COMMUNISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: AN ESSAY WITH BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT

by
Ursula Paolozzi

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July 1969

The American University
CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SYSTEMS
5010 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016

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THE AUTHOR

Mrs. Paolozzi joined the CINFAC Division of CRESS in the spring of 1967 as a research associate. After studies at several European universities she was awarded the Laurea degree (Italian Ph. D.) in Political Science from the University of Perugia. She has subsequently taught at the University of Southern California, the Goethe Institut, the Foreign Service Institute, and the University of Maryland (overseas). Her interest in Middle Eastern-African affairs derives from a long period of residence and informal study in several countries of the Middle Eastern-African area.

FOREWORD

This study has been prepared in response to a request from the USAF Security, Department of the Air Force, as CRESC/CINFAC R-1053. The research and writing were completed in June 1968.

Part One is a bibliographic essay on the subject of communism in sub-Saharan Africa, and Part Two is a selected bibliography on the same subject. The essay consists of a review of what writers have had to say on this important and timely subject. All works referred to in the essay are listed in the supplementary bibliography. The author has not attempted to refer to all the books and articles in the bibliography but has sought to use as many of the bibliographic works as seemed necessary and appropriate to bring out clearly the consensus of a large majority of authors on the various aspects of the subject.

The purpose of the essay is to review the available literature to determine the extent of the present influence and impact of communism on sub-Saharan Africa.

Contrary to what one might suppose, writers and observers of the African scene have not dealt extensively with the role of communism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Although few writers have addressed themselves exclusively to the subject, many have included chapters on Communist influence in their books. It is clear that no serious observer of the African political scene has thought it unnecessary to comment on the role of communism.

One writer finds that the overwhelming majority of African observers have taken the position that there are few Communists in Africa (which is quite true) and that the socialistic character of the vast majority of African domestic and international policies is an independently caused, accidental parallel.* Other authors conclude that communism does not appear to present any immediate danger to the African continent and that nationalism is the main African political force.

Some authors have attempted to assess the influence and impact of Soviet and Communist Chinese efforts in tropical Africa. Their conclusions, for the most part, indicate that although these efforts have been extensive, they have not been markedly successful. The authors point out that only three political parties in Africa can be considered Communist in appearance. Otherwise, the general rule is the nationalistic, one-party state.

All writers appear to agree on one thing: Since conditions in Africa are very much in flux, it would be foolhardy to attempt to predict just where the continent will go politically in the years ahead. No attempt to do so is made in this study. An attempt is made, however, to present a fairly concise summary of observers' views about the success of Communist states in influencing and subverting sub-Saharan Africa.

The essay deals with the subject under the following section headings: Section I. Aims, Strategy, and Tactics of the Soviet Union, Section II. Communist Chinese Efforts and Role,

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* Victor C. Ferkiss, Africa's Search for Identity (New York: George Braziller, 1966), p. 275.

Section III. The Roles of Other Communist Countries. Section IV. Communist Influence in African Political Movements, and Section V. The Future of Communism in Africa.

Part Two of this study is a bibliographic supplement. Although, as noted above, the author has drawn exclusively on the references in this bibliography for the essay, the potential of the bibliography has by no means been exhausted. It was assembled for students interested primarily in the subject of communism in tropical Africa, but many selections are also helpful for related topics. Among these topics would be the role and influence of Communist trade unions, the military, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Pan-Africanism, Africa and the United Nations, and African irredentism and territorial disputes. All these topics are directly related to the central subject of the essay and have been mentioned as appropriate, but they do not appear to be fundamental factors in the general equation of communism in tropical Africa at this time. These topics, however, are amply treated in various works reviewed in the bibliography.

The bibliography has three sections: Section I contains reviews or annotations of 31 books or articles that have been selected as the best primary sources of information on the subject under study; Section II contains annotations of 18 books and articles considered slightly less important than the sources under Section I, either because their relation to the central topic of the essay is less direct or because parts of them are somewhat dated; and Section III contains a listing of 36 books and journal or press articles that contain useful information on either the central topic or related topics.

All DOD-sponsored entries that are definitely known to CRESS to have been cleared for open release are marked with an asterisk.

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PART ONE

COMMUNISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA—AN ESSAY

SECTION I. AIMS, STRATEGY, AND TACTICS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Several key writers on African affairs conclude that although the Soviet aims, strategy, and tactics vis-à-vis Africa were not clearly defined until the post World War II era, the seeds of their current African policy were contained in the Soviet policy on colonial areas as derived from Lenin's theses of 1905 and 1916, The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, and from the Second Congress of the Communist International. Fritz Schatten, perhaps, best sums up what the current Soviet policy on Africa south of the Sahara embraces:

1. In view of the lack of Communist success in the progressive countries the colonial areas offer possibilities for world-revolutionary expansion.
2. However, the proletarian forces in these areas are not yet strong enough to take independent revolutionary action. The national-revolutionary movements are under bourgeois-democratic dominance. Therefore, in this situation the communists must, temporarily, support the bourgeois-democratic forces, enter into an alliance with them and adopt their slogans.
3. This policy does not mean the abandonment of the ultimate communist objectives, which are the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic phase of the national-revolutionary movement into a socialist phase, and, after that, the gradual establishment of a Soviet system followed by a direct transition to Communism.
4. In order to extend their power and influence, the communists must maintain complete (ideological) independence within the framework of their alliance with the bourgeois-democratic forces and, at the same time, must systematically train the future elements of the proletarian parties in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. It is the duty of all existing communist parties to give this process their full support.[1]

Schatten, in pointing out that Communist policy toward the "Communist colonial revolution" as formulated in the first quarter of the twentieth century remains valid, also reviews in detail the activities of the Communists from the 1920's through World War II. During this period, ". . . the colonial problem disappeared almost completely from the theoretical debates of communism. Apart from the problem of China, Stalinist foreign policy touched on Afro-Asian themes in a very pragmatic fashion and without the least bothering about dogma or principles."[2]

Walter Kolarz, in discussing the pre-World War II Communist activity in Africa, states that ". . . until World War II, lack of knowledge of African problems and difficulties of physical access kept the Communists out of the continent altogether. For a long time they simply

approached Africa as part of a general Negro problem and propagated the idea of a 'World Negro Movement' comprising all Negro toilers living in the Americas and in Africa."[3]

> [The utter failure of this movement indicated that] the communist concept of the unity of the Negro world was based neither on scholarly analysis nor on deep emotions such as later gave rise to the idea of negritude. . . . The approach of the Communists was entirely opportunistic and at the same time utopian. It was inspired by the hope that the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of South Africa, as well as the Young Communist League of both countries, would be able to send whole teams of Communist emissaries to the countries of tropical Africa.
>
> [Kolarz concludes that] other Communist plans for Africa between the two world wars proved as unsuccessful as the project with the Communist Negro missionaries.[4]

Other observers reinforce the contention by Schatten and Kolarz that the Communists, in effect, did not focus on tropical Africa—as a separate target area for penetration—until after World War II. What had preoccupied the minds of the Kremlin between the world wars was "colonial revolution," and the main target areas were Gandhism in India and Sun-Yat-senism in China. The aftermath of World War II found the Soviet Union in the position of a great power able to enlarge its geopolitical base in Europe. Furthermore, Mao's victory in China added vastly to the area under Communist domination. Thus the concept of a "Socialist world system" became possible. Schatten states that this enormous extension of Communist power resulted far less from the application of original Marxist theorems, however, than from the ruthless use of imperialist Machiavellian principles and techniques. "By this time, the original communist ideology had mostly degenerated into terminology and its main function was to provide ex post facto ideological trimmings to give [Communist actions] Marxist respectability."[5] The "two-camp" slogan then became the guiding principle of the Communist postwar operations, involving the imperialist bloc under the leadership of Washington in one camp and the anti-imperialist camp under the leadership of Moscow in the other. The positions of the two camps were declared irreconcilable, and the rest of the world was saddled with having to choose between them.

However, by the time of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the latter part of 1952, the Soviets apparently felt impelled to begin a shift from the "two-camp" approach to a new structure of world politics. The main theme of the Cominform period (1947-1956), as expressed by Andrei Zhdanov, namely, "he who is not with us is against us," was gradually modified. The new emphasis was that world power ascendancy would be decided not by a showdown between the two camps ". . . but by winning over the 'third' camp, that of the less developed nations, to the side of the socialist camp and thus isolating the 'imperialists' and chipping away at their strength."[6] The Soviet regime did not, however, take major steps to give effect to the new policy of wooing the newly independent countries until 1953. In that year the Soviets began to modify the Stalinist theory that colonial revolution everywhere must and will be dominated by the proletariat, i.e., by Communist parties. The Bandung Conference of April 1955 compelled Russia to recognize that the Afro-Asian statesmen had assembled to create a third world force and ". . . to constitute themselves as an independent power of a politico-moral nature. The 'spirit of Bandung' radiated a magic attraction amongst Afro-Asians, and threatened to drive Moscow's 'Spirit of the November Revolution' from the minds of the Afro-Asian elite. It was obviously necessary and urgent for Moscow to have second thoughts about its own anti-colonial policy."[7]

The Bandung Conference made it clear to the Soviet Union that to retain its appeal, it would have to adjust its policy to take into account the new and vital anti-colonialist movement of independent—mostly non-Communist—Asian and African states. Soviet theoreticians were able to accept the fact that the "five principles" adopted at Bandung were consonant with, and even developed from, Stalinist doctrine. However, the question of whether to claim ideological solidarity with Asian and African independence movements in their existing form confronted the Soviets with a dilemma. The fact was that African countries were advancing to independence by nonrevolutionary methods under the leadership of national bourgeoisies. But the Soviets have been able to gloss over this serious inconsistency with Stalinist policy by rationalizing that the political aims of the national bourgeoisies had made them anti-imperialist forces. This rationalization led to the next step, accommodation between Soviet communism and African, non-Communist nationalism. (See Schatten, pp. 75-76, for more details.)[8]

Various writers point out that the Twentieth CPSU Congress of February 1956 is generally regarded as the turning point in the Soviet attitude toward "bourgeois nationalism." A change in the Soviet point of view had been in progress for some time, but the Soviets never considered the possibility of a radical break in the party line. David L. Morison noted that

> . . . one official statement insisted that it was not "the diplomacy of the bourgeois leaders" which had wrung concessions from the colonialists, but "the pressure of the masses of the people." This was a reminder that, whatever temporary recognition might be given to the anti-colonialist "liberating" role of the "national-bourgeois" leaders, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party still regarded the proletariat as the ultimate political force.[9]

In considering current Soviet strategy, Alexander Dallin claims that recent Soviet strategy for Africa incorporates the familiar Bolshevik distinction between maximum and minimum objectives.

