RADICAL STUDY GUIDE
Ideas are no one's property!

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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 whenever 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

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...

"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 59/70: 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, 1976. 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.


Bibliographies

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".


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.


Spitz, A., Developmental Change: An Annotated Bibliography, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1969. Long but not radical annotations of books covering many areas, including Africa.


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.
Africa General


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, including 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 1, 4 (Aug. 1968). The book starts with Nigeria and discusses R. Wraith and F. 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. He 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.

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.


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.
He points out many examples of the oppressive-ness of neo-colonialism and the ways in which the "free" African states are administered.

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.

A collection of papers classified by geographical regions and subjects.

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.

Emphasis on agricultural and rural consumer needs rather than on massive industrialization.

### i. Economics

Amin, S. *Trois Experiences Africaines de Developpement: 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".

The constraining imperialist factors forcing the French African elites to accommodate to imperialism. Offers no "counter model".


Contradictions of education and economy.

History of the development of African economy: colonial economy sacrifices agricultural development for extractive and profit-making industry.

Dumont, R. "Conditions for Agricultural Development in Tropical Asia and Africa". *Presse Africaine,* 16, 44.


Based on international seminar on economic cooperation in Africa held at Union College, Nairobi, December, 1965.


The effects of transfer of technology and institutions, and the ideas and values corresponding to them, from "developed" to "developing" countries.


Foremost Soviet analyst (died 1964).


Equating corruption with factors of lack of bureaucratic tradition, democratic values, etc. instead of seeing it as a function of a neo-colonial elite.


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.


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


Valuable data on Mali's pre-coup socioeconomic strategy.

Chodak is a Polish sociologist and has taught in Ghana and in Dar-es-Salaam.
3. Theory

Contains economic class analysis of Nigerian divisions.


Criticism of attempts to apply 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".
Practical implementation of Senghor's "African Socialism".

British CP critique of "African socialism".

Sengalese Marxist.

Irele, A. "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism." Journal of Modern African Studies III, 3. The historical origins of negritude, its social and cultural aspects, its nature as a "counter-acculturation" to white culture.


The Mooya influenced manifesto for American capitalism in Kenya.

Review of Fanon's writing.


A critique of the writings of Ali Mazuri, one of the major East African spokesmen for a neo-colonial ideology.

Vocabulary and concepts of African socialism. Are there classes? Guinea, Ghana, Mali, and Algeria as a different kind of socialism.

History of Ghana under Nkrumah. The difficulty for a political party with state power to break the hold of neocolonialism.

Published to coincide with formation of OAU. The "Union Government Now" line.


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.


Themes—imperialism as cause of underdevelopment, immediate political independence, economic independence, socialism and planned economy, need for foreign assistance, fear of neo-colonialism.


The philosophical basis of Nkrumah's writing contains interesting material and has been unduly criticized.


A first statement of anti-imperialism by Nkrumah.

Nkrumah, K. Handbook of Revolutionary War:... Publishers.


Nkrumah's speeches, most of them prior to his real engagement with scientific socialism in the post 1960 period.


A first statement of anti-imperialism by Nkrumah.


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.

Peace and Socialism Publisher, Prague, 1967.


African Labor

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.


Very flattering portrait of the origins, intentions and content of Senghor's thought.


Toure, S. *L'Afrique et la Revolution*.
Volume XIII. Has history of PDG, and culture, political evolution, dialectical materialism.

Volume IV.

Volumes I and II of Toure's speeches, radio talks, etc.

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.


G.E. Lynd is a pseudonym for Author... U.S. intelligence agent. This book is a model of CIA-type research on the internal dynamics of African unions. The Rockefeller Foundation paid for the book. Read it and learn why.
Useful study of how conservative forces co-opted and subverted the radical ideal of Pan-Africanism. Sophisticated post cold-war analysis by a corporate liberal who avoids discussing the nature of modern imperialism. Says Big powers bent on "System Maintenance."


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.


5. The Military


65 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.29
Memoirs of Nkrumah's British military chief, who was fired in the early 1960's.


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.


Murray's excellent article is the best discussion of the role of the military available.


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, 10f).


First basic Marxist analysis of imperialism which maintains its importance for understanding contemporary imperialism.

Imperialism

A valuable analytical study of British imperialism. In depth study of transition from colonial to neo-colonial domination.

