

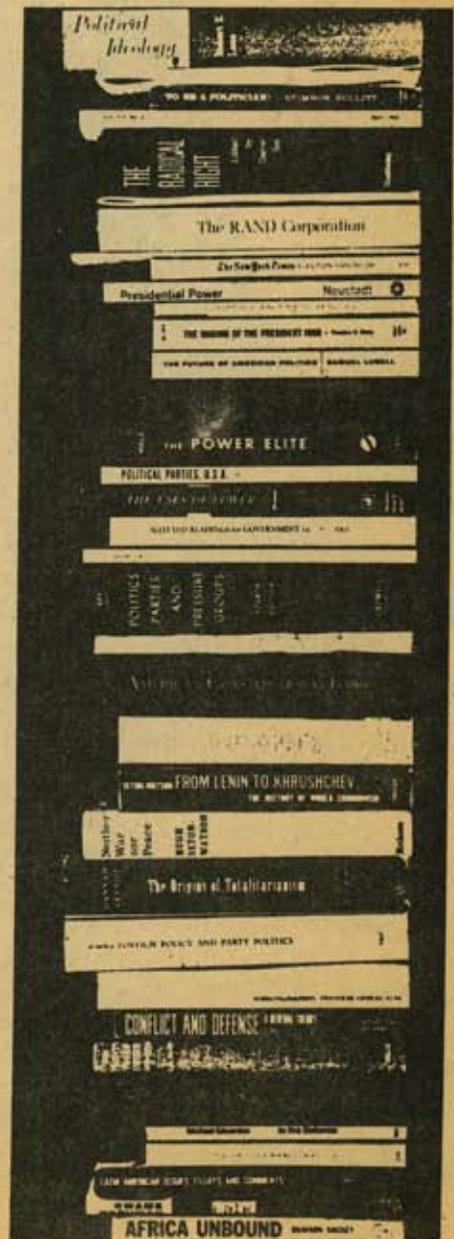
**RADICAL
STUDY
GUIDE**

published by africa research group 50c

**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 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

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."

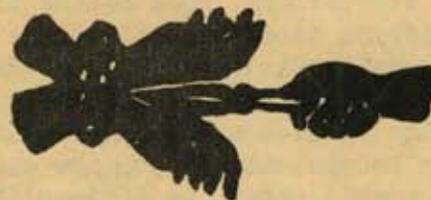
Of course, we didn't send off our entire library or files but frequent requests of a similar nature point to a widespread unfamiliarity with available radical literature about Africa among students and movement people. For reasons that have everything to do with institutionalized racism in the schools 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 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.

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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.

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."

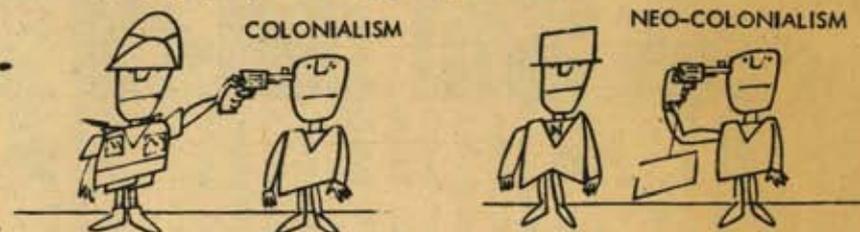
Davidson, B. "What's Wrong with Africa?" International Socialist Journal I, 4 (Aug. 1968). The book starts with Nigeria and discusses R. Wraith and E. Simpkin's thesis on corruption (that it is an evolving middle class which is oppressing the people) and points out the shallowness of their analysis as 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.

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.

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

I. Economics

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 1950's.

Legum, C. Africa--A Handbook to the Continent. (Praeger), 1966.

A collection of papers classified by geographical regions and subjects.

Lloyd, 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.

Amin, S. Trois Experiences Africaines de Developement: 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 accommodate to imperialism. Offers no "counter model".

Bettleheim, C. "Economic Planning in Africa". Perspective, June 1961.

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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.

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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).

