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## UFAHAMU

AFRICAN ACTIVIST ASSOCIATION AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

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UFAHAMU will accept contributions from anyone interested in Africa and related subject areas. Contributions may range from scholarly articles and book reviews, to free-lance writing and poetry.

Manuscripts may be of any length; however, the Editorial Board reserves the right to abbreviate any manuscript in order to fit page requirements (after consultation with the author). Articles of 15-25 pages are preferred. All submissions, comments or letters must be clearly typed and double-spaced. All contributions should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief at the above address.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

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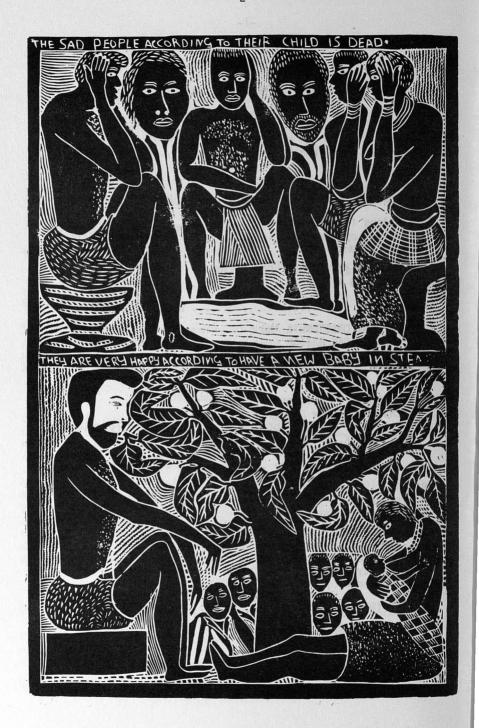
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## UFAHAMU

## VOLUME III, NUMBER 2, FALL 1972

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The Sad People (1970)



#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental.

- C. L. R. James

In our choice of articles for a particular issue of UFAHAMU, even within the broad spectrum of our inter-disciplinary base, we try to bear in mind the need for consistency in both approach and expected impact. We do this, partly in keeping with our basic editorial principles, and partly in recognition of the danger that an inter-disciplinary journal could well end up as a mere anthology of unrelated reflections on diverse topics.

Whether it is in history, international relations or literature, we look for what is demonstrably new, different, urgent, or downright provocative - something which will excite serious discussion and debate, and hopefully, inspire governments and people to positive action. We believe that there is the need for a constant evaluation of old concepts, attitudes and methodologies. Only in such a continuously dynamic atmosphere can there be a creative

and meaningful approach to the study of Africa-related disciplines.

We are pleased to carry in this issue articles that ask some of the basic questions and pose old problems with fresh vigor. There is an analysis of the problems of Third World development by a well-known historian; and the works of the theoretician of the African Revolution, Frantz Fanon, are discussed by a major African critic. There are also revealing analyses of the different facets of imperialist economic involvement in Africa, either in the form of a "population assistance program" of dubious value in a country like Ghana, or as a prop to racist regimes in Southern Africa.

Speaking of oppressive racist regimes and the back-up role of imperialist countries, one fundamental question which is always being whispered about (and one on which, we hope, one of our readers will make a reasoned presentation) is why it is that 35 million Africans can be held in bondage by only 4 million whites in Southern Africa. The truth about that question is that the figures tend to oversimplify the problem and disguise the insidious nature of the relationship between the oppressors and the oppressed. Ultimately, the strength of a side can be determined not only by numbers but by other paraphernalia of power like political, military and economic factors.

To give just one example: In the summer of 1971, Amilcar Cabral of P.A.I.G.C. reported progress towards Guinea-Bissau's liberation from Portugal:

"To make worthwhile the victories achieved by our people, and successes so far this year, and to live up to our responsibilities, we must make 1971 one of the most decisive periods in our long but rewarding struggle."

On November 30 of the same year, Gil Fernandez (a PAIGC representative) in an address to the United Nations said, inter alia:

"After almost nine years of armed struggle, we have succeeded in liberating two-thirds of our national territory....We are no longer asking the colonial Government for the right of self-determination. We have reached self-determination during these nine years of armed struggle, with all the sacrifices that it necessarily implies....To have the right to be an African, to have the right to till his land for food for his family, he (a Guinea-Bissau peasant) gets as a reward a shower of napalm....The question that arises is who is giving this napalm to Portugal? Who is giving those jet planes to Portugal?

