name of apartheid social engineering: since 1976, 2,500 detained under the Security Laws. This is a regime which practices tyranny, and which even some of its own lawyers fear has become irrevocably totalitarian. Yet, South Africa is a country which in language, culture, business practices and religion is ostensibly similar to our own way of life and to our own ideals, and which is always claiming to be a part of western civilization. Our cousins have lost their way, and the thought should chill us constantly.

A sense of outrage produces a sense of urgency. Therefore, we hope that the important general recommendations of the Report to the U.S. government be implemented as soon as possible. These are: persuading some of America's allies to adopt the recommendations of the Report, producing a white paper defining American interest in Southern Africa, and outlining the future structure of policy toward South Africa, and the establishment of a high level inter-departmental committee to oversee policy toward South Africa. We hope that the corrections and perspectives that we have put forth in this article will receive proper recognition in the proposed white paper, so that the fruit so usefully brought forth by all who prepared the Rockefeller Report will no longer bear the blemishes which we have argued in this paper are so obtrusively apparent. If this can happen, U.S. foreign policy toward South Africa will then stand a much greater chance of being based on more correct historical analysis and on a more accurate and truthful account of the forces that will be shaping the future.



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UNDERDEVELOPMENT:  
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## ***Apartheid Viewed through the Heart and through the Mind***

William F. Lye

**CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID** (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1980.) 119 pp. 110 photographs. 3 2.50. \$6.00 paper. (Westport, Conn: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1982) \$7.95.\*

Robert M. Price and Carl G. Rosberg, (eds.), **THE APARTHEID REGIME: Political Power and Racial Domination.** (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1980.) xii + 376 pp. 8.95 paper.

"More books on Apartheid. Who needs them!!!" This may well be the initial response to these recent publications; however, the rapidly changing political, economic and social climate of Southern Africa surely justifies renewed efforts to understand the problems facing that unfortunate land. These two books occupy the extreme positions on the spectrum from carefully reasoned analyses to blatant emotional appeals, but each in its own sphere offers much to the reader.

*Children Under Apartheid* is a photographic study based on an exhibit commissioned by the Belgian Government to mark the end of the International Anti-Apartheid Year and the beginning of the International Year of the Child. As an exhibit it toured major European cities under the auspices of UNESCO. The photographs are arranged under eleven headings, such as "Separation by Race," "Health Care," "Children at Play," "Schools," "Child Labour," "The Destruction of Family Life," "Housing and Homelessness," "Resettlement and the Bantustans," political repression, resistance, and "Children in Exile." The photographs and their accompanying essay demonstrate in vivid force the wrenching impact of political oppression. One cannot examine the book unmoved. From the pathetic despair of routine daily deprivation, to the stark tragedy of brutal suppression of the Soweto demonstrations, apartheid is indelibly impressed on the mind through these powerful photographs. While the appeal is intentionally emotional, it will surely pique the conscience of those who have thus far remained neutral in their attitude towards Apartheid. I recommend it to all such people.

\*see Publications, Item 3, p. 53, this issue, for additional information. — Ed.

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

The *Apartheid Regime* appeals to an entirely different audience. It brings together the opinions of a distinguished roster of South African, expatriate and international scholars in a timely reexamination of the problem and of recent developments and prospects for change in South Africa. The studies derive from a symposium held at Berkeley at the Institute of International Studies in 1978. The participants are all well known contributors to the subject from a variety of disciplines: the editors, Rosberg and Price, are both political scientists, as are Andre DuToit, Heribert Adam, Roland Stanbridge, Lawrence Schlemmer, and Newell Stultz; Hermann Giliomee and Philip Bonner are historians; Martin West and Francis Wilson are anthropologists; Kogila Moodley is a sociologist; and Colin Legum is a distinguished British journalist.

Because of the comprehensive coverage of the facets of Apartheid, this volume serves as an excellent introduction for the uninitiated as well as offering useful new insights for the seasoned student of the subject. While all the contributors oppose the system, they have chosen analysis over diatribe, making the book as reasoned and balanced and comprehensive a source as is currently available.

Andre DuToit introduces the issue by claiming that ideology is weakening as a motivating force in Apartheid, but, he suggests, Afrikaner political organization is stronger than ever. He claims, in fact, that ideological insistence would weaken the Afrikaner hold on government because the government has become a broker of many contending interests which have grown up in Afrikaner society. Herman Giliomee's historical view suggests that the primary basis for the Afrikaner rise to power was their ethnic unity more than any ideological commitment. He minimizes the importance of the Broederbond in contemporary politics, attaching greater significance to the pragmatic reality that 35 percent of all Afrikaners are today employed by the state.

Heribert Adam considers again the role of Liberalism in South Africa and concludes that it failed against the 'politics of survival.' Stanbridge and Schlemmer take separate looks at the Black resistance movements in South Africa and the prospects for their success; Stanbridge offers a broad historical perspective, Schlemmer looks specifically at Inkatha. Martin West looks at the "Apex of Subordination" to assess the impact of urban blacks on government policy. Wilson looks at the labour problems, while Bonner adds a historical evaluation of Black trade union movements since World War II.

While some of the facts in Newell Stultz's look at the Homelands policy are already dated by the granting of "independence" to Venda and by further consolidations of land, his conclusions regarding the lack of viability in the government policy remain sound. Kogila Moodley examines the plight of 'the middle group' the Coloured and Indian people. While this remains the most perplexing problem for South Africa, and while she concentrates her study on the Indians, her conclusions will undoubtedly be the most controversial of any in the volume.

Perhaps the unique feature of this collection is the report by Schlemmer of attitudinal surveys taken in South Africa in 1974, 1977 and 1978. The first two addressed whites, the last, Blacks of Soweto. The existence of such surveys adds significant new dimensions to the examination of racial attitudes and responses to government policy changes. While these three surveys are limited in scale and tentative in their conclusions, they demonstrate conclusively the value of obtaining such information. They demonstrate the awakening sense of



political realism amongst the White, and the predominance of political consciousness amongst the urban Blacks.

To round out the analysis of the politics of race, Colin Legum offers an assessment of South Africa's place in the world. He contends that South Africa will be forced to change by the militancy of its own blacks. He, like the others who commented on recent proposals for reform, contends that South Africa has made adjustments to changing circumstances without addressing fundamentals of political rights. Price, in summarizing the symposium, contends that utilitarian considerations brought Apartheid to power, and similar forces are creating change. The Weihahn and Riekert Commission reports only tend to propose change which will affect the appearances of racialism without changing its fundamental character. These changes may have an effect on the international community, says Price, so long as the Blacks do not make their opposition highly visible to the outsiders. He contends that current level of political mobilization will preclude such easy success. He calls these recent attempts at reform "Too late, with too little."

The diversity of backgrounds and disciplines represented in the contributors to this volume make for an unusually perceptive and challenging look at Apartheid. It is highly recommended reading.

## ***Black Teachers in South Africa: Organizing Under Adversity***

Es'kia Mphahlele

R.L. Peteni, *TOWARDS TOMORROW: The Story of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa* (Algonac, Michigan, Reference Publications, 1978) 160 pp., \$7.50 paper.

The essential difference between the African trade-union movement in South Africa concerned with the private sector and the teachers' union movement is that the former also provided the African a platform for political expression. Right until the banning of the African National Congress in 1960, it had strong links with the trade unions. Members of the executive committees of trade unions were often also members of the ANC executive. This situation reflected the dialectic that says that a man is hungry and houseless because he is discriminated against as a black person — a political victim.

Teachers, on the other hand, saw their mission otherwise — exclusively to educate, in the narrowest terms of formal schooling. They tended to stay clear of political issues. Of course there was no end to intimidation from the

authorities, especially those in charge of "Native Affairs." It even became a habit for teachers' organizations to call in a Government official — almost invariably white, from the education hierarchy to address their annual conferences. He often came on strong with threats, warnings, moral instruction, orders, which left the conference with a sense of numbness that alternated with fear among the teaching fraternity.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the black teacher in South Africa is the most bullied, harassed, demeaned "servant of the state." His job has depended on more than mere obedience: on that *and* fear. In time, even though he was academically and professionally equipped to devise strategies that could counter the evil effects of the inferior system called "Bantu Education" imposed by law in 1954, he had been intimidated sufficiently for his morale to weaken.

The first thing that strikes an observer today, after 25 years of the system, is the low morale that generally exists among black teachers. Several left the profession in that time out of sheer disgust. A courageous number have stayed on out of a sense of mission and dedication, but others remained because of the inability to adventure into other areas of occupation, and the options are deplorably few.

In time, this sense of frustration spread into the other nonwhite ethnic groups — the Africans of mixed descent ("coloreds") and the Asians, even though technically "Bantu Education" did not include them. They were also to suffer the bludgeonings of white authoritarianism. The travails of the "Colored" and Indian teachers' associations are now the same as those the Africans have been enduring.

There is now a good deal of unrest on black school campuses. The Africans of mixed descent and the Indians followed the example of the 1976 revolt involving African children who were protesting against segregated education and social pressures felt by both urban and rural children, and particularly against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain school subjects. School boycotts have continued to erupt, mostly on campuses for Africans of mixed descent and Asians.

It is significant that the officials ignored the warning preceding the 1976 bloodshed in Soweto, when only African children and youth were concerned; that only when "coloreds" and Asians revolted in 1980, and a "colored" delegation was given audience by the Prime Minister did he react in a somewhat positive manner. He appointed the Human Sciences Research Council — a semigovernment agency — to investigate and report on all South African education, and to propose ways of achieving equality of education for all the "inhabitants" of South Africa.

R.L. Peteni's brief and concise historical account of the beginnings and rise of African teachers' associations in the four provinces is most informative, and leads one to hope that someone will write a history of teachers' unions among the Asians and Africans of mixed descent. No one is more qualified than Mr. Peteni, now a lecturer in the new teachers' college in Soweto, Johannesburg, to write such a dispassionate overview. He has always been on the scene. Himself a product during World War II of the first African university college of Fort Hare, then the only residential college for blacks in existence, he has taught high school, been principal of two, has been an inspector of African education, and taught at Fort Hare itself until last year. He is also author of the novel *The*

Es'kia Mphahlele, Professor and Chairman of The Institute of African Studies at The University of Witwatersrand, is the author of many books and novels, including his most recent novel, *Chirundee*, scheduled for release by Lawrence Hill this year. He was a member of the African Teachers' Association and spent many years in exile as a result of his opposition to the Bantu Education Act.

**Hill of Fools.** He is president of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA), which this year is celebrating its jubilee. It is a federation of the four provincial unions, formerly known as the South African Teachers' Federation.

After the decade that saw the rise of separate teachers' associations in the Cape Province, Mr. Peteni relates, the Cape Native (later African) Teachers' Association (UCATA) was formed in 1920 to unite the groups. The late Professor D.D.T. Jabavu of Fort Hare was a founding member and its first president. When the outstanding groups had eventually been assimilated, the United Cape African Teachers' Association was established.

Professor Jabavu formed the All-African Convention (AAC) to fight the 1936 bills that Prime Minister Hertzog had introduced. These were to establish one and for all the "native reserves" for Africans to be herded into and to provide for the election of a few whites to represent Africans in Parliament.

Throughout the 1940s the debate whether the Cape African Teachers' Association should or should not affiliate with the AAC and thus be seen to be politically concerned became regular fare on the annual conference agenda. This was also in the hey-day of the Teachers' League of South Africa (a "colored" organization) which was associated with the AAC and came to represent a strong intellectual wing of the Unity Movement. This Movement, in contrast to the African National Congress, stood for the unification of all like-minded liberation organizations and individual activists, black and white. The argument against the teachers' affiliation with the AAC held that a teachers' union should be able to accommodate members of all shades of political persuasion. The 1948 decision to join the AAC was won by a majority of two. A split occurred within UCATA, and the anti-affiliationist Cape African Teachers' Union (CATU) was formed.

The Transvaal African Teachers' Association also split on similar issues in the early fifties, resulting in the formation of a splinter group, but later reunited into what is now TUATA — Transvaal United African Teachers' Association.

The Bantu Education Act of 1954 institutionalized once and for all the white man's conception of education as a political weapon, especially to monitor the African's intellectual activity and growth. And yet the African teachers' political response to this law — that was to have the most damaging effects on the standard of African education and on account of which a whole generation has already to be written off — has incurred fierce reaction from the government, leading to countless dismissals, resignations, arrests, detentions, deaths.

It is against this background of authoritarian versus resistance politics that Mr. Peteni's lucid historical survey of African teachers' unions offers basic and valuable information. It is a story that is being told in print for the first time. The full story still has to be told about teachers' conception of themselves, their perceptions of their social role, their philosophical positions concerning education, their sense of options between a unitary system of education — for black and white — and a pluralist system that allows for flexibility to accommodate the present diverse levels, cultural imperatives, social perspectives, African consciousness, the present unrest on school campuses, and so on. Clearly that deserves another book or books. I should like to think that Mr. Peteni will be willing to do this for us.

