

D A K A R

READING FOR REVOLUTION

Revolutionaries with conviction, those who have profound feeling for a cause, for an idea, those who understand a theory and are capable of interpreting this theory in accordance with reality; of those, unfortunately, there are few. But wherever and whenever men with these convictions appear - even if only a handful in number - if the objective conditions for revolution are present, revolutions will take place. Because history creates the objective conditions, but men make the subjective conditions.

- Fidel CASTRO

APRIL, 1972

INTRODUCTION:READING FOR REVOLUTION

"I am doing a research project on Africa," a high school student wrote the Africa Research Group the other day. "My teacher is really reactionary and I want to challenge his approach. Please send me everything you have that's radical."

Of course, we didn't send off our entire library or files but frequent requests of a similar nature point to a widespread unfamiliarity with available radical literature about Africa among students and movement people. For reasons that have everything to do with institutionalized racism in the schools and mass media, Africa's history and current problems and achievements have not received the public attention they deserve. The resurgence of black consciousness is forcing the study of Africa to be incorporated in most school curriculums. The anti-war movement's focus on U.S. intervention in Vietnam has sparked interest in imperialist involvements and revolutionary movements in other parts of the 'third world.' As a result, Africa is finding a prominent place on the map of international radical consciousness.

Unfortunately, and not surprisingly, most of the literature available in the United States about Africa tends to reflect the needs, interests, and ideology of existing social system. As one critic of most American Africanists has explained: "**African studies** has been careeristic or merely fashionable; concern has been less with the subject of study, with the conditions, needs, and potential of the African people, than with the abstract problems that qualified a student as an academic expert or Africanist." In the guise of studying about Africa, these "experts" have actually been perpetuating a form of academic colonialism which provides the imperialist powers with the detailed information they need to continue to dominate the continent. (An Africa Research Group publication, The Extended Family (50¢) offers a detailed critique of the links between the "tribe" of U.S. Africanists with the C.I.A., other government agencies, American corporations and their foundations.)

Only new and more radical intellectual approaches and perspectives can help us create alternative research and scholarship which enables us to tell the truth about what's happening in Africa and the world itself. People interested in understanding the world in order to change it are preoccupied with a different set of questions than the ideologists of the status quo. We must understand the structures of domination as well as the strategies of liberation. If we are westerners living in the imperialist world, our focus must be on the institutions which structure the neo-colonial reality of so much of "independent" Africa. Our studies of African societies must use the tools of class analysis rather than the frequently racist chimeras of the 'tribalists.' Finally, our intellectual interests in African affairs cannot be divorced from a political commitment to support the heroic efforts of Africa's freedom fighters.

This Study Guide offers a bibliography of books and materials about Africa which are either radical or relevant to a radical analysis. It is not the work of professional bibliographers and cannot claim to be definitive. It represents instead a compilation of books which help illuminate the African situation. We have organized them around various themes which suggest a methodological approach as well. In some cases we have deliberately omitted well-known but not particularly radical works and in some cases, no doubt, have allowed mediocre material to slip through. We have tried to include only materials which are fairly easy to obtain, and have, sadly, omitted many important documents, pamphlets, and articles, which are unavailable. Where we could, we've included addresses of places to write for more information. Since we are writing primarily for an American audience, we've gone lightly on French entries. We have also confined our focus, as a result of our own limitations at this stage, to most of Sub-Saharan Africa. Unhappily, that means we've included no references, in this edition, to materials about the Algerian Revolution. North Africa, or, for that matter, Ethiopia, the Sudan and other countries. We apologize for this gap and hope to remedy it in subsequent revisions. Needless to say, the inclusion or exclusion of any one book or article does not

necessarily represent the political perspective of the Africa Research Group. We welcome feedback on the usefulness of this publication as well as suggestions for works to include in the future.

This Study Guide is intended to complement a new expanded research methodology guide published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), with the help of the Africa Research Group. That guide will be indispensable for individuals interested in researching modern imperialism. Copies will be available from A.R.G. for \$1.25.

GOOD ADVICE ...  
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"Try to understand men not as an isolated fragment, not as an intelligible field or system in and of itself. Try to understand men and women as historical and social actors, and the ways in which the variety of men and women are intricately selected and intricately formed by the variety of human societies. Before you go through with any piece of work, no matter how indirectly or occasionally, orient it to the central and continuing task of understanding the structure and the drift, the shaping and the meanings, of your own period, the terrible and magnificent world of human society in the second half of the twentieth century." - The Sociological Imagination

C. Wright MILLS

REFERENCE WORKS

- Africa 69/70: A Reference Volume on the African Continent, compiled and edited by Jeune Afrique; Published by Africana, 101 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. \$9.50  
Very handy summary of current information about Africa, including detailed articles.
- McGowan, P., African Politics: A Guide to Resources, Methods, and Literature, Syracuse University, 1970. While intended to help you learn how to do conventional social science research, this Guide has useful information both about individual African countries and research resources.
- Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, second edition, London and New York, 1964. Contains many useful articles and helpful information. A bit old.
- ReQua, Eloise and J. Statham, The Developing Nations: A Guide to Information Sources Concerning their Economic, Political, Technical and Social Problems, Detroit, Gale Research Co., 1965, 339 pp.  
Widely-used by business and academic experts.
- Wheeler, L.J., International Business and Foreign Trade: A Guide to Information Sources, Detroit, Gale Research Co., 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHES

- African Bibliographic Center, A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1968. Published bi-monthly. Also published many useful bibliographies on selected issues, such as "A Preliminary and Selected Bibliographical Guide to African Military Affairs".
- African Studies Research: A Brief Guide to Selected Bibliographies and Other Sources for African Studies, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Program of African Studies, 1964.
- American Universities Field Staff, A Select Bibliography: Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America, New York, 1960, supplemented in 1961, 1963 and 1967.  
Carefully annotated but not radical.

Bibliographies on International Relations and World Affairs: An Annotated Directory, Santa Barbara, Clio Press, 1965.

- Garling, A., Bibliography of African Bibliographies, Cambridge, England, African Studies Center Occasional Paper No.1, 1968. Lists over 800 items by area and country.
- Gutkind, P. and J. Webster, A Select Bibliography on Traditional and Modern Africa, Program of African Studies, Bibliographic Section, Syracuse University, 1968. Long, not annotated, indexed according to author and subject, includes references to other bibliographies.
- Pearson, J.D. and R. Jones, The Bibliography of Africa, Africana Publishing Corp., New York, 1969.
- Spitz, A., Developmental Change: An Annotated Bibliography, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1969. Long but not radical annotations of books covering many areas, including Africa.
- Verhaegen, B., Bibliographie sur les classes sociales en Afrique, Brussels, 1964.

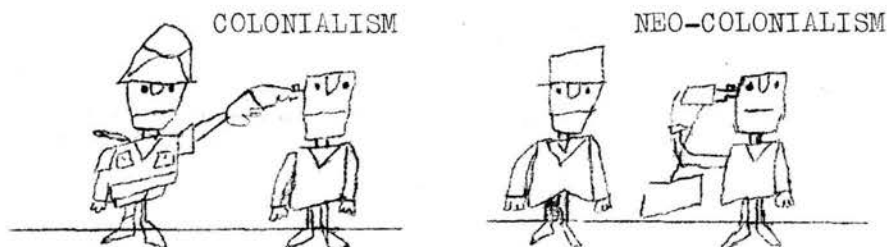
WARNING, If you are interested in researching foreign penetration in Africa, this Guide will not be very helpful. For a complete listing of useful sources for radical research, consult the revised Research and Methodology Guide prepared by the North American Congress on Latin America available from the Africa Research Group for \$1.00 plus 25¢ for mailing.

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AFRICA GENERAL

- Ainslie, R., The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present. (Walker, New York), 1967.  
This book stresses the need for 'African' communication systems free from repressive censorship.
- Bohannon, P., Africa and the Africans. 1964.  
Introductory anthropology - rather innocuous.
- Buell, R., The Native Problem in Africa. (Macmillan New York), 1928, 2 volumes.  
A massive, compendious study by a Harvard professor - perhaps the first serious work by a white American on Africa. The book is often critical of colonial policies and it contains much valuable data.
- Davidson, B., Which Way Africa. (Penguin), 1964.  
Davidson discusses various aspects of the African political experience in the light of his belief that "The 1960's and maybe the 1970's will preside over an even greater struggle for .... political liberation - for that new and unified society without which the peoples of Africa cannot independently survive or prosper."
- Davidson, B., "What's Wrong with Africa?" International Socialist Journal I, 4 (Aug. 1968). The book starts with Nigeria and discusses R. Wraith and E. Simpkin's thesis on corruption (that it is an evolving middle class which is oppressing the people) and points out the shallowness of their analysis as it relates to Nigeria.
- Dumont, R., False Start in Africa. (Praeger), 1969.  
Holds the position that independence and "African socialism" is a system about as oppressive as that in France in 1789 and is in desperate need of revolution. According to Dumont, the revolution should be carried out by peasants under the direction of left-wing agronomists.  
He points out many examples of the oppressiveness of neo-colonialism and the ways in which the "free" African states are administered.