> The maximum objective—control of the African continent, with its manpower and resources—is axiomatic to faith in the worldwide triumph of Communism and yet vague enough to prevent specific elaboration. It is a goal definitely postponed because it is unrealistic at present and not worth the risks required to achieve it. The minimum objective has been to deny Africa to the West, and especially to deprive the United States and its allies of political influence, economic opportunities, and strategic bases in Africa.[10]

SECTION II. COMMUNIST CHINESE EFFORTS AND ROLE

Soon after the Chinese mainland became Communist, the Maoist policy toward colonial areas was stated by Liu Shao-ch'i: "The pattern of the revolutionary struggle in China should be applied to colonial and semi-colonial countries." As Kurt London observes, this meant "war of liberation."

> . . . which Moscow has sanctioned in principle but usually sought to avoid in practice. It also meant fomenting "class struggle" in areas, such as most of Africa, where significant class differentiation had not as yet developed. The Chinese Communists thus chose to disregard the orthodox Marxist view that it is impossible to proceed from a feudal to a socialist society without the bourgeois interregnum. They were loath to wait, and in their revolutionary

fervor they clamored for speedier action, claiming that due to African backwardness "social transformation" could take place more quickly by skipping the bourgeois stage in the process of achieving socialism. Moscow agreed that it was possible to omit the bourgeois stage in primitive countries, but Khruschev, unlike Lenin and Stalin, held that only after the colonial countries had become independent "national democracies" could the class struggle be initiated. This position has never been accepted by Mao; in his view, "national bourgeoisies," especially when ruled by a "national Bourgeoisie" are basically suspect, un-Communist and perhaps even anti-Communist.[11]

Richard Lowenthal describes Communist China's interest in Africa in similar terms. He notes that the Chinese breakthrough into Africa was first achieved on the diplomatic level and that only later were Chinese efforts extended to the plane of organized political influence. He says ". . . diplomatically, it was prepared at the Bandung Conference of Asian-African states in April 1955, where Premier Chou En-lai met President Nasser; it was consummated with the opening of full diplomatic relations between Egypt and China just over a year later."[12] According to Lowenthal, the Bandung Conference was the first broadly inclusive assembly of sovereign governments from Asia and Africa. The sponsors of the conference, the "Colombo group," shared the common goals of bringing to an end colonial rule throughout both continents and ensuring conditions of peaceful development for the emerging new countries. Since these leaders had partly neutralist, partly Western outlooks, they invited governments of both types to the conference. In addition, Prime Minister Nehru, who with Chou En-lai had signed the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" in 1954,[13] had secured invitations for Communist China and North Vietnam. A decision was made, however, not to invite Russia on the ground that it was not an Asian country.[14]

The Bandung Conference leaders turned out to be India's Nehru, Egypt's Nasser, and Communist China's Chou En-lai. Schatten points out that at the Bandung Conference Communist China had already appeared as a potential ally of the African States, because the appeal of a Communist state that had managed entirely by its own efforts, and without foreign aid, to free itself from feudalism and semi-colonialism was much more powerful than the appeal of Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa, which obviously depended on the United States for its existence.

George T. Yu, writing in the Asian Survey, states that there are four fundamental reasons for Communist China's great interest in Africa:

1. Communist China's desire to gain international recognition as the sole legitimate government of China must be viewed as a fundamental objective. The acceptance and support of Communist China by the nearly 40 independent African states is regarded as a major prize;

2. Africa is also seen as an important battlefield against the United States, the leader of the "capitalist world" and, more important, the anti-Communist China coalition;

3. The need to break out of isolation and secure new allies in the community of nations is another goal, which is in part closely related to the Sino-Soviet conflict; . . .

4. . . . Should Communist China's revolutionary and developmental model gain acceptance by Africans, Communist China's international status will be greatly enhanced.[15]

Herbert Dinerstein, in a review of the Sino-Soviet rivalry from World War II to 1964, points out the different objectives of the two Communist powers in Africa. He says that for the Chinese the encouragement of revolutionary activity is the only way to cope with the totality of American power, whereas the Soviet Union has a variety of means at its disposal, including technological advances, especially in missiles and space; military preponderance in Europe; weapons test moratoria; and a partial test-ban treaty. "In the Chinese view, a series of Communist uprisings all over the world is necessary to force the United States to disperse its strength. This is, in essence, an international variant of the Chinese revolution: the weaker force wears down the stronger by guerrilla tactics until the latter's strength is reduced and it can be directly engaged."[16]

Philip E. Mosely, in coming to virtually the same conclusions as Dinerstein in his analysis of the Sino-Soviet rivalry in Africa, adds the interesting point that however attracted Moscow might have been in the early 1950's to the idea of causing a maximum of difficulties for the "imperialists," it now sees clearly the risks of Communist Chinese "adventurism." "And [Moscow] is deeply worried that the emergence of self-proclaimed 'Socialist' regimes may, as in the Cuban example, bring it into a new face-to-face confrontation with the United States and its allies, and may do so at a time not of its own choosing."[17]

Mosely elaborates on the Sino-Soviet rivalry, noting that in practice China is competing with the Soviet Union for the support of many of the same countries, i.e., Tanzania, Mali, Kenya, and Somalia. Peking, he says, ". . . rejects the more tolerant ideological posture that Russia, confident in its own great strength, has gradually adopted toward Arab, African, Burmese, and other varieties of socialism."[18] Peking disdains the idea of watering down its own brand of ideological purity and does not even suggest to the rulers of the country being courted that they, or their successors, may in time be able to build socialism. Instead, Mosely adds, the Chinese Communists have raised the racial bogey, claiming a special kinship with peoples of non-white background, and have lumped the Soviet aid-givers and advisors together with the Western "white exploiters." Since this approach has evoked a strong response from some segments of African society, it is possible that China could "win some turbulent and backward countries as toeholds within Africa."[19]

SECTION III. THE ROLES OF OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania are playing an active role in the Communist attempt to establish lasting connections in sub-Saharan Africa. Robert and Elizabeth Bass write that although the interests of these East European countries still appear to parallel the Soviet interests, ". . . they have not acted simply as Moscow's pawns in an elaborate African strategy." As a result of substantial changes in inter-Communist government relations since 1956, ". . . the East European states have been able to give some practical consideration to their own interests in Africa, to respond to political and economic incentives quite distinct from any pressures conceivably emanating from the Soviet Union."[20]

Curt F. Beck writes on this same subject but concentrates on Czechoslovakia's penetration of Africa. He holds that

> . . . it is important to bear in mind the significant part played by Poland and Bulgaria [as well as Czechoslovakia] and the remaining satellites. Thus, next to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia maintains the largest number of Communist embassies and counsulates in Africa. At the end of 1962 she

had—or had agreed to have—diplomatic and, in most cases, commercial relations with the following independent African countries: Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Somali Republic, South Africa, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, and Uganda.[21]

Beck avers that there can be little doubt that Czechoslovakia's political action and sizable commercial ventures in Africa fit into the larger framework of Soviet policy.

> Czechoslovakia's active role in Africa enables the Soviet Union to wield influence far beyond the limit imposed by exclusive reliance on her own resources. By relying on acting through Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union is able not only to save her own limited and technical and capital resources, but also to reach states that are more worried about cooperating with the Russian colossus than with little Czechoslovakia.[22]

Walter Z. Laqueur also makes the point that smaller Communist countries are somehow more acceptable to the Africans than the Communist superpowers. A striking thing about West African capitals is that, numerically speaking, the most active technical experts are the East German diplomats rather than the Soviets or the Communist Chinese (who are even less active than the Soviets).[23] Laqueur thinks that the East Germans may be mistaken for Westerners; also, in the eyes of many Nigerians and Ghanians, they may appear to combine the best qualities of the Communist and the Western worlds.

SECTION IV. COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN AFRICAN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Many writers on the subject of Communist influence in African politics agree with Victor C. Ferkiss that ". . . virtually every independent African nation is a one-party state and no opposition or even public deviation, Communist or otherwise, is tolerated."[24] He suggests that if a Communist is a person who belongs to an organized Communist party or movement, then communism in Africa is virtually non-existent. There are only a few African political parties, none of them strong and all of them illegal, which are generally regarded as being Communist-controlled. The best known three are: the Parti Africain d'Indépendence (P.A.I.) with headquarters in Sénégal, the Sawaba Party in Niger, and the non-loyalist wing of the Union des Populations Camerounais in the Federal Republic of Cameroun. Actually, when only one African Communist party is referred to, the party usually is that of South Africa. This party sponsors a journal called The African Communist in which the theoretical party line is disseminated throughout the continent.

There are also small Communist parties in the Sudan, Lesotho, and the Malagasy Republic. See the Department of State's World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations for further details on Communist parties and Communist groups throughout Africa.[25]

In reviewing the gains of the Communists in Africa, Dan Kurzman noted that any friendships that Communists may have made recently in Africa are not based on ideology, since there are very few die-hard Communists on the continent. Among the gains of communism in Africa is the fact of its recognition as a powerful political movement. As Kurzman

observes, the Soviet Union and Communist China were until just a few years ago only vague and geographical entities to most Africans, if they had heard of them at all. Today, however, as numerous African states rise from a colonialism that has at the same time exploited them, the image of two Communist giants looms over the continent. Thus, it is all the more surprising, perhaps, that no African country has yet succumbed to communism. Kurzman observes that over twenty of the African countries are members of the Monrovia bloc, an organization nominally neutralist but actually favoring the West.[26]

C. T. Thorne, Jr., explains that the withdrawal of Western power from Africa and Asia has coincided with the emergence of the Communist world's challenge to the power of the West. In the first instance, this challenge has had to be faced by Western Europe, which, historically, has had primary, substantive relations with Africa. The relationship between Africa and the United States was not important until the 1950's. To emphasize the fact that Africa is closer to the West than the East, writers cite the extent of Africa's trade and cultural relations with the West. Thorne says that ". . . over 90% of Africa's trade is with the West, and Western countries are overwhelmingly predominant as sources of public and private investment in Africa." Thorne further points out that Africa's cultural and educational ties are still predominantly with Western Europe, noting that ". . . there are some 7,000 African students in the United States, perhaps an equal number in the Communist countries. But the combined figure is still far short of the 30,000-40,000 Africans studying in West European countries."[27]

Although Africa's residual relationships with Western Europe remain important, uncertainties now exist concerning the future of Western political influence in Africa. There is no doubt that Western influence has declined somewhat and that the Communist countries have been able to put a foot into the African door. Thorne writes that ". . . the expansion of the Soviet Union after World War II, and the concomitant rise of Communist China, had no direct connection with the 'African revolution.' But the existence of the 'socialist camp' has been a major determinant of the international environment into which the African states have been born."[28] The existence of this Communist state system has become a source of pressure on the West, causing the West to be more responsive to African needs. The importance of this pressure should not be underestimated, especially in the sense that the West is now faced with the problem of proving to the Africans that the Western way of life is preferable to that under communism. This complicates Western efforts in Africa, for the "Communist world has been able to identify itself with change in Africa in a way the West could not. The Sino-Soviet states have had thus far no divided sense of responsibility, no 'presence' in the Western sense to preserve."[29] This fact does not cause the African states to be any less persistent in remaining independent, but it certainly has not prejudiced them a priori against the Communist system.