## **U.S. Segregation and South African Apartheid Compared**

Thomas O'Toole

George M. Frederickson, **WHITE SUPREMACY: A Comparative Study in American and South African History.** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). xxv, 356 pp., \$19.95 hardcover.

As an Africanist, I am naturally suspicious of "Europeanists" or "Americanists" who attempt to take up African studies in mid career. Where it has been accomplished by scholars working in comparative studies programs like that at the University of Wisconsin, it has, however, had some notable results. Yet, as an individual launching out on his own, Frederickson, I felt, might not have the benefit of the specific and detailed criticism that would have to come from specialists with an African home base. Happily, my fears were unfounded. Not only did Frederickson seek guidance from a number of scholars of South African as well as U.S. history, but his own African research was first rate and very substantial. For those who are familiar with his *Black Image in the White Mind*, there is, of course, no question about his "Americanist" credentials.

Perhaps the most striking thing about the book is the degree which it sustains an unforced comparison between the evolution of racism in the United States and South Africa throughout its six chronologically organized themes. Where striking differences appear, these are not explained away but rather dealt with as historical realities. Frederickson has no heavy ideological or theoretical axes to grind. Instead, he offers a carefully researched and well detailed analysis of his themes. He presents the basic data from settlement and subjugation through racial slavery's origins, slavery and miscegenation, liberalism and white supremacy and industrialization and racial conflict in a well-organized chronological pattern. His sixth theme is a carefully sustained comparison of the evolution of Southern segregation and South African apartheid through the late sixties and early seventies. He concludes on a rather neutral note, though clearly disapproving of race relations as currently practiced in both countries, and avoids any rash predictions of the future course of events.

Thomas O'Toole is Associate Professor of History at Western Carolina University, Callowhee, North Carolina.

This is traditional historical research at its best. Its clear narrative text and carefully organized alternating descriptions of U.S. and South African practices and ideas convey little that is new to liberal scholars of either American or South African history. But this craftsmanlike juxtaposition highlights nuances and patterns which are both unique and common to the two areas.

Personally, I like a little more living human examples in my history. The coolness and precision of Frederickson's work to some extent takes the sting out of two systems of oppression which are virtually unparalleled in modern human history. And, as David Roediger, who had read some of the manuscript in draft, pointed out in a *Progressive* review, black peoples' response to these systems are not even mentioned.

Yet, in the final analysis, I plan to recommend *White Supremacy* to my adult community-based audiences in the Southern Appalachian community where I live. I am afraid that the average undergraduate in either the Afro-American or the African history survey may find the book a little too "deep," but I will also suggest it to better students and faculty colleagues.

## **The South African Churches:**

### **Journalism in Depth**

Richard W. Sales

Marjorie Hope and James Young, *THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCHES IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1981) pp xi, 268; \$9.95.

This book is best described as journalism, with the advantages and disadvantages that implies. No less than five parts of the book were published in the *National Catholic Reporter* and another in the *Christian Century* during 1979, the year the authors spent some time in that sad country. Just how much time they spent is not made clear, but one is reminded of the aphorism often quoted in South Africa: "If you spend a week, you can write a book, if you spend a month, you can write an article, but don't stay a year or you won't be able to write a word."

There can be no doubt that Hope and Young spent considerably more than a week in South Africa. Their finished work is an amalgam of historical *precis*, social and political commentary, and interviews. The historical sections, from page 1-76, are very well done and indicate an excellent grasp of the significant in the history of South Africa. Here their reportorial instincts served them and their readers very well. The task was not easy and the material formidable. Anyone who has lived and worked in that country might have selected some different or additional materials to make some of the points they stressed, the stresses themselves are clear, and the documentation is accurate. They have provided an excellent summary for the neophyte in how South Africa became what it became.

When it comes to the contemporary scene in the churches, the reportorial approach has both strengths and weaknesses, and they are apparent in this book. By choosing salient organizations and certain figures as foci for describing what is happening today, and how the churches are responding to these happenings, some oversimplification is inevitable. So much depends upon the individuals interviewed in depth. Few would argue with the selection of Desmond Tutu. But one interview cannot do justice to his position, nor to the multitude of operations and challenges accepted by the South African Council of Churches, of which he is only one, albeit highly significant, member.

Still, the SACC comes off, on the whole, rather better than some of the churches to whom the authors devote individual chapters. In fact, the interview with Tutu takes up more than half of the chapter on the Anglican Church. Many would argue that Bishop Tutu is not truly representative of the Anglican Church. But the choice of the Reverend Unez Smuts for an interview that consumes five of the seven pages devoted to the United Congregational Church results in inevitable distortion. It might be defended on the basis that many of her activities are similar to those undertaken by white ministers of multiracial churches, but since Miss Smuts takes no active part in her denomination's social and political work, and since she is a white minister in a denomination which is rightly described as being over ninety percent Colored and African, and since there are articulate spokespersons for that church noted in other places in this book, persons like Bonganjalo Goba, Alan Hendrickse, and John de Gruchy, one must question the intent of the authors. Did they have a private agenda, common to many journalists, of wanting to look for "copy" in their interviews?

There are several substantive issues in the situation of church and state in South Africa. Tutu, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, and other black leaders in the churches in South Africa are locked in a tremendous struggle today, precisely because they have become powerful Christian spokespersons in multiracial denominations which have not managed to exercise decisive influence before. It may well be that the primary contribution of these churches will be that they gave many such outstanding persons, not all mentioned by the authors, the chance to make their impact.

The verbatim interview is catchy and eminently readable. But Margaret Nash, Rob Robertson, Unez Smuts and Hendrik van der Merwe, indeed even Dennis Hurley, who has fought the good fight for more than thirty years, are not where history is being made. The authors recognize in their chapter entitled "Prophetic Voices" that the prophets of today in church and society are not, by and large, white. And the verbatim interview is not, in the long run, the way to preserve or delineate prophecy.

It is tough to report on the situation in South Africa. 1976 marked a watershed, as Hope and Young rightly note. Since then, events and issues have begun to accelerate. The book, had it been published when it was researched, in 1979, would have had much more relevance. Today it is already dated, through no fault of theirs. Then, Desmond Tutu, whose portrait begins the book, was embattled by whites. Today his primary battle, and he knows it, as do Manas and Peter Buthelezi, Goba and others, lies within the black community. The issue is not, and never has been, whether black rule would come to South Africa. The question of *when* it will come, while it dominates the news, is already superseded by the question *how*. The churches may have done what they can by putting doughty warriors on the scene.

## **Rural Afrikaner Adaptation and Accomodation in a Black Political State**

Stanley B. Andrews

Margo & Martin Russell, **AFRIKANERS OF THE KALAHARI: White Minority in a Black State** (London: Cambridge University Press 1979) pp. xii, 167; \$19.95.

Margo and Martin Russell have produced a remarkable social ethnohistory of an Afrikaner farmer and ranching community in Western Botswana. Relatively unique, the Kalahari Afrikaner settlements are an isolated island of Afrikanerdom. The rural cattle-based society has succeeded in maintaining ethnic boundaries within the constraints of a majority black state. At the same time they have established relatively good linkages with their Bushman, Herero, and Kgalagari neighbors. The authors have avoided the use of sociological stereotypic terms by deliberately emphasizing the anthropological mode in collecting, analyzing and describing the Afrikaner community and culture. This approach has resulted in a refreshingly different picture of the rural Afrikaner and the potential for change.

Systematic migration of Afrikaner and Anglo settlers to the Ghanzi and Ngamiland areas of Botswana began in response to European settler land hunger and initiatives made by the British South Africa Company in 1898. Some scholars have interpreted this event as a strategy to contain German imperialism. More probably, Cecil Rhodes encouraged the venture in order to neutralize Boer republican ambitions. Unfortunately, the first efforts did not succeed, and it was not until 1920 that sixty-three farms were recorded as established by Afrikaner and English settlers. This variety of trek-boer proved to be more hardy and adaptable than their predecessors. The Russells provide an interesting account of how the Afrikaner pioneers utilized both traditional and indigenous material culture to relate their cattle economy to a precarious environment with periodic droughts. In addition, trading relationships were established by these remote communities, and they bartered and traded skins, pelts, ostrich feathers, etc. with tribes in Ngamiland, other parts of Botswana, and neighboring South West Africa.

During the period from 1930 to 1972, the Afrikaner community at Ghanzi ridge was transformed from a traditional folk community and subsistence economy to a modern cash-based and substantially dispersed community of ranchers. This change fundamentally affected social aspects of the traditional community and introduced new technologies of adaptation into the material culture. New roads brought goods and services as well as governmental controls and regulations. Related service occupations such as truck driving for hire came into existence and created new distinctions between farmers and those without land.

Stanley B. Andrews is a Project Research Specialist in the School of Technical Careers at South Illinois University in Carbondale. This review was prepared in close consultation with his wife, Marnica Opperman-Andrews, who is personally familiar with this ethnic group.  
4th Quarter, 1981

## Biography of a Miscast Administrator

Erving E. Beauregard

A.L. Harington, *SIR HARRY SMITH: Bungling Hero* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 1980), pp. 299 + v. R 22.50.

The central focus of this study is upon the contemporary relationships between the Afrikaner, their social and physical environment and the government. Prior to independence, British colonial administrators tended to classify both the Afrikaner and the black as unprogressive and inferior. The resident District Commissioner held official power over the allocation of land and was often on record as dissatisfied with the comportment of the Afrikaner. In return, the Afrikaner farmers responded to colonial rule with polite public deference. However, in private, they continued to do pretty much what they wanted to do on the veld or in labor relationships with their Bushman retainers.

By the 1950s, Afrikaner farmers and ranchers were directly affected by the colonial administration's policy of 'development.' Improved transportation and communication had made it possible for farmers to tap new cattle markets, drill new bore holes and expand their herds. Dependent relationships between the farmer and Bushman and Coloured laborers became less necessary and increasing competitive. As land became less available, competitive forces between Tswana, Herero, Coloured, and other groups came into play with Afrikaner, English, and external economic interests. The intrusion of outsiders into the local community became a source of stress to traditional lifestyles, attitudes and expectations.

Theoretical underpinnings have been drawn from Barth, the noted ethnologist. He has maintained that an understanding of ethnicity should be obtained by examining the processes of exclusion and inclusion. It is held that these processes are responsible for the definition and maintenance of ethnic boundaries. Consequently, the Russells treat ethnicity not as a Marxist rationale or as a profit-maximizing choice — but as an integral component of normal human behavior. In this definition the maintenance of ethnic boundaries among the Kalahari Afrikaners is attributed to the Afrikaners' well-based fear of assimilation. Such mechanisms as religion serve to limit membership in the Afrikaner community to those who belong to either the Gereformeerde Kirche or the established Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kirche in Ghanzi. Language, religion, family all serve to maintain group identity and preserve the white Afrikaner as a distinct group. Indeed, historical racial inter-mixture between Afrikaners and Hottentots has internalized ethnic classification within the Afrikaner psyche. Social mixing is an ever-present threat to ethnic identity and survival. Afrikaners perceive a constant necessity for policing ethnic boundaries with Coloureds, for example, because of their historical matings and cultural exchanges.

The authors have masterfully chronicled the adaptation of a small group of Afrikaner farmers and ranchers to markedly different political circumstances. It should be noted that the Ghanzi Afrikaner community has achieved successful though cautious adaptation to the present social and governmental environment. Interestingly, Afrikaner respondents have apparently noticed little bureaucratic change since colonial rule. Although they have feared possible changes in land ownership and re-allocation of land, governmental policies and practices have not threatened them. This is due to Botswana's official policy of non-racialism and also due to the persistence of pluralism. The relative abundance of natural resources in the Kalahari has staved off inter-group conflict to date. However, the authors' perception that Ghanzi is now valued as an important economic resource may increase ethnic conflict in the future. This would have implications for the Afrikaners' future in Botswana as well as Afrikaner's deep-seated fears in the Republic to the south.

The author, a senior lecturer in history at the University of South Africa from which he obtained a doctorate, compiled a documentary study, *The Great Trek*, and published many articles. Now he has converted his doctoral thesis into this book. The use of source material is exhaustive, no stone having been left unturned. Covering fifty pages, the documentation displays a magisterial touch; in addition to the expected references to sources, it contains a mine of information on persons and events. The definitive work on the subject emerges.

Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Baronet of Aliwal on the Soutlej, G.C.B., illustrated superbly the splendid military hero miscast as a colonial administrator. His campaigning in South and North America, The Iberian Peninsula, Waterloo, South Africa, and India placed him in the ranks of Britain's greatest soldiers, veritably just below Wellington and Marlborough. Luck favored Smith: despite participation in the most severe fighting under heavy fire, he was neither killed nor disabled, and "he was fortunate in being noted by prominent people all through his life, but especially in the beginning when very young and entirely unknown" (p. 3). Of lower-middle class origin Smith forced his way upwards, professionally and socially; thus psychologically insecure, he developed an ever thicker skin "as he became more accustomed to convincing himself that he was wanted and admired..." (p. 38). His righteousness also sprang from his firm religious belief, the Puritan Anglicanism of his native East Anglia. This mentality molded an absurdly optimistic man.

Inevitably as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa (1847-52) Smith became a disaster. Having been administrator of Queen Adelaide Province 1835-36, he believed that he would easily control events on the coast and in the interior. However, his supreme self-confidence bungled. Smith reduced the garrison, employing a number of Hottentot soldiers who would later fight the British. Moreover, he had no doubt that peacefully he could reverse the Great Trek because of "the esteem with which those worthy but childlike people, the Boers, regarded him" (p. 89). This proved chimerical. Actually, he had to fight the Boers at Boomplaats. Furthermore, Smith lamentably failed in dealing with the Xhosa. They were children to whom the childless Sir Harry and Lady Smith would bring Western civilization. Needlessly he humiliated the highly respected chief Maqoma. Finally, Smith's threats convinced the Xhosa chiefs "that their last dwindling hope of retaining power and privilege lay in armed resistance" (p. 99). Surfacing in 1850, this terrible war resulted in Smith's recall in 1852.

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## Turmoil and Change in The Horn of Africa

Robert McBride

Bereket Habte Selassie, **CONFLICT AND INTERVENTION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA** (New York: Monthly Review, 1980) pp. 211; \$15.00

Basil Davidson, Lionel Cliffe and Bereket Habte Selassie, eds., **BEHIND THE WAR IN ERITREA** (London: Spokesman, 1980) pp. 150; £3.50.

Internal conflict and external intervention have characterized African society since the slave trade, but today they are nowhere more intense than in the Horn of Africa, subject of this penetrating new essay by Bereket Habte Selassie. The author is particularly qualified to examine the interplay between internal conflict and foreign intervention, for he is an Eritrean trained in international law in London who served as Attorney General of Ethiopia, then resigned in protest against human rights violations, especially in Eritrea, and ultimately joined the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). He now teaches in Washington, D.C.

Bereket succeeds notably in disentangling the political complexities of the region to show how the development of the revolutionary forces, especially in Eritrea, Tigray, the Ogaden and Oromia, is proving more decisive than any intervention by the big powers in resolving the class and national conflicts there. The author also helps to clarify the profound implications of the changes taking place.

At the center of the conflicts in the region is the Ethiopian state. It is Bereket's original and persuasive thesis that that state was created on the twin foundations of feudalism and imperialism. It is widely recognized that the old regime of Emperor Haile Selassie had its base in the semi-feudal landlords who controlled the greatest part of land and production. What must be further understood, however, is that much of the land so held was taken by force over the last 125 years. As founder of the modern Ethiopian state, Menelik was architect of the conquest of Tigray, the Ogaden, and the south-central highlands of the Oromos, a strategy extended and consolidated by his successor Haile Selassie. The emperors rewarded their officers with grants of captured land to settle, while the indigenous peoples were dispossessed, repressed, and exploited. Ethiopia is thus an empire state.

The mass uprising of 1974 which overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie ended the rule of the landlords, but when the military junta known as the Dergue came to power in the wake of the uprising, they took over the old state structure and renewed the suppression of the conquered peoples and nations which, as military officers, they had carried out for so long under the Emperor.

The longest and bloodiest of all the African wars of liberation is now in its twentieth year in Eritrea, but other wars are now also going on in Tigray, the Ogaden, and in much of the southern land of the Oromos, all within the borders

presently claimed by Ethiopia. The case of Eritrea is distinct in that it came under Ethiopia's rule only very recently, when it was forcibly federated to its larger neighbor by the Western powers, acting through the United Nations in 1952. Eritrea came to nationhood through the familiar process of resistance to European colonialism. In this case, it was resistance to Italian colonization from the 1880s to 1941, and then to British occupation from 1941 to 1952. The subsequent federation (and later, annexation) of Eritrea to Haile Selassie's semi-feudal and colonial rule was one of the more openly cynical moves of the United States as it supplanted European colonialism in much of Africa and Asia. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles put the case bluntly at the U.N.;

From the point of view of justice, the opinions of the Eritrean people must receive consideration. Nevertheless, the strategic interest of the United States in the Red Sea basin and considerations of security and world peace make it necessary that the country must be linked to our ally, Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup>

In detailing this history, Bereket makes clear that "the Eritrean question is a colonial question, not an issue of secession," and "at the same time, the Eritrean struggle is an anti-imperialist struggle, for Haile Selassie's alliance with the United States, his military and economic dependence on it, and the United States' tacit support of his colonialist ambitions have turned Ethiopia into a neo-colony and thus brought the entire question into the realm of international politics." (P. 63).

While Eritrea presents a clear case of outright colonialism stemming from the European carve-up of Africa, the incorporation of Tigray, the Ogaden, and the Oromo territory into Ethiopia has followed a somewhat different pattern and those peoples are at different points in the nation-building process. A major contribution of Bereket's book is to give us a well-researched outline of this history and of the current state of these struggles — for self-determination, as defined by the Tigreans and the Western Somali, and for independence in the case of the Oromos. Most importantly, the writer's identification of the colonial nature of the Ethiopian empire-state shows the Eritrean war for independence to be a challenge to the very nature of the Dergue's regime, and thus intimately linked to the other struggles of the region. A military junta which has staked its legitimacy on maintaining the old Ethiopian imperial borders and which rules through its army cannot afford to be defeated in a colonial war.

In explaining the deep historical roots of the various struggles, Bereket shows why the attempts by outside powers (Italy, Britain, the United States, and now also the Soviet Union) have met with such frustration. His contention that it is ultimately the forces within the region which shape its destiny stands in sharp contrast to the predominant views, both Western and Soviet, which picture the region as a chessboard for the geopolitics of the big powers.<sup>2</sup> Competition between the West and the Soviets for the Dergue's loyalty has resulted in enormous outside support for it. Since 1978, Russia has provided massive military aid and advisors to Ethiopia, while the U.S. and the EEC have provided the economic support needed. This combined aid has encouraged the Dergue to mount a counter-insurgency war of genocidal proportions, turning all of Eritrea into a free-fire zone where camels and crops are targets along with the people. In response, the EPLF has conducted a strategic withdrawal from the cities and by late 1981 has extended its organizing and its military

operations over the entire countryside, and has deepened further the political mobilization of the population in support of the strategy of people's war.

The one area of the book which is not treated in detail is the remarkably deep social revolution being carried out as part of this strategy. The social revolution, and indeed most aspects of the people's war, is well described, however, in a companion volume, a collection of symposium papers entitled *Behind the War in Eritrea*. Especially notable are the papers by Francois Houtart summarizing the process of social change, by Tony Barnett detailing this in the case of agriculture, by Lars Bondestam on the economic penetration of the Horn by the countries of Western Europe and their support for the Dergue, and by Dan Connell on the stages of the military struggle. These papers show how the EPLF's program of organizing the people into the mass organizations of the Front — the Workers' Association, the Peasants' Association, the Petty Bourgeois Association, the Women's Association, the Students' Association, and the Red Flowers (the children's organization) — has provided the key to sustaining a protracted war and maintaining a genuine self-reliance. The crucial role being played by women in all areas is discussed too briefly.<sup>3</sup>

Although little understood, the implications of the conflicts in Eritrea and the Horn for the rest of the world are great. The success of the EPLF in deepening and extending the Eritrean revolution while withstanding the most massive assaults is demonstrating that a small, poor country, fighting with almost no outside support, can win against both the United States and the Soviet Union. The EPLF has given deeper meaning to the concept of self-reliance as a cornerstone of independence.

The liberation war in Eritrea marks a transition in the revolutionary process in Africa, for it is both a fight for independence from direct colonial rule, and thus a part of the last wave of African decolonization, and at the same time a struggle against an African state, Ethiopia, which is one of the most prominent in the neo-colonial order. The success of the Eritreans will open the way for resolving many of the contradictions of neo-colonialism in the region, including the self-determination of the Tigray, Western Somali, and Oromo peoples. The solutions imposed by the colonial powers to the problems of post-independence Africa, including the question of boundaries, are giving way to new revolutionary pressures. The success of the Eritrean revolution will also have a major impact in the Middle East, where the intervention of outside powers has so long limited the growth of revolutionary movements.

Together these two books provide an essential understanding of the conflicts reshaping Eritrea, the Horn of Africa, and the whole continent. The strength of the indigenous revolutionary forces is putting new limits on foreign intervention in the region, and by example, everywhere.

3. For the EPLF views and program, see the pamphlet *Women and Revolution in Eritrea* by the Eritrean Women's Association in Europe (Rome, 1979), and for documentation on the profound advances in Women's liberation already being made, see the independently produced West German film, *Frauen Im Welt, IV: In Dienst der Revolution*, shown in English as *Women: the Decisive Factor or Women and Revolution in Eritrea*. Pamphlet and film are both distributed in the U.S. by the National Union of Eritrean Students in North America, POB 778, NY, NY, 10025.

1. Cited in *Conflict and Intervention*, p. 58.

2. See especially Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in the Reagan Administration, "The African Setting: Two Views on the Horn," *Washington Review of Strategic and International Studies*, April 1978, and for the Soviet view, *New Times* (Moscow), no. 32, 1977, and Keesings, p. 28992.

## ***The War That Won't Go Away***

Dan Connell

David Pool, **ERITREA: Africa's Longest War** (London: Anti-Slavery Society, 1980) pp. 78; £ 1.50; paperback.

Profound changes are taking place within the 20 year Eritrea war whose effects are likely to be felt soon in several related arenas. The resolution of long-standing divisions within the nationalist movement is underway after renewed outbreaks of civil war this year left the Marxist-oriented Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) the sole viable military force in the Pennsylvania-size Red Sea territory. New guerrilla initiatives are generating a sweeping redeployment of Ethiopia's Soviet-backed armed forces into overstretched defensive positions in the occupied towns and along key government-controlled highways. And an Eritrean diplomatic push centering around the EPLF's late 1980 proposal for an internationally supervised cease fire and referendum to end the bitter conflict may wind up at the United Nations during the 1981-82 session. In short, the two year stalemate in Africa's longest war is gradually giving way to a general Eritrean counteroffensive.

This will come as a shock to most of the world, including close followers of the African political scene who in 1978 were convinced that this war was over but for the final mopping up. After all, who could have anticipated that a nationalist movement among a numerically small and impoverished people — divided against themselves and opposed by virtually all of the world's industrial powers — could survive, let alone succeed, in a contest with the continent's most powerful army?

David Pool is among those who did anticipate this dramatic turnabout, and his brief primer on the Eritrea war is essential reading for those who did not. "Massive Soviet support for Ethiopia has undoubtedly created the conditions for a 'military solution' yet a 'military solution' cannot succeed, even militarily," (p. 57) writes Pool. Why not? "While Ethiopia has conventional military strength, the Eritreans have unconventional guerrilla strength." How often we have heard this political platitude, and yet how commonly we fail to grasp its practical meaning. "Only a political solution based on the concept of self-determination can end the bloodshed and suffering of Africa's longest war," concludes the author. Recent history only serves to underline the truth of his words.

Dan Connell is a free lance writer and journalist who has made several extensive trips inside Eritrea and to all the countries of the Horn of Africa, as well as to the Sudan.

Pool's little book — a precis of a longer work now in progress — is not a polemical argument for this position. Nor is it a blow by blow description of the war. Instead, it is a concise rendering of the roots of the conflict, a schematic outline of the source and strength of Eritrean nationalism, which is the only basis upon which current events can begin to make sense. The extent of the present confusion on the part of both observers to and participants in this conflict is directly proportional to the degree they have failed to shape their analyses and strategies out of the historical reality of the situation. Pool addresses this reality head-on. In doing so, he locates the framework for the host of other questions raised by this apparent anomaly.

The author reduces this history to its bare bones, a decision which will undoubtedly disappoint many a reader who wishes more detail and depth. Yet this seeming limitation is also the book's principal strength under the present circumstances. In paring away the many layers of obfuscation and outright falsification which have for long enshrouded the issue, he reveals its fundamental character and the dynamic behind it in bold relief. In Pool's words:

What is clear is that it was the establishment of the Italian colony in Eritrea which forged the social and economic basis of modern Eritrean nationalism and the experience of federation (with Ethiopia, 1952-62) and its subsequent annexation which politically reinforced this nationalism. (p. 20)

It is the objective history of the peoples of this former Italian colony (1896-1941) and British protectorate (1941-52) and not the wishes or whims of individuals or political formations that place nation-building and national independence at the top of the Eritrean agenda today. As a consequence, the ongoing effort to weld them into a recognized nation is the arena in which all other social and political questions come up.