.... I bring to your attention the fact that the colonists are feverishly preparing to spread toxic chemical products in order to destroy our crops before the next harvest. The goal is clearly to stop our struggle by famine. We face dismal prospects resulting from these preparations, especially if the world at large remains indifferent."

On December 9, 1971 (barely one month after these portentous remarks) President Nixon, by unilateral executive action (implying a sense of urgency) agreed to advance Portugal the sum of \$436,000,000 in loans, gifts and credits. It is to be borne in mind that Portugal's annual defense budget is some \$400 million, most of which goes to support her colonial wars.

We would submit that the sequence of these events is not coincidental. It simply shows how the massive economic assets of imperialist countries deliberately manipulate the course of events in Africa – a theme that runs through most of the articles in this issue of UFAHAMU.

In the final analysis, therefore, who is indeed outnumbered?

Once more we urge our readers to respond to this and other issues of *UFAHAMU*. After all, this is your journal, and only in an atmosphere of vigorous exchange can the truth be told.



- The Editors

#### CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Colleagues:

I read the article by Michel L. Martin, "The Uganda Military Coup of 1971: A Study of Protest,"\* with great interest. Apart from one or two errors, it is an article based on substantial research and sensitivity to the important issues in Uganda politics. It is so good that it is bound to feature in our own reading lists at Makerere University from now on.

I am grateful to you for drawing my attention to the article, and to the quality of your journal. We are making arrangements to make it available in our library. Meanwhile, I am drawing the attention of my colleagues to the availability of the journal in case they have manuscripts they would like you to consider. I am also bearing this journal in mind for some of my own work in the days ahead.

With warm regards,

Ali A. Mazrui Professor and Head of Department

Dear Editor:

I find *UFAHAMU* to be a very interesting magazine. Your efforts in bringing news of the mother land, Afrika, are unequaled by any other magazine.

Hoping that these efforts will continue, and that lines of communication will remain open.

Blk Unity,

Imamu Abdul Malik (g.l. bond #80 514) Minister of Information Afrikan American Culture Club

[Ed. Note: See Imamu Abdul Malik's contribution to this issue on p. 66.]

\*This article will be reprinted in a book of readings entitled Perspectives on ... Uganda (2 vols.), by Makerere University, Department of Political Science.

Dear Friends,

Since the Lund Conference our main work has been in connection with the Portugal Tribunal. It is slowly developing and we have renamed it Kongress Freiheit für Angola, Guinea-Bissao und Mozambique, Gegen den BRD-Imperialismus. Twenty-nine groups are participating. The date has been changed from October 25, 1972, to December 15-16, 1972, because of the unexpected new election for the Bundestag. So far we have not yet started to give material support to the liberation movements.

Following is some interesting information for our American friends:

- 1. In the magazine ARGOSY there have been at least two advertisements (ca. October-November, 1971, and January-February, 1972) by the Portuguese Government asking for ex-GIs. ARGOSY is a monthly American magazine read especially by soldiers and ex-soldiers.
- 2. In the beginning of March, 1972, in the "Peace Center" (a meeting place for ex-GIs) in Tempe, a suburb of Phoenix, Arizona, there was a Belgian (?) colonel trying to hire ex-GIs for the Portuguese Government for \$3000 per month. He said the task would be to guard pipelines in Portugal.

My informant, an ex-GI, became suspicious of the danger involved in the job because of the high payment; otherwise he, perhaps, would have accepted. Can you find out if it is legal to hire Americans for a "foreign" war and how many Americans there are around the Gulf pump station in Cabinda?

The Portuguese Government has distributed a 237-page book to opinion leaders and MP's in the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany): Cabora Bassa. In the book it is said that the industrialisation and irrigation in connection with the dam will be paid for by the money received for the electricity. Because the repayment period of the export credit is not until 1993, this means that not before about 1985 or even 1993 does the Portuguese Government expect any project in that area. Also from this book (p. 24), and from an ASEA statement on September 9, 1969, it can be discerned that 100% of the electricity will go to South Africa.

It seems that since 1970, when it became clear that the population of Portugal declined from 9.4 million (1960) to 8.4 million (1970), the plans of the Vorster regime to finance the projects around Cabora Bassa to form a "white wall" have been withdrawn.