Most writers conclude that the Communist world's policies in Africa are basically (1) to gain physical access, (2) to reduce and, if possible, to eliminate Western influence, (3) to promote an identity of interests between the Communist states and Africa in international affairs, and (4) to encourage the radicalization of African regimes. It is the last-mentioned policy that is of special interest to the survey in this section. Thorne points out that ". . . the Communist world has achieved its greatest success in Africa by attracting countries whose general outlook is radical and 'revisionist,' i.e., which seek fundamental changes in the relationship between Africa and the outside world and, related to this, fundamental changes within Africa as well."[30] Most other writers agree with Thorne that the radical sub-Saharan African states are (or were) Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Congo (Brazzaville). Other states sometimes considered part of the radical group are Burundi, Uganda, the Sudan, and Tanzania.

The big question that remains is whether the Communists will succeed in making the "radical" African states into Communist states. Again, writers tend to conclude that Africa is too much in flux—politically, economically, and culturally—to allow an accurate forecast of its political development. At present, most African countries are striving to assert their nationalism. In many states, the predominant political tendency is toward socialism. However, "African socialism" has a flavor all its own and is not directly related to socialism as generally interpreted by Communists. One reason that many African leaders are socialists appears to be their age. A. Fenner Brockway tells us that most African leaders are between 40 and 50 years old," . . . which means they were concluding their student days towards the end of the war, when socialism was at the top of a wave of popularity in Europe."[31] However, there has been a clash of ideas in Africa between the European intellectual sources of socialism and the factors influencing Africa's social evolution. Brockway observes that ". . . the result has been four trends in socialist theory, which can be summed up as Communism or Marxist-Leninism, African Marxism, African Pragmatic Socialism and African Democratic Socialism."[32] He points out too that although the Communists have been active, they have not been able to acquire power in any influential African national movement or state.

Two Marxist-Leninist movements have their headquarters in Sénégal—the Parti Africain de l'Indépendence (P.A.I.) and the Fédération des Étudiants de l'Afrique Noire. Brockway states that the activities of these two parties ". . . extend to surrounding territories, but they work under increasing difficulties because of the strengthening of one-party states."[33] The Marxist-Leninists also encounter difficulties because their brand of socialism conflicts with ". . . the general socialist flow in Africa [in that] they insist that their 'scientific socialism' is authoritative under all conditions and that its theory and method must be universally accepted. . . . There is no such thing, in their view, as distinctive African socialism any more than European, Asian or American socialism."[34]

The story is somewhat different with the African Marxists. They are considered more influential and stronger than the Marxist-Leninist African followers.

> [The African Marxists] differ from Marxist-Leninism in their flexibility, their neutralism, their willingness to accept aid from either the Communist nations or nations of the Western bloc when it is provided without strings, their recognition that in the transition to socialism they are driven to accept priorities which involve sometimes the retention and even extension of privately-owned industries.[35]

These African Marxists ". . . think and plan in terms of an all-African socialism, not merely modified to suit African conditions but original and creative in the experience of its own development."[36] The leaders of Guinea and Mali are cited by Brockway as persons who have been strongly influenced by Marxism.

Brockway continues that the third brand of African socialism, African pragmatic socialism, has been adopted in Sénégal, Dahomey, and Tanganyika. The governments of these countries are based primarily on the one-party system, and they reject Marxism. These countries are Pan-Africanist, but want African unity to come about by the development of common African economic services rather than by political integration. The two African leaders of the pragmatic socialist group are Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, and Léopold Senghor, President of Sénégal. Both have written books on African socialism.

According to Brockway, the fourth brand of African socialism, which is championed by Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, is known as African democratic socialism. It differs little from

African pragmatic socialism, but it puts greater emphasis on personal rights. For example, Kenyatta describes the Kenya African National Union (KANU)[37] as "democratic" because Kenyans believe that only in a free society can each individual develop his talents most fully to serve his fellow citizens; as "African" because Kenya must grow organically from what is indigenous, adopting only that which is suitable from Eastern and Western cultures; and as "socialist" because political freedom and equality are not enough—Kenyans have the right to be free from economic exploitation and social inequality.

William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., also examine African socialism. Their conclusions are similar to those reached by Brockway, except that their study concentrates on the common themes to be found in African socialism. They note that ". . . despite the fact that little homogeneity as yet exists in the considerable volume of ideas on African Socialism, at least three main themes may be discerned: (1) the problem of continental identity, (2) the crisis of economic development, and (3) the dilemmas of control and class formation."[38] In dealing with the theme of identity, the authors claim that African socialism has become ". . . both a reaction against Europe and a search for a unifying doctrine." European socialist parties, in the view of African leaders, ". . . were compromised by the colonialism of their governments."[39] Concern with the second theme, that of economic development, is characterized as one of the most significant features of African socialism. "In equating African Socialism with economic development, one important connection is clearly evident, that African economic development will be largely in the public sector."[40]

The third theme, the dilemmas of control and class formation, is explained as follows:

> The drive for independence and for economic development following independence has created serious problems of control for the leaders of Africa's new countries. These problems are centered upon the imperative of obtaining the enthusiastic cooperation of the populace for sustained economic activities that will aid the accumulation of capital without creating new imbalances in the distribution of national income.[41]

African socialist leaders appear to be in a favorable position to overcome this difficult hurdle, for African socialism ". . . stresses the identity of the African people while seeking to mobilize the entire population for economic development. In this context, it represents a unifying doctrine akin to the nationalism of the pre-independence period." African socialist leaders emphasize this sense of identity and play down the notion that separate economic classes should or can develop. ". . . the problems of class and stratum consciousness and of control are integrally tied to the differential sacrifices that various groups are called upon to make in order to advance economic progress."[42]

Friedland and Rosburg conclude that ". . . the ideology of African Socialism differs radically from that of the West," in that ". . . the view of human nature underlying African Socialism rejects the individualistic philosophy of the West." They point out that ". . . unlike the Western majoritarian conception of democracy, the African Socialist rejects the 'will of all' or will of the majority and adopts the language of Rousseau: the 'general will,' the 'will of the people.' " African socialism serves a useful function for the African political leaders in their involvement in the world conflict. "It permits them to distinguish themselves from both the East and the West. It accomplishes this by delineating their role in the international arena as an independent one. Thus, African Socialism becomes equated with neutralism and other ideologies that reject political domination by either the East or the West."[43]

A. James Gregor, also examining African socialism in detail, reaches the interesting conclusion that "African Socialism shares, in fact, more compelling affinities with paradigmatic Fascism, the Fascism of Mussolini, than with any form of socialism."[44] He observes that ". . . none of the principal African Socialist theoreticians accept the economic system of the Soviet Union or China as a model. Instead a 'mixed system' is advocated, which incorporates various 'private,' 'cooperative' and 'state' sectors in a broad and frequently ill-defined developmental program."[45] He also makes the point that ". . . the recurrent and systematic appeals to political myths and faith, to national sentiment, national values, and national solidarity, to discipline, sacrifice, and responsibility, coupled with the rejection of class as a theoretical unit of analysis, all characterize African Socialism as Fascist rather than socialist."[46]

SECTION V. THE FUTURE OF COMMUNISM IN AFRICA

Thus far we have noted that despite considerable effort on the part of Communist states to penetrate and to influence the African body politic, they have had no appreciable success. It is clear, however, that communism has had some influence and impact on the thinking of some African leaders and that Communist "socialism," though not adopted in that form, has influenced the thinking of some of Africa's political leaders. We have noted, too, that while the primary political, economic, and cultural impacts on Africa continue to be Western in origin, Western influence has diminished in recent years. The existence of African nationalism, African socialism, and Pan-Africanism as political determinants of the African scene has also been reviewed in this essay.

Three forces—Communist activities, the position of the West in Africa, and African nationalism—interact and make up the important ingredients of the African political spectrum. Schatten believes that it is the interrelation of these three factors that determines Africa's present and will determine its future. He says that African nationalism derives its present strength ". . . primarily from the fact that it has succeeded in attaining its original aim—the liquidation of colonialism and the achievement of political independence—in an extraordinarily short time."[47] However, Schatten feels that the too-rapid achievement of political independence is Africa's innate weakness and the source of its enormous difficulties and present complicated disputes. The leaders of the newly independent states have found themselves increasingly helpless in the face of the economic and social difficulties their newly acquired independence has brought them.

This hesitation and uncertainty on the part of the new leaders is being closely watched by the Communists, who believe that African nationalism is essentially a transitional phase that must inevitably lead to Communist-style socialism. The Communist countries expend considerable effort and time through all the propaganda media at their disposal—broadcasts, written propaganda, invitations, cultural festivals—to convince the Africans that they are their unselfish friends. Nevertheless, as Schatten points out, they have not always been successful.