Where Pool is especially strong is in the weight of documentation for this process. He draws not only on the more accessible sources such as the former British administrator in Eritrea G.K.N. Travaskis and the various United Nations commission reports, but also on a range of Ethiopian materials, on newspaper reports and on his own firsthand enquiries. Particularly valuable are the appendices which present the basic positions of both the EPLF and the current Ethiopian government on the Eritrea question. While the government's 1976 offer of cultural autonomy for all "nationalities" may be familiar to the reader, the EPLF's theoretical case for self-determination is less well known. The excerpt printed here is important not only in relation to Eritrea but as a contribution to the larger debate on the "national question" in the modern era, a debate which too often and too easily gets overshadowed by sterile exchanges on geopolitics.

However, the author seems to slight his subject in his abbreviated sketch of the social content of the national conflict. While it is true that Eritrean nationalism provides the starting point for understanding the war, it falls short of explaining the resilience and the staying power of the guerrillas. It does not fully account for what Pool called the EPLF's "unconventional guerrilla strength." The source for this, and the twin pillar of the liberation war, lies within the economic, social, political and cultural programs of the front. They,



in turn, are what make this war a Revolution in the fullest sense of restructuring the basis of Eritrean society even as this society takes on coherent form as a nation. The EPLF's strength rests first in the front's accurate and exhaustive perception of the objective reality within which they are operating, and then in its ability to shape policies and programs to change it in profound ways to the benefit of the people of Eritrea. As an immediate result, the Eritreans are fighting for more than national identity — they are battling tooth and nail to defend and to deepen a thorough transformation of their daily lives and livelihoods. In this respect, they are waging both a class and a national struggle at one and the same time.

Pool indicates this in a catalogue of the EPLF's achievements within the guerrilla-controlled areas, but the brevity of this section suggests an unwarranted emphasis on the purely nationalist character of the war. This may also explain why he seems not to have anticipated the subsequent collapse of the alliance between the EPLF and the smaller, more conservative Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) this year. From a nationalist point of view alone, this development appears to be a giant step backward. Yet life is showing that it is actually strengthening the war effort and the attempts to set up a working alliance among all the nationalist factions. It is when class and political questions are examined more closely that this internal struggle becomes comprehensible. This is all the more important in view of the fact that the extent to which the class struggle has matured within the war for national self-determination so sharply distinguishes the Eritrean Revolution from its historical antecedents in the "third world."

Despite this shortcoming, which may well be remedied in Pool's forthcoming lengthier study, this is the most useful handbook on the Eritrean conflict yet to appear in print, and it comes at a critical time for those who seek a handle on this complex phenomenon as it reemerges onto the international political scene. If this book serves to do no more than to set the context of the debate and frame the appropriate questions still to be addressed, it will have achieved a major advance in clarifying the conflict as well as helping to lay the groundwork for an honest and lasting peace.

## **The Eritrean Struggle Analyzed**

Paul E. LeRoy

Richard Sherman, *ERITREA, The Unfinished Revolution*. Praeger Special Studies (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1980), 222 pp., \$19.95.

Richard Sherman has presented a lucid, precise analysis of the Eritrean tragedy, sympathetic to the organization and program of the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF), somewhat hostile to the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), and downright opposed to the role of Ethiopia, past and present. The book begins with a praiseworthy, if unbalanced, foreword by the prolific pro-revolutionary journalist and scholar, Basil Davidson. Sherman makes a case for Eritrea's incipient nationhood based on a distinctive ethnic identity, and argues that its peoples have been and are subject to the exploitative brutalities of outsiders — the Solomonic Ethiopian kings, the Turks, the Egyptians, the Italians, and the British — culminating in the "colonial" rule and armed imperialism of Haile Selassie and his socialist successors in the Dergue. The focus is on the process of revolution under the particular socio-economic conditions and indigenous circumstances of Eritrea today.

Sherman's models of the historical methodology used in this book, which was begun as a doctoral dissertation at Brandeis University, are Basil Davidson's *The Liberation of Guinea* and Gerard Chaliand's *Armed Struggle in Africa*. He refers also to Amilcar Cabral's *Revolution in Guinea*, and to Mao Tse Tung and V.I. Lenin regarding questions relative to revolution and nationalism.

Sherman's Eritrea is clearly not impartial or comprehensive, but it presents a careful analysis of the rise of Eritrea's modern liberation movements, their programs and socio-educational and economic efforts, and their rivalries.

The work's greatest disadvantage is its uneven use of source materials in its interesting, if inadequate, chapter on 'Prelude to Revolution.' The author's historic sources lack depth and neglect the latest scholarly works. He relies too much upon G.K.N. Trevaskis, *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition*, Stephen H. Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea* and Carlo Conti-Rossini's *Storia d' Etiopia*. Missing are adequate usage of oral accounts, the chronicles of the Ethiopian emperors, Arab sources, and works like M. Abir, *Ethiopia: the Era of Princes*, Gabre-Selassie, *Yohannes IV*, Harold Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*, Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia* and Yuri M. Kobishchanov's *Axum*, just to name a few. Nor did he make a thorough enough use of journals, for example, *Horn of Africa*.

He is to be congratulated for clarity of style, his ample use of maps and his many charts. But his grasp of detail and soundness of analysis of the early historical record could be improved. His analysis tends to use westernized values and terminology imposed by hindsight. There are a number of omissions in his summary of early history that would provide additional insight. Since he notes that Tewodros brought Eritrea under control in 1860, his earlier statement that "the coast would never again obey an Ethiopian ruler" is clearly inaccurate. He is probably correct in noting that Menelik sowed "the seeds of current problems between Eritreans and the Ethiopian government." The

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portrayal of Italian rule is accurate if brief, but there is no mention of the patriot rebel bands that exhausted the Italians. Did Italy really see Eritrea as separate from Ethiopia? The later fascist rule after Selassie's defeat raises this question. Sherman presents useful insight into the sharpened Eritrean political consciousness under the British, and is at his best in his analysis of the subterfuge of UN resolution 390A. Throughout Sherman carefully notes inter-ethnic ties crossing borders along with trade and faith. He does not elaborate Italian and British use of divide and rule, and ignores the age-old Arab Christian rivalries of the Red Sea. Is Eritrea, therefore, truly old and unique? Could one argue the same for independence, for example, of Rio de Oro, Biafra, Shaba, Buganda?

Far better is Sherman's descriptive development of the early Eritrean liberation front, its goals, leaders and rivalries. He clarifies the roles of the ELM and the ELF and the latter's five subdivisions and their differing personalities and ideologies as well as the consequences of the Eritrean Civil War with the EPLF. The role of Sabbe's foreign mission and his intrigues is discussed in more detail in Bereket Habte Selassie's *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, which also was published in 1980, but Sherman's analysis of the Khartoum Agreement is sound. So too is his comparison of the more pragmatic ELF with the more ideological and more successful EPLF and their respective aims, structures, goals, seeing ELF as more Pan Arab and national rather than Marxist and the EPLF as more self-reliant. His charts on organizational structures are lucid. So too his presentation of their elusive tries at unity.

His chapter 3, *Armed Struggle*, goes from the initial period begun by Hamid Idris Awate 1961, through the broadening of the fighting to the early '70s and finally to military aspects of the Eritrean Civil War, as well as the fight against the Dergue who viewed the Eritrean resistance not as anti-colonial but as legitimate grievance against the corrupted former regime. He ends with the humiliating defeat of the tragic peasantry and the Eritrea link to the TPLF, 1976-77. He also notes the heavy contributions supplied by the Soviets and their allies ending 1979 (unaware of later reversals). One of his best chapters is "The Eritrean Alternative: Social Programming" analyzing the refugee crisis, the social programming in the liberated zones and the role of the new Eritrean woman. Less possible, more theoretical is the chapter "Prospects for An Independent Eritrea" which in part is argued on grounds of economic viability with charts over livestock, industrial capacity, fishing, exports. It is assumed Ethiopia cannot win without the Soviets and Cuba. Not to be left out is a carefully presented analysis of the wider ramifications as seen in the question of African territorial sovereignty as viewed by the OAU, the implication of a future fragmented Ethiopia, the consequences of the war with Somalis (who have a better national argument) as well as the policy or lack of it by the USA and the Soviets and the concerns of the Middle East — all with unpredictable power shifts and changing alignments. He concludes with a correct interpretation of Eritrean nationalism being forged as a result of Italian colonial rule followed by Ethiopian oppression. His other conclusions are more argumentative — it remains to be seen if Eritrea was or can be more than a secession. Neither real socio-economic changes nor possible economic viability are yet a possible reality. His conclusion of stalemate is open to conjecture. But it is certainly true continued internal Eritrean disunity hinders independence. He may indeed be right to end with the statement that "the Horn of Africa has consistently been the graveyard of numerous predictions."

## Correspondent's Report:

### Women in Ethiopia Today

Rita Pankhurst

We had left Ethiopia four and a half years ago when the revolutionary wheel had only just begun to turn. Now we were returning, in the spring of 1981. What could I gather, between greeting old friends and celebrating the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Foundation of University College, Addis Ababa, about the impact of the Revolution on Ethiopian women?

On the campus, the first unfamiliar sight to be encountered was women employed as building workers carrying stones on the usual small corrugated iron stretchers. I was told with pride that all jobs were now open to women. A more pleasing testimony of this was to find an old friend, a woman Ph.D., in confident charge of the University's public relations office and a woman as deputy chief of protocol of the Provisional Military Government or Derg. Alas, the higher bastions of the University, not to speak of the Derg itself, have still to be conquered.

As the first afternoons and evenings passed we became accustomed to grumbles about absent maids and to the sight of parents unable to dispose of their young when entertaining guests. Where had all the servants gone? One evening at six driving towards the University we found the answer. The roads around Arat Kilo, where a number of educational institutions are clustered, were virtually impassable. A dense crowd was on the march and surprisingly, the majority were women. In their traditional white dresses and shawls and bright headscarves they were chattering and laughing as they walked, pencil and notebook in hand. Every evening as classrooms are vacated by the last school shift the first literacy classes begin. Students from the University and secondary schools have been drafted to do the teaching. The whole city goes to school. It is compulsory for illiterates to attend, and illegal for employers to intervene. The local representatives know in which houses there are still illiterate adults and these are followed up relentlessly. At first adults were reluctant to be identified but enthusiasm caught on, as more and more people cleared the first literacy hurdle and were encouraged to continue up the educational ladder.

We were told of a maid who used her newly acquired skills to inform her elderly employer that she would be away the next day. The irate master, holding the message at a distance with distaste, complains to his night watchman about her poor handwriting. "I know, Sir," he replies, "It is indeed difficult to read, upside down."

We heard much about improvisation in the countryside where the women's traditional large flat cooking pan was on occasion pressed into additional service as a blackboard. Though unable to see for ourselves we heard that UNESCO had in 1980 awarded Ethiopia first prize for its literacy campaign.

Rita Pankhurst, the Chief Librarian at the City of London Polytechnic, was head of the Public Division of the National Library of Ethiopia 1956-1964 and Chief Librarian of Haile Selassie I (later Addis Ababa) University 1964-1974, and was subsequently on the staff of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa.  
4th Quarter, 1981

Whereas we remembered Indian experts coming to Ethiopia to advise on literacy at a time when no more than 12% of the population, and a much smaller percentage of women, could read and write, we now heard of a mission coming from that country to learn how Ethiopia had succeeded so remarkably. The expectation is that illiteracy will have been eradicated in the towns in the next few years.

One effect of the literacy campaign has been to spur the literate to further effort. The University's Continuing Education Division is stretched beyond capacity with some 7,500 evening students, many of them young people unable to attend university during the day. The pressure on the University full time programme is equally great with enrollments, at over 11,000, double the pre-Revolution figure. However, the percentage of women students, 14.8%, has crept up rather slowly.

I asked to meet members of REWA, the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association. We drove to the former Duke of Harar's palace. A modern house in the grounds had been assigned to the Association which had well advanced plans for a kindergarten in the grounds. I was met by a group of elected officers and by the Head of the Women's Section of Ethiopia's embryonic political party, Woizero (Mrs.) Teru Worq. They were geared to receiving delegations and I felt out of place as a single visitor representing no organization and holding no brief, not even as a member of the Fawcett Society. Ritual speeches had nevertheless to be exchanged, but, gradually the formality melted away and the exciting story of their successes bubbled out until it seemed as though we were all fellow conspirators in the women's struggle.