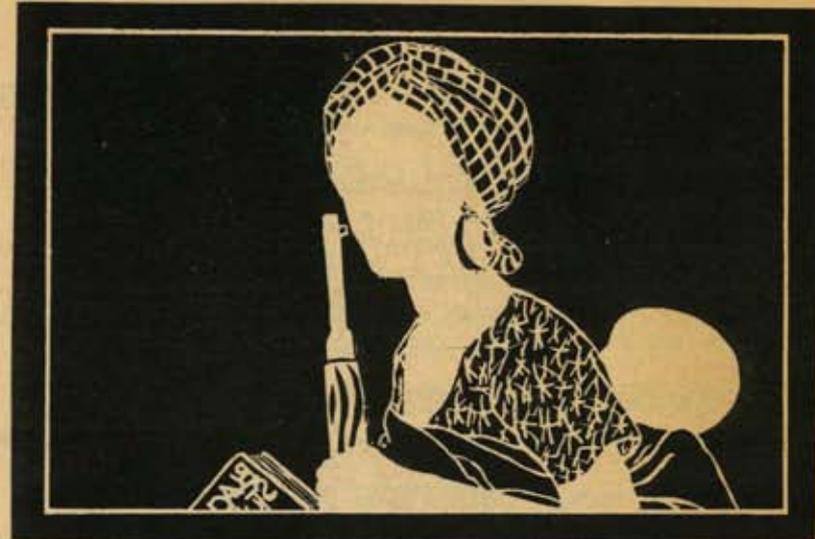
Ori, O. "Features of Nigeria's Financial Institutions- a Marxist Approach". Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies.

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.

Coleman, J. "The Resurrection of Political Economy." Mawazo 1 (Makerere, 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.

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

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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. Saule (eds) The Socialist Register-1969. (London), 1969.
An important paper on the strategies of revolution.

Badian, S. Les Dinguents 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.

Magubane, B. "Pluralism and Conflict Situation in Africa: A New Look," Africa Social Research, vol. 7, June 1969.
A strong criticism of pluralistic model analysis in Africa.

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 dinguents politiques de l'Ouest-africain." Partisans, 29-30 (1966).

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Sklar, R. "Political Science and National Integration." Journal of Modern African Studies V, 1 (1967).
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Wallerstein, I. "Class Tribe and Party in West African Politics." Transactions of the World Congress of Sociology III (Brussels, 1964).



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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.

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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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Diop, M. "Contribution a l'Etude des Problemes Politiques en Afrique Noire." Presence Africaine, Paris, 1958.

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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.

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Nkrumah, K. Africa Must Unite. Heinemann, London, 1963. Published to coincide with formation of OAU. The "Union Government Now" line.

Drew, W. "How Socialist Are African Economies?"
Africa Report, May 1963, special issue on
African socialism.

Fanon, Franz, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove
Press, New York, 1968.

_____, Toward the African Revolution,
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_____, Black Skin, White Mask, Grove
Press, New York, 1967.

Fanon's works are essential to the under-
standing of the Algerian revolution and
Africa in general. Fanon deals with all
the issues confronting African revolution-
ary movements—class conflict, colonialism
and neo-colonialism, violence, political
organization, revolutionary consciousness,
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Collection of pieces compiled by two US
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immediate political independence, economic inde-
pendence, socialism and planned economy, need
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Nkrumah, K. "African Socialism Revisited".
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Nkrumah, K. Consciencism. Heinemann,
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The philosophical basis of Nkrumah's writing,
contains interesting material and has been
unduly criticised.

Nkrumah, K. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare.
Panaf Publishers.

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his real engagement with scientific social-
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Nkrumah, K. Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in
the Struggle Against World Imperialism.
Manchester, 1947.

A first statement of anti-imperialism by
Nkrumah.

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many publications, write Panaf Publishers,
89 Fleet St., London E.C.4, England.

Nyerere, J. Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism
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Losing Struggle for Africa. Dobson, London,
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Important, due to Padmore's influence on
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sterility of socialist thought in Africa at
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are coopted into the service of imperialism.

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Africa: National and Social Revolution.
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Saul, J. "African Populism". in Gellne, E. and
Ionescu, G., eds., On Populism. London, 1969.
Critique of "African socialism" and the
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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.

Toure, S. L'Afrique et la Revolution.

Volume XIII. Has history of PDG, and culture, political evolution, dialectical materialism.

Toure, S. Le Cinquieme Congress National du PDG. Conakry, Republique de Guinee, 1959. Volume IV.

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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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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 dis-
cussing the nature of modern imperialism.
Says Big powers bent on "System Maintenance."

Wallerstein, I. "Elites in French-speaking
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Structural strains of independence, and
ideological responses of leaders. Too
amorphous in its class analysis.



Wallerstein, I. The Political Ideology of the
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Good summary of S. Toure's thought to 1962.

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Africa Today?" Africa Today, XIV, 3, 1967.
Critique of what he regards as "ultra-left"
analysis of American imperialism in Africa.
Useful synopsis of a clique of liberal Amer-
ican academics.

Woddis, J. Africa: The Way Ahead. International
Publisher, 1963.
Can Africa take a non-capitalist road?
Neo-colonialism the main danger.
Democracy, pan-Africanism, economics.