> Fortunately there are limits to what the Communists can realistically hope for in Africa. In the first phase of their operations, the Russians, in particular, made glaring mistakes: (a) They overestimated their strength and popularity among the Africans and relied too much on the widespread but superficial identity of their slogans with those of the Africans. (b) They underestimated the Africans, misjudged them and often found themselves backing the wrong horse.[48]

William Attwood makes similar points. He observes that the most important reason for the U.S. headway in Guinea during the early 1960's was that the Communists had overplayed their hand. On a later assignment, Attwood found that the Communists, especially the Chinese, had lost considerable ground in Kenya because of inept handling of their affairs there.[49]

In discussing the West's position in Africa, Schatten and other writers point out many errors in policy and action. Schatten concludes that ". . . the West finds itself, particularly in Africa, still in the position of merely reacting to the attacks of an active and virulent Communism." He continues "The result is that many of the measures taken by the West are triggered off in the first place by actions taken by the Communists and their followers." He believes that as things stand today ". . . a summary of the whole situation, dealing with the interaction of all the various relevant factors (and in particular with the interrelations of black nationalism, communism and Western policy in Africa) can hardly prove favourable to the West." Schatten points out that in the continuing economic, social, and political upheaval in Africa, African nationalism is obviously divided, unstable, and subject to crises. Regrettably, the African nationalists do not have clearly formulated ideas, and ". . . in this situation the communists are waging a determined offensive behind a grinning mask of friendship, and making attractive offers of assistance."[50] Schatten finds it unfortunate that in these circumstances the West appears to lack the necessary moral force combined with a convincing program adapted to African conditions and requirements. He concludes that the West ". . . often seems to have no real idea of the direct threat to the idea of freedom represented by the cooperation of Africans and communists."[51]

The nature of the African revolution is very important to the Communists, Brzezinski concludes, fundamentally because they are concerned with the fate of their entire historical perspective; ". . . its legitimacy, already refuted by events in Western Europe, now depends on developments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America." He quotes Professor S. Strumilin, the leading Soviet expert on the Communist future, as reaching the conclusion that "Western economic development and improvement in social conditions may in many ways increase the gap between the West and Africa," and that socialist countries, by a cautious estimate, could by 1980 have 54 percent of the world's population in their camp. Brzezinski concludes that Professor Strumilin ". . . was reflecting the Communist penchant for demonstrating that the image of a split world, so long inherent in the Communist outlook, is correct, and that the world, and especially the new nations, have only two choices: 'socialism' and 'capitalism.' "[52] According to the Communists, then, Africa is preordained to fall into the Communist sphere of interest and power.

PART TWO

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON COMMUNISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SECTION I. SOURCES OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE

This section contains annotations or reviews of 31 books and articles arranged alphabetically by authors or, in some cases, by works if there is more than one contributing author. The works selected for this section focus directly on the questions of communism in Africa and the attitudes and policies toward Africa of the Soviet Union, Communist China, and other countries. Many of the works, containing comprehensive analyses of African leaders and their policies, attempt to answer the question: Where does Africa go from here? African socialism is extensively covered, as are the trade union movement and the African military. Various authors place emphasis on the impact and influence on Africa of European Communist parties and their counterparts in Africa. In addition, the concepts of "negritude" and Pan-Africanism are amply covered in some of the works. United States interest in Africa is highlighted in several of the selections, particularly in The Reds and the Blacks by William Attwood. Perhaps the latest and most comprehensive work dealing with the subject of Communist efforts to penetrate Africa is Friz Schatten's Communism in Africa.

Adam, Thomas R. Government and Politics in Africa South of the Sahara. 3d ed., rev. New York: Random House, 1965. 167pp. Bibl.

The author discusses the political institutions existing in the various areas and countries of Africa, observing that to some extent the forms of government adopted have maintained the general pattern that evolved under colonial domination. He points out that African communities have contented themselves in the initial stages of independence with using African personnel to operate basically Western systems. Consequently, patterns of governmental structure for an independent Black Africa cannot yet be considered established. Before stable forms of independent governments are likely to emerge, multiracial communities will have to reconcile the political authority of majorities with social situations resulting from deep ethnic cleavages. He concludes that broad lines of economic development and social control, even within predominantly African communities, must precede any final selection from among the competing patterns of political organization. These economic developments may be oriented toward the West, may comprise Soviet-inspired variations, or may show new designs rooted in cultural traditions and habits peculiar to the African continent. The contents are:

Introduction
European Dominance—The Republic of South Africa and Portuguese Africa
The Multiracial State—The Former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Kenya, Zanzibar, and East Africa Common Services Organization
Transition from Colonial Rule—Uganda, Tanganyika, High Commission Territories, Sierra Leone, and Gambia
Independent States (English-Speaking)—Liberia, Nigeria, and Ghana
Independent States (French-Speaking)—The Shaping of French-Speaking Africa, and The Congo Republic (Kinshasa)
International Aspects of African Politics
Appendix—The Nations of Africa

African Forum, II, No. 1 (Summer 1966). 126pp. Published for the American Society of African Culture.

This volume contains several articles of interest on the role and future of the military in Africa. "Military Elites in Ghana and Nigeria," by William Gutteridge, and "The Nature and Role of the Military in Sub-Saharan Africa," by Belmont Brice, Jr., contain much up-to-date information. Perhaps of particular value for a researcher is Harvey Glickman's "The Military in African Politics: A Bibliographic Essay." Glickman mentions a number of the better recent books on the role and place of the military in the various countries of Africa.

Alexandre, Pierre. "Marxism and African Cultural Traditions," Survey: A Journal of Soviet and East European Studies, No. 43 (August 1962), pp. 65-78.

In this interesting short article, the author stresses that the lack of homogeneity in contemporary Africa is underscored if one tries to place the new African states within the Marxian model of history. Aside from the question of the validity of Sékou Touré's Guinean socialism, the situation might be described as the coexistence of bourgeois states, some of them reformist, with feudal, slaveholding, and patriarchal survivals. Alexandre observes that in the economic field the same heterogeneity is in evidence, ranging from predatory hunting economies to a few cases of state capitalism.

> [He concludes that] the theoretical problems arising from this situation are not easy to solve in Marxian terms, and this may be why the best trained African Marxists are often the most reluctant in their approach to these questions. A possible answer would be to consider the colonial and postcolonial situation in Africa as an original, mixed one, in which none of the classical phases exists in its pure state because of the constant interplay between societies at different stages, still further complicated by the evolutionary shortcuts resulting from colonial intervention. This would, of course, mean that Africa does not conform to the classical Marxist pattern of class relations and revolutionary process.

(President Sékou Touré reached the same conclusion.)

In another useful article the author reviews at considerable length the role of religion in African politics.

Asian Survey, V, No. 7 (July 1965), 52pp.

The entire issue is devoted to Africa, but the chapter on Sino-African relations is particularly relevant to this bibliography. The author states that there are four basic goals suggesting the reason for Communist China's great interest in Africa. (1) Communist China's desire to gain international recognition as the sole legitimate government of China must be viewed as a fundamental objective. The acceptance and support of Communist China by the nearly 40 independent African states is regarded as a major prize. (2) Africa is also seen as an important battlefield against the United States, the leader of the "capitalist world" and, more important, of the anti-Communist China coalition. (3) To break out of isolation and secure new allies in the community of nations is a goal that is in part closely related to the Sino-Soviet conflict. In the running battle with the Soviet Union, Communist China now seeks to win African support for its policies, both toward the West and within the international Communist movement. (4) Communist China's international status will be greatly enhanced. The paper concludes with a brief assessment of the opportunities and limitations of Communist China's role in Africa. The contents are:

George T. Yu: Sino-African Relations: A Survey
James R. Soukup: Japanese-African Relations: Problems and Aspects

Fred R. von der Mehden: Southeast Asian Relations with Africa
Richard L. Park: Indian-African Relations
Franklin B. Weinstein: The Second Asian-African Conference: Preliminary Bouts

Attwood, William. The Reds and the Blacks—A Personal Adventure. New York: Harper & Row, 1967. 334pp. Ind.

The author, formerly U.S. Ambassador to Guinea and Kenya, presents an interesting and useful firsthand account of how the Soviet Union and Communist China operated in Guinea and Kenya during his periods of tenure. He also gives the details of his participation in the negotiations with African leaders over the lives of the Stanleyville hostages during the Congo crisis of 1964. Useful also is the author's account of the U.S. government's policies and aims during the Kennedy administration, and later during part of the Johnson administration. An inside view of how an American embassy operates is also given. According to the author,

> [The book] is essentially about what [the author] saw of Soviet and Chinese efforts to penetrate and subvert Africa and what we [the Americans] and "Africans and others did to counter these efforts. . . ." Those who are interested in an eyewitness account of Communist tactics in a vast, turbulent, and largely unreported continent won't be disappointed.

Of particular value are the author's accounts of his talks with Sékou Touré and Jomo Kenyatta. He characterizes Touré as a tough, honest individual, usually receptive to practical advice despite his erratic idealism. The author is proud of U.S. accomplishments in Guinea during the early 1960's and believes that the most important reason for America's headway in that country was that the Communists, especially the Chinese, had lost considerable ground in Kenya because of inept handling of their affairs there. He explains in detail the efforts of the Communist Chinese to subvert the Kenyan political scene through large payoffs to selected government officials, especially Oginga Odinga (Minister of Home Affairs). He concludes, however, that ". . . we should try to avoid labeling African political protagonists as 'pro-East' and 'pro-West,' for African leaders, with few exceptions, are simply pro-themselves." In his concluding chapter, the author says that Americans need to keep in mind three things.

> (1) We are living in one of the most revolutionary periods in human history. The old colonial order—and with it, the supremacy of the world's white, Christian minority—is vanishing. New nations—and new imperialisms—are rushing into the vacuum. . . . (2) We have to understand that a lot has happened, is happening, and will happen in the world, regardless of what the United States does or does not do. Too many people believe that when things don't go our way, somebody in Washington must be at fault. But the fact is that while our policies can help guide the course of history, they can't alter or dam it up. . . . In Africa, the tide toward independence can no more be reversed than the tide toward full equality in the United States. . . . In short, being the strongest power on earth doesn't mean that we can impose our will, our system or our way of life on other countries. That's what the Russians and Chinese have tried to do, and that's why they have made so little headway among the newly independent nations. . . . (3) The cold war slogans and attitudes we have lived with since 1946 have become obsolete.

The contents are:

A Message to the Reader
How It Started: Adlai and JFK
The View from Foggy Bottom
Vive la Révolution

Vive le Président Kennedy
Mr. Solod Goes Home
Malice in Blunderland
Into the Bush
Diplomacy under the Palms
To the White House and After
Missions Accomplished
The Glass Menagerie
Back to Africa
City in the Sun
Forging a Team
The Road to Stanleyville
Dragon Rouge
After Stanleyville
The Old Man and Double O—Round One
The Old Man and Double O—Round Two
On Safari
Yankee Don't Go Home
A Hard Look at the Establishment
Postscript to a Long Journey

Beck, Curt F. "Czechoslovakia's Penetration of Africa, 1955-1962, World Politics, XV, No. 3 (April 1963), pp. 403-416.

The beginnings of Czechoslovakia's involvement in Africa (in Egypt at the behest of the Soviet Union) are described in detail. The author reviews Czech accomplishments in other parts of Africa. Furthermore, he takes note of the fact that a significant role has also been played in Africa by Poland and Bulgaria, as well as other Soviet satellites, in implementation of the Soviet policy toward Africa. Next to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia maintains the largest number of Communist embassies and consulates in Africa. At the end of 1962, Czechoslovakia had, or had agreed to have, diplomatic and, in most cases, commercial relations with the following independent African countries: Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Somali Republic, South Africa, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, and Uganda.