- Hunton, W., Decision in Africa. (International Publishers, New York), 1957.  
Forward by W.E.B. DuBois. The book presents a Marxist analysis of the past and present political and economic involvement of imperialism. Tables listing economic interests of foreign capital are included.
- Frankel, S., Capital Investment in Africa. (Oxford University Press).  
A massive survey of the extent of foreign investment in Africa up to the 1930's.
- Legum, C., Africa - A Handbook to the Continent. (Praeger), 1966.  
A collection of papers classified by geographical regions and subjects.
- Llyod, P., Africa in Social Change. (Penguin).  
The book focuses on West Africa and the role of elites through an anthropological/sociological perspective which gives a fuller picture than that of the political scientist. The book is marred by an inadequate class perspective and an only half-hearted adoption of a 'conflict' rather than a functionalist model.
- Manadou, R., The African Nations and World Solidarity (Praeger), 1961.  
Emphasis on agricultural and rural consumer needs rather than on massive industrialization.
- Miller, J., The Politics of the Third World. (Oxford University Press, London), 1967.  
The book deals with the international behavior of the states of the Afro-Asian bloc, devoting special attention to aspects of their domestic affairs that contribute to the formation of their foreign policy.
- Panikkar, K., Revolution in Africa. (Asia Publishing House), 1961.  
Part I - "Nationalism and the Rise of Nation States" (including leaders, parties, Pan-Africanism, etc.)  
Part II - Guinea - A Case Study.
- Partisans, "L'Afrique dans l'épreuve" (Sp. issue). 29-30, (May-June 1966).





- Segal, R., Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties. (Praeger).  
A more complete collection of biographical sketches of political leaders-parliamentary and extra parliamentary. African Profiles is a shortened version of this book.
- Segal, R., The Race War. (Penguin), 1967.  
Segal examines how the seeds of modern racial conflict were planted in the third world during the centuries of European expansion.
- Worsley, P., Third World.  
Worsley is an "agrarian messianist" who falls into the trap of advocating a populist socialism which is divorced from a class analysis. For a critique see John Saul, "African Populism" in Gellner and Ionescu, Populism (London), 1969.
- I - ECONOMICS
- Amin, S. Trois Experiences Africaines de Development: le Mali, la Guinee, et la Ghana.  
Careful analysis of the manner in which traditional structures and classes impede development; a critique of "African socialism".
- Berg, E., "The Economic Basis of Political Choice in French West Africa". in Hanna, N. ed. Independent Black Africa.  
The constraining imperialist factors forcing the French African elites to accomodate to imperialism. Offers no "counter model".
- Bettleheim, C. "Economic Planning in Africa". Perspective, June 1961.
- Bettleheim, C. "Economic Planning in Tropical Africa". African Revolution, June, 1963.
- Calloway, A. "Unemployment among African School-teachers". Journal of Modern African Studies, I,3.  
Contradictions of education and economy.

- Dia, M. "Reflections sur l'Economie de l'Afrique Noire". Presence Africaine, 1960.  
History of the development of African economy: colonial economy sacrifices agricultural development for extractive and profitmaking industry.
- Dumont, R. "Conditions for Agricultural Development in Tropical Asia and Africa". Presence Africaine, 16, 44.
- Green, R. "Four African Development Plans: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania". Journal of Modern African Studies, 1965, No.2.
- Green, R. and Krishna, K. Economic Co-operation in Africa: Retrospect and Prospect. Oxford University Press, 1967.  
Based on international seminar of economic co-operation in Africa held at Union College, Nairobi, December, 1965.
- Green, R. and Seidman, A. Unity or Poverty? The Economics of Pan-Africanism. Penguin, 1968 (African Series).
- Hunter, Guy. The Best of Both Worlds? Oxford University Press.  
The effects of transferral of technology and institutions, and the ideas and values corresponding to them, from "developed" to "developing" countries.
- Lange, O. Economic Development, Planning, and International Cooperation. Monthly Review Press, 1963.
- Murray, R. "Agronomy and Society". New Left Review, 19, March-April 1963.  
A review of R. Dumont's L'Afrique Noire est Mal Partie. (False Start in Africa).
- Ori, O. "Features of Nigeria's Financial Institutions - a Marxist Approach". Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies.
- Potekhin, I. "Problems of Economic Independence of African Countries". in Bown, L. and Crowder, M. (eds) Proceedings of First International Congress of Africanists (Accra, Dec. 1962). Longmans/ICA, 1964.  
Foremost Soviet analyst (died 1964).
- Wraith, R. and Simplins, E. Corruption in Underdeveloped Countries, Oxford University Press, 1963.  
Equating corruption with factors of lack of bureaucratic tradition, democratic values, etc. instead of seeing it as a function of a neo-colonial elite.

## 2. CLASS ANALYSIS

A country is socialist or capitalist not because of the ideas or intentions of its government, but because of the social structure which characterizes it, and the nature of the classes which play the decisive role in ruling it.

--- Charles Bettelheim

- Amath, T. "Class Structures in Tropical Africa," World Marxist Review, 9, 2, Feb. 1966.
- Amin, Samir, "The Class Struggle in Africa."  
Reprinted by the Africa Research Group.  
A good analysis of classes in Africa and their relationship to the colonialists and neo-colonialists.
- Arrighi, G. and J. Saul. "Nationalism and Revolution in Sub-Sahara Africa." in R. Milliband and J. Saulle (eds) The Socialist Register-1969. (London), 1969.  
An important paper on the strategies of revolution.
- Badian, S. Les Dingnants Africain Face a Leur Peuple. (Maspero, Paris), 1964.  
Valuable data on Mali's pre-coup socio-economic strategy.
- Chodak, S. "Social Classes in Sub-Sahara Africa."  
Africana Bulletin 4 (Warsaw, 1966).  
Chodak is a Polish sociologist and has taught in Ghana and in Dar-es-Salaam.
- Coleman, J. "The Resurrection of Political Economy." Mawazo 1 (Makere, 1967).  
Refined neo-imperialist thought on the manipulation of African ideology.
- Fanon, F. The Wretched of the Earth, (Grove Press)  
Parts 2 and 3 are especially good for a class analysis.
- Goussault, Y. "Peasant Participation in Development and New Structure."  
Presence Africaine. (1962)

- Grundy, K. "The Class Struggle in Africa: An Examination of Conflicting Theories." Journal of Modern African Studies II, 3 (1964). Discusses (1) relevance and utility of class analysis (2) views of West African leaders on class nature of African societies (3) Soviet views of class structure in Africa.
- Halim, B. "A Challenge to Imperialism and Modern Revision." Pan-African Journal (Fall, 1968). Critical analysis of American imperialists and Soviet revisionists and their policies toward developing nations.
- Ledda, R., "Classes in Africa", International Socialist Journal, August, 1967. Available from the New England Press Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
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- Potekhin, I. "Land Relations in African Countries". Journal of Modern African Studies I, 1 (March 1963). Discusses the nature of land relations in African tribal and feudal societies-African peasants-collective and proprietorial ownership-petty peasants and planter/rich peasants.
- Seykine, S. "Les classes sociales et les dirigeants politiques de l'Ouest-africain". Partisans, 29-30 (1966).
- Sklar, R.L. "Contradictions in the Nigerian Political System." JMAS, 3, 2 (1965).
- Sklar, R. "Political Science and National Integration". Journal of Modern African Studies V, 1 (1967). Views tribalism as a dependent variable rather than a primordial force.
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- Action Group. Democratic Socialism: Being the Manifesto of the Action Group of Nigeria for an Independent Nigeria. Lagos, 1960.  
Contains economic class analysis of Nigerian divisions.
- Arrighi, G. and Saul, J. "Socialism and Economic Development in Tropical Africa". Journal of Modern African Studies, 1968, N° 2.
- Ben Barka, M. "National Revolution in Africa and Asia". Revolution, July, 1963.
- Benot, Y. "Kwame Nkrumah et l'Unification Africaine". La Pensee 116, August, 1964.
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Criticism of attempts to apply serious socialist policy to economic development in Africa. "African Socialism is all right if not socialist. Correctly criticized by Saul and Arrighi in "Socialism in Tropical Africa".
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- Cox, I. Socialist Ideas in Africa. International Publishers, 1966. British CP critique of "African socialism".
- Diop, M. "Contribution a l'Etude des Problemes Politiques en Afrique Noire". Presence Africaine, Paris, 1958. Senegalese Marxist.
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- Fanon, Franz, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Press, New York, 1968.  
\_\_\_\_\_, Toward the African Revolution, Grove Press, New York, 1967.

- \_\_\_\_\_, Black Skin, White Mask, Grove Press, New York, 1967.  
Fanon's works are essential to the understanding of the Algerian revolution and Africa in general. Fanon deals with all the issues confronting African revolutionary movements - class conflict, colonialism and neo-colonialism, violence, political organization, revolutionary consciousness, etc. Necessary for both African and American revolutionaries.
- Freidland, W. and Rosberg, C., eds. African Socialism.  
Collection of pieces compiled by two US establishment Africanists. Valuable data included.
- Grundy, K. "Marxism-Leninism and African Underdevelopment: the Mali Approach." International Journal, XVII, 3.
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Themes - imperialism as cause of underdevelopment, immediate political independence, economic independence, socialism and planned economy, need for foreign assistance, fear of neo-colonialism.
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Valuable bibliography and useful discussion on Cesaire and other political tracts and negritude-oriented history.
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The historical origins of negritude, its social and cultural aspects, its nature as a "counter-acculturation" to white culture.
- Keita, M. "Le Past Critique en Afrique". Presence Africaine, XXX, Feb.-March 1960.  
Classic Justification of one party state.
- Kenya, Republic of, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. Government Printer of Kenya, Nairobi, 1965.  
The Mboya influenced manifesto for American capitalism in Kenya.
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Review of Fanon's writing.
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African Communist, 34, third quarter, 1968.