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 co-
opting and molding "responsible" trade union
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**66Many African army
officers, trained at
Sandhurst and
St. Cyr, have been
shocked by the
economic chaos and
official high living
in the newly in-
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Imperialist exploitation and enforced non-development of the third world. Very valuable as source of reference materials, especially U.N. materials.

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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.

Imperialism

M. Barrett-Brown, After Imperialism (Heinemann, London) 1963.

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, 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;" "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 MR Press, New York, 1966.
Easily read and understood Marxist analysis of monopoly development and behavior in the American economic system. Very important contribution. Unfortunately, weak on entire subject of imperialism.

Baran, Paul, The Political Economy of Growth, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1957.
A classic in Marxist economics. Essential for understanding modern capitalism.

Caspary, William (ed.), American Economic Imperialism: A Survey of the Literature, reprinted by the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. Annotated bibliography arranged in a systematic form. Helpful for preparing study classes or groups.

"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.

1. Changing Strategies

Afana, O. "The Dangers of Foreign Aid." (Revolution, Paris) July, 1963.

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National policies on six questions on development problems by the Finance Ministers of Swaziland, Gambia, Zambia and Tanzania.

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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)

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Other works by Samir Amin include: Trois
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Saul, J., Ideology and Development; Rhodes, R.
Readings on Underdevelopment, MR Press)
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Available in paperback, Italian ed. only.

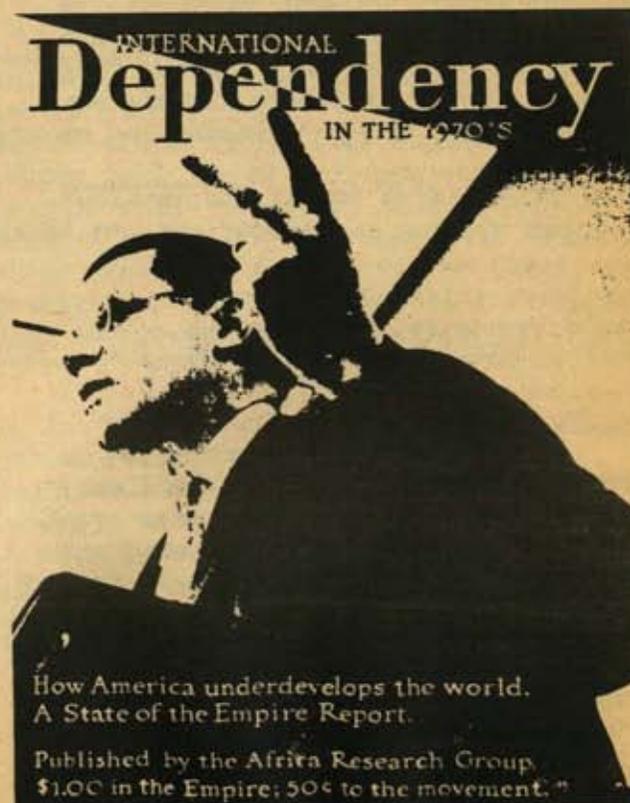
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ialism: the Economic Impact of Monetary
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Bridier, H. "Notes on the Imperialist Counter-
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Discussion of military coups. Does not
measure up to Murray's "Militarism in Africa."

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(Socialist Register, 1966)
Discussion of underdevelopment...will 'growth'
benefit the few or the many...slow rise of
wage-workers...weakness of elites in internat-
ional terms...the conflicts they will face with
the people.

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
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Goncharov, L. "New Forms of Colonialism in Africa."
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appendage.

Helleiner, F.K. "New Forms of Foreign Investment
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"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
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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 Africaine, 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:
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New York) 1968. First published in 1920.

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.
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Argues that the U.S. counter-revolution-
ary stance flows from the bureaucratic
world-view of national security managers.
Pays inadequate attention to economic factors
but contains much useful information, includ-
ing a case study of American intervention in
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(U.C.Press, 1956).

A series of lectures given at UCLA, represent-
ing the first articulation of the aggressive
position of corporate liberalism with respect
to Africa...free the elites from their depend-
ence 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.

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 appen-

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. '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.

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¢.

dices 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 precolonial 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.

East Africa

Barnett, D. and Njama, K. Mau Mau from Within (Monthly Review Press, New York)
An account of the Mau Mau peaaas
An account of the Mau Mau peasant revolt by one of the participants. Also a good analysis of Kenya immeadiately 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 Revoalution in Zanzibar"
International Socialist Journal, I
(April, 1964)
Rather ephemeral account of events of Zanzibar - and some of the immeadiate 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

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 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 Britian'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.