Braundi, Emile (Manuel Bridier), "Neo-colonialism and the Class Struggle." (I.S.J., I., Jan-Feb. 1964, 48-68).
Three important topics of investigation... "Characteristics of the Colonial Economy and Underdevelopment;" "The Economic and Social Causes of Decolonization;" "Characteristics of the Economy and Social Structures of Neo-Colonialism." The peasant masses as a political force... the industrial proletariat and intelligencia will "give a political perspective" to the peasantry.

Baran, P. and Sweezy, P. *Monopoly Capital*
Easily read and understood Marxist analysis of monopoly development and behaviour in the American economic system. Very important contribution. Unfortunately, weak on entire subject of imperialism.

A classic in Marxist economics. Essential for understanding modern capitalism.


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*.
Oil, capitalism and imperialism... from pre-WWI to 1960's. Major sections on Latin America and Near East.

I. Changing Strategies

Afan, O. "The Dangers of Foreign Aid."

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 développement du capitalisme en afrique noire." (L'homme et la société, 6, Oct/Dec. '67)
Other works by Samir Amin include: Trois expériences africaines de développement: Le Mali, La Guinée, et Le Ghana; Le développement du capitalisme en Côte d'Ivoire; and Les Hommes d'affaires sénégalaïs.


Arrighi, Giovanni, Sviluppo Economico E Sovrastruzione in Africa. (Torino, Italy, 1969) Available in paperback, Italian ed. only.


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.

2. U.S. Policy

Decker, M. "The Economics of Neo-Colonialism." (African Communist, 7, Sept. '61)


Argues that imperialist policy is to keep Africa as a primary-resource producing appendage.


"It is human capital which must be lent to Africa"... as well as Capital.

Nganga, Georges. "Mythes et Réalités de l'aide pas les investissements directs." (Afrique Nouvelle, 1028, 20-6, apr. '67)


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 Africaine, 10, 38, 1961)


Short, informative introduction written from a traditional C.P. viewpoint.


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.


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.


Account by U.S. Ambassador to Gabon (and his racist wife) of U.S.-French imperialist rivalry.


A short overview of U.S. policy in Africa. Uncritical, non-analytical. Useful as a clear exposition of conventional position.


Howard, L.C. *The United States and Africa: Trade and Investment.*


"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.


History of economic struggle between the allies in WWII. Shows how U.S. worked to undermine the British Empire.

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's most recent book—a cultural rather than a political or economic history.

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 appen—
Africa: Will Write its own History


Ostrander, F. Taylor, "U.S. Private Investment in Africa," (Africa Report, Jan. '69). 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.


Ostrander, F. Taylor. "U.S. Private Investment in Africa," (Africa Report, Jan. '69). 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.


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.
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 precolonial African societies.

Useful general history but not radical.

The book deals with a wide range of topics--from Ethiopia and Egypt to Medieval Africa, the Partition, African Culture, religion, art.

1. Slave Trade

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.

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 Tanjenga Nnchi: Political Development in Rural Tanzania


Kimnyaga, M. "Uhuru's Bitter Fruit" African Communist 32, (1963)

Lofoye, 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
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.

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 more data on social implications of the slave trade.)

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.

A Marxist account of the effects of the slave trade on West African societies: changes in social structure, dependence on European capital, etc.

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.

*His role as a front-man for U.S. imperialism in Africa.*


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. *Socialism and Rural Development* (Dar es Salaam) 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.

Most recent survey of East African history from early times to present - chapters by a variety of specialists.

Josberg, C. and Nottingham, J. *The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya* (Fraeger)
A serious study of the struggle for national liberation in Kenya. Lots of good data.
IN THE FORMER COLONIES
IT'S "WHITE MAN, COME BACK"

Bretton, H. Power and Stability in Nigeria (Praeger) 1962
Studies the corruption of Nigeria's neo-colonial elites.

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.

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

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, May 19, 1969

Birmingham, W., Neustadt, I., and Owuabo, C. 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.

An analysis of the strike as a class struggle free from the mist of nationalism.


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.

Bretton, H. Power and Stability in Nigeria (Praeger) 1962
Studies the corruption of Nigeria's neo-colonial elites.

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.
West Africa

Afana, O. *L'Economie de l'Ouest-Africain* (Maspero, Paris) 1966
Primarily Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Cameroons.
Class structure analysis, including pre-colonial period.

Amin, S. *Le Developement du Capitalisme en Cote d'Ivoire* (Paris) 1967
Model case study of a neo-colonial political economy.

Ameillon, E. *La Guinee, Island d'une Independence* (Maspero, Paris) 1964
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".