It was hard work getting REWA off the ground, they reported. Women, as elsewhere, were too shy to come forward and men fought the usual rear guard action. The local revolutionary leaders had supported the women's efforts to get together, not by the river washing clothes or fetching water, nor selling their produce in the market, but at meetings, where they could discuss their problems openly.

In one of the villages where men fought hardest to maintain their supremacy they refused to allow their wives to organize. The women went unobtrusively on strike by not preparing the morning meal. When the disgruntled and yawning husbands discovered one by one that they had all received the same treatment there was some discomfiture and after further persuasion they capitulated. I wondered if, in some other villages, the resemblance to the Lysistrata story had been even closer.

As more associations were formed village women very soon lost their fear of speaking in public. Brutal husbands were exposed and admonished by the whole group. Women learned how to voice their priorities in local development projects (for grinding mills, for example); to join literacy classes, and to get involved in the Revolution. They learned that the Labour Proclamation of 1975 entitled them to equal pay and 45 days' paid maternity leave and of their rights to work land if they were heads of households. Ethiopian women in feudal times were able to hold land on the same terms as men if they could fulfill the same obligations — such as mobilizing men for war. These rights, generally denied to their sisters in the Middle East, reappear under the Land Reform Proclamation of 1975 which provides that "without differentiation of sexes any person who is willing to personally cultivate land shall be allotted land."

Leaders emerged at sub-district, district and regional level and as the

Rita Pankhurst

women moved into more important positions they took their families along (their husbands too) with financial and housing help from the authorities. Some of the women talking to me had risen to membership of the national central committee of REWA from a village association.

Today there is a women's group in each factory and government office. Within a few years some 17,000 sub-district level women's organizations had been established, 2,000 of them in towns. They represent in all some 5 million women. The Executive Committee of 15 volunteers is elected every two years and has paid assistants.

The President, Woizero Abezash, told me proudly that they had succeeded in bringing 900 women together for their first congress in September. I was handed their action programme for 1980/81. It contains, besides ideological exhortations, details of their economic and cultural development campaign. It includes further literacy drives, improvement of housing, living conditions and health services, formation of producers' co-operatives, provision for war orphans and self-initiated local development projects. Two sections have a particularly modern ring for Ethiopia. One is entitled "Developing the skills of its members" and reads, in a draft English translation:

"Because of the double oppressions women had to suffer from in the past they didn't get the chance of enriching their natural talent by modern sciences. Thus to keep the normal growth of participation of women in the country's political, economic and social life their training in different skills is something to be given priority."

The other deals with "the ugliest of all the social problems bequeathed by the feudo-bourgeois system," prostitution — a phenomenon never publicly acknowledged in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia.

As the young women talked with genuine enthusiasm I remembered the lengthy committee meetings of the Addis Ababa Social Service Society and my contacts with the former women's organizations. These achieved a measure of success but leadership and initiative, well-meaning and devoted though it was, came mostly from above. There was limited participation at grass roots level. During my visit I saw an urban dwellers' association centre with a kindergarten locally organized and numerous other centre projects — a shop, a restaurant, a new school building, showers — developed by the people themselves.

Another incident brought home to me how much the old hierarchical and submissive society had changed. An Ethiopian friend was driving us to his mother's house for dinner. Stones blocked the road which was being repaired. We tried to approach from another side but here again there was a barrier. Our friend had no alternative but to get out of the car and push the barrier aside. As he was about to drive through, a woman indignantly replaced the barrier, and shouted at us. Others joined in. The citizens of that area were not prepared to have their road ruined by some inconsiderate bourgeois driver. It was only after a long explanation that we were allowed to pass.

It became clear to me that women, especially the numerous poor women in the countryside and in the cities, had already gained much from the Revolution — much that could weigh in the balance against the suffering many had endured in the turmoil of recent years.

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## Publications

1. The first two publications to come from the *Southern African Development Coordination Conference*, the nine-state economic grouping formed in April 1979 to lessen the dependence of these states on South Africa, are now available. *SOUTHERN AFRICA: Toward Economic Liberation* is a collection of papers presented at the first SADCC conference in Arusha in July 1979, edited by Amon Nsekela. It is published by Rex Collings at £ 14, and should be available through your bookstore, but orders direct to the publisher at 6 Paddington Street, London W1M 3LA UK should be accompanied by an additional 50p. per copy if ordered from outside the United Kingdom. The other publication, *SADCC 2-MAPUTO*, 288pp., £ 5, plus 60 surface post or £ 3.50 air mail, contains the proceedings of the second conference of this group held on 27/28 November 1980. It is available direct from SADCC at 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1, 4JL, UK.

2. California Newsreel's *Southern Africa Media Center* has recently released its 1981-1982 catalog, featuring two new films on women in South Africa. **YOU'VE STRUCK A ROCK!** (28 minutes) tells the story of the women's anti-pass campaigns of the 1950s through the eyes of such key participants as Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Josephs, and Francis Board. **SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO US** is available in two versions — one 35 minutes, one 60 minutes. It portrays the lives of five typical women — a domestic, a nurse, an industrial worker, a banished person, and a squatter — whose experiences dramatize the impact of apartheid. To obtain your copy of the catalog, write or phone the Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, Tel. 415-621-6196.

3. Appropriate print companions to the two films listed above are two new *International Defense and Aid Fund* publications: **WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID**, 120 pp., 102 photographs with text, £ 3, US\$7, published in co-operation with the United Nations Unit Against Apartheid, and **TO HONOUR WOMEN'S DAY: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Liberation Struggles**, 56 pp. £ 1, US\$2.40. Another recent IDAF publication is *Fact Paper No. 9: REMEMBER KASSINGA: Papers on Political Prisoners and Political Detainees in Namibia*, 52 pp., UK 50p, US\$1.35. Published somewhat earlier, also in co-operation with the UN Unit Against Apartheid, was **CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID**, 120 pp., 110 photographs with text, £ 2.50, US\$6. (See review, p. 28, this issue) In North America order from IDAFSA-NA, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138 USA; elsewhere from IDAF Publications, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP, England. The London office also has a special combination offer. For £ 7.50 they will send Eli Weinberg's **PORTRAIT OF A PEOPLE** (see *AFRICA TODAY* 28/1, item 1, p. 69) with **WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID** and **CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID**, a savings of £ 2.

As we go to press we learn that these last three titles are also being published in the United States by Lawrence Hill & Co., with an April 1982 release date. In this form they are priced at \$9.50, \$8.95 and \$7.95, respectively.

4. *TransAfrica* has launched a research and educational affiliate, *TransAfrica Forum*, designed to be the cutting edge of policy analysis on U.S. relationships with Africa and the Caribbean in the private sector. Ronald Walters is President and Randall Robinson is Executive Director. The forum will produce two publications, the quarterly TRANSAFRICA FORUM JOURNAL and the monthly ISSUE BRIEF. Subscription rates for the journal are \$15 per year for individuals, \$30 per year for institutions. Two and three year rates are \$25 and \$40, and \$55 and \$85, respectively. Orders should go to Transaction Periodicals Consortium, Dept. No. 9000, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903. The letter sent to us did not make it clear whether ISSUE BRIEF comes as a supplement to the quarterly or must be ordered separately. No price was mentioned. The TransAfrica Forum address is 545 Eighth Street S.E., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20003.
5. *The International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (The "Continuation Committee" of the Lisbon World Conference, 1977) publishes ICSA BULLETIN, a London-based monthly. To be placed on the mailing list send your name and address to ICSA, 30a Danbury Street, London N1 8JV, United Kingdom, and specify the number of copies you wish to receive of each issue. Issue No. 16 was published in December 1981. An earlier issue indicated that back issues, except for No. 4, were also available.
6. In AFRICA TODAY 27/1, item 15, p. 73, we mentioned the microfilm research collections on Africa being developed by *University Publications of America*. A 3rd set is now available. CIA RESEARCH REPORTS, AFRICA 1946-1976, is available in 3 35mm microfilm reels with printed guide and index at \$160. In addition, two hardcover monographs of interest to many of our readers are available from the same publisher. IN BLACK AND WHITE, by Barbara Hutmacher, 208 pp., \$22, is a series of interviews with the people of East London, South Africa, presenting a personal picture of life under apartheid. AFRICA FACES THE WORLD, by Richard A. Fredland, 212pp., \$15 (Carrollton Press, publisher, UPA, distributor) is an analysis of the economic plight and the political cooperation of the states of independent Africa. The address for UPA is 44 North Market Street, Frederick, MD 21701 USA.
7. G.K. Hall has initiated a new reference book series, *International Historical Statistics*. One of the first four volumes published will be of interest to Africanists. MALI: A Handbook of Historical Statistics, by James and Eleanor M. Imperato, est. 320 1/2" x 11" pages, \$75.00. Statistics presented cover the 68 years of French rule and the independence years through 1980. Order from your bookseller or C.K. Hall reference books, 70 Lincoln Street, Boston MA 02111. Those placing standing orders for the entire series will receive a 10% discount.
8. The Information Centre on Southern Africa in Bonn, West Germany, announces the publication of DIE AFRIKAPOLITIK DER REPUBLIK SUDAFRIKA: Von der outward-looking bis zur Gegenwart, by Ronald Meinhardus, 491 pp., DM 24.80. Professor Meinhardus analyzes South African foreign policy since 1960 and concludes the policy has failed in its major objectives. 32 tables document South African economic relations with the rest of the continent. The address of the centre, abbreviated ICSA, is Blucherstr. 14, 5300 Bonn 1, Federal Republic of Germany.
9. Volume 23 in the series *Communications from the Basel Afrika Bibliography* is a publication of interest to students of African Linguistics. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GBE (*Ewe, Gen, Aja, Xwala, Fon, Gun, etc.*): Publications on and in the language, by A.S. Duthie and R.K. Vlaardingerbroek, 229 pp., 26 SFr. Gbe is the word for language in each of the related dialects spoken from eastern Ghana to Western Nigeria. Separate sections list publications on the language, original in the language, and translated into the language. A fourth section presents a series of tables classifying the entries, and an index to the whole is provided.
10. The journal of the *Sojourner Truth Organization*, URGENT TASKS: *Journal of the Revolutionary Left*, devoted its Summer 1981 issue (No. 12) to "C.L.R. James: His Life and Work." Articles by Walter Rodney and Manning Marable will be of special interest to Africanists. The price for this special issue is \$4 in the U.S. and Canada and £2 in the UK. Order from Sojourner Truth Organization, P.O. Box 8943, Chicago IL 60680.
11. We have received one copy of SAHARA REPORTS, a monthly newsletter from the Polisario Front, but it contains no address and no information as to how to get on the mailing list. We assume that the editors of the SPSC NEWSLETTER, the publication of the Saharan Peoples Report Committee, which we mentioned in an earlier issue (27/4, item 14, p. 70), at 217 E. Lehr, Ada, Ohio 45810, can supply interested readers with this information.
12. While the perspective of the quarterly journal REVIEW is much broader than those we usually mention in these columns, its editor is a distinguished Africanist and an AFRICA TODAY editorial consultant, Immanuel Wallerstein. It is the journal of the *Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems and Civilizations*, of which Professor Wallerstein is the director. It is described as the forum for advocates, observers, and critics of the "world-system" perspective, committed to the full scope of social examination, looking at all points in historical time and all points in historical geography. An issue of special interest is Vol. III, No. 2 (Fall 1979) on the theme "The Incorporation of Southern Africa into the World Economy, 1800-1949." Among the authors are the editor, Giovanni Arrighi, Marcia Wright, Landeg White, and Charles van Onselen. Bernard Magubane, John Saul and John Higginson join Wallerstein and Arrighi in a concluding round-table on the theoretical implications. The publisher is Sage Publications, P.O. Box 5024, Beverly Hills, CA 90210. Subscriptions are \$18 per year for individuals and \$36 for institutions, with less expensive multiple year rates available. Back issues are \$5.00 each to individuals, \$9.50 to institutions, with a 10% discount for 6 or more.
13. New from the *Centre for Developing Area Studies at McGill University* is THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESS OF PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM ILLUSTRATED WITH AFRICAN EXAMPLES, by Joel W. Gregory and Victor Piche of the Department of Demography at the University of Montreal. We do not know the price, but the center has many other publications, including the journal LABOUR CAPITAL AND SOCIETY and its annual supplement REGISTER OF ON-GOING LABOUR RESEARCH. Write for a price list to The Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, MacDonald-Harrington Building, 815 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 2K6.