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A critique of the writings of Ali Mazuri, one of the major East African spokesmen for a neo-colonial ideology.
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Vocabulary and concepts of African socialism.  
Are there classes? Guinea, Ghana, Mali, and Algeria as a different kind of socialism.
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History of Ghana under Nkrumah. The difficulty for a political party with state power to break the hold of neocolonialism.
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Published to coincide with formation of CAU. The "Union Government Now," line.
- Nkrumah, K. "African Socialism Revisited". African Forum, Winter, 1966.
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- Nkrumah, K. I Speak of Freedom. Praeger, 1961.  
Nkrumah's speeches, most of them prior to his real engagement with scientific socialism in the post 1960 period.
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A first statement of anti-imperialism by Nkrumah.
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Important, due to Padmore's influence on Nkrumah during the 1950's. Illustrates the sterility of socialist thought in Africa at the time. How "radical" African leaders are coopted into the service of imperialism.
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Africa: National and Social Revolution.  
Collection of papers read at Cairo seminar, 1967.

- Saul, J. "African Populism". in Gellne, E. and Ionescu, G., eds., On Populism. London, 1969.  
Critique of "African socialism" and the populist theory used to vindicate it.
- Senghor, Leopold. African Socialism. Praeger, 1964.  
Senghor is the primary mystifier of the concept of socialism in Africa. Removing its anti-imperialist and scientific content, Senghor uses socialism as a mask behind which a nascent bourgeoisie and middle class collaborate with imperialism to reap profits in Senegal.
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Journal of Modern African Socialism, III.3 1968.  
Very flattering portrait of the origins, intentions and content of Senghor's thought.
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Keita's news on "History and Civilization", "Socialist Humanism and Mali Man", "Individual and Society", and "Politics and Government". Claims Keita's thought is eclectic and pragmatic.
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Volumes I and II of Toure's speeches, radio talks, etc.
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Societe Orientale de Publicite, Cairo, 1963.  
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#### 4 - AFRICAN LABOR

- ✓ Davies, I., African Trade Unions (Penguin African) A useful but dated survey of African trade unionism. It offers an account of union aims, organization, and contributions to the anti-colonial struggle. Pays insufficient attention to western interventions in trade union struggles.
- Friedland, W and Nelkin, D., "American Labor: Differences and Policies Toward Africa." Africa Today, Dec. 1966, pp. 13-16.
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- Radosh, R. American Labor and United States Foreign Policy, Random House, 1969. \$10.00 While not dealing specifically with Africa, this book provides an excellent historical analysis of how and why American unions have served as instruments of U.S. imperialism.

Zack, A. Labor Training in Developing Countries, Praeger, 1964.  
Zack once ran the now defunct ICFTU training school in Africa. As a former functionary for AFL-CIA international operations, his book tells us how the U.S. goes about coopting and molding "responsible" trade union leaders in the Third World.

5 - THE MILITARY

Afrifa, A. The Ghana Coup, Duwomlo Press, NY, 1966.

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Documents the Israeli political and military role in Africa. Available from ARG, 10¢.

"Many African army officers, trained at Sandhurst and St. Cyr. have been shocked by the economic chaos and official high living in the newly independent states."

Alexander, H.J. African Tightrope. (Pall Mall, London), 1965.  
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Bell, M.J.V. "The Military in the New States of Africa", in Armed Forces and Society, J. van Doorn, ed. (Houton), 1968.

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Analysis of the functions and political and social relations of security forces in the context of nation-building and constitutional change. The book stresses Commonwealth Africa.

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(I.S.J., I, 1, Jan-Feb. 1964, 48-68).  
Three important topics of investigation...  
"Characteristics of the Colonial Economy  
and Underdevelopment"; "The Economic and  
Social Causes of Decolonization"; "Character-  
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letariat and intelligencia will 'give a  
political perspective' to the peasantry.
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Easily read and understood Marxist  
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behavior in the American economic system.  
Very important contribution. Unfortunately,  
weak on entire subject of imperialism.
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Monthly Review Press, New York, 1957.  
A classic in Marxist economics. Essential  
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A Survey of the Literature, reprinted by  
the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont  
St., Boston, Mass. Annotated bibliography  
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Significant contribution to theory of imperialist penetration and development in colony. Metropolis-satellite structure also applicable to urban-rural structuring of colony economic structure. (also available from: New England Free Press and Bay Area REP, 10¢)
- Jalee, Pierre. "Exploitation Imperialiste et sous-developpement." (Revolution, Oct/Nov 1964).
- Jalee, Pierre. The Pillage of the Third World: an Economic Study. (Mr. Press, 1968). Imperialist exploitation and enforced non-development of the third world. Very valuable as source of reference materials, especially U.N. materials.
- Jalee, Pierre, The Third World in the World Economy, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969. Excellent general introduction.
- Lenin, V.I., Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism, International Publishers, 1917. First basic Marxist analysis of imperialism which maintains its importance for understanding contemporary imperialism.
- Magdoff, H. The Age of Imperialism. (Mr. Press, 1969)  
This work, available in paperback, includes three articles which appeared in Monthly Review ("Economic Aspects of U.S. Imperialism," Nov. '66 and "The Age of Imperialism," the first of two parts in June 1968). Very good on motive forces behind U.S. economic imperialism; raw material demands given extensive analysis.
- "Multinational Companies: How U.S. Business Goes World-Wide", Business Week, April 20, 1963. Frank and revealing account by American business of its strategies and plans for foreign investment and expansion through the new multinational corporate form.
- O'Connor, Harvey. World Crisis in Oil. (Mr. Press, New York) 1962.  
Oil, capitalism and imperialism... from pre-WWI to 1960's. Major sections on Latin America and Near East.

I. CHANGING STRATEGIES

- Afana, O. "The Dangers of Foreign Aid."  
(Revolution, Paris) July, 1963.
- African Development. "What Africa wants of the Foreign Investor."  
(London, Feb. '69)  
National policies on six questions on development problems by the Finance Ministers of Swaziland, Gambia, Zambia and Tanzania.
- Alavi, Hamza. "Imperialism, Old and New."  
(Socialist Register, 1964 and from New England Free Press, 15¢).  
Imperialism as drive of monopoly capitalism "to expand and to extend its domination over the whole of the capitalist world..." Discussion of Lenin, Baran, Sweezy, Barratt-Brown.
- Alavi, Hamza. "Peasants and Revolution."  
(Socialist Register, 1965).
- Amin, Samir. "Le developpement du capitalisme en Afrique noire." (L'homme et la societe, 6, Oct/Dec. '67)
- Amin, Samir. "The Class Struggle in Africa."  
(Revolution, Paris, I, 1, No.9 and from ARG, 25¢).  
Other works by Samir Amin include: Trois experiences africaines de developpement; Le Mali, La Guinee, et Le Ghana; Le developpement du capitalisme en Cote d'Ivoire; and Les Hommes d'affaires senegalais.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. "International Corporations, Labour Aristocracies, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa." (to appear in: Arrighi and Saul, J., Ideology and Development; Rhodes, R. Readings on Underdevelopment, Mr. Press)  
An important theoretical analysis of the strategies and effects of multi-national corporate involvement in Africa....capital-intensive industry creates a small-privileged 'labour aristocracy.'

- Arrighi, Giovanni. Sviluppo Economico E Sovrastrutture in Africa.  
(Torino, Italy, 1969)  
Available in paperback, Italian ed. only.
- Balough, Thomas, "The Mechanisms of Neo-Imperialism: the Economic Impact of Monetary and Commercial Institutions in Africa", Bulletin of Institute of Statistics, Oxford, Vol.24, No. 3, August 1962.
- Bridier, H. "Notes on the Imperialist Counter-Offensive." (I.S.J., 22 Aug. '67, 539-559) Discussion of military coups. Does not measure up to Murray's "Militarism in Africa."
- Davidson, Basil. "Outlook for Africa". (Socialist Register, 1966) Discussion of underdevelopment.... will 'growth' benefit the few or the many...slow rise of wage-workers....weakness of elites in international terms....the conflicts they will face with the people.
- Decker, M. "The Economics of Neo-Colonialism." (African Communist, 7, Sept. '61)
- Goncharov, L. "New Forms of Colonialism in Africa." (JMAS, I, 4, 467-74) 1963  
Argues that imperialist policy is to keep Africa as a primary-resource producing appendage.
- Helleiner, F.K. "New Forms of Foreign Investment in Africa." (JMAS, VI, 1, 17-27) 1968.  
"It is human capital which must be lent to Africa"...as well as Capital.
- Nganga, Georges. "Myths et Realites de l'aide pas les investissements directs." (Afrique Nouvelle, 1028, 20-6, apr. '67).
- Nkrumah, K. Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. (International Pub., New York) 1965.  
Compendium of data on the operations of neo-colonialism, by the past President of Ghana. The book is rather unstructured and does not deal successfully with levels, forms, and strategies; the valuable information is never integrated into a total theory. Also author of Dark Days in Ghana, and editor of Guerrilla Warfare (both International pub.)
- Perroux, F. and Demonts, R. Large Firms-Small Nations. (Presence Africain, 10, 38, 1961).

- Woodis, Jack, Introduction to Neo-Colonialism, International Publishers, New York, 1967. Short, informative introduction written from a traditional C.P. viewpoint.
- Woolf, Leonard, Empire and Commerce in Africa: a Study in Economic Imperialism. (Fertig, New York) 1968. First published in 1920.

2. U.S. POLICY

Africa Research Group, International Dependency: How America Underdevelops the World. A critique of the new strategies of foreign aid planned for the 1970s. Argues that aid from the U.S. increases dependency and decreases development. Available from ARG for \$1.00 in the Empire, 50¢ to the movement.

Attwood, William. The Reds and the Blacks. (New York, 1967). Attwood's frank account of the neocolonialist role he played as U.S. Ambassador in Guinea and Kenya. This book is banned in Kenya because it too candidly describes the subordinate position the Kenya government occupies when dealing with the U.S. By a corporate liberal par excellence.