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 was central advisor to Nkrumah, some say he represented British interests there.

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


Useful book on Mali.

Useful study of the formation of elites, their dependence on imperialism and resulting protests from rural sector.

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 welcomed in the ex-colonies.
Marinelli, L. The New Liberia (Praeger) 1964
A celebration of renewed "open door" for

Markowitz, I., "Ghana Ten Years after Independence:
The Development of Technology - Capitalism"
Africa Today, XIV, 1, 1967.

Murray, R. "Second Thoughts on Ghana" New Left
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, internation­
alist consciousness for radicals. Should be
read together with the Fitch and Oppenheimer

Nkrumah, K. Dark Days in Ghana (International
Publishers) 1965
Nkrumah's personal account of the coup that
overthrew his government.

Rimmer, D. "The Crisis of the Ghanaian Economy"
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

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"
Useful article on the position of chiefs in
Guinee under colonialism.

Suret-Cenale, J. "La Guinee dans le Systeme Coloniale"
Presence Africaine (Dec, 1959)

Seydon, M. Recherches sur l'Exercice du Pouvoir
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.

THE WAR IN NIGERIA?

In this Biafran refugee center “… the aged victims of war … clawed the air for food every time I appeared …”

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.

Films About The Struggle

There are three films presently available in the United States about the struggle of the people of "Portuguese" Guinea. "Nossa Tierra" 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 TV documentary is available through the American Documentary Films of New York.

Portuguese Guinea

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


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 theorists and leader of one of its most advanced liberation movements, the PAIGC.


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

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.

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.

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.

Lumumba, Patrice Congo My Country
New York: Praeger 1962
Early work by Lumumba with insipid introduction by Colin Legum.

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.

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.

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 Miniere.
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.

Study of the nationalization of Union Miniere and the role played by various foreign powers. Good analysis of problems created by Congolese state's shareholding in Union Miniere.

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-Brazzaville**

The most recent and best economic history of Congo Brazzaville.

**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.

Valuable study of companies which dominate the Congolese economy. Provides material on economic history of the companies, shareholdings 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.
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.**  

**Ainslie, R. and Robinson, D.**  
Primarily concerned with British complicity with apartheid. Useful information.

**American Committee on Africa.**  

**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.

**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.**  
Valuable history of the African National Congress of South Africa — though refrain 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."  
Discussion of the condition of African workers and the struggle of some of the trade unionists.

**Hunting, B.**  
*The Rise of the South African Reich.*  
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.* (Fraeger, 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.**  
The South African Foundation is a pro-apartheid body but this entry contains useful statistics, especially economically.

A valuable analysis of the interaction of factors of race and class in the development of a white settler political economy.

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.

An analysis of the growing 'integration' of Southern African white supremacist regimes and their international implications.

A Leninist analysis of the Wilson government mainly in Rhodesia.


A description of case studies of atrocities under police repression. Includes photographs.

Article on a rural rebellion in South Africa and its brutal suppression.

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.

A Leninist analysis of the Wilson government mainly in Rhodesia.

Article on a rural rebellion in South Africa and its brutal suppression.
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.

Account of the first stages of the famous "treason trial" which involved 156 members of the ANC and its allied organisations.

Personal statements by a collection of black and white South Africans.

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.

Good introduction to the three countries, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland most vulnerable to South African pressures.

Information on education and labour based on first hand experience in Mozambique. Dated but short and informative.

Houghton, H. The South African Economy. (Cape Town) 1964 
Uses Rostows stages to describe growth of S.A. economy. Useful statistics.

Essays presenting different views on the causes and future of the Angolan revolts.

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, J. 
Five African States: Responses to Diversity. (Cornell) 1963 
Useful short account (historical background, contemporary setting, political process, 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.
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 role 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 Unions" (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 blacks and (b) imperialist interests.

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.


McKae, 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.
Mjeké, 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 fostering an African nationalist leadership.

Minty, A. South Africa's Defence Strategy
London: Anti-Apartheid 1969 $4.50
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.

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."
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.
Classic work on the effects of the Native Land Act on black South Africans, written by an early ANC leader.

Best short account of the least "described" of black South Africans - those who work on white farms.

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."
Article discussing the deep economic involvement of the West in South Africa.

Toure, S. "Solidarity with South Africa."
The African Communist, 5. 1961
One of the few articles on South Africa by the Guinean leader.


Attempts to combine a "functional" and "dialectical" 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.
Banda's manipulation of 'tribalism' in Malawi for his political ends.