14. We have in our possession a useful directory for those seeking to contact other researchers in their field. The *Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique*, an organization of French-speaking countries that was created by the Treaty of Niamey in 1970, has published RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DEVELOPPEMENT 1980: REPORTOIRE DES CHERCHEURS FRANCO-PHONES. Information about 5,584 researchers and an index by field of research are presented in its 863 pages. This is a companion volume to an earlier publication which listed research institutions oriented to Third World development. We have no information on the price of either of these volumes, but the address of the agency is 19, Avenue de Messine, 75008 Paris, France.

15. The *Africa Fund* has two new releases. No. 4-81 in the *Southern Africa Perspectives* series is SOUTH AFRICA: *Questions and Answers on Divestment*, 4 pp., prepared by Gail Hovey. The other is NAMIBIA: *For Freedom and Independence*, 4 pp., a speech delivered by Theo Ben-Gurirab of SWAPO to the Emergency Conference on Namibia in March 1981, in the *Voices for Liberation* series. A seven page mimeographed report, "The Reagan Administration and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Western Sahara" by Richard Knight is also available from the Africa Fund's companion organization, *The American Committee on Africa*, as is a new issue of their STUDENT ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER, edited by Joshua Nessen. Contributions of \$5.00 are suggested from those wishing to be on the mailing list for the newsletter, but the other items came without the price being specified. If you want them, send a contribution, with your request, to either the Africa Fund or ACOA at 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038.

16. The *Washington Office on Africa* has published a 6 page pamphlet, FREE NAMIBIA!, that is available at 15¢. Multiple orders for 11-50 copies are 12¢ each, for more than 50, 10¢. Add 20% for postage. Also available to contributors are the occasional publications WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA and ACTION ALERT. The address is 110 Maryland Ave. N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002.

17. Another useful source of information on Namibia is *Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa*, Room 1005, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. They have recently published TESTAMENT OF A NAMIBIAN WOMAN, by Rauna Nambinga, and publish the newsletter FOR A FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA. No prices are indicated. We suggest you send a contribution with your request.

18. The *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies* has published NAMIBIA AND THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, 44pp., and its *Research Report No. 58* also deals with Namibia. Reginald Herbold Green is the author of that report, entitled FROM SUDWEŠTAFRIKA TO NAMIBIA: *The Political Economy of Transition*, 45pp. Two other new releases in that series deal with Namibia's neighbor, Botswana. No. 59 is MACRO-ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND BUREAUCRACY: *The Case of Botswana*, by Jan Isaksen, 53pp., and No. 60 by Bertil Oden, is entitled THE MACROECONOMIC POSITION OF BOTSWANA. Each of these publications is priced at Skr. (SEK) 20:-. The SIAS address is P.O. Box 2126, S-750 02 Uppsala, Sweden.

19. The Information Bureau of the *Royal Commonwealth Society* publishes a series of bulletins under the titles NOTES AND CONDITIONS. Ian Knights is the editor. Each issue focuses on a single Commonwealth country and is sub-headed "An Outline Guide for Expatriate Contract Employees." The most recent one in our collection is dated July 1980 and is on Nigeria. We are informed it is the 15th revised edition, and that the next edition will appear this year (1982). Information is included about geography, climate, population, history, economy, immigration regulations, health, insurance, education for expatriate children, transport and communications, currency and banking, cost of living, hotels, income tax, housing, utilities, the importing of household equipment, domestic help, clothing, the press, broadcasting and leisure, plus lists of useful addresses, other information papers and recommended reading, a map of the country and maps and important addresses for nine major cities. Anyone taking a post in a Commonwealth country for the first time should write for the most recent revised edition on that country. The address of the Royal Commonwealth Society is Northumberland Avenue, London WC2N 5BJ U.K. The issues are for sale, but no price is given.

20. The World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism has published an account of the June 1980 consultation held in the Netherlands between church leaders and representatives of oppressed peoples. RACE: *No Peace Without Justice*, by Barbara Rogers, is a 142 page paperback selling for SF 9.90, US \$5.75, or £2.50. Order from the World Council of Churches Publications Office, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland, or from a regional WCC office nearer you. Also from the WCC is WORKING FOR FREEDOM: *Black Trade Union Development in South Africa Throughout the 1970s*, by Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall, £3.50.

21. The *Notes and Documents* series from the U.N. Centre Against Apartheid continues to publish some important research papers. Among these are 13/81, THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN COAL IN THE BENELUX COUNTRIES, by Ruard Huisman, 23pp., 15/81, BRICKS IN THE WALL by Beate Klein, 41pp., a study of South African borrowing and financing; 17/81, THE FINANCING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS, by Rev. David Haslam, 3pp.; 20/81, ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: *An Unlikely Alliance*, by Rosalynde Ainslee, 28pp.; 21/81, ROLE OF BANKS IN STRENGTHENING SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY CAPABILITY, by Terry Shott, 15pp., and 22/81, THE ROLE OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, by Vera Pillay, 12pp. Orders for specific titles or requests to receive the series should be sent to your nearest UN Information Center. In the U.S. the address is 2101 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Also, published by the Center, in printed booklet format, is PARIS DECLARATION ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA (and *Special Declaration on Namibia*) 27 May 1981, 32pp. In addition to the text of these declarations from the Internal Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, the booklet contains a foreword by Salim Salim and a number of photographs.

22. A guide to UN materials on Africa, AFRICA: *An International Perspective*, 12pp. is available from UNIPUB, 345 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

23. The United Nations has declared this *The International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade*. A DECADE DOSSIER, 24pp., has been produced, and a series of newsheets begun. One of these is a list of Information materials available, and several are case studies. Order from the UNDP Division of Information, Room DC-1972, One United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Also available from this source is the booklet UNDP TODAY . . . AND THE WORLD IN 1980: *The United Nations Development Programme Activities and Achievements*, 26 8½" x 11" pages.

24. Recent copies of ILO INFORMATION, the bulletin of the *International Labor Organization*, published five times a year, have come to us containing an *African Supplement*, a two page green insert focusing specifically on Africa. If you are on the mailing list but are not receiving this special supplement (it may be in all issues, but we suspect that supplements for other continents may go to subscribers with special interests in those areas) or if you do not now receive the bulletin but would like to do so write to the Bureau of Public Information, ILO, CH 1211, Geneva 22, Switzerland. You may also wish to ask for their quarterly catalog, ILO PUBLICATIONS.

25. A UN series that has recently come to our attention is *Disarmament Fact Sheets*, published by the *UN Centre for Disarmament*, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, UN, New York, N.Y. 10017. No. 15 is SOUTH AFRICA'S PLAN AND CAPABILITY IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD: A SUMMARY.

26. A relatively new organization working for change within the system in South Africa is AKSA — *Action South Africa*. Its director, Robert R. Tussenius, describes the program as an effort to bring together leaders from the moderate center of all South African racial communities to develop a blueprint for change. In an effort to convince outsiders that this is a feasible option and to suggest ways the program can be supported he has prepared a booklet, *PRODUCTIVE VERSUS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE PRESSURES FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA — some thoughts for those with an interest in South African affairs*, 44pp. An appendix states AKSA's objectives. The AKSA address is P.O. Box 322, Somerset West 7130, South Africa.

27. *Editions Karthala* is a new French publishing house founded in 1980. Among their early titles are *LES CUBAINS ET L'AFRIQUE*, by Ezzedine Mestiri, *VOYAGE AU SOUDAN OCCIDENTAL*, by Eugene Mage, *UN PEUPLE GABONAIS A L'AUBE DE LA COLONISATION*, by Joseph Ambourque-Avaro, and *L'OCEAN INDIEN CONVOITE*, by Philippe Leymarie. They have also launched a quarterly journal *POLITIQUE AFRICAINE*, edited by Jean-Francois Bayart. Subscriptions are 130 francs in France or 160 francs or U.S. \$40 elsewhere by mail. Order from Editions Karthala, 22-24 boulevard Arago, 75013 Paris, France.

28. *The Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies*, 2000 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, has released *DIVESTING FROM SOUTH AFRICA: A Prudent Approach For Pension Funds* by Lawrence Litvak, Julia Estrella, and Kathleen McTigue, 60pp., \$5.95. The booklet deals with the critical issue of how to divest while maintaining the viability and growth potential of a portfolio by a constructive investment strategy.

#### Publications

29. The African section of the *Library of Congress* has launched a new irregular series of brief bibliographies of topical interest. The first in the series is *RECENT AFRO-LIBYAN RELATIONS: A Selected List of References*, by Joanne M. Zellers, 14pp., 105 references and map. It was issued in September 1981 and is numbered 81-1. Future issues will be numbered consecutively by year. To be placed on the mailing list write the Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division, African Section, Washington, D.C. 20540.

30. The *South African Institute of Race Relations'* 1981 annual conference was on the theme of "RESETTLEMENT." Papers and resolutions from this conference are being published under that title and are available at R4 plus 41c sales tax and postage within South Africa. An overseas postal surcharge is not given, but we suggest you send R5 if ordering from outside the country. Other recent publications are *BLACK GRAHAMSTOWN: The Agony of Community* by T.R.H. Davenport, and *PEBCO: A Black Mass Movement*, by Carol Cooper and Linda Ensor. PEBCO is the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association, led by Thozamile Botha, who was arrested, detained and banned and finally fled the country, resulting in the eclipse of the organization. Each is priced at R2. Again we suggest that those who order from overseas add an additional rand for postage. Those who do not already receive it may wish also to order the institute's monthly newsletter, *RACE RELATIONS NEWS*. Overseas subscriptions are R3.50 (equivalent 2.20 or \$4.45). The SAIRR Publications Department is P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg 2000 South Africa.

31. The *Center for Strategic Studies* at Tel Aviv University is publishing, in cooperation with the *Jerusalem Post*, a series, *CCS PAPERS*, dealing with strategic questions of special interest to Israel. Of the 11 topics listed from which eight papers will be included in the 1981-82 selection at least five will be of interest to many Africanists, especially *THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HORN OF AFRICA*, by Shemson Zelniker and *THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA*, by Dov Shafer. Two others deal with U.S.-Egyptian Strategic Cooperation and Israeli-Egyptian Cooperation. A volume edited by Mark Heller on *MIDDLE EAST BALANCE OF POWER* is offered as a special feature. No method of ordering single publications is announced. Subscriptions are \$35 for the annual series for individuals, \$40 for institutions. Order from *The Jerusalem Post*, using the address 110 East 59th Street, Suite 1100, New York, N.Y. 10022 if writing from the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and POB 81 Jerusalem 91000 Israel, from other countries.

32. Our attention has been called to *THE COURIER*, the journal of the Lome Convention countries, *The Africa-Caribbean-Pacific European Community*. It is published every two months and is free on request. Order from the Commission of the European Communities, 200, rue de la Loi, 1049 — Brussels, Belgium. In addition to full name and address, the publishers ask that you mention the organization where you work.

33. Newly launched in the Netherlands is the journal *DERDE WERELD*, a left-oriented quarterly focussing on the political-economic problems of underdevelopment in the Third World. It is subtitled (in Dutch) "a journal about imperialism, underdevelopment and resistance." The first issue, 81/0, carrying the special price of 7.50 guilders, has articles on Namibia, Iran, Nicaragua, Mozambique, El Salvador and Imperialism and Underdevelopment, as well as full reviews of four books and a major journal and brief descriptive analyses of 22 other books and 40 journals in a wide variety of languages. Subscriptions are 25 guilders for individuals and 35 guilders for institutions. Order from *Derde Wereld*, Guyostraat 6, 6524 AV Nimegen, Holland. (Note prepared by Alfred Tulp.)

34. Once again we approach the season of corporate annual meetings, and again concerned stockholders from church and university groups are presenting a variety of resolutions for consideration at these meetings. A substantial number of these deal with issues of interest to Africanists, specifically investment in and loans to South Africa (20 corporations), compliance with the WHO's code of marketing for infant formula (6 corporations), and drug sales to Third World countries. For a free chart summarizing resolutions regarding South Africa or a proxy packet (at \$3.00 plus 50¢ postage and handling) listing all resolutions, write the Office of Information, National Council of Churches, Room 850, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. For more information on the resolutions on Africa, write Tim Smith, Director, Interchurch Center for Corporate Responsibility, Room 575, same street address as above. Leah Margulis, in the same office, is coordinating the Infant Formula Campaign. The ICCR phone number is 212-870-2936. The center publishes a monthly newsletter, *THE CORPORATE EXAMINER*.

## Coming Events

An institute on HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE THIRD WORLD will be held at the University of Denver from June 20 to August 15, 1982. Co-directors are George W. Shepherd, co-editor of *AFRICA TODAY* and a professor at the University's Graduate School of International Studies and Ved Nanda, professor of International Law at the University's College of Law. Participants will be 12 teachers and scholars who will be selected from applications submitted before April 1st. Each participant will receive a \$2,500 stipend. Housing will be provided by the university. Major topics to be explored include political repression, refugees, economic human needs, and racial discrimination, with participants encouraged to pursue their own areas of interest as well as to engage in joint research and workshop projects. For more information write to Prof. Shepherd at the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208. His telephone number is 303-753-2755.