Barnet, Richard J. Intervention and Revolution: The United States in the Third World. (World, New York) 1968. Argues that the U.S. counter-revolutionary stance flows from the bureaucratic world-view of national security managers. Pays inadequate attention to economic factors but contains much useful information, including a case study of American intervention in the Congo.

Bowles, Chester. Africa's Challenge to America. (U.S. Press, 1956). A series of lectures given at UCLA, representing the first articulation of the aggressive position of corporate liberalism with respect to Africa...free the elites from their dependence on Europe, ensure their friendliness to the U.S., and keep the raw materials and markets of Africa for U.S. corporations. Mennen Williams, Harlan Cleveland, Adlai Stevenson, William Attwood, etc. were the 'policy-makers' associated with Bowles' position.

Darlington, Charles and Alice. African Betrayal. (McKay, 1968). Account by U.S. Ambassador to Gabon (and his racist wife) of U.S. French imperialist rivalry.

- Emerson, R. Africa and United States Policy. (Prentice-Hall, 1967).  
A short overview of U.S. policy in Africa. Uncritical, non-analytical. Useful as a clear exposition of conventional position.
- Farbstein, et.al. The Involvement of U.S. Private Enterprise in Developing Countries. (G.P.O., Washington) 1968.
- Goldschmidt, Walter (ed.). The United States and Africa. (Praeger, New York) 1963.  
Collection of essays by leading establishment Africanists.
- Howard, L.C. The United States and Africa: Trade and Investment.  
Davis, J. (ed). Africa as Seen by American Negroes. (Presence Africaine, 1958).
- Johnson, Steve. U.S. Foreign Policy and Imperialism: Study Guide and Bibliography. (Radical Education Project, Ann Arbor).  
A brief annotated survey of readings on imperialism. Very important for those new to the study of imperialism.
- McKay, Vernon. Africa in World Politics. (Harper and Row, 1963).  
"If democracy is to flourish in the U.S., free institutions must also continue to exist in other fortunate parts of the world." McKay, State Dept. functionary 1948-56, is now a major advisor on African affairs.
- Kolko, G. The Roots of American Foreign Policy. Beacon Press, 1969.  
Brilliant short study of how U.S. ruling class shapes foreign policy to serve its interests.
- Kolko, G. The Politics of War.  
Random House, 1969.  
History of economic struggle between the allies in WWII. Shows how U.S. worked to undermine the British Empire.
- Nielson, W. The Great Powers and Africa. (Praeger, 1969).  
Very important.  
Neilson's book grew out of confidential Council on Foreign Relations study groups on U.S. policy on Africa. Important statement of corporate liberal posture towards Africa. Nielson argues that U.S. African policy must be considered in terms of a global strategy; he worries that the U.S. policy is not sophisticated enough in its dealings with Africa, and goes on to outline how the U.S. might move to head off a revolutionary showdown in Southern Africa. Surprisingly candid approach to the way racism and economic factors affect U.S. policy, and the way the corporate elite analyses the involvement of other powers in Africa. Critical reading of this book-combined with some analysis of the economic origins of the cold war and the international strategy of corporate capitalism-provides fascinating insight into what U.S. imperialism in Africa is all about.



Ostrander, F. Taylor. "U.S. Private Investment in Africa."  
(Africa Report, Jan. 1969).

Ostrander, representing AMAX, is an apologist par excellence for U.S. corporate investment in South Africa. In this article, through the use of manipulated and irrelevant statistics, Ostrander attempts to conceal the super-profits of American corporations and justify their increasing penetration of the African continent.

Salzman,

a speech by an American AID official before the African-American Chamber of Commerce on the opportunities for American private investment in Africa. Available from the Africa Research Group as "Imperialism Self-Defined" for 10¢

#### AFRICAN HISTORY

History will have its say some day, but it will not be the history that is taught in the United Nations, in Washington, Paris, or Brussels, but the one that is taught in the countries that have freed themselves of colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history, and both north and south of the Sahara it will be a history full of glory and dignity.

Patrice Lumumba in a letter  
from prison to his wife,  
January, 1961.

- Davidson, B. Africa in History.  
The best short introduction to Africa from earliest times to the present. This is a revised version of the expensive Africa: History of a Continent which included large numbers of black and white and colored pictures. Davidson is an historical materialist.
- Davidson, B. The African Past. (Penguin)  
Documents on Africa from ancient times to the present.
- Davidson, B. The Africans: An Entry into Cultural History. (London), 1969.  
Davidson's most recent book - a cultural rather than a political or economic history.

- DuBois, W.E.B. The World and Africa. (International Publishers), 1946 rev. 1965.  
The original work was DuBois' most comprehensive treatment of African history (see also The Negro and Black Folk: Then and Now). Chapters IV-X deal with precolonial African history. Chapters I-III, XI, and the appendices of the revised edition deal with imperialism and the colonial and national period in Africa.
- James, C.L.R., A History of Pan-African Revolt. second edition, Drum and Spear Press, 2001 Eleventh St., N.W. Suite 206, Washington, D.C. 20001, 1969. Written by a well-known black scholar and socialist, this is perhaps the best single book on African revolts against colonialist exploitation. Short and powerful, written in a simple style.
- AFRICA: WILL WRITE ITS OWN HISTORY
- Morel, E.D., The Black Man's Burden, Monthly Review Press, New York, first published in 1920 but reprinted in 1969. Socialist analysis of the history of white domination over Africa from the fifteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Written from the view of black Africa against white control.
- Oliver, R. and J.D. Fage. A Short History of Africa (Penguin), 1962. The book has many controversial and disputed theses—for example, that of the Sudanic state, and the value of resistance to colonialism. The authors are also, on balance, apologists for colonialism.
- Sik, E. Histoire de l'Afrique. (Budapest)  
A history of Africa from ancient times to the present. Sik fits the data into a crude Marxist framework, leading to distortion. He also uses incorrect sources on, for example, "racial" subdivisions in Africa.
- Surete-Canale, J. Afrique Noire: Geographie, Civilisations, Histoire. (Editions Sociales, Paris), 1961.  
Geography and history of Africa up to the colonial conquest, with a lengthy section applying the analysis of Marx and Engels to the political economy of pre-colonial African societies.
- Weidner, D.L., A History of Africa South of the Sahara, Vintage Paperback, 1964.  
Useful general history but not radical.

- Woodson, C.F. The African Background Outlined or Handbook for the Study of the Negro. (Negro Universities Press), 1936 reprinted 1968.  
The book deals with a wide range of topics—from Ethiopia and Egypt to Medieval Africa, the Partition, African Culture, religion, art.

I. SLAVE TRADE

- Davidson, B. The African Slave Trade. (Atlantic, Little, Brown), 1961.  
This is the best known introductory book on the slave trade.
- Curtin, P. The African Image. (University of Wisconsin Press).  
This book chronicles the development of the Western image of the African from about 1600 on. Curtin's thesis is that Africans were regarded as equals before the Industrial Revolution when Europeans began to look upon their civilization as man's zenith and to see all other societies as inferior. The book gives interesting data on the origin of racism and is worthwhile reading.
- Davidson, B. The African Slave Trade. (Atlantic, Little, Brown) 1961.  
The most widely read introductory book on the slave trade. The book, in tending to dwell on the immorality of the slave trade, is lacking in political analysis.
- Polanyi, K. Dahomey and the Slave Trade. (Washington University Press) 1966.  
Deals with the functional nature of the slave trading economy but neglects the question of social organization within a slave trading state. (see also A.K. Akinjogbin, Dahomey and Its Neighbors, for a more data on social implications of the slave trade.)
- Rodney, W. "African slavery and other forms of social oppression on the Upper Guinea coast, in the context of the Atlantic slave trade." Journal of African History VII, 3. (1966). Argues that domestic slavery did not occur in Upper Guinea before the slave trade and that it was the slave trade which brought about contradictions within African societies.

Rodney, W.,                    "West Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade." Historical Association of Tanzania Paper No.2 (East Africa Publishing House) 1967.  
A Marxist account of the effects of the slave trade on West African societies: changes in social structure, dependence on European capital, etc.

Williams, E.,                Capitalism and Slavery. (University of North Carolina Press) 1944.  
This presents the economic roots of the anti-slavery movement: how Britain's needs changed as dependence on West Indian sugar plantations was replaced by dependence on the export of Lancashire cotton products.

EAST AFRICA

Barnett, D. and Njama, K. Mau Mau from Within (Monthly Review Press, New York)  
An account of the Mau Mau peasants  
An account of the Mau Mau peasant revolt by one of the participants. Also a good analysis of Kenya immediately prior to independence.

Bienen, H.,                Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development

Diamond, S. and Burke, F. eds. East Africa in Transformation (Basic Books)  
Good background material. Brings together a wide range of studies of historical, political, economic and social factors.

Halliday, J.,                "The Revolution in Zanzibar"  
International Socialist Journal, I (April, 1964)  
Rather ephemeral account of events of Zanzibar - and some of the immediate factors behind them.