Middelton, J. and Campbell, G. Zanzibar: the Society and Its Politicis

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 excellant 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.

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 Lettlen, 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.

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.

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.

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 Developement 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) 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".
- 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.
- 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, Montly 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 resulting 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 welcomed 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, internation-
alist 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 Ghanian 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

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.

O'Brien, C. "The Limits of Political Choice in French West Africa, 1956-1960" Civilisations, 15, 2, (1965)

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.

'Portuguese' Guinea

Cabral, Amilcar, Revolution in Guinea, Stage 1, Theobalds Road, London, WCL, 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 ZAIRE

Lumumba, Patrice Congo My Country

New York: Praeger 1962

Early work by Lumumba with insipid introduction by Colin Legum.

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, October, 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.

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 Miniere.

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, 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.

Semonin, P. "Proxy Fight in the Congo," The Nation, March 6, 1967.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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.

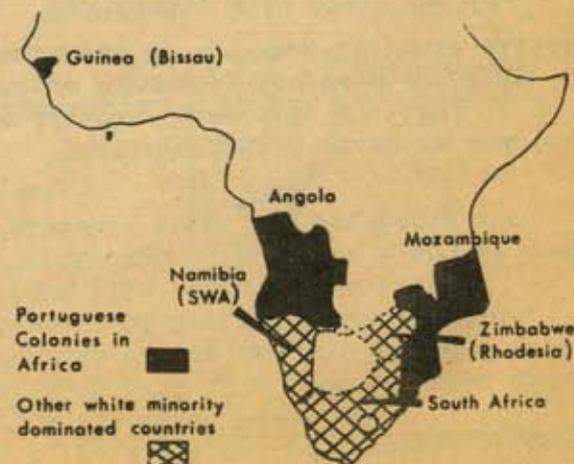
Horrell, M. As the researcher for the South African based Institute of Race Relations, Horrell has produced a series of publications containing up to date information on South Africa. These include an Annual Survey of Race Relations (good source for statistics); "South African Trade Unionism" (1961). "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 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.

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.

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 discussin 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.

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.

Ross, A. "White Africa's Black Ally." New Left Review. 45 Set/Oct 1967, Banda's manipulation of 'tribelism' 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.

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.



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

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/1shilling)
Compendium of interviews with leaders of revolutionary movements in Southern Africa.

Barnett, D. "Angolan Revolutionaries".
Ramparts, Feb 1969.
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. 1963
A short biography of Luthuli.

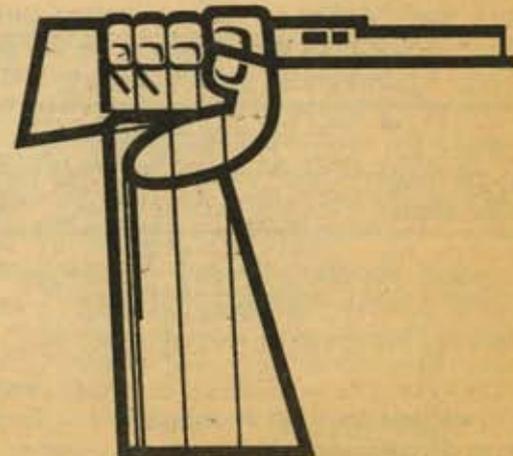
CRV, Mozambique Will Be Free, 1969.
Excellent pamphlet on the liberation struggle being waged by the Mozambiquean peoples against Portuguese colonialism. Provides the reader with background information on the economy and politics of colonial underdevelopment. Available for \$1.00 from CRV.

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



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 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.

de Villiers H. Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye (Afrikaanse Pers, Johannesburg) 1964.
Right wing account of the events leading to the Rivonia trial in which ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela 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.

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 exposé 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.

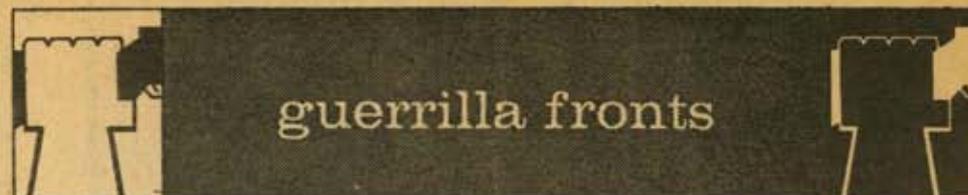
Mphahlele, E. Down Second Avenue. (Faber and Faber.) 1959.
See comments for Modisane.

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 Battleground. (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.



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

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.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

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

PO 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 revolut-
ionary 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, snaky, 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
Wallows 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 path.
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!