Also at the University of Denver this summer is a three week institute on PSYCHOLOGY AND DECISION MAKING IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The dates are July 19-August 6, 1982. GSIS Professors Karen Feste and Arthur N. Gilbert and visiting Professors Ole Holsti of Duke, Robert Jarvis of Columbia, and Stephen Walker of Arizona State will be the faculty. An undergraduate degree is required for enrollment. Academic credit will be given. The application deadline is June 1st. For a listing of specific courses, application forms and fee schedule write to Arthur N. Gilbert, Associate Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208.

The *African Heritage Institute* offers its third study tour to Africa from January 4 to January 25, 1983. Countries to be visited are Senegal, Morocco, and Egypt. Exact cost will be determined nearer the date, but is estimated at approximately \$2,000. Participants may earn 4 credit hours. Write the director, Dr. Akbarali H. Thobhani, Department of Afro-American Studies, Metropolitan State College, 1006 11th Street, Denver, CO 80204, for more information.

A conference on INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS: *The Dilemmas of Liberty and Development in Tropical Africa* will be held on May 7-8, 1982 at the State University of New York in Buffalo. Research questions grouped under the general headings of Domestic, Regional, and Global contexts grouped under the general headings of Domestic, Regional, and Global contexts of Human Rights in Africa will be discussed. Stanley Hoffman is the keynoter. Claude E. Welsh, Jr. and Ronald I. Metzger are the organizers. For more information write Dr. Welsh at the Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. 14260.

The 1982 convention of the *American Political Science Association* will be held September 2-5, 1982, in Denver, Colorado. As usual, a number of panels will focus on Third World and African issues. For more detailed information, write Conference information, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.



The 1982 annual meeting of the *African Studies Association* will be in the Capitol Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. November 4-November 7, 1982. The theme is "U.S. and Africa: Adversaries or Partners in Development." Deadline for proposals for papers and panels is April 15, 1982. The program chairman is Prof. Nzongola-Ntalaja, African Studies Program, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059.

The *African Heritage Studies Association* holds its 1982 annual convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, April 21-25. This is a joint meeting with The Association of Black Political Scientists. For more information phone Professor Len Jeffries at 212-690-6741.

## Announcements

As we go to press, the efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization service to expel the distinguished South African poet Dennis Brutus, a tenured professor at Northwestern University and an AFRICA TODAY editorial consultant, are still continuing. Having been denied permanent residency by INS, Brutus has now applied for status as a political exile. Letters of support, and contributions to pay for the escalating legal fees, should be sent to the Dennis Brutus Defense Committee, 39 La Salle, Suite 825, Chicago, Illinois 60603.

The winner of the Noma Award For Publishing in Africa for 1981 has been announced. The \$3,000 award will be presented on March 1st at the 7th Ife International Book Fair to Meshack Asare, author and illustrator of *THE BRASSMAN'S SECRET*, published by Educational Press and Manufacturers, Ltd., Accra, Ghana. The book is described as "an exciting and unusual children's story, beautifully and imaginatively illustrated," to highlight "important aspects of Asante culture." Receiving special commendation from the committee was *BWANA MYOMBKERE NA BIBI BUGONOKA* by Aniceti Kitereza, published by the Tanzania Publishing House. This "remarkable and massive Kiswahili narrative, presenting an authentic picture of the traditional life of the Abakerebe people of Tanzania" was originally written in Kikerebe and translated by the author into Kiswahili.

The Association for the Advancement of Policy Research and Development in Africa (AAPRDA) is a new organization designed to promote the interchange of scientific and technological information, methodologies, instruments and policy findings among development scholars, practitioners and administrators of scientific, technological and development institutions within Africa or concerned with Africa. For information on memberships and conferences write Dr. Mekki Mtewa, Department of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059. (Telephone 202-636-6720)

Voices of the Future, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011, are the booking agents for two Americans who attended the First Congress of Youth of the MPLA and the International Congress of Youth and Students in Solidarity with the Peoples' Youth and Students of Southern Africa. These speakers are James Steele, President of the Young Workers Liberation League and Keta Miranda, editor of *THE YOUNG WORKER*.

The Museum of African Art, founded in 1964 by Wallace M. Robbins, and incorporated into the Smithsonian Institution in 1979, has now been re-named the NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART. Located at 318 A Street N.E. in Washington, D.C., the museum displays some 9,000 artifacts and has a photo archive of almost 100,000 images of African art and environment. Special displays are arranged from time to time. Color slides and black or white photos from the recently closed display of funerary art are available. Write Brigetta Carlson or Kathryn Lundeman at the Office of Public Affairs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560 for more information.



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OXFAM AMERICA has launched a major new rural self-help program in Zimbabwe, as a result of a \$2.4 million grant from the Burroughs Corporation. Heading the program will be Dr. Walton Johnson, on a two year leave from his post as Chairman of African Studies at Rutgers University. For more information write Judith Hansen, OXFAM America, 320 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116.

OKPAKU'S PAN-AFRICAN TOURS, 1995 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023 is willing to arrange study tours to Africa tailored to meet the needs of departments of African studies. Options include two weeks at the Universities of Lagos and Ibadan and/or two weeks at the University of Dakar. For more information write Sophia Haynes, Assistant Manager, at the above address.

The 1981-82 DIRECTORY OF VISITING FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS doing Lecturing and research in the U.S. includes 56 African scholars from 19 countries out of a total of more than 700 scholars from 76 countries. Of the 56, 33 are in the Humanities, Social Science and Education and 23 in the Sciences or Engineering, with the largest single category being Political Science, with 8. Unfortunately, by the time this reaches our readers, only 17 of this group will still be in the U.S.

The names, country, field, location and month of departure are listed below.

Farauk Moustafa	Egypt	Anthropology	Univ. of Utah	June
Emmanuel A. Aymdele	Nigeria	History	Howard	May
Charles Tchichou	Congo	Lit-Music	Rutgers	May
Abrellahi A. El Narem	Sudan	Law	Columbia	June
Tinuadi O. Obiende	Nigeria	Libr.	Pittsburgh	July
Adolphus A. Turkson	Ghana	Music	Portland St.	July
Immanuel Bava	Tanzania	Poli Sci	Illinois (Champaign)	June
Ghefem J. Katuala	Zaire	Poli Sci	Pittsburgh	July
Vumbi Y. Mudimbe	Zaire	Classics	Haverford	June
		Poli Sci		
Zeinab A. Ezzeldin	Egypt	An. Husb.	N. Illinois	June
Abdel G. Elkhoully	Egypt	Microbiology	Louisiana St.	June
Larbi Najem	Morocco	Botany	Auburn	August
Rodamis B. Fahim	Egypt	Chem.	Arkansas St.	May
Gasim J. Mukhager	Sudan	Pharm.	Minnesota	May
Farouk A. Ibrahim	Sudan	Geol.	US Geol. Survey Reston, VA	Sept.
			Vanderbilt	Dec.
M.D. E. Mously	Egypt	Physics	Texas (Austin)	June
Osman M. Kamel	Egypt			

In addition, Oladipupo O. Adimokulun, The Dean of Public Administration at the University of Ile-Ife, Nigeria, will be here from September through December to do research at the UCLA Council of International Studies in Los Angeles.

## Books Received

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

### Political Science/Area Studies

**AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA: The Challenge to Western Security.** L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan. (Hoover Institution Press, 1981) 114 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

**AFRICAN INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 1967-1975: The Politics and Techniques of Gaining Compliance to U.N. Principles and Resolutions.** Gregory L. Wilkins. (University Press of America, 1981) 263 pp.; paperback \$11.50.

**AFRICAN POLITICS: The Corruption of Power.** Ken C. Kotecha with Robert W. Adams. (University Press of America, 1981) 479 pp.; paperback \$14.75.

**AFROCOMMUNISM.** David and Marina Ottaway. (Africana Publishing Company, 1981) 237 pp.; hardcover \$24.50.

**ALTERNATIVE FUTURES FOR AFRICA.** Timothy Shaw. (Westview Press, 1981) 365 pp.; paperback \$14.00.

**THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND SOUTH AFRICA.** Alfred O. Hero and John Barratt. (Lexington Books, 1981) 229 pp.; hardcover, n.p.

**COLONIAL BUREAUCRACY AND CREATING UNDERDEVELOPMENT: Tanganyika, 1919-1940.** D.M.P. McCarthy. (Iowa State University Press, 1982) 151 pp.; hardcover, \$13.95.

**THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA: Class Defense, Class Revolution.** John Saul and Stephen Gelb. (Monthly Review Press, 1981) 155 pp.; hardcover \$12.00.

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

**\*DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA.** Ben Turok. (Zed Press, 1981) 262 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

**\*ELECTRONIC COLONIALISM: The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication.** Thomas L. McPhail. (Sage Publications, 1981) 260 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

ESSAYS IN NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY. Olajide Aluko. (George Allen and Unwin, 1981) 288 pp.; hardcover \$28.50.

INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA. Christian P. Potholm and Richard A. Fredland. (University Press of America, 1980) 218 pp.; paperback \$9.75.

THE LAST DAYS OF WHITE RHODESIA; Dennis Hills. (Chatto Windus, 1981) 187 pp.; hardcover \$19.95.

THE LONG TRANSITION: *Building Socialism in Tanzania*. Idrian N. Resnick. (Monthly Review Press, 1981) 304 pp.; hardcover \$18.50.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA: *The Challenge to Western Security*. (Hoover Institution Press, 1981) 140 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

MY VISION OF NIGERIA. Shehu Shagari. (Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1981) 424 pp.; hardcover \$25.00.

\* CIIR/BCC, NAMIBIA IN THE 1980s. (Catholic Institute for International Relations and British Council of Churches, 1981) 82 pp.; paperback L 1.00.

NIGERIA SINCE 1970: *A Political and Economic Outline*. Anthony Kirk-Green and Douglas Rimmer. (Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc. 1981) 161 pp.; paperback \$12.50.

OUTCAST CAPE TOWN. John Western. (University of Minnesota Press, 1981) 372 pp.; hardcover \$22.50.

PAWNS ON A CHESSBOARD: *The Resource War in Southern Africa*. Galen S. Hull. (University Press of America, 1981) 236 pp.; paperback \$10.25.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AFRICA: *Selected Readings*. Dennis L. Cohen and John Daniel. 289 pp.; paperback \$10.95.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE: *South Africa in Struggle — A Pictorial History*. Peder Gouwenius. (Zed Press, 1981) 139 pp.; paperback \$6.95.

SOUTH AFRICA: *The Prospects of Peaceful Change*. Theodor Hanf, Heribert Weiland, and Gerda Vierdag. (Indiana University Press, 1981) 492 pp.; hardcover \$35.00.

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

THE STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE. David Martin and Phyllis Johnson. (Faber and Faber, 1981) 378 pp.; hardcover \$25.00.

THE SUN WILL RISE: *Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners*. Mary Benson. (The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1981) 80 pp.; paperback £ 1.20.

#### Books Received

SURVEY OF NIGERIAN AFFAIRS 1976-1977. O. Oyediran. (The Nigerian Institute for Foreign Affairs in cooperation with Macmillan Nigerian Publishers Ltd., 1981) 312 pp.; paperback

THIRD WORLD POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. Gwyneth Williams. (Osmun & Co. Publishers, 1981) 133 pp.; hardcover \$30.50.

\* TO BE BORN A NATION: *The Liberation Struggle for Namibia*. SWAPO. (Zed Press, 1981) 357 pp.; paperback £ 4.95.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: *New Policies for a Changing World Economy*. Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. (Committee for Economic Development, 1981) 88 pp.; paperback

THE USSR AND AFRICA: *Foreign Policy Under Khrushchev*. Dan C. Heldman. (Praeger Publishers, 1981) 187 pp.; paperback

#### History/Geography

ANGOLA UNDER THE PORTUGUESE: *The Myth and the Reality*. Gerald J. Bender. (University of California Press, 1981) 207 pp.; paperback \$7.95.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF GABON. David E. Gardinier. (Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981) 284 pp.; hardcover \$15.00.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF KENYA. Bettwell A. Ogot. (Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981) 299 pp.; hardcover \$16.00.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF LIBYA. Lorna Hahn. (Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981) 132 pp.; hardcover \$10.00.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF MAURITANIA. Alfred G. Gerteiny. (Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981) 116 pp.; hardcover \$10.00.

LAND AND NATIONALISM: *The Impact of Land Expropriation and Land Grievances Upon the Rise and Development of Nationalist Movements in Kenya, 1885-1939*. Mwangi Wa-Githumo. (University Press of America, 1981) 477 pp.; paperback \$15.50.