Hyden, G.,                TANU Yanjenga Nnchi: Political Development in Rural Tanzania

Kenyatta, J.,                Facing Mount Kenya (Mercury Books, London)

Kinnyaga, M.,                "Uhuru's Bitter Fruit" African Communist 32, (1968)

Lofche, M.,                Zanzibar - Background to Revolution

- Mboya, T., Freedom and After  
London and New York, 1963  
Semi-autobiographical account of Kenyan independence movement by the late Minister of Economic Underdevelopment. He neglects to discuss his links with the C.I.A. or his role as a front-man for U.S. imperialism in Africa.
- Middelton, J. and Campbell, G. Zanzibar: the Society and Its Politics
- Mohiddin, A., "Ujamaa: A Commentary on President Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society" African Affairs (April, 1968).
- National Christian Council of Kenya, Who Controls Industry in Kenya?  
This recently published handbook provides both excellent information on the Kenyan economy and offers a model for research on who runs and profits from African economies. Not particularly radical in analysis but very helpful. Available through East Africa Publishing House, c/o African Studies Program, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
- Nyerere, J., Freedom and Unity (Oxford University Press) 1967.  
A selection from writings and speeches taken from 1952 - 1965.
- Nyerere, J., Socialism and Rural Development (Dar-es-Salaam) 1967.
- Odinga, Oginga, Not Yet Uhuru, Heinemann Co., 48  
Charles St., London W.1, England, 1967.  
The autobiography of the now imprisoned Kenyan political leader who heads the socialist Kenya Peoples Union. Contains much helpful information about the independence movement against Britain as well as a critique of British neo-colonialism in Kenya after independence.
- Ogot, B., and Kieran, J. Zamani: A Survey of East African History  
(Humanities) 1969.  
Most recent survey of East African history from early times to present - chapters by a variety of specialists.
- Rosberg, C. and Nottingham, J. The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya  
(Praeger).  
A serious study of the struggle for national liberation in Kenya. Lots of good data.

- Morgan, D. British Private Investment in East Africa
- Rweyemamu, A. "Managing Planned Development: Tanzania" Journal of Modern African Studies
- Tordoff, W. Government and Politics in Tanzania
- Van Arkadie, B. and Shai, D. "The Economy of East Africa" in P. Robson and D. Lury The Economy of Africa (Allen and Urwin) 1968.  
Study of economic structure of East Africa, Van Arkadie is a radical economist.

IN THE FORMER COLONIES IT'S "WHITE MAN, COME BACK"

U.S. News & World Report, May 19, 1969

- Tanzania African National Union (TANU), The Arusha Declaration, available in Report of Special Study Mission to Southern Africa, November 6, 1969, Rep. Charles Diggs and Lester Wolff, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington. The Arusha Declaration establishes the basis for Tanzania's socialism and has been widely read and acclaimed. Diggs' report contains additional information about liberation movements in Southern Africa which is very helpful.
- The United Republic of Tanzania, Report of the Presidential Commission on the Establishment of a Democratic One-Party State.
- Resnick, I., Tanzania: Revolution by Education Longman's, 1968, Arusha.  
Perhaps the best collection of essays about the radical efforts underway in Tanzania. Resnick, who is sympathetic to Nyerere, has published a number of useful articles.

WEST AFRICA

- Afana, O., L'Economie de l'Ouest-Africain (Maspers, Paris) 1966  
Primarily Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Cameroons.  
Class structure analysis, including pre-colonial period.
- Amin, S., Le Developpement du Capitalisme en Cote d'Ivoire (Paris) 1967.  
Model case study of a neo-colonial political economy.
- Ameillon, B., La Guinee, Island d'une Independance (Maspero, Paris)'64.  
The compromised position of the Guinean regime vis-a-vis foreign capital and the consolidation of a bureaucratic class in power.

- Austin, D., Politics in Ghana, 1946 - 1960  
Points out failure of CPP to mold traditional forces in society into a "mass party".
- Awolowo, O., The People's Republic (Oxford University Press, London) 1969  
The author's thoughts on the type of government, economy and consciousness appropriate in developing countries where old forms have not been completely replaced.
- Azikiwe, N., Liberia in World Affairs (Stockwell, London) 1934.  
Analysis of U.S. imperialism in Liberia.
- Benot, Y. "Developpement Accelere et Revolution Sociale en Afrique Occidentale" La Pensee, 126 (April 1966)
- Bing, F. Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana from 1950 - 1966 (MacGibbon and Kee)  
Bing was central advisor to Nkrumah, some say he represented British interests there.
- Birmingham, W., Neustadt, I. and Omaboe, E., A Study of Contemporary Ghana (Northwestern University Press) 1966.  
Detailed study of Ghanaian economy - structure, sectors, factors of production and implications of these for policy and planning.
- Braindi, E. and Lettien, A., "The General Strike in Nigeria" International Socialist Review, I, 5-6 Sept., 1964.  
An analysis of the strike as a class struggle free from the mist of nationalism.
- Bretton, H., Power and Stability in Nigeria (Praeger) 1962.  
Studies the corruption of Nigeria's neo-colonial elites.
- Clower, R., Dalton, E., Harwitz, M., Walters, A., Growth Without Development: An Economic Survey of Liberia (Northwest University Press) 1966  
Critical Study of Liberia by non-Marxists.
- Coleman, J., Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Univ. of California Press) 1958.
- Davidson, B., A History of West Africa to the Nineteenth Century (Doubleday)  
Account begins at 1,000 A.D. and traces through the major developments and disruptions that affected the area.

- Deme, K.                    "Les Classes Sociales dans le Senegal pre-Colonial"  
La Pensee, 129, (1966)
- Crowder, M.                West Africa under Colonial Rule  
A critical analysis of the impact of colonialism on  
West Africa from a liberal point of view.
- Diop, M.                    "Classes et Ideologie de Classe au Senegal" Editions du  
Comite Central du PAI
- Fitch, B. and M. Oppenheimer, Ghana: End of an Illusion, Monthly Review  
Press, New York, 1966. The best single Marxist analysis  
of the failure of Nkrumah's socialism in Ghana and the  
impact of colonialism and neo-colonialism on Ghana.  
This is an essential book.
- Foltz, W.                    From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (Yale  
University Press) 1965.  
Useful book on Mali.
- Kilson, M.                 Political Change in a West African State: a Study of  
the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone (Harvard  
University Press) 1966. Useful study of the formation  
of elites, their dependence on imperialism and result-  
ing protests from rural sector.
- Lloyd, P.                  Africa in Social Change: West Africa (Praeger) 1969.  
Anthropological study of changes taking place thru  
modernization. Good statistical appendix.
- Freedom was no panacea  
for new countries of Asia  
and Africa. So now the  
skills and investments of  
people from former ruling  
nations are eagerly welcome  
in the ex-colonies.
- Marinelli, L.              The New Liberia (Praeger) 1964  
A celebration of renewed "open door" for U.S.  
capital in Liberia. Useful facts.
- Markowitz, I.             "Ghana Ten Years after Independence:  
The Development of Technology - Capitalism"  
Africa Today, XIV, i, 1967.



- Murray, R. "Second Thoughts on Ghana" New Left Review, 42 (Mar-Apr., 1967).  
Murray's article is a review and criticism of Fitch and Oppenheimer's book on Ghana. Murray emphasizes the role of ideology, the changes in Ghana as a result of socialism and the importance of critical, internationalist consciousness for radicals. Should be read together with the Fitch and Oppenheimer book, Ghana: End of an Illusion.
- Nkrumah, K. Dark Days in Ghana (International Publishers) 1968  
Nkrumah's personal account of the coup that overthrew his government.
- Rimmer, D. "The Crisis of the Ghanaian Economy"  
Journal of Modern African Studies IV, (1966)  
Crisis refers to a balance of payments deficit and its implications, no linkage to imperialism.
- Post, K. The New States of West Africa  
Penguin  
Good introduction to West African politics, criticized for lacking Marxist perspective, but still is very useful.
- Program of the convention People's Party, For Work and Happiness
- O'Brien, C. "The Limits of Political Choice in French West Africa, 1956-1960" Civilisations, 15, 2, (1965)

#### THE WAR IN NIGERIA?

It was images like this that shaped most popular consciousness about the Nigeria-Biafra War. For an alternative, if still tentative, class-based probe into the war in the context of the neo-colonial system, read: "The Other Side of Nigeria's Civil War" by the Africa Research Group (\$1). See also, Africa Research Group, "The Politics of Humanitarian Relief", Motive February 1970.

- Schacter-Morganthau, R. Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa (Oxford University Press) 1964  
Book contains valuable data, historical analysis rather shallow.
- Sklar, R. "Contradictions in the Nigerian Political System", Journal of Modern African Studies III (August, 1965)  
Incisive article on the forces that brought on civil war.
- Sklar, R. Nigerian Political Parties (Princeton) 1964  
Best account of Nigerian politics, done by ex-Marxist who still uses Marxist categories.
- Snyder, F. One-Party Government in Mali: Transition Towards Control (Yale University Press) 1965  
Contains valuable data.
- Surete-Cenale, J. "Le Fin de la Cheffeni en Guinee" Journal of African History VII (1966)  
Useful article on the position of chiefs in Guinee under colonialism.
- Suret-Canale, J. "La Guinee dans le Systeme Coloniale" Presence Africaine (Dec. 1959)
- Seydon, M. Recherches sur l'Exercice du Pouvois Politique en Afrique Noire (Cote d'Ivoire, Guinee, Mali) (Editions Pedone, Paris) 1965.
- Thompson, V. and Adloff, R. French West Africa  
Good collection of data, not much else.
- Thompson, W. Ghana's Foreign Policy: 1957 - 1966 (Princeton University Press)
- Zolberg, A. One-Party Government in the Ivory Coast (Princeton University Press) 1964  
Valuable data.

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

- Cabral, Amilcar, Révolution in Guinea, Stage 1, Theobalds Road, London, WC1, England, 1969. Selected speeches and writings of the leader of the liberation struggle in "Portuguese" Guinea. Should be read and applied.

Cabral, Amilcar

"The Struggle in Guinea." (I.S.J., 4, 1964, also available from ARG, 25¢ )

Important statement on the need and potential for revolution in Guinea, as well as a prophetic glimpse into the nature of neo-colonialism. Cabral is one of Africa's foremost revolutionary theoreticians and leader of one of its most advanced liberation movements, the PAIGC.

Chilcote, R.H.

"The Political Thought of Amilcar Cabral." (J.M.A.S., 3, 1968).