Sachs, E. The choice before South Africa. (Turnstille) 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.

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: Traveesty of Trust.
Conference on S.W.A. held in London in 1966. Valuable papers on the history, politics and economy of S.W.A.

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 19 th century and her continued interests in the 20th century. Valuable for comparative studies.

Analytically the best short account of South Africa's political economy and the modes of struggle against it.

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.

Supra-national integration of imperialist forces in Southern Africa.


Sharpeville: On March 21, 1960, police fired on Africans who were protesting the pass laws, killing 67 and wounding 186.
Liberation Struggle

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.

Compendium of interviews with leaders of revolutionary movements in Southern Africa.

Barnett 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 University Press, 1969
A short biography of Luthuli.

CRV, Mozambique Will Be Free, 1969.
Excellent pamphlet on the liberation struggle being waged by the Mozambican peoples against Portuguese colonialism. Provides the reader with background information on the economy and politics of colonial underdevelopment. Available for $1.00 from CRV.

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.


Biographical memoir by the leader of South Africa's numerically most successful organization 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.
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.

Collection of essays delivered at C.I.A, financed Conference (See Ramparts, CTA as an Equal Opportunity Employer) on aspects of Southern African liberation struggles.

de Andrade, M. (ed) *La Lutte de libération coloniale dans les colonies Portugaises*. (Information CONCP, 18 Rue Dirah, Hydra, Alger.)
Speeches and documents from a conference of the revolutionary movements in the "Portuguese" colonies - MPLA (Angola); FRELIMO (Mozambique); PAIGC (Guinea). Important.

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 struggle.

Right wing account of the events leading to the Rivonia trial in which ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela received life sentences. (see Vermaak entry)

Liberal critique of the development of the ANC. Analysis in terms of the immediate effects of the ANC on the government, rather than the longer term effects in terms of popular mobilisation. Relies extensively on excerpts from "Bantu World" without explicitly explaining the organ's political position.

Not very illuminating autobiography - little discussion of fundamental points, ideology or strategy. But an account of a remarkable person in a surreal situation.

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.

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/GRAB. 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 was the head of FRELIMO until his assassination in 1966. 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 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.

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.


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.

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 20763, 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
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.


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, R. Time Longer than Rope (Wisconsin) 1964. Reprint of the 1948 edition with additions. An analysis of the African struggle from the 1920s 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.


OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

Africa Bureau, 35 Great Smith Street, London SW1 Publishes pamphlets and Africa Digest. Fabian politics - liberal reformist.


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.


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.


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).

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 background 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
PO Box 13033, Washington, D.C. 20009. $10.00

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.
DAWN IN THE HEART OF AFRICA

For a thousand years, you, African, suffered like a beast,
Your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert.
Your tyrants built the lustrous, magic temples
to preserve your soul, preserve your suffering.
Barbaric right of fist and white right to a whip,
You had the right to die, you also could weep.
On your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds,
And even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death
Was watching, snaidy, crawling to you
Like branches from the holes and heads of trees
Embraced your body and your ailing soul.
Then they put a treacherous big viper on your chest:
On your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water,
They took your sweet wife for glitter of cheap pearls,
Your incredible riches that nobody could measure.
From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into dark of night
Carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers
About abused girls, streams of tears and blood,
About ships that sailed to countries where the little man
Wallow in an anthill and where the dollar is king.
To that damned land which they called a motherland.
In a frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreadful pain.
You are men like others. They preach you to believe
That good white God will reconcile all men at last.
By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs
Of a homeless beggar that sinks at strangers' doors.
And when a craze possessed you
And your blood boiled through the night
You danced, you moaned, obsessed by father's passion.

Like fury of a storm to lyrics of a manly tune
From a thousand years of misery a strength burst out of you
In metallic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry
That thunders through the continent like gigantic surf.
The whole world surprised, wakes up in panic
to the violent rhythm of blood, to the violent rhythm of jazz,
The white man turning pallid over this new song
That carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The dawn is here, my brother! Dawn! Look in our faces,
A new morning breaks in our old Africa.
Ours alone will now be the land, the water, mighty rivers
Poor African surrendered for a thousand years.
Hard torches of the sun will shine for us again
They'll dry the tears in eyes and spittle on your face.
The moment when you break the chains, the heavy fetters,
The evil, cruel times will go never to come again.
A free and gallant Congo will arise from black soil,
A free and gallant Congo—black blossom from black seed!

Patrice Emery Lumumba