AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS:
A Preliminary Bibliography
by
Sanford Berman

The editors wish to emphasize that this bibliography, although extensive, is not exhaustive as it only represents holdings at the Makerere Institute of Social Research library, Kampala, Uganda. We thank Mr. Berman for the enthusiastic manner in which he has approached this project. In future issues of UFAHAMU, we are planning to print supplementary bibliographies to this initial list.


4. Andelman, David A.: "Profile: Amilcar Cabral; pragmatic revolutionary shows how an African guerrilla war can be successful," Africa report, v. 15, no. 5 (May 1970, p. 18-19. (On the Secretary-General, outstanding theorist and principal tactician of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde. For additional material on Cabral's thought and leadership, cf. his own below-cited works, as well as the relevant entries under Chaliand, Chilcote, Davidson, and Mugubane.)


8. Anti-Apartheid news; newspaper of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. London. Monthly. (Emphasizes the anti-Apartheid campaign in Britain, but also reports on events in all the colonial and minority-dominated regions of Sub-Saharan Africa. Cf., e.g., "Zambian people say 'No' to Pearce" and "British business counts its Rhodesian chickens," two full-page articles in the Feb. 1972 number. Also carries book- and pamphlet-reviews.)


22. Cabral, Amilcar, 1921- : *Revolution in Guinea; an African people's struggle*. Selected texts, [with an introd. by Richard Handyside, editor and translator]. London, Stage 1, c1969. 142 p. (Fifteen essays, addresses, etc. "PAIGC Party Programme" appears as an appendix. For assessments of Cabral himself as both ideologue and strategist, cf. the entries under Andelman, Chaliand, Chilcote, Davidson, and Magubane.)


30. Committee of Returned Volunteers: *Luta: struggle; voices of African liberation.* Chicago, CRV, n.d. 30 p. (Contains varied material--interviews, verse, messages, directives, photos, bibliography, and film-list--on ANC, PAC, ZAPU, ZANU, SWAPO, MPLA, UNITA, GRAE, FRELIMO, and PAIGC.)
31. Committee of Returned Volunteers. Africa Committee.; Mozambique will be free. N.Y., CRV, c1969. 45 p. ("Excellent pamphlet....Provides the reader with background information on the economy and politics of underdevelopment."--ARG Radical study guide, op. cit., p. 34. Bibliographical appendix: "Publications of the Liberation Movements of Southern and colonial Africa.")


33. Davidson, Basil, 1914-: "Arms and the Portuguese; what kinds of aid does Portugal get from its NATO allies, and what is its role in the colonial wars?," Africa report, v. 15, no. 5 (May 1970), p. 10-11. (On a related topic, cf. the below-noted Whitaker entry.)

34. Davidson, Basil, 1914-: "Inside look at Angola's fight for freedom; a British historian and journalist describes what he found when he went to see for himself," Africa report, v. 15, no. 9 (Dec. 1970), p. 16-18. (Includes map plus photo of author with Dr. Neto. Cf. also the two below-cited items by the MPLA-leader himself.)

35. Davidson, Basil, 1914-: Liberation of Guine: aspects of an African revolution. With a fwd. by Amilcar Cabral. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, c1969. 169 p. ("As a former guerrilla partisan in Yugoslavia, Davidson is well qualified to understand the armed struggle in Guine....The book gives two important lessons: the first that a people revolt and endure hardship over a number of years only when they have been driven to an extremity and see no alternative for themselves. The second is that the PAIGC struggle...has involved all the people and out of it there is likely to come a form of popular involvement in the government of the country after the departure of the Portuguese which may well set a new pattern for the African continent."--Gupta, cited below, p. 58. For a complementary, on-the-spot report from the Guine battlefront and liberated areas, cf. the above-cited Chaliand entry.)


40. Dodson, James M.: "Dynamics of insurgency in Mozambique," *Africa report*, v. 12, no. 8 (Nov. 1967), p. 52-5. (Covers "the strength of Portuguese and Frelimo forces, the goals and tactics of the insurgency, the conditions contributing to it, and Portuguese countermeasures."--Kornegay, cited below, p. 7.)

41. Dos Santos, Marcelino: "An international war," *Tricontinental magazine*, no. 23 (Mar./April 1971), p. 4-15. (Report, on behalf of CONCP--Conferencia das Organizacoes Nacionais das Colonias Portuguesas--to the International Conference of Support to the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, Rome, 1970.)


43. Drechsler, Horst: *Suedwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft; der Kampf der Herero und Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus* (1884-1915). Berlin, Adademie-Verlag, 1966. 372 p. (Background and details regarding the 1904-1907 Herero and Nama revolts against German hegemony in South West Africa. For material on the recent, massive strike of Ovambo miners and its political import, cf. Barbara


48. Fernandez, Gil: "Talk with a Guinean revolutionary," *Ufahamu*, v. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1970), p. 6-21. (Tape-recorded interview with PAIGC's Cairo representative, whose frank, incisive remarks disclose much about the guerrilla war and radical social transformation now jointly underway in Guine-Bissau. Cf. also the piece by Fernandez noted under Objective: justice.)


53. Geremaw, Taye: "Rebellion in Eritrea--who is behind it; what are its aims?" New Middle East, no. 31 (April 1971), p. 24-28. (On the ELF and its "long-term prospects of achieving Eritrean independence:" For additional material, cf. the above-noted Tricontinental bulletin article, "Eritrea: well-defined objectives," together with the below-cited Nicolas entry.)


56. Guerrilheiro; bulletin of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. London. Bimonthly. (Most recent issue--no. 9, March/April 1972--relates the opening of a new MPLA front, announces a Dutch boycott of Angolan coffee, reports military action and "Portuguese atrocities" in Guine-Bissau, carries news-capsules on Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, and Portuguese-UN relations, and examines in some depth the Portugal/NATO/West Germany nexus.)


59. Gupta, Aniruddha: "African liberation movements: a bibliographical survey," Africa quarterly, v. 10, no. 1 (April/June 1970), p. 52-60. ("Takes into account only such books as have been published in the English language... and...mentions only those writings as have, according to the writer, a direct bearing on the subject."--p. 52. For what may prove the most comprehensive and current guide to liberation-movement literature, cf. S. Ansari's Liberation struggle in Africa: a bibliography, sponsored by the Indian Council for Africa and announced for late 1971 publication by the Indian Documentation Service, Naisubzimandi, Gurgaon, Haryana.)


62. Howe, Marvine: "Portugal at war: hawks, doves and owls; how long can Portugal hold out in Africa and at home?," Africa report, v. 14, no. 7 (Nov. 1969), p. 16-21. (For continuing coverage of the "home" situation, emphasizing antiwar efforts by metropolitan Portuguese, cf. K. Shingler's below-cited Portuguese and colonial bulletin.)


65. Ivekovic, Ivan: "Liberation movements in Africa in 1971," Review of international affairs (Belgrade), v. 23, no. 522 (5 Jan. 1972), p. 16-18. (Ivekovic's opinion: "It seems that the only possible way for the liberation movements... is to rely upon their own forces. This does not mean that they could not use international diplomatic-political as well as financial assistance, but in the order of priorities that comes only in the second place. At any rate, the... movements are entering 1972 with only one prospect, which is—to fight."


67. Kellock, Alan and others: Race to power; the struggle for Southern Africa. Cambridge, Mass., Africa Research Group, cl971. iv, 97 p. (Analysis of the whole socio-economic-political spectrum in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies, with pronounced attention to liberation-movement activity in these areas. Includes maps, photos, tables, diagnrs., drawings, facsimiles, and a bibliography.)

68. Kgokong, Alfred: "Time for reckoning," Review of international affairs (Belgrade), v. 19, no. 431 (Mar. 20, 1968), p. 124. (ANC's Press Director discusses the "political, legal and economic aspects of the present position of South West Africa, and the paths to its liberation from the domination of the Republic of South Africa." For material on earlier resistance to German rule, cf. the above-noted Drechsler entry; and for further data on the latter-day independence surge and its international ramifications: the relevant items by Committee of Returned Volunteers,


72. Liberation. London. Bi-monthly. (President of Liberation, which lately incorporated the Movement for Colonial Freedom, is Fenner Brockway. A 14-page issue, while worldwide in scope, typically carries much information on imperialism and the many freedom struggles in Africa. The 1st 1972 number, e.g., includes a statement by Lord Brockway on "Violence in South Africa"; a survey of economic conditions in Southwest Africa by John Gaetsewe, featuring a two-column list of "Corporations exploiting Namibia"; and Gertrude Elias' "LONRHO," a major investigation of the London & Rhodesian Mining and Land Company, "a rapidly expanding pan-African empire with a voracious appetite for the acquisition of everything that can be turned into cash."

73. Lutuli, Albert John, 1898-1967: Statements and addresses—II. N.Y., United Nations Unit on Apartheid, 1970. 28 p. (Speeches and letters by the late Nobel Peace Prize-winner and ANC leader.)


94. Nujoma, Sam: "Struggle for a free Namibia," Review of international affairs (Belgrade), v. 22, nos. 512/13 (Aug. 2-20, 1971), p. 29-30. (By the President of SWAPO. On Namibia's constitutional status, as defined by the United Nations and International Court of Justice alike,

95. Objective: justice; quarterly magazine covering United Nations activity against Apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism. N.Y. (Frequently carries material on the liberation movements by such activists as Sam Nujoma and Gil Fernandez. Cf., e.g., Nujoma's "Namibians want immediate end to South Africa's rule" and Fernandez' "We are anonymous soldiers of UN," both in v. 4, no. 1, Jan./Feb./Mar. 1972. Also: Lucio Luzzatto's "Legal position of liberation movements must be strengthened" and Sharafuddine M. Khan's "Struggle and sacrifice in Mozambique," ibid., together with "Why World Council of Churches supports African freedom movements," an "open letter" by Ref. Dr. Albert H. van den Heuvel, v. 3, no. 2, Apr./May/June 1971, p. 20-3, and OAU Secretary-General Diallo Telli's "Decolonization of Southern Africa and the O.A.U.," v. 2, no. 3, July 1970, p. 13-15.)


100. "Portuguese colonies: front of solidarity against reaction," *Tricontinental bulletin*, no. 48 (March 1970), p. 41-5. (Text of the appeal issued jointly by FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC at the Preparatory Conference of Support for the Struggle of the Portuguese Colonies.)

101. Rake, Alan: "Black guerrillas in Rhodesia," *Africa report*, v. 13, no. 9 (Dec. 1968), p. 23-5. (Rake's conclusion: "One thing is certain: Rhodesia's European population does not include enough men of military age to fight a war on the scale of Portugal's wars in Angola and Mozambique. Hence the guerrilla factor is of paramount concern to all parties in the struggle for Rhodesia's future.")

102. Rotberg, Robert: "From moderate to militant; the rise of Joshua Nkomo and Southern Rhodesian nationalism," *Africa report*, v. 7, no. 3 (March 1962), p. 3-4+. (Table lists ZAPU National Executive as of 1962.)


106. Sanger, Clyde: "Cabora Bassa I," NEWSTATEments, v. 1, no. 1 (1971), p. 72-7. (Concludes with a critical "review" by Gordon K. Goundrey. "There is growing international concern that the future of the Portuguese-controlled Territory of Mozambique may to a large extent depend on the outcome of the proposed Cabora Bassa Dam project--the fifth largest of its kind in the world--planned for construction on the Zambezi River in Mozambique. At the center of the project is an agreement under which Mozambique will provide South Africa with a new source of hydro-electric power. Concern also arises from the fact that the Portuguese plans for the Zambezi Valley envisage the development for settlement and other purposes of an area of 140,000 kilometers--about one tenth of the total Territory--and the eventual settlement of large numbers of Europeans. More serious, however, is the size of the foreign investment involved which some view as committing the countries concerned to supporting Portugal's colonial policy."--Objective: justice, v. 3, no. 3, July/Aug./Sept. 1971, p. 20.)

107. Sechaba; official organ of the African National Congress, South Africa. London. Monthly. ("Mixing polemic with reportage, it's probably the most significant single source of views and information not only on the situation south of the Limpopo, but also in the several other regions not yet freed from alien overlordship....Well-illustrated, Sechaba explores the South African scene in full-scale drive against Apartheid, together with events in sister liberation movements."--Berman, op. cit., p. 553.)


111. Sithole, Ndabaningi, 1920- : African nationalism. 2d ed. London, Oxford Univ. Pr., 1968. 196 p. (By the long-imprisoned leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union. First ed., also available at MISR, pubd. 1959. On the 1st ed.: "Written in America, ...Mr. Sithole...is concerned to explain...the reasons for African nationalism...He talks of the part played by the Church, of European misconceptions about Africans..., why Africans will not be Communists, and why to Africans of today the 'myth of white superiority' has been exploded."--Helen F. Conover, comp., Africa south of the Sahara; a selected, annotated list of writings [Wash., D.C., Library of Congress, 1963], p. 30; For subsequent writings by Sithole, cf. the below-cited Zimbabwe news.)


120. Walshe, Peter: Rise of African nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952. Berkeley; Los Angeles, Univ. of California Pr., 1971. xvi, 480 p. (Reviews: Sechaba, v. 6, no. 3, Mar. 1972, p. 21; Alan Brooks, Anti-Apartheid news, Mar. 1972, p. 11. Says Brooks: "Walshe is a South African scholar. He is the first person to have intensively researched and published a documented history of the ANC. This alone makes his book of exceptional interest, especially as he has tackled his daunting task with thoroughness and care. He has studied an extensive range of original and secondary sources which will be the envy of other scholars, especially those whom Vorster has prevented from utilising material located in South Africa."


129. "World in revolution: Africa," Guardian (N.Y.). Weekly. (Regular, short reports on events in Namibia, the Portuguese colonies, etc.)