Davidson, Basil,

The Liberation of Guinea, Penguin Books, 1969. Excellent account of the liberation struggle in Guinea by a famous English journalist. Davidson spent almost one year within the liberated areas while writing this book.

#### Films About The Struggle

There are three films presently available in the United States about the struggle of the people of "portuguese" Guinea. "Nossa Terra" by a French crew and "Madina Boe" by Cuban film makers are both available at low cost through Newsreel, the radical film group with offices in most major cities. "West Africa: Another Vietnam", an English T.V. documentary is available through the American Documentary Films of New York.

#### CONGO

Chome, J.,

"La Politique Americaine au Congo", Le Monde Diplomatique, January, 1965.

Excellent summary of the phases of American policy under different Ambassadors to the Congo; valuable information on American companies with interests in the Congo.

Gott, Richard,

"Mobutu's Congo", Fabian Research Series Pamphlet No.266, January 1968. Very informative short study of political developments since Mobutu's coup in 1965. Covers the "nationalization" of Union Miniere and the first mutiny by mercenaries and Katangese troops. Fairly comprehensive information on policies of various foreign powers throughout this period.

Fox, R., W. de Craemer, and J.M. Ribeaucourt, "The Second Independence: A Case Study of the Kwilu Rebellion in the Congo", in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Oct., 1965. One of the few articles in English dealing analytically with the origins of the 1964 Kwilu rebellion led by Pierre Mulele. Written by academic types but generally an accurate and interesting case study.

Gerard-Libois, J., "The New Class and Rebellion in the Congo", The Socialist Register, 1966, ed. Ralph Miliband and John Saville, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1966. Short article analyzing some of the class forces behind the 1964 rebellion. Critical analysis of the strategy and leadership of rebel forces. Useful information on urban elites which form the "privileged" new class.

Heinz, G. and H. Donnay, Lumumba: the Last Fifty Days, Grove Press, New York, 1969. Recently translated from its original French version, this book describes the last days of Lumumba's life and offers important insights into Congolese politics during the period 1960-61 when imperialist powers attempted to re-capture their dominant position. Includes selected speeches, letters and news releases of Lumumba.

Hoskyns, Catherine, The Congo Since Independence-January 1960 to December 1961, Oxford University Press, 1965. A thorough account of the explosive events after Congolese independence. Not written from a radical perspective but generally a balanced treatment with lots of facts and information. Useful as an introduction to Congolese politics, though it deals with a short time frame.

CONGO NOW: In new roles, the former colonial masters are back in growing numbers. Congolese found they needed the whites' managerial and technical know-how.

Joye, Pierre et Rosine Lewin, Les Trusts au Congo, Brussels, 1961. Valuable study of companies which dominate the Congolese economy. Provides material on economic history of the companies, share-holdings and interlocking ownership. Includes sections on American and British investments. Text is in French.

Lefever, Ernst, Crisis in the Congo, Brookings Institute, 1965. Written by an apologist for American led U.N. pacification of the Congo. But it contains revealing information on American Strategy and military presence in the Congo.

- Lumumba, Patrice, Congo My Country  
New York: Praeger 1962  
Early work by Lumumba with insipid introduction by Colin Legum.
- Merlier, M. Le Congo de la colonisation belge a l'indépendance  
Paris: Maspero, 1962.  
This is the single best work on the Congo. It provides a comprehensive analysis of developments from a radical perspective with a strong emphasis on the socio-economic effects of capitalist domination during the colonial period. Unfortunately, text is in French only.

CONGO THEN: Scores of thousands of Belgians and other whites were forced out of the Congo in 1960, when, in the first flush of independence, terror reigned.

- O'Brien, C.C. To Katanga and Back, Simon and Schuster, 1962.  
Controversial account of behind the scenes politics of U.N. operations in the Congo. Tells the story of maneuvers by Western powers to undermine U.N. mission and block immediate suppression of the Katanga secession. Provides valuable information on U.S. influence over U.N. operation.
- Semonin, P. "Mobutu and the Congolese", World Today, January, 1968.  
Sharp analysis of consolidation of power under Mobutu with useful information on his policy of economic nationalism. Should be read critically in light of the decline of nationalist policies following nationalization of Union Minière.
- Semonin, P., "Proxy Fight in the Congo", The Nation, March 6, 1967.  
Study of the nationalization of Union Minière and the role played by various foreign powers. Good analysis of problems created by Congolese state's shareholding in Union Minière.

#### CONGO BRAZZAVILLE

- Amin, S., and Coquery-Vidrovich, Histoire Economique du Congo, 1880-1968, Editions Anthropos Paris, 15 rue Racine, Paris 6  
The most recent and best economic history of Congo Brazzaville.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

- African National Congress (S.A.) The great power conspiracy. (Sechaba, London) Analysis of the role of imperialist powers (US, West Germany, Britain, France) in Southern Africa.
- African National Congress (S.A.) South Africa on Trial (ANC, London) Brief, informative material on S. Africa.
- Ainslie, R. The Unholy Alliance (Anti-apartheid Movement, London) 1962.
- Ainslie, R. and Robinson, D. The Collaborators (Anti-apartheid Movement, London) 1964. Primarily concerned with British complicity with apartheid. Useful information.
- American Committee on Africa. "Special Report on the American Involvement in the South African Economy". (A.C.O.A.) 1966. The New York based committee has produced some of the best research on American corporate investment in Southern Africa. Africa Today, January 1966. See also an earlier edition of the same journal, March, 1964.
- Anderson, P. "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism". New Left Review, Nos. 15, 16 and 17 (1962). Valuable theoretical article on the nature of Portuguese political economy.
- Andrews, H.T. et al. South Africa in the Sixties: a Socio-Economic Survey (Cape Town. South African Foundation) 1962. The South African Foundation is a pro-apartheid body but this entry contains useful statistics, especially economically.
- Arrighi, G. "Rhodesia: Class and Power." New Left Review 39. Sept/Oct. 1966. A valuable analysis of the interaction of factors of race and class in the development of a white settler political economy.

- Asheron, A. "South Africa: Race and Politics". New Left Review 53. Jan/Feb. 1969. A critique of the reformist 'economist' thesis that industrialization will automatically bring greater African political rights in South Africa. Historical analysis is based on British liberal studies.
- Austin, D. Britain and South Africa (Oxford University Press). His thesis is that Britain should "withdraw" from Southern Africa - i.e. leave the task of protecting imperial interests to South Africa, Portugal - and the United States. Contains an interesting chapter on Defense interests of Western powers in South Africa. Sponsored by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Austin, D. "White Power"? Journal of Commonwealth Studies, VI.2, July 1968. An analysis of the growing 'integration' of Southern African white supremacist regimes and their international implications.
- Austin, R. The Character and Legislation of the Rhodesian Front Since U.D.I. (Africa Bureau) London. Useful information of political trends in Rhodesia since U.D.I.
- Benson, M. The Struggle for a Birthright. (Penguin African) 1969 (revised). Valuable history of the African National Congress of South Africa - though refrains from analysis or an examination of the political/economic/social context within which the ANC operated. Focuses on the most 'dramatic' path of ANC history.
- Braverman, R. "Trade Union Apartheid." The African Communist, 29, 1967. Discussion of the condition of African workers and the struggle of some of the trade unionists.
- Bunting, B. The Rise of the South African Reich. (Penguin African) 1969 (revised). Good short Marxist account of the development of 20th. cent South Africa - though some of his formulations are controversial among Marxists, for example, the conflicting pulls of "class" and "national" bases for struggle, and the stress on anti-Fascism at the expense of anti-imperialism.

- Carter, G. The Politics of Inequality: South Africa since 1948.  
(Praeger, New York) 1958  
Not introductory. A detailed account of South African politics - largely white - focused around the general election of 1953, but including a wealth of valuable though dated information.
- Davidson, B. Report on South Africa (London) 1952.  
Valuable account by a radical journalist and historian of the 'climate' of South Africa in the early 1950's.
- Davidson, B. Angola 1961.  
Davidson is intimately aware of the revolutionary struggles being fought in all the "portuguese" colonies in Africa.
- Doxey, G. The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa (Oxford Univ. Press) 1961.  
Account by a bourgeois economist of the growth of job discrimination. Useful factually, but poor analysis of both the reasons for job discrimination, and the reasons why it should be abolished.
- Duffy, J. Portugal in Africa (Penguin African).  
Standard introductory work on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola.
- Duncan, P. South Africa's Rule of Violence. Methuen, 1964.  
A description of case studies of atrocities under police repression. Includes photographs.
- Dutt, R. "British Labour and Africa"  
The African Communist, 24 1966  
A Leninist analysis of the Wilson government mainly in Rhodesia.
- Fairbairn, J. "The Sekhukuneland Terror". Africa South, I. 3, 1958  
Article on a rural rebellion in South Africa and its brutal suppression.
- First, R. South West Africa (Penguin African) 1963.  
Standard introduction to South West Africa.
- First, R. 117 Days. (Penguin) 1965  
Account by a white supporter of the liberation movement of her experiences under solitary confinement in South Africa.