IL MADAGASCAR NELL VITA DI ROAMBANA PRIMO STORICA MALAGASCIO 1809-1855. Lilliana Mosca. (Gianni Editore, 1980) 241 pp.; paperback L 12,000.

RIVER OF WEALTH RIVER OF SORROW: *The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891*. Robert W. Harms. (Yale University Press, 1981) 277 pp.; hardcover \$24.00.

SOUTHERN AFRICA. *Civilizations in Turmoil*. Richard W. Hull. (New York University Press, 1981) 168pp.; paperback \$9.00.

**Economics/Development**

\*CLASS AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN KENYA: *The Making of an African Petite-Bourgeoisie*. Gayin Kitching. (Yale University Press, 1980) 479 pp.; hardcover \$39.50.

COSTS, RETURNS AND REPAYMENT EXPERIENCE OF UJAMAA VILLAGES IN TANZANIA, 1973-1976. Jean M. Due. (University Press of America, 1980) 141 pp.; paperback \$9.25.

AN ECONOMICS TEXTBOOK FOR AFRICA. Ann Seidman. (Methuen, 1980) 346 pp.; paperback \$12.95.

FROM DEPENDENCY TO DEVELOPMENT: *Strategies to Overcome Underdevelopment and Inequality*. Heraldo Munoz, ed. (Westview Press, 1981) 336 pp.; hardcover \$28.50.

INDIGENOUS ECONOMICS: *A Cultural Approach*. Chinyamata Chipeta. (Exposition Press, 1981) 267 pp.; hardcover \$12.50.

INVESTMENT DEMAND IN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY: *The Nigerian Case*. Harold G.O. Osuagwu. (University Press of America, 1982) 430 pp.; paperback \$14.75.

THE LIMITS TO STRUCTURAL CHANGE: *A Comparative Study of Foreign Direct Investments in Liberia and Ghana 1950-1971*. Jerker Carlsson. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981) 299 pp.; paper Skr. 120/-

MAIDENS, MEAL AND MONEY: *Capitalism and the Domestic Community*. Claude Meillassoux. (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 196 pp.; paperback \$12.50.

MODES OF PRODUCTION IN AFRICA: *The Precolonial Era*. Donald Crummey and C.C. Stewart. (Sage Publications, 1981) 256 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

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

THE NORTH MKATA PLAIN, TANZANIA: *A Study of Land Capability and Land Tenure*. Roger J. Pitblado. (University of Toronto Press, 1981) 178 pp.; paperback, \$8.50.

NORTH-SOUTH TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER: *Financing and Institution Building*. Jack Baranson. (Lamond Publications, Inc., 1981) 160 pp.; hardcover \$15.75.

*Books Received*

PATH TO NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENT. Nnoli Okwudiba. (Zed Press, 1981) 264 pp.; paperback \$9.95.

PERSPECTIVES ON DROUGHT AND FAMINE IN NIGERIA. Jan G. Van Apeldoorn. (George Allen & Unwin, 1981) 184 pp.; hardcover, n.p.

PLANNING AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT. Glen Norcliffe and Tom Pinfold. (Westview, 1981) 201 pp.; hardcover \$28.25.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN A MIXED ECONOMY: *Proceedings of a Conference Held by the International Economic Association in Mexico City*. William J. Baumol. (St. Martin's Press, 1980) 308 pp.; hardcover \$40.00.

RICE IN WEST AFRICA: *Policy and Economics*. Scott R. Pearson, Direk J. Stryker and Charles P. Humphreys. (Stanford University Press, 1981) 482 pp.; hardcover, n.p.

THE ROLE OF FINANCE IN THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. Stephany Griffin Jones. (Allanheld Osum & Company Publishers, 1981) 194 pp.; hardcover \$26.50.

SOIL EROSION AND RESERVOIR SEDIMENTATION IN LESOTHO. Qalebane K. Chakela. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981) 150 pp.; paperback, n.p.

SOIL EROSION AND SEDIMENTATION IN SEMI-ARID TANZANIA: *Studies of Environmental Change and Ecological Imbalance*. Carl Christiansson. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies and the University of Stockholm, 1981) 208 pp.; paperback Skr. 100.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY: *Its Growth and Change*. Jill Natrass. (Oxford University Press, 1981) 328 pp.; hardcover \$24.95.

UNIONS AND LEADERS IN GHANA: *A Model of Labor and Development*. Pauls Gray. (Transaction Books, 1981) 356 pp.; hardcover \$35.00.

THE UPROOTED OF THE WESTERN SAHEL: *Migrants' Quest for Cash in the Senegambia*. Lucie G. Colvin, et al. (Praeger, 1981) 285 pp.; hardcover, n.p.

WOMAN'S WORTH: *Sexual Economics and the World of Women*. Lisa Leghorn and Katherine Parker. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981) 356 pp.; cloth \$19.95.

WORKING FOR FREEDOM: *Black Trade Union Development in South Africa Throughout the 1970s*. Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall. (World Council of Churches, 1981) 118 pp.; paperback, n.p.

**Anthropology, Sociology, Religion**

**BABA OF KARO: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa.** Mary F. Smith. (Yale University Press, 1981) 299 pp.; paperback \$6.95.

**BLACK MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA.** W.R. Bohning. (International Labor Office, 1981) 184 pp.; hardcover \$17.10.

**BLACK VILLAGERS IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY: Anthropological Perspectives on Labour Migration in South Africa.** Philip Mayer. (Oxford University Press, 1980) 369 pp.; hardcover \$29.95.

**BLOOD AND FLESH: Black American and African Identification.** Josephine M. Moikobu. (Greenwood Press, 1981) 226 pp.; hardcover \$25.00.

**CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN.** Giovanni Vantini. (Publishers EMI, 1981) 302 pp.; paperback, n.p.

**CULTURAL ATLAS OF AFRICA.** Jocelyn Murray. (Facts on File Publications, 1981) 240 pp.; hardcover \$29.95.

\***ETHNOGEOGRAPHY OF THE BAHR EL GHAZAL (SUDAN): An Attempt at a Historical Reconstruction.** Stefano Santandrea. (Zola Predosa, 1981) 168 pp.; hardcover £ 20,000.

**FAMILIES DIVIDED: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho.** Colin Murray. (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 219 pp.; hardcover \$39.50.

**THE HAMADSHA: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry.** Vincent Crapanzano. (University of California Press, 1981) 258 pp.; paperback \$8.95.

**ISLAM AND POWER.** Alexander S. Cudsi and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) 204 pp.; hardcover \$20.00.

**MAN CURES GOD HEALS: Religion and Medical Practice Among the Akan of Ghana.** Kofi Appiah-Kubi. (Allanheld Osmun & Company Publishers, 1981) 173pp.; hardcover \$18.95.

**NISA: The Life and Words of a Kung Woman.** Marjorie Shostak. (Harvard University Press, 1981) 402pp.; hardcover \$20.00.

\***NUBIAN CEREMONIAL LIFE: Studies in Islamic Syncretism and Cultural Change.** John G. Kennedy. (University of California Press, 1981) 257pp.; hardcover \$30.00.

**THE POWERS OF PRESENCE: Consciousness, Myth, and Affecting Presence.** Robert Plant Armstrong. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981) 211pp.; hardcover \$20.00.

*Books Received*

**SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN EARLY OTTOMAN EGYPT: Studies in the Writings of Abd al Wahhab al-Sha' rani.** Michael Winter. (Transaction Books, 1982) 345pp.; hardcover, n.p.

**URBAN DYNAMICS IN BLACK AFRICA.** William J. Hanna and Judith I. Hanna. (Aldine Publishing Company, 1981) 260pp.; hardcover \$19.95.

\***VOODOO: Africa's Secret Power.** Gert Chesi. (Perlinger Verlag, 1981) 276pp.; cloth \$35.00.

**Language/Literature**

**CHILDREN'S FICTION ABOUT AFRICA IN ENGLISH.** Nancy J. Schmidt. (Conch Magazine Ltd. Publishers, 1981) 248pp.; hardcover \$35.00.

\***CHIRUNDU: A Novel About Modern Africa.** Es'kia Mphahlele. (Lawrence Hill & Company Publishers, Inc., 1981) 158pp.; paperback \$7.95.

\***CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LUSOPHONE AFRICAN LITERATURE.** Donald Burness. (Three Continents Press, 1981) 307pp.; paperback \$10.00.

**ENGLISH-LINGALA MANUAL.** John D. Odhner. (University Press of America, 1981) 151pp.; paperback \$18.23.

**JAZZ AND PALM WINE.** Willfried F. Feuser. (Three Continents Press, Inc., 1981) 214pp.; paperback \$5.00.

\***KING ALBERT.** Francis Bebey. (Zed Press, 1981) 167pp.; paperback \$5.95.

**MIND YOUR COLOUR: The Coloured Stereotype in South African Literature.** (Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1981) 248pp.; hardcover \$29.95.

**THE SOUL OF MBIRA: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe with an Appendix: Building and Playing a Shona Karimba.** Paul F. Berliner. (University of California Press, 1981) 312pp.; paperback \$6.95.

**THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE: A Descriptive Grammar.** E.N. Myachina. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981) 86pp.; paperback \$15.00.

\***TROPICAL CIRCLE.** Alioum Fantoure. (Longman, 1981) 259pp.; paperback, n.p.

**WHEN THE DRUMBEAT CHANGES.** C. Parker and S. Arnold. (Three Continents Press, Inc. 1981) 293pp.; paperback \$14.00.

**SWAHILI PROVERBS: Nia Zikiwa Meja, Kilicho Mpali Huja.** Albert Schevan. (University Press of America, Inc., 1981) 608pp.; paperback \$21.50.

WRITERS AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA. James Booth. (Holmes & Meier Publishing Company, 1981) 190pp.; paperback \$14.25.

Miscellaneous/Multi-Discipline

AFRICA INDEX: To Continental Periodical Literature. Colin Darch and O.C. Mascarenhas. (Hans Zell Publishers, 1981) 191pp.; hardcover DM 98.

I SOUGHT MY BROTHER: An Afro-American Reunion. Allen S. Counter and David Evans. (The MIT Press, 1981) hardcover \$19.95.

SPHERES OF EXISTENCE: Selected Writings. C.L.R. James. (Lawrence Hill & Company, 1981) 266pp.; paperback \$7.95.

## Undoing the Gremlin's Mischief

Corrections for "Imperialism, Dependency, and Social Class" in 28/3.

Our editorial pride took a severe tumble when the copies of 28/3 came off the press. More than our usual quota of typographical errors for an entire issue managed to find their way into a single article. First of all, our apologies to co-author Brigitte Schulz. The "c" in her surname managed to disappear more than half the time: on the cover, in our identification line, in footnote 56, and the first nine times it appears at the top of the odd numbered pages. The spelling is correct in the table of contents, at the beginning of the article, and the last six times it is used in a page heading.

In addition, in at least eight places errors alter or confuse the sense of the passage. We therefore provide this guide for those using the article for further research or classroom assignment.

p. 6 footnote 4 should read **Economics**, Vol. 18, not p.

p. 10 the 5th line under **Dependency Theory** is blurred, read "... these socio-economic formations were undeveloped insofar as their productive forces were primitive."

p. 13 last two lines should be replaced by "periphery to the core. Over the centuries the forms taken to bring about . . ." The corrected sentences should read: Plunder, in its strict definition or in its more rapacious form, has not been the continuing mechanism for the transfer of value from the periphery to the core. Over the centuries the forms taken to bring about this transfer have changed as the needs of capital have changed.

p. 13 2nd paragraph lines 8 (at end) and line 11 (at start) and in subsequent quotation- (divided word lines 2 and 3) read "India" instead of "Indian"

p. 22 quote from Karl Marx- 2nd paragraph. The words "its own product because" are omitted between "has become" and "of the innate necessity" in the fifth line of this paragraph. The corrected quote should read: "Likewise, as the capitalist mode of production progresses, the expansion of foreign trade, although the basis of the capitalist mode of production in its infancy, has become its own product because of the innate necessity of this mode of production, and through its need for ever-expanded markets." The original German can be found in *Das Kapital*, Drittes Buch, pp. 224-225, Frankfurt/Main, Verlag Ullstein, 1971. Another translation into English, less satisfactory than Brigitte Schulz' translation given here, can be found in the reference cited in footnote 56, and originally mentioned in footnote 8.

p. 24 footnote 67 **Economics**, Vol. 15, 18, 21 (not pp.)

p. 26 The 5th line from the bottom is blurred. The phrase reads "allowing the form of domination to be the control of technology rather than that of the productive process itself."

p. 33 2nd paragraph line 6. The correct reading is "Faithful to the end to her political position," rather than "of her political position."

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