Brockway, A. Fenner. African Socialism—A Background Book. London: The Bodley Head, 1963. 124pp.

The author handles the question of whether Africa will turn to communism as follows.

> How far is it likely that African socialism will turn to communism? If by this is meant turning to the communist bloc, the likelihood is small. In this, Nyerere and Senghor reflect most of Africa when they acclaim an African socialism distinct from both communism and European social democracy. Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and the UAR have been cited as communist-inclined. These pages have given evidence to the contrary in the cases of Ghana, Guinea and the UAR. The one state which tends to model its socialist plans on communist experience is Mali, and it is following China rather than Russia (pp. 115-116).

This is an interestingly written book that has much to say on the value and future of Africa's brand of socialism. The contents are:

From European Capitalism to African Socialism
Why Africa Turns to Socialism

The Socialist Sector of Africa
The Socialism of Nkrumah
The Socialism of Nasser
Will Africa Turn to Communism?

Brzezinski, Zbigniew (ed.), Alexander Dallin, Alexander Erlich and Christian R. Sonne, Robert and Elizabeth Bass, William E. Griffith, Richard Lowenthal, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, contributors. Africa and the Communist World. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963. 271pp. Notes, ind.

As the author states in the Preface,

> The purpose of this book is to examine Communist policies toward Africa. . . . It is a collective effort by the contributors to present a contemporary analysis of the programs adopted by the various Communist states to establish their influence among the new African states south of the Sahara, to consolidate their positions there, and to use these positions to further their long-range goals. More specifically, the primary focus is on the new African states that have already become targets of Communist strategy. . . . No effort has been made to assess the degree of Communist penetration within Africa as such. . . .

In its organization, this volume is designed to cover the major facets of Communist strategy for sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the specific tactical expressions and adjustments. Thus the first chapter sketches the historical and ideological background of the Communist interest in Africa and then deals in greater depth with recent Soviet activity toward it: ideological developments, political strategy, specific tactics, and changes in expectations. The second chapter compares contemporary Soviet economic thought about Africa with earlier Leninist notions and reviews Soviet trade and economic aid to Africa in the context of these economic ideas. The third chapter focuses on the activities of the states of Communist East Europe, especially industrially developed Czechoslovakia and East Germany, and attempts to assess the motives, the scale, and the degree of specialization and coordination in these efforts.

The fourth and fifth chapters describe the activities of two Communist states that in recent years have differed with Moscow on issues of Communist strategy. Yugoslavia's competition with other Communist states in establishing itself in Africa, and its efforts to make communism in general respectable on that continent are explained in the fourth chapter. The factors that made Yugoslav activity possible and may perhaps alter its future character are examined. The sixth chapter examines the policy of Communist China: its prescriptions for Africa and the underlying assumptions, its activity in the area, and its competition with the Soviet Union viewed from the larger context of their different global perspectives. The concluding chapter highlights certain themes concerning the inherent advantages and disadvantages of the Communist strategy, reviews the problems of coordination caused by Communist diversity, and discusses the possible implications for communism of its efforts in Africa.

Butler, Jeffrey, and A. A. Castagno (eds.). Boston University Papers on Africa: Transition in African Politics. New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the African Studies Center of Boston University, 1967. 342pp.

This volume contains twelve papers given at a faculty Seminar on African Politics at Boston University's African Studies Center (1963-1965). The seminar did not plan to develop a central theme. Its purpose was to provide scholars with an opportunity to present original research conclusions to a critical audience. Political parties and political theory are the subjects of five papers. Trade unions and trade unionism are discussed in three of the papers.

The contents are:

Victor C. Ferkiss: Religion and Politics in Independent African States: a Prolegomenon
Dorothy Nelkin: Pan-African Trade-Union Organization
William H. Friedland: Co-Operation, Conflict, and Conscription: TANU-TFL Relations, 1955-1964
Arnold Zack: Trade Unionism Develops in Ethiopia
Leslie Rubin: Chieftaincy and the Adaptation of Customary Law in Ghana
Robert H. Edwards: Political and Constitutional Change in the Bechuanaland Protectorate
George Jenkins: An Informal Political Economy
Harvey Glickman: Dilemmas of Political Theory in an African Context: the Ideology of Julius Nyerere
Joseph S. Nye, Jr.: TANU and UPC: the Impact of Independence on Two African Nationalist Parties
Terence K. Hopkins: Politics in Uganda: the Buganda Question
Donald Rothschild: Majimbo Schemes in Kenya and Uganda
Lucy Behrman: Party and State Relations in Guinea

Charlesworth, James C. (ed.). "Africa in Motion," The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLIV (July 1964). 239pp.

The entire volume is devoted to Africa: Africa and the East-West cleavage; cultural development in Africa; Africa and the United States; the trials of democracy in Africa; Africa and the United Nations. Some articles of special interest are:

Nikolai Fedorenko (Soviet Ambassador to the U.N.): The Soviet Union and African Countries
Colin M. Turnbull: Tribalism and Social Evolution in Africa
J. David Rubadiri: Africa: An African Evaluation
Thomas Patrick Melady: The Sweep of Nationalism in Africa
Herbert J. Spiro: Political Stability in the New African States
St. Clair Drake: Democracy on Trial in Africa

Coleman, James S., and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1966. 691pp. Select. bibl., ind.

The main authors, with seventeen other acknowledged experts on African affairs, write on the political parties of tropical Africa and their role in national integration. The participant authors proceed on the assumptions that parties are the most crucial political structures shaping the new African politics and that the crisis of national integration is the major hurdle in nation building. The countries covered are Sénégal, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Liberia, Zanzibar, Somali Republic, Congo (Léopoldville), and Nigeria.

Cooley, John K. East Wind Over Africa: Red China's African Offensive. New York: Walker and Company, 1965. 246pp. Map, apps., select. bibl., ind.

This noted journalist's country-by-country account of Communist China's revolutionary offensive in Africa examines Communist Chinese strategy and tactics in detail. Chinese agents and their African protégés are named. The author compares Chinese efforts with those of the West and the Soviet Union.

The book begins with the statement that "from Cairo to Capetown, and from the islands of the Indian Ocean across the mountains and bushlands to the Gulf of Guinea, a new wind from the East is blowing across Africa. This is a wind that says Revolution. Every day, in all the major tongues of Africa, Radio Peking broadcasts the rigid message of the Chinese Communists."

The author dates the real beginning of Red China's rapid entry into the African scene from the first Bandung Conference of 1955, which was attended by Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. China's role in the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) is described. One entire chapter is devoted to Peking's propaganda efforts throughout the African continent, and another chapter deals with the Chinese effort to influence and dominate the African labor movement.

The book is written in an easy, journalistic style. Many quotations of Chinese leaders are given.

Davidson, Basil. Which Way Africa? The Search for a New Society. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1964. 182pp. Map, OAS Charter of Unity, refs., ind.

The author analyzes the social, economic, and political motives, myths, ideas, and beliefs that underlie modern African nationalism. He has selected situations in a few countries (Tanganyika, Zanzibar, the Congo, and Ghana) to amplify his analysis.

The author observes that it would be foolhardy to attempt to predict with any certainty just where Africa will go politically. The situation remains in a state of flux, but certain trends appear definitely discernible. He points out that fundamentally, everything of importance in Africa has changed, and it has done so in a sense that may be called revolutionary. It has changed so far that everything now seems possible although little or nothing seemed possible before. People of the most varied kinds and loyalties up and down Africa, from the peasants of war-shattered Algeria to the harried populations of the distant south, are now confronted with the central questions of a great and often passionate debate, the question of "change" and "choice": What happens now? Where do we go from here? How can we proceed?

The mood of the Africans in the 1960's is described. African political figures are quoted, Julius Nyerere being singled out as perhaps the outstanding ideologist of "African socialism." His view of African socialism is given (see pages 117 and 118). The mass of slogans, solutions, arguments, debates, decisions, and types of political behavior prevailing in the Africa of the 1950's and 1960's is reviewed. The author makes a special point of the role of the masses: "the unseen audience . . . weighing and deciding for itself, often moved this way or that by audacious oratory or skillful manoeuvre, but still preserving, if sometimes awkwardly and sometimes curiously, a firm and final notion of what is good for ordinary folk and what is not."

The author stresses that there is a public opinion in Africa today that influences the leaders. He says that in the long run Africa's future will depend on the pressures of a public opinion that is increasingly impatient of things as they are. This opinion will be influential in the solving of four problems: (1) Who governs whom and how? (2) Which economic and social trends will prevail? (3) Is emphatic neutralism the African answer to cold war conflicts? (4) How can the African continent secure [illegible] of policy, action, and institutions?

The author does not feel that the atmosphere, mood, and style of independent African civilization will be narrowly nationalist, intolerant, or bellicose. In time, Africans will not only make their own particular contributions to the sum of political and economic wisdom, but will succeed in merging their old traditions of equality with modern ideas of equality. Although this volume does not concentrate on Communist influence in Africa as such, it provides many interesting insights into the ideas Africans are now considering. This should answer some questions about the receptivity of those ideas to Communist ideology.

Dinerstein, Herbert. "Rivalry in Underdeveloped Areas," Problems in Communism, XIII, No. 2 (March-April 1964), pp. 64-72. Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency.

Objectives of the Soviet Union and Communist China are listed in this brief review of Sino-Soviet rivalry in underdeveloped areas from World War II to 1964. The author finds that for the Chinese, in areas far from the mainland of China, the encouragement of revolutionary activity in underdeveloped countries is the only way to cope with the totality of American power, whereas the Soviet Union has a varied range of instruments at its disposal, including technological advances, especially in missiles and space; military preponderance in Europe; weapons test moratoria; and a partial test-ban treaty. He observes that

> In the Chinese view, a series of Communist uprisings all over the world is necessary to force the United States to disperse its strength. This is, in essence, an international variant of the strategy of the Chinese revolution: the weaker force wears down the stronger by guerrilla tactics until the latter's strength is reduced and it can be directly engaged (page 69).

Ferkiss, Victor C. Africa's Search for Identity. New York: George Braziller, 1966. 346pp. Map, ind.

The author, Associate Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., has written many articles on Africa. His central thesis in this very comprehensive study is the question of how an Africa, submerged politically and culturally for centuries, can reassert its traditional values at the same time that Western technology is creating a worldwide culture and society. There is a discussion of the attempts of contemporary African societies to reconcile their traditional values and colonially derived [ideas] and institutions with the demands of modern economic and political systems.

Of special interest is the author's chapter entitled, "Africa and Communism." The efforts, influences, successes, and failures of the Communists in Africa are analyzed. The role played by the European Communist parties in Africa is surveyed with the rivalry between the Soviets and the Communist Chinese spelled out clearly.

The author puts special stress on the future of the Congo and South Africa and upon how events in these areas will affect the future of Africa's relations with the world. The contents are:

Introduction
The African Heritage
The Old Africa
Africa Conquered
The Triumph of African Nationalism
The New Nations
Creating a New Continent
Building a New Culture
Africa in Doubt: the Congo
Africa South: the Unredeemed Land
Africa South: the Ultimate Challenge
What Africa Seeks
Africa and Europe
Africa and the Underdeveloped World
Africa and World Organization
Africa and Communism
Africa and the United States
Africa's Search and America's Response

Friedland, William H., and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (eds.). African Socialism. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, 1964. 300 pp. Apps., notes, select bibl., ind.

"African socialism" is a collective name for various African economic and social ideologies, each distinct from the others, but all seeking to distinguish African from classical varieties of socialism. This volume, which includes contributions from eleven authorities on contemporary Africa, examines African socialism both as a general phenomenon and in its individual national forms. African socialism is seen as a pragmatic ideology incorporating features of classical socialism, communism, capitalism, traditionalism, and African nationalism. This is one of the most respected and authoritative accounts on African socialism. The contents are:

William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr.: Introduction: the Anatomy of African Socialism
Definition and Exploration
- William H. Friedland: Basic Social Trends
- Chandler Morse: The Economics of African Socialism
- Igor Kopytoff: Socialism and Traditional African Societies
- Dorothy Nelkin: Socialist Sources of Pan-African Ideology
- Margaret Roberts: A Socialist Looks at African Socialism
- I. I. Ptekhin: On African Socialism: a Soviet View
- Aristide R. Zolberg: The Dakar Colloquium: the Search for a Doctrine

National Program
- Colin Legum: Socialism in Ghana: a Political Interpretation
- Charles F. Andrain: Guinea and Sénégal: Contrasting Types of African Socialism
- Kenneth W. Grundy: Mali: the Prospects of "Planned Socialism"
- Fred G. Burke: Tanganyika: the Search for Ujamaa

Appendices
- George Padmore: A Guide to Pan-African Socialism
- Julius K. Nyerere: Ujamaa
- Mamadou Dia: African Socialism
- Tom Mboya: African Socialism
- Kwame Nkrumah: Some Aspects of Socialism in Africa
- Leopold Senghor: African-Style Socialism
- Documents on Socialism and Private Enterprise in Ghana

Gregor, A. James. "African Socialism, Socialism and Fascism: An Appraisal," The Review of Politics, XXIX, No. 3 (July 1967), pp. 324-353. Notre Dame, Ind.: The University of Notre Dame.

This is a careful, well-reasoned analysis in which the author finds that the ideology identifying itself as African socialism bears little resemblance to socialism however socialism is understood. He points out that African socialism has

> productionist rather than distributionist emphases; it advocates class collaboration rather than class struggle; it is nationalist rather than internationalist; it is statist and authoritarian rather than antistatist and libertarian; it has disciplined rather than favored labor and speaks in terms of "will," "spirit," and "ideology" rather than "modes of production," "economic base," and "superstructure."

The author reaches the very interesting and unusual conclusion that

> Socialism, in whatever guise, offers little interpretive insight into African Socialism as ideology. African Socialism shares, in fact, more compelling affinities with paradigmatic Fascism, the Fascism of Mussolini, than with any form of socialism.

Hevi, Emmanuel John. The Dragon's Embrace: The Chinese Communists and Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966. 148pp. Ind.

Hevi, a Ghanaian, is also the author of An African Student in China (1964). He had gone to China in 1960 to study medicine and remained for eighteen months. He became bitterly disillusioned with Marxism and the "new China." After his return in 1962, his growing antagonism to the Nkrumah regime led to his voluntary exile in Nigeria until Nkrumah's overthrow.

In this book the author focuses on the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence upon which China and India agreed in 1954, and which Premier Chou En-lai offered as guiding principles to Africans during his African trip of 1963-1964. These principles are: (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) mutual nonaggression, (3) mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefits, and (5) peaceful coexistence. The author shows by citing many examples that the Chinese are violating these principles in China and elsewhere. He says furthermore that the Chinese have sought to use newly independent African states as tools for their own purposes and ambitions. The chapter titles are:

The "Five Principles" and Chinese Practice
Peking's Theory of War and Peace
Permanent Revolution
The Second Scramble for Africa
Revolutionary Situations: I
Revolutionary Situations: II
Invitation to Backwardness
Faith in Africa

Kurzman, Dan. Subversion of the Innocents - Patterns of Communist Penetration in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. New York: Random House, 1963. 557pp. Bibl., ind.

Part I of this very useful work, entitled "Africa," consists of comprehensive studies of the Communist methods of infiltration and subversion in Africa. It includes separate chapters on African states in which the Communist problem has been, and is, more severe.

Laqueur, Walter Z. "African Communism," Swiss Review of World Affairs (Zurich, Switzerland), XII, No. 12 (March 1965), pp. 15-16.

The author, an authority on communism, points out in this two-page article that Western observers sometimes tend to overestimate the extent and effect of Soviet activity in Africa. On the other hand, the political significance of indigenous African-Communist groups has not always been taken seriously enough. . . . Laqueur also makes the interesting observation that on visits to West African capitals one is struck to find that, numerically speaking, Soviet diplomats and technical experts are not very important, that the Chinese are even less so, but that the East German diplomats often develop a livelier activity than their big brothers. 'e concludes that this may be due to the fact that in Africa the East Germans are—mistakenly—considered as Westerners, that in the eyes of many Nigerians or Ghanians they seem to combine the best features of both the Communist and the free Western worlds, and for that reason they exert a greater attraction.

Laqueur, Walter Z. "Communism and Nationalism in Tropical Africa," Foreign Affairs, XXXIX (July 1961), pp. 610-621.

In this short, excellent review of the problems facing communism in Africa as of 1961, the author notes that

> The great difference between, on the one hand, radical leaders and groups who have adopted some of the ideas and much of the language of Communism, but who have remained essentially left-wing nationalist and Pan-Africanist; and on the other, the orthodox Leninists whose number and influence are quite small. The former, the "Afro-Communists," may be as the latter in their hostility to the West; they may even on occasion be more intransigent. Nevertheless, there are basic differences and it would be a great mistake not to differentiate between them. There certainly is a great temptation to judge them all alike, because of the widespread and indiscriminate use of quasi-Leninist slogans among the radical nationalists in Africa. It is a temptation that should be resisted.
>
> The situation in 1961 is much more confusing from the point of view of the orthodox believer; this is the age of polycentric Communism - the time of infallibility and of the Russian monopoly of the means of grace has irrevocably passed. If Moscow and Peking proclaim rival truths, and if Belgrade preaches yet a third way to paradise, there will have to be room ultimately for a fourth and fifth independent center. In the transition from the age of proletarian internationalism to the era of schism, we will do well to encourage independence of mind and to avoid confusing radical nationalism or Afro-Communism with orthodox Marxism-Leninism.

Legum, Colin. Pan Africanism - A Short Political Guide. rev. ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. 147pp. 26 apps., ind.

This is a factual account of the Pan-African movement through 1964 by a noted writer on African affairs. Legum traces the origins and growth of Pan-Africanism, interprets its basic ideas, and analyzes its impact on the people of Africa. The contents are:

The Roots of Pan-Africanism
Growth in the Diaspora, 1900-1962
Back to Africa, 1958-1962
African Regroupings
Africa's Divided Workers
Culture and Politics: the Rift in the Lyre of Black Orpheus
Modern Political Ideas
Fission and Fusion, 1962-1964
Appendices
- The Bandung Declaration, 1955
- The First Conference of Independent African States, Accra, 1958
- The Second Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, 1960
- The Brazzaville Declaration, 1960
- Charter for "The Union of African States," 1961
- The Casablanca Conference, 1961 and Resolutions of the First Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Cairo, 1964

*Lord, John M., James M. Dodson, and Paul A. Jureidini. Research Notes on Communist Bloc Expansion and Attempted Subversion Since 1944. Special Operations Research Office [now Center for Research in Social Systems], The American University, 1965. AD 464-908. Attachment III, pp. iv-vii, and attachment IV, pp. ii-iii.

This study is a brief survey of Communist block attempts to subvert Zanzibar-Tanzania and the Congo (now Congo, Brazzaville). Eighteen other countries are also included.

McEwan, Peter J. M., and Robert B. Sutcliffe (eds.) Modern Africa. New York: Crowell Company, 1965. 423pp. Apps., ind., maps, bibl., notes on contributors.

In response to a student demand for a comprehensive account of the principal social, economic, and political issues facing contemporary Africa, the editors have provided the linking text for a number of studies by recognized authorities. The contents indicate clearly that this book can serve as a handy reference guide for researchers dealing with African problems. "The Appeal of Communism" is discussed on pages 275 and 276 of the book. The contents are:

- The Physical Environment
  - George Kimble: The Climate and Weather
- The Traditional Background
  - Traditional Social Structure
    - Melville Herskovits: Peoples and Cultures of Sub-Saharan Africa
    - Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg: Social Groupings
    - M. G. Marwick: The Modern Family in Social-Anthropological Perspective
  - Value Systems
    - Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard: Values in African Tribal Life
    - Daryll Forde: African Modes of Thinking
    - F. W. Smith: African Ideas of God
    - Meyer Fortes: The Notion of Fate in West Africa
    - Max Gluckman: The Logic of Witchcraft
  - Tribal Government
    - T. O. Elias: Government and Politics in Africa
    - Isaac Schapera: The Activities of Tribal Governments
    - Lucy Mair: African Chiefs Today
    - W. St. Clair Drake: Traditional Authority and Social Action in Former British West Africa
  - Traditional Economic Activity
    - Pierre Gourou: Agriculture in the African Tropics
    - The Economic Life of the Gikuyu
- The Contemporary Scene
  - The Rise of Nations
    - James Coleman: Nationalism in Tropical Africa
    - Robert I. Rotberg: The Rise of African Nationalism: the Case of East and Central Africa
  - Politics and Government
    - Thomas Hodgin: Welfare Activities of African Political Parties
    - Gwendolen Carter: African One-Party States
    - Martin L. Kilson: Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics
    - Immanuel Wallerstein: Larger Unities: Pan-Africanism and Regional Federations
    - O. D. Schreiner: Political Power in South Africa
    - Colin Legum: Modern Political Ideas
  - Economic Change and Development
    - Guy Benveniste and W. E. Moran, Jr.: African Economic Problems
    - Walter Elkan: Migrant Labour . Africa: An Economist's Approach

Mark Karp: Problems of Economic Development
Elliot Berg: The Economics of Independence in French-Speaking West Africa
Social Change
George Kimble: Some Problems of Social Change
Guy Hunter: From the Old Culture to the New
H. J. Symons: The Status of African Women
Peter S. C. Gutkind: The African Urban Milieu
Social Problems
George Kimble: Health Problems in Sub-Saharan Africa
George Kimble: Educational Problems in Sub-Saharan Africa
UNESCO Report on Conference of African States: The Needs of African Education
O. F. Raum: The Demand for and Support of Education in African Tribal Society
Leonard W. Doob: The Psychological Pressure upon Modern Africans
The Role of Africa in World Affairs
J. H. Spencer: Africa at the United Nations: Some Observations
W. E. Abraham: The Prospects for Pan-Africanism
David Apter and James Coleman: Pan-Africanism or Nationalism
Appendices
Some African Statistics
Economic Assistance to African Countries

McKay, Vernon. Africa in World Politics. New York: Harper & Row, 1963. 468pp. List of sources, ind.