- Forman, L.        "The Birth of African Nationalism".  
Africa South, II. 5, 1961.  
 Lionel Forman was a brilliant young communist who died tragically at an early age. The few things of his that are published are well worth reading.
- Forman, L. and Sachs, E. The South African Treason Trial. (Monthly Review Press). New York, 1958.  
 Account of the first stages of the famous "treason trial" which involved 156 members of the ANC and its allied organisations.
- Friedman, M.    I will Still Be Moved. (London) 1963.  
 Personal statements by a collection of black and white South Africans.
- Gregory, T.     Ernest Oppenheimer and the Economic Development of Southern Africa. (Oxford Univ. Press) 1962.  
 Sponsored by the empire that he founded, Anglo-American of S.A., this is a detailed description (eulogy) of South Africa's leading capitalist. Good source for data.
- Hakpern, J.     South Africa's Hostages. (Penguin African) 1965.  
 Good introduction to the three countries, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland most vulnerable to South African pressures.
- Harris, M.      Portugal's African "Wards".  
 (A.C.O.A.) New York, 1960 (reprint).  
 Information on education and labour based on first hand experience in Mozambique. Dated but short and informative.
- Hellman, E. (ed). Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. (Cape Town) 1949.  
 Essential source book on almost any aspect of South Africa for the period from Union (1910) to the 1940's. Data only.
- Hepple, A.      Verwoerd (Penguin) 1967.  
 Valuable biography of Verwoerd, particularly for its analysis of Verwoerd's roled in the 1930's and 40's - and for the 'progressive' aspect of Afrikaner nationalism in its concern for the poor whites. Good background to an understanding of current Afrikaner thinking in South Africa.

- Horrell, M. As the researcher for the South African based Institute of Race Relations, Horrell has produced a series of publications containing up to date information on South Africa. These include an Annual Survey of Race Relations (good source for statistics); "South African Trade Unionism" (1961). "Legislation and Race Relations" and its companion "Action, Reaction and Counteraction" (1966)- a review of opposition to apartheid and its oppression; and several others. Factual, non-analytic.
- Horwitz, R. The Political Economy of South Africa. (Oxford Univ.Press) 1967.  
Diffuse, repetitive, theoretically disastrous but useful account of development of S.A. political economy. Useful statistics and extracts from not readily available government reports etc. The thesis is the bad effects of 'political' involvement in a free market economy - neglecting the necessary link of such use of state power in a white settler state where the settlers are determined to appropriate the surplus from (a) the black and (b) imperialist interests.
- Houghton, H. The South African Economy. (Cape Town) 1964.  
Uses Rostows stages to describe growth of S.A. economy. Useful statistics.
- Institute of Race Relations (London). Angola: View of a Revolt (Oxford Univ. Press) 1962 Essays presenting different views on the causes and future of the Angolan revolts.
- International Defence and Aid. Publishes a series of good informative pamphlets: "Resettlement" - the New Violence to Africans. (1969)  
The Violence of Apartheid (1969) Sachs. Workers under Apartheid (1969) Hepple  
The Boss Law (1969)  
Why Minority Rule Survives (Rhodesia) 69.  
Available 2 Amen Court, London E.C.4.
- International Defence and Aid. The Purge of the Eastern Cape. (London) n.d.  
Documented account of the mass political trials in South Africa in the early 50's. Short pamphlet.
- Jabulani, J. "Bonn-Pretoria axis".  
The African Communist. 31, 1967.  
Information on the economic ties between West Germany and South Africa which continue to increase dramatically.

- Karis, T. "South Africa" in Carter, G.  
Five African States: Responses to Diversity. (Cornell) 1963  
 Useful short account (historical background, contemporary issues and external relations) of S.A. politics, black and white up to the early 60's. The author is a liberal formerly with the State Dept.
- Legum, C. and M. South Africa: Crisis for the West. (Praeger) 1964.  
 Historical and contemporary account followed by a discussion of sanctions and the role of Western forces. The pro-US Legums would have liked to see the UN assume responsibility for change in S.A. to avoid any socialist reconstruction by a popular revolutionary movement. Hence they supported the PAC, some of whose leadership were ready to play the role of a neo-colonial elite. The sections on Afrikaner nationalism are useful.
- Lewin, J. Politics and Law in South Africa (London) 1963.  
 Eight valuable essays by a very perceptive left-liberal.
- McRae, N. "The Green Bay Tree" The Economist June 29 - July 5, 1968.  
 Special supplement on South Africa. "A survey of why South Africa is getting richer so quickly and of why it is almost certainly to everybody's advantage that it should continue to do so". !!!! But useful facts.
- Mjeke, N. The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg) 1952.  
 Sometimes factually incorrect but theoretically insightful analysis of the historical role of missionaries in South Africa. Overly "conspiratorial", however, and undialectical in its neglect of the missionary contribution towards forstering an African nationalist leadership.
- Minty, A. South Africa's Defence Strategy London: Anti-Apartheid 1969 \$.50  
 Brings together for the first time the scattered facts and figures about South Africa's expansionist thrust into the rest of Africa and the Southern Hemisphere. Highly recommended.
- Nkosi, Z. "Bending the Colour Bar". The African Communist, 26, 1966.  
 Describes recent economic developments in South Africa and the reaction of different groups to the pressures caused by the economic colour bar in a rapidly expanding economy.
- Nkosi, Z. "South African Imperialism".  
The African Communist, 30, 1967.  
 A discussion of South Africa's search for outlets for its capital and goods, especially in the rest of Africa.

- Plaatje, S. Native Life in South Africa (London) 1916.  
Classis work on the effects of the Native Land Act on black South Africans, written by an early ANC leader.
- Roberts, M. Labour in the Farm Economy (SAIRR) 1959.  
Best short account of the least "described" of black South Africans - those who work on white farms.
- Ross, A. "White Africa's Black Ally". New Left Review, 45 Sept./Oct. 1967.  
Banda's manipulation of tribalism' in Malawi for his political ends.
- Sachs, E. The choice before South Africa (Turnstile) 1952.  
Partly biographical, partly journalistic. Mainly valuable for the account of the struggle between radicals and African Nationalists in the trade unions in the 1930's and 40's. Highly critical analysis of the South African economy.
- Segal, R. (ed) Sanctions Against South Africa (Penguin) 1964.  
Report and papers of a conference held in London in March 1964 on the possibility of organising sanctions against South Africa. Useful data on imperialist role in the S.A. economy, on gold and on oil.
- Segal, R. and First, R. South West Africa: Travesty of Trust.  
Conference on S.W.A. held in London in 1966. Valuable papers on the history, politics and economy of S.W.A.
- Simons, H. and R. Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950. (Penguin African) 1969 Excellent discussion of the "national" and "class" question in South Africa - notably in the 20's - 50's. Good data on the role of British imperialism in the 19th century and her continued interests in the 20th century. Valuable for comparative studies.
- Thion, S. Le Pouvoir pale: essai sur le systeme Sud-africain. (Editions du Seuil) 1969.  
Analytically the best short account of South Africa's political economy and the modes of struggle against it.
- Thompson, L. Politics in the Republic of South Africa. (Little Brown) 1966.  
Useful account by a liberal South African historian of the background and present situation of South African politics. Suffers from being forced into a "modernization" framework - and is unduly pessimistic about the prospects for change.
- Tlale, P. "The imperialist stake in apartheid". The African Communist. 23, 1965.  
Article discuss in. the deep economic involvement of the West in South Africa.

- Toure, S. "Solidarity with South Africa".  
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One of the few articles on South Africa by the Guinean leader.
- Trotsky, L. Letter to South African Revolutionaries (April 20, 1933)  
(International Socialist Review) Autumn 1966.
- Van den Berghe, South Africa: a study in Conflict (U.C.Press) 1965.  
Attempts to combine a "functional" and "dialectic" analysis by using the concept of pluralism. This is not successful but despite overall weaknesses, the book contains useful sections and insights.
- van der Horst, S. Native Labour in South Africa. (Oxford Univ. Press) 1942.  
History of the integration of Africans into the imperialist/capitalist economy of South Africa - labour supply, restrictions, geographical distribution, legislation etc.
- van Rensburg, P. Guilty Land: the History of Apartheid. (Penguin) 1962.  
The book is in three parts: autobiographical, history and contemporary politics. The author is an Afrikaner turned liberal and takes a pro-PAC and anti-communist position in the African nationalist disputes of the late 50's.
- Wolfe, A. "The Team Rules Mining in Southern Africa." Toward Freedom January, 1962. Supra-national integration of imperialist forces in Southern Africa.
- Wolfe, Alvin, "The African Mineral Industry: evolution of a Supranational level of Integration", Social Problems, Vol.II, Fall, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Capital and the Congo", in Southern Africa in Transition, edited by John Davis and James Baker, Praeger, New York, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Economies in Bondage: An Essay on the Mining Industry in Africa", Africa Today, Vol.14, No.3, pp.16-20.

#### I. LIBERATION STRUGGLE

- African National Congress (S.A.) "The Consultative Conference of the ANC." Sechaba III, 7 (1969) Important articles on the April 1969 conference at Morogoro outlining the present direction of the ANC. See also African Communist, 38, Third Quarter, 1969.
- African National Congress (S.A.) "The Creeping War". Sechaba I, 1 (1967)  
"Forward from Wankie". Sechaba II, 11 (1968)  
These are two important theoretical/strategic articles by the ANC.