We were informed that the West German government has refused, for political reasons, to give export credit to a big construction company (Julius Berger) which wanted to participate in the building of the Cunene Scheme. This adds to the withdrawal of export credits and governmental guarantees for the Uranium projects, Rössing in Namibia. But on April 28th it was reported from Johannesburg that two big companies from FRG are competing for the 500-Mio.-DM Ruacana project in the Cunene Scheme.

Concerning Cabora Bassa, here are the names of the companies doing "the delivery of very urgent spare parts coming from these countries" (letter from CCI, France):

- a) United States: Imeco, 250 West 57th Street, New York,
   N.Y. 10019, Telex No. 224677 (Attention, M. Ulrich);
- b) England: Anglo Overseas Products, Ltd., 5 Shamrock Way, Couthgate, London, N.14, Telex No. 264619 Angletrad (Attention, M. Jedwab)
- c) France: Immitra, 7 rue Delerue, 94 Saint Maur, Phone No. 8834798, Telex No. 21435 (Attention, M. Simonot).

One should note that the governmental SPD did not participate in the announced fund raising campaign of the Socialistic International, May 1, 1972.

With best greetings,

Deutsches Komitee für Angola, Guinea-Bissao u. Mocambique e.V. 53 Bonn-Beuel Bergweg 21

# <u>ISSUES</u>

In each issue of UFAHAMU we have attempted to expand in some way offering our readers varied opportunities to participate in the journal. To stress the fact that this is, indeed, your journal, we are now initiating an "ISSUES" segment. This new, and hopefully dynamic section will serve a two-fold purpose: a chance for more readers to state their opinions and a chance for UFAHAMU to stay on top of the most pressing issues facing Africa today.

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#### RADICAL AFRICANISM:

but none has come...

Whatever happened to radical Africanism? A very short time ago at Montreal (October, 1969) a small band of black Hercules tore off the lid of the African Studies Association--opening a can of worms that most old, tired Africanists would have much preferred remain sealed until their respective retirement. The Association was filled with the "types" we can disregard in this piece, but the Association was also filled with lots of well-meaning white liberals<sup>2</sup> (and some black reformers too, of course). The black "supermen," who stormed Montreal in the form of a Black Caucus, pricked the consciences of these white men and women. Some liberals withdrew from the fight on the spot; others withdrew from the Association in varying degrees during the months that followed--when it appeared that the Johnson-Cole Resolution<sup>3</sup> was getting at least lukewarm support. But others, the "well-meaning" ones, supported, at least half-heartedly, many of the black demands. Back "home" in the centers and departments more black students were recruited into African studies programs; more got funding; problems facing Africa were looked into more penetratingly; and some centers, journals, etc. began to take stronger stands on political issues such as anti-colonial stances on South Africa and Portugal.

What a euphoric courtship it was! Out of Montreal's ashes came a greater flourishing of the Africa Research Group, the establishment of Michigan State's radical house-organ, MAZUNGUMZO, Wisconsin's BA SHIRU, and UCLA's UFAHAMU--not to mention other lesser known post-1969 radical publications. Student organizations such as the African Activist Association came alive with new black students! Centers such as the one at UCLA could boast that almost half of the new students of a particular year were black! More black faculty and visiting scholars checkered the offices of some centers for a time. Ah, the delicate courtship of white and black radicals rang like the song of "orioles"...or Baraka (LeRoi Jones) might say that it was like "Kenyatta Listening to Mozart." Or, he might call it "The Party of Insane Hope."

What happened? The African Studies Association sent all of us a Valentine on a February day,  $^4$  and many people began to think the struggle was pretty tiring--maybe even

self-defeating. Suddenly we find more activism across the Atlantic (e.g. RADICAL AFRICANA). Suddenly we find that there is more opposition to the white South African regime among Afrikaner students than among U.S. Africanists (an ironic commentary, to say the least)—whose radicals pretend to form a "pressure group" to effect U.S. policy in such areas. Well, maybe that was too ambitious for a start. But what about all of those "radical" students (black and white) who stormed into the centers, the ones who were going to change so many things—the whole "structure of things" in academia? Where are most of them after three years? Are they all sipping tea, listening to Mozart, and enjoying the groves of academe from their rose-tinted windows?

Have any of them asked what happened to the Africa Research Group--in some ways the most uncompromising of the new radical organizations? Why is MAZUNGUMZO having to plead for funds