This work, by a noted Africanist, analyzes the nature and significance of Africa's rapidly multiplying world contacts. Emphasis in the study is on the efforts of the new African leaders to develop foreign policies which are independent of either Soviet or Western influences. The contents are:

The Rise of Africa in World Politics
Africa and the United Nations
Pan-African, Afro-Asian and Eurafrican Movements
Africa's Relations with India and the Soviet Union
American Policy in Africa

McKay, Vernon (ed.); L. Gray Cowan, William J. Foltz, Andrew M. Kamarck, Robert A. Lystad, Vernon McKay, C. T. Thorne, Jr., and I. William Zartman, contributors. African Diplomacy: Studies in the Determinants of Foreign Policy. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966. 210pp.

This scholarly and important volume comprises a collection of papers by authors of several academic disciplines. The papers were given at a symposium at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University on June 2-4, 1965.

The opening chapter discusses the international conflict patterns in Africa and is designed to introduce the types of foreign policy problems challenging the ingenuity of African leaders. Chapter II analyzes national interest and ideology and shows the practical functions of ideology in African foreign policies. Chapter III discusses internal and external forces at work in Africa and the economic structures of the new states as determinants of their foreign policies.

Chapter IV deals with military factors and the extent to which they influence foreign policy. In another chapter, the cultural and psychological processes that affect Africa's rapidly changing societies are considered in terms of their significance in foreign policy.

Political determinants inside Africa are analyzed by L. Gray Cowan, who studies both the role of foreign policy in nation building within each state and the foreign relations among

African states. C. T. Thorne, Jr., studies the impact of pressures from the great powers, and a concluding chapter by Vernon McKay synthesizes the highlights of the symposium in order to pinpoint the problems for further research. Chapter VII, "External Political Pressures," would appear to be of the greatest relevance to research on the Communist impact on Africa. Within the General Determinants the following topics are covered in this chapter: The reshaping of the international political system, Africa's material dependence on the outside world, external influence on the African state system, leverage through weakness: a paradox, limitations on the outside world's influence in Africa, how Africa is drawn into non-African problems, the West and Africa, and the Communist world and Africa.

Morison, David. The U.S.S.R. and Africa. London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations and the Central Asian Research Center, 1964. 74pp. Map, 50-page appendix.

The author states that his study presents Soviet views of Africa and not the African views of the Soviet Union. His information is drawn for the most part, from a careful scrutiny of Soviet publications. The book is concise and scholarly and should appeal to those persons who wish to have a clear view of what Russian policy toward Africa has been in the past, and how it appears to be evolving. Of particular interest is an assessment of Soviet achievements in African studies.

The lengthy appendix provides the Soviet view of political forces in each country. The appendix is, in effect, a ready reference guide to Soviet views on any given African country. There is also a map showing the type and extent of Soviet relations with African countries. The table of contents reads as follows:

Preface
Soviet Aims
Soviet Attitudes
African Studies in the Soviet Union
Towards Understanding
Appendix—Soviet Views on Africa, Country by Country.

Schatten, Fritz. Communism in Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966. 343pp.

This book is divided into eighteen chapters of useful information on the attempts of international communism to penetrate and shape the new Africa. It is a full-scale scholarly effort offering a comprehensive picture of those attempts and exploring in detail how Africans have thus far reacted to those attempts.

Born in Germany in 1930, Fritz Schatten fled from the east zone in 1949 and studied sociology at the Free University in West Berlin before becoming a journalist. He is now head of the Foreign Department of the West German broadcasting network, Deutsche Welle, and foreign affairs specialist for German and Swiss newspapers. He has traveled widely in the former French and English countries of Africa and is a regular contributor of articles on communism to leading international newspapers and journals.

Of special interest is the author's careful study of the origins of Communist African policy and the theoretical background of Soviet and Chinese policy on the developing countries with stress on their current use of front organizations and trade unions. The author finds that Soviet policy has attempted to engage itself systematically in Africa in order to mobilize a reserve for world revolution. His analysis of the differences between Soviet and Chinese policies is a major contribution to the subject. In a further analysis Schatten concludes that communism does not now appear to present any immediate danger to Africa; the main African force is nationalism.

In his concluding chapter, the author presents a critique of Western policy in Africa and suggestions for coping with the Communists and other challenges facing the continent. Enumeration of chapter titles with short descriptive annotations provides a guide to the work.

1. The African Revolution. Since 1960, there has been a fundamental and decisive change in world affairs; "the revolutionary upheaval in Africa, the emancipation of the African continent, and its emergence from the status of a mere passive object of the great European Powers to that of a potential individual actor on the world stage, constitute a development that has suddenly enhanced the importance of these States."

2. African Contrasts. "The situation in Kenya reflects the situation in Africa as a whole." A Kenyan politician put it this way in 1964: "We had set such high hopes on our independence, but instead things only got worse, much worse. At one time there really was something like a single, united Kenya, but that's all past. The question of how best to govern and the question of with whom we should line up in foreign affairs, has divided [us] once more. The Kenyans? Every tribe, every group appeals to Kenya, and each means something different. It's terrible."

3. The African Crisis. "So far two generations have been responsible for the African revolution. Initially, at least, both were guided by high ideals and it is only now that the third generation, which is beginning to come forward, finds itself forced to face the harsh realities of the situation. This third generation will determine which way the continent will go, what paths the States will follow in their development and what economic and social ideas, doctrines and programs will get the upper hand in this part of the world."

4. Communism, Colonialism, and World Revolution. "The Africa policy of the communists developed rather late, and as a reaction to the genuine success of the movement for independence. The Communists had no traditional, practical experience to fall back on, apart from some improvised attempts to exercise influence on the chiefly literary awakening of the coloured peoples in the twenties." This is an especially interesting chapter and provides a good background for the Communist efforts in Africa.

5. Stalin-Khrushchev-Mao. "The Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War as a Great Power and as a result of the post-war communist operations in Europe communism enlarged its geo-political basis into a Socialist Camp. When the victory of Mao in China added vastly to the area under communist domination, a Socialist World System was pronounced. However, this enormous extension of communist power resulted far less from the application of original Marxist theorems than from the ruthless use of imperialist Machiavellian principles and techniques."

6. The Political Uses of African Studies. ". . . the Soviet offensive in Africa today is the most powerful attempt of any non-African power to secure a dominating influence over the development of the awakening black continent and to determine its future economic, political, social, and cultural pattern. The ideological framework of communist actions in Africa is. . ." based on very thorough research and analysis of the essential factors of African politics, economics, society, linguistics, and culture.

7. The Overture: Friendship and Co-Existence. "In the two or three years following the death of Stalin the men in the Kremlin were chiefly exercised by the ferment in the Near and Middle East, and it was not until Ghana and Guinea achieved their independence that Soviet interest in African nationalism was fully aroused. In fact, it is only from this period onward that one can talk of any really large-scale communist operations south of the Sahara."

8. Revolutionary Unity and National Reservations: The Case of Guinea. "From the spring of 1959 the communists were able to claim one success after another and it seemed only a question of time before Sékou Touré's country would be a mere satellite, bound hand and foot to communism. But at the last moment a dramatic change took place in Guinea and the triumph of communism was frustrated."

9. In Search of Proselytes: Ghana and Mali. This chapter was written before the demise of Nkrumah and is, therefore, dated.

10. The Economic Approach. "Economic factors play an important part in Soviet calculations concerning Africa."

11. The Chinese in Africa. After a decade largely dominated by the need to consolidate power at home, Mao Tse-tung's regime has in recent years embarked upon large-scale diplomatic offensives and attempts at infiltration in all the underdeveloped countries, including, of course, the countries of Africa.

12. The Front Organizations (a). Communist front organizations in Africa. How they are organized and how they operate.

13. The Front Organizations (b). "There are three front organizations that the Communists find particularly valuable and all three are extremely active in Africa. These organizations are the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization."

14. Communism and the Trade Unions. "The most important of the Communist front organizations is undoubtedly the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)."

15. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization. A description of the origin, organization, goals, and so forth.

16. It's the Cadres that Count. "In Africa political emancipation was primarily the result of the emancipation of small élites—not of the masses."

17. Some Conclusions.

Soref, Harold, and Ian Greig. The Puppeteers. London: Tandem Books Limited, 1965. 118pp. Ind.

The authors explore the interesting theme that Communist strategy does not change its goal of eventual domination when it is on the British side of the Atlantic. They analyze the extent to which Communists are using organizations of British people to further their campaign dedicated to the overthrow of the governments of southern Africa. Chinese penetration into the African continent is also examined. The authors show how Communists and their fellow travelers have infiltrated into organizations opposed to the present governments of southern Africa and how they influence the policies and actions of these organizations. The contents are:

Introduction
The Anti-Apartheid Movement
Christian Action
The Movement for Colonial Freedom
The Africa Bureau
The Southern African Freedom Group
The Union of Democratic Control
The National Peace Council
The African National Congress of South Africa
The Pan Africanist Congress

South African Communist Party
South African Indian Congress
South-West African National Union
Communism in Africa

Von Stackelberg, George A. "Soviet African Studies as a Weapon of Soviet Policy," Studies on the Soviet Union (Munich, Germany), New Series, IV, No. 4 (1965). Pp. 41-52.

According to the author, the thesis of the artificial nature of the colonial boundaries in Africa is of great practical importance to the Soviets because the discrepancy between the present state and ethnographic borders enables the Soviet government to use the slogan of ethnic unification to interfere in the internal affairs of African states. According to I. I. Potekhin, divided peoples, tribes, and even villages have deterred the African peoples from any united effort in the struggle against imperialism.

Soviet researchers also pay considerable attention to the African working class and the trade-union movement. They write that in spite of its achievements the working class in Africa has not yet become the political leader of the masses in their struggle against colonialism.

Another Soviet research aim is the study of such phenomena as the formation and character of the national bourgeoisie, the patriarchal-tribal society, and other institutions, with the view of overcoming resistance to the formation of a single national front (one of the tried and tested methods for Communist accession to power in the next stages of development of a country). The Soviets are accordingly working on the problem of religion in Africa. They argue that the Christian religion has been imposed on the African peoples by the European colonizers for the latters' purposes. In view of the importance of religious separatism for Africa, the Soviets are also studying local African beliefs and cults, the history of the spread of the Christian and Moslem religions in Africa, and the activities of the European and other nations' religious missions.

A further aim of Soviet African studies, according to the author, is to supply pro-Soviet African leaders with propaganda materials and to channel anti-colonial and anti-American propaganda along lines acceptable to the Soviets.

Analyst's note: Although this article covers only the period before 1960, it contains good insights into the Soviet research objectives for Africa. Soviet authors are quoted and the article is well documented.

U. S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research. World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations. 19th Annual Report, 1967 ed. Department of State Publication 8239. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d., pp. 118-143.

For each African country the following topics are covered: (1) national political status, (2) Communist Party membership (especially interesting), and (3) areas of Communist activity. The reader will find that only a few Communist parties in the whole of Africa are organized. This is a valuable work for anyone doing research on Communist activity in Africa.

SECTION II. SOURCES OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE

This section contains annotations of eighteen books and articles. Although all the works in this section have a direct relationship to the subject at hand, "Communism in Africa," many were put into this second category either because they contain some parts that are dated or their relationship was not as direct as that of the books included in Section I.

Boynton, John. "The Communist Campaigns in Africa," New Commonwealth, XL, No. 8 (August 1962), pp. 494-496.

The revolution in Africa has influenced a reshaping of the overseas strategy of the Soviet Union and Communist China. Their contacts with the African countries are increasing rapidly. The African nationalists, however, are masters in their own house and they intend to remain "African."

Chauvel, Jean-François. "China's Wedge in Africa," Atlas, July/August 1965, pp. 13-16.

This article, translated from Le Figaro, discusses the National Revolutionary Youth Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville). It deals with the question of why Peking rather than Moscow is carrying the Communist banner in the Congo, and it offers the conclusion that at the present time the only major force opposing the Communist tide is the Catholic church.

Church, R. J. Harrison. Environment and Policies in West Africa. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963. 130pp. Bibl., ind.

In this survey of West Africa as a region and by individual country, five of the topics discussed are present political loyalties, one-party rule, Negritude, the African personality, and Pan-Africanism. West Africa's position in relation to the United States, the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, the French Community, the Islamic peoples, the rest of Africa, and the world are reviewed.

Hanna, William John (ed.). Independent Black Africa: The Politics of Freedom. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964. 634pp. Name ind.

This work contains more than 30 well-written chapters by various African specialists. It is designed primarily to serve as both a systematic introduction to African politics and a basic text for students of African affairs. The topics included are industrialization, tribal loyalties, charisma of African leaders, political messiahs, one-party systems, regional groupings, and the "African personality."

Hapgood, David. Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow. New York: Atheneum, 1965. 214pp. Ind.

In this thoughtful book, the author attempts to answer such questions as: "What are the Africans doing now that they're independent? What do the people need and how can they get it? Why do things happen the way they do?" The focus is on Africa itself and not on the cold war. See Chapter 10, "Bourgeois Marxists in Their Ivory Tower," for an interesting discussion of the African student.

Hatch, John. Africa Today—And Tomorrow: An Outline of Basic Facts and Major Problems. 2d rev. ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. 325pp. Map, apps., ind.

This book contains a survey of the history and background of the African territories and peoples, with each state, colony, and trust territory examined in detail. Racial prejudice, the role of African nations in the United Nations, the cold war, and Pan-Africanism are discussed. Appendix I is a chronology of major events from the beginning of African history to December 1964.

Kohn, Hans, and Wallace Sokolsky. African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965. 185pp. Map, bibl., ind.

This book is divided into two parts—Part I: African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, and Part II: Readings. In their preface, the authors state that "the book attempts to deal

with one phase of the African kaleidoscope, nationalism. Though all nationalisms are unique, they have much in common. With this in mind, we have sought to trace African nationalism through some of its manifestations, changes, and nuances. We have tried to be suggestive rather than exhaustive, providing an introduction to the further study of a fascinating aspect of this turbulent twentieth century." The authors survey the historical backgrounds and political loyalties, policies and situations of the diverse countries of Africa. The African personality and Negritude are also examined.

Kolarz, Walter. "The West African Scene," Communism in Africa, November-December 1961, pp. 15-23.

The author provides a brief history of Communist interest and involvement in Africa. Of special interest is his point that as a result of the official disbandment of the Comintern in 1943, the direction of Communist political activity in Africa became primarily the responsibility of the metropolitan Communist parties of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal. He states that this opened the way to a more realistic assessment by the Communists of African political conditions. He continues that only one of the European Communist parties was able to discharge its new formidable task on a large scale—the Communist Party of France. He reviews the results of the efforts of the other European Communist parties.

Lichtblau, George E. "The Communist Labor Offensive in Former Colonial Countries," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, XV, No. 3 (April 1962), pp. 376-401.

This article describes in some detail Communist labor strategy, since the death of Stalin in 1953, in former colonial countries, particularly Africa and Asia. The transformation of the World Federation of Trade Unions from a propaganda arm to an active instrument of policy and the subordination of local or national Communist groups to the international political interests of the Soviet Union are marked features among the events that the author describes.

Moraes, Frank. The Importance of Being Black: An Asian Looks at Africa. New York: Macmillan Company, 1965. 413pp. Bibl. of Indian Publications on Africa, ind.

The author, an Indian national, states that this book is the result of a four-month tour of Africa, almost entirely south of the Sahara, and of a study of various publications. Much of the material is from personal discussions and conversations with persons of widely varying views in Africa and elsewhere. Moraes says that this is probably the first detailed book that records the impact which the fast-developing and ever-changing Africa made on an Asian. As such it might have a certain exotic interest for Europeans and Africans, representing as it does a betwixt-and-between view, because Africa poses a challenge to both Europe and Asia. Pages 404-408 contain the author's analysis of the Communist impact in Africa.

Morison, David. "Soviet Influence: Prospects for 1967," Mizan, IX, No. 1 (January-February pp. 31-36.

Although the Soviet objectives in Africa have not had resounding success, there is evidence that the Soviets' efforts are not altogether fruitless. They do not at present seem to be overestimating their opportunities for exerting a more productive influence on already friendly countries or for supplanting Western influence in pro-Western ones. Therefore, cautious policies are to be expected, but cautious probing may well produce more tangible results than an unrealistic "forward policy."

Mosely, Philip E. "Communist Policy and the Third World," The Review of Politics (University of Notre Dame), XXVIII, No. 2 (April 1966), pp. 210-237.

In analyzing the policies of the Soviet Union, Communist China, Yugoslavia, and Cuba toward the third world, the author finds that a comparison of the African policies of these four countries is an important part of African study.

Power, Paul F. "The Peoples' Solidarity Movement: Evolution and Continuity," Mizan, IX, No. 1 (January-February 1967), pp. 10-21.

Mr. Power traces the development of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement from 1958 to 1967.

Prybyla, Jan S "Communist China's Economic Relations with Africa 1960-1964," Asian Survey, IV, No. 11 (November 1964), pp. 1135-1142.

The author observes that, diplomatically, the newly independent countries of Africa are vital to Communist China's efforts to gain a seat in the United Nations and to simultaneously depose the Chinese Nationalists from their present United Nations' position. The Chinese believe that eventually their strategy of economic development and sociopolitical transformation will be more effective in dealing with the remnants of Western influence in Africa and more likely to lead to the emergence of Socialist regimes than the methods proposed by the Soviet Union. For the time being, the author notes that China's trade and aid contacts with the African countries are limited by her modest economic development, her distance, and her lack of a sizable commercial fleet. Trade, however, is only one channel through which Chinese influence is exercised. China's forte is her revolutionary theory, and her zeal in preaching it tends to make the Soviets look like incipient bourgeois in African eyes.

Spiro, Herbert J. Politics in Africa: Prospects South of the Sahara. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962. 165pp. Maps, statistical tables, select. bibl., ind.

This is a scholarly work that describes the positive contribution to international politics by the new African states south of the Sahara. When the unusual problems of these states are analyzed in their relation to American cold war policy, the reader is given a new perspective for understanding these problems. The author attempts to give the American public facts and insights that will reveal the great potential these new states have for political innovation. Little is said about Communist influence in Africa.

Taylor, Sidney (ed.). The New Africans: A Guide to the Contemporary History of Emergent Africa and Its Leaders. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967. 495pp. Ind. to biographies.

Written by 50 correspondents of Reuters News Agency, this book contains a factual account of the events and the lives of over 600 men who have secured African independence. Over 400 illustrations show the land, the peoples, and how they live, with selected portraits of leading figures. There are also 34 full-page maps showing the major towns, rivers, railways, neighboring countries, and the continental position of each nation.

Zartman, I. William. International Relations in the New Africa. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. 168pp. Ind., charts, tables, map.

A scholarly, well-documented work by a well-known African expert, this book examines the development of relations among the new states of North and West Africa from 1956 to 1965. It is of particular interest for anyone who desires to know how these countries inter-relate in their foreign policies.

SECTION III. SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES

This section contains a list of 36 books, journals, and press articles, most of which relate to communism in Africa. The reader may find it useful to refer to some of these articles for further details.

The American Assembly. The United States and Africa. Final Report of the Thirteenth American Assembly, Arden House. New York: Columbia University, June 1958. 244pp.

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13. ABSTRACT

This essay, with a bibliographic supplement, is designed to aid interested researchers in assessing the present influence and impact of communism in sub-Saharan Africa. It is divided into two parts. Part One is an essay that covers the aims, strategy, and tactics of the Soviet Union; the Communist Chinese efforts and role; the roles of other Communist countries; Communist influence in African political movements; and the future of communism in Africa. Part Two is a bibliographic supplement, "A Selected Bibliography on Communism in Sub-Saharan Africa."

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