- African National Congress (S.A.) The Southern African Revolution.  
(Sechaba pub. London) 1968. (25c/1 shilling)  
Compendium of interviews with leaders of revolutionary  
movements in Southern Africa.
- Barnet, D. "Angolan Revolutionaries". Ramparts, Feb. 1969.  
Barnet visited a H.Q. camp of the revolutionary movement  
M.P.L.A. in western Angola. This entry describes that  
visit.
- Benson, M. Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa. Oxford Uni. Press 1963.  
A short biography of Luthuli.
- CRV, Mozambique Will Be Free, 1969.  
Excellent pamphlet on the liberation struggle being waged  
by the Mozambiquean peoples against Portuguese colonialism.  
Provides the reader with background information on the  
economy and politics of colonial underdevelopment.  
Available for \$1.00 from CRV.
- Chaliand, Armed Struggle in Africa.  
(Monthly Review Press) 1969.  
A translation of the French edition of 1967. An account  
of the revolution in "Portuguese" Guinea being waged by  
the PAIGC led by Amilcar Cabral. Based on an extended  
personal visit with Cabral through the liberated areas.
- Davis, J. and Baker, J. (eds). Southern Africa in Transition (Praeger) 1966  
Collection of essays delivered at C.I.A. financed Conference  
(See Ramparts, CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer") on  
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- de Andrade, M. (ed) La Lutte de liberation coloniale dans les colonies  
Portugaises. (Information CONCP, 18 Rue Dirah, Hydra,  
Alger).  
Speeches and documents from a conference of the revolu-  
tionary movements in the "Portuguese" colonies - MPLA  
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- de Lemos, V. "Mozambique: the Road to Revolution". International  
Socialist Journal II, 8. 1965. An account of the  
struggle in Mozambique after the launching of the armed  
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- de Villiers, H. Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye (Afrikaanse Pers, Johannesburg)  
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received life sentences. (See Vermaak entry).
- Feit, E. South Africa: the Dynamics of the ANC. (Oxford Univ. Press)  
1962.  
Liberal critique of the development of the ANC. Analysis  
in terms of the immediate effects of the ANC on the  
government, rather than the longterm effects in terms of  
popular mobilization. Relies extensively on excerpts from  
"Bantu World" without explicitly explaining the organ's  
political position.

- FRELIMO, (Mozambique Liberation Front).  
 "First Congress Documents"  
 "Mozambican Revolution" and other documents can be obtained from the Front, 26 Rue de la Liberté, Alger. Further literature from : Comm. for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Rd., London N.W.3
- Jaspan, M. "South Africa 1960-61: the transition from passive resistance to rebellion." Science and Society 2, 1961.
- Kadalie, C. My Life and the I.C.U. (Frank Cass) 1969.  
 Biographical memoir by the leader of South Africa's numerically most successful organisation in the 1920's.
- Kuper, L. Passive Resistance in South Africa. (new Haven) 1960  
 Detailed, scholarly account of the Defiance Campaign of 1952 by a liberal pacifist, now Director of the African Studies program at UCLA
- Luthuli, A. Let My People GO. (McGraw Hill) 1962.  
 Not very illuminating autobiography - little discussion of fundamental points, ideology or strategy. But an account of a remarkable person in a surreal situation.
- Mandela, N. No Easy Walk to Freedom (Heinemann) 1965.  
 Speeches, articles and trial addresses. Directed towards a mass audience when the ANC was legal, or towards a court, these writings of Mandela are powerful, insightful and moving. For the most part they do not touch on those questions that could only be discussed by the ANC privately while still a mass, legal organisation - eg. strategies of revolution.
- Marcum, J. The Angolan Revolution. volume 1.  
 "The Anatomy of an explosion (1950-1962)." (MIT Press) 1969.  
 Valuable blow-by-blow account of 1961-2 stage of the Angolan revolution, with implicit expose of collaborationist, pro-imperialist role played by Holden Roberto and the UPA/ GRAE. Useful account of earlier resistance and protest in Angola.
- Mbeki, G. The Peasants Revolt (Penguin African) 1964.  
 The first public recognition by an ANC leader of the necessity of mobilising the peasants in a revolutionary struggle in South Africa.
- Modisane, B. Blame Me on History. (Dutton), 1963.  
 Insightful biography of an African living in urban South Africa. Powerful critique of the early years of the African National Congress.

- Mondlane, E. The Struggle for Independence In Mozambique. (Penguin African) 1968.  
Mondlane was the head of FRELIMO until his assassination in 1968. First part is a good introduction to the initial confrontations between the Portuguese and FRELIMO. Second part is a survey description of the policies and strategies of FRELIMO.
- Mphahlele, E. Down Second Avenue. (Faber and Faber) 1959.  
See comments for Modisane.
- Munger, E. African Field Reports, 1952-1961 (Cape Town) 1961.  
Munger was a member of the American Universities Field Staff in the 50's and these reports contain useful details on nationalist movements. Then liberal, Munger has (since marrying an Afrikaans speaking woman) become a major apologist for the South African government.
- Nielsen, A.W. African Battleline (New York) 1965.  
The counterpart of Dennis Austin, Britain and South Africa, and analysis by a member of the US establishment on possible roles of the US in Southern Africa. For an up-to-date version of his thinking see his Great Powers in Africa.
- Nikwe, D. "The National Liberation Movement of South Africa". Sechaba II, 9-11, 1968.  
Useful introductory account of the various elements which grew together to form the ANC and the S.A. liberation movement.
- Raboroko, P., "The Africanist Case." Africa South III, 4. 1960.  
Most readily accessible statement of the PAC case against the ANC. The argument may be followed further in the dialogue which has been pursued between the African Communist and Matthew Nkoane writing in the New African and Africa and the World.
- Ranger, T.O. Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7. (Heinemann) 1967.
- Ranger, T.O. The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898 to 1930. (East Africa Publishing House and Heinemann), forthcoming.
- Reeves, A. Shooting at Sharpeville (London) 1960.  
Bishop Reeves left South Africa shortly after the Sharpeville massacre with a volume of factual material and pictures: this book is the result.
- Roux, E. Time Longer than Rope (Wisconsin) 1964.  
Reprint of the 1948 edition with additions. An analysis of the African struggle from the 1920's that is essentially Marxist but he breaks the dialectic at a number of points to look at why something didn't happen. Good. Very heavy critiques on the nature of progressive white political parties in non-white states, especially with regard to African participation.



Unity Movement of South Africa. The Revolutionary Road for South Africa.  
Issued in Zambia, May, 1969. Policy and Programme of  
the Unity Movement.

Zania, T. "The ICU". The African Communist 38. 1969  
Historical account of the ICU - the largest African  
political organisation in the 20's in South Africa.

Zwamakhosikazi, U. "The Defiant Women".  
Sechaba. I. 8. August 1967.  
History of the struggle of women in South Africa.

Bosgra, S. and van Krimpen, C., Portugal and NATO  
Angola Committee, (Klarenburg 253, Amsterdam, 1967)  
A recent and well documented pamphlet-length analysis  
of the ways NATO helps Portugal wage war against the  
peoples of Africa.

#### PUBLICATIONS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

- ANC (African National Congress of South Africa)  
Sechaba - 49 Rathbone St., London W.1, England  
Mayibuye - P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka, Zambia.
- MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)  
Information Department, Box 20793, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
- FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)  
Mozambique Revolution, P.O. Box 15274, Dar-es-Salaam,  
Tanzania.
- SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization)  
Namibia Today, P.O. Box 2603, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
- ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union)  
Zimbabwe Review, P.O. Box 1657, Lusaka, Zambia.
- PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and  
Cape Verde Islands)  
Bulletin, Box 298, Conakry, Republic of Guinea

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

- Africa Bureau, 35 Great Smith Street, London SW1  
Publishes pamphlets and Africa Digest, Fabian politics -  
lib reformist.
- American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York 10016.  
Valuable material on U.S. involvement in Southern Africa.
- Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street London W.1., Wide range of  
pamphlets highlighting British involvement in S.A.
- Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Road, London N.W.3.  
FRELIMO materials.
- Committee of Returned Volunteers, P.O. Box 380 New York 10003.  
Pamphlets on the Peace Corps and Imperialism; Gulf Oil;  
Mozambique
- International Defence and Aid Fund, 2 Amen Court, London E.C.4.  
Helpful pamphlets, Liberal.
- Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 15210 Seattle Washington 98115.  
Publications on MPLA; ways to help the guerilla movements.
- North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) P.O. Box 57, N.Y. 10025.  
Regular newsletter on imperialism; important pamphlets.
- University Christian Movement, Southern Africa Committee, 475 Riverside  
Drive, Room 752 New York 10027. Publishes "Southern Africa"  
a monthly newsletter with best information on current  
developments.
- Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin  
America (OSPAAL) Apartado 4224, Havana Cuba. Publishes  
Tricontinental, the theoretical journal of the international  
revolutionary movement. Subscriptions are \$3.60 for ten  
issues. Send Canadian money.

PUBLICATIONS ABOUT AFRICA

Africa Confidential

5/33 Rutland Gate, London SW7  
Edited by ex-Reuter's writer with pieces from un-named correspondents in Africa. Bi-weekly. Reputed to have links with British intelligence.

African Development

John Carpenter House, John Carpenter Street, London EC4. \$9.00 (airmail).  
Useful reports on business and trade in Africa.  
Edited by South African anti-communist, liberal journalists, Monthly.

Africa Report

Suite 530 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington D.C. 20036, \$8.00  
Monthly publication of the African-American Institute trying to change its CIA image. Carries back-ground reports; dialogues about various problems usually reflecting liberal/conservative splits.

Africa Today

Graduate School of International Studies, Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colorado. 80210. \$5.00 (\$3.00 for students.)  
Formerly linked with the American Committee on Africa. Features very good pieces occasionally. Contributors are predominantly concerned scholars of liberal persuasion.

Southern Africa

Room 752, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 10027. \$5.00  
Best source of regular information about current developments. Covers political, business, governmental and internal events. Monthly newsletter.

Habari

P.O. Box 13033, Washington, D.C. 20009. \$10.00  
Publication of the Washington Task Force on African Affairs. Features critical material on U.S. policy in Africa from liberal black view-point.

The Black Panther

Black Panther Party, Ministry of Information,  
Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Calif. 94126.  
\$7.50 in U.S., \$15.00 abroad.  
Weekly revolutionary organ of the Black Panther Party which carries regular news articles on African revolutionary movements.

Guardian

197 East 4th Street, New York, New York 10009.  
\$10.00 a year (\$5.00 for students, \$1.00 for GIs)  
Radical bi-weekly newspaper which carries a regular column on African events written by the Africa Research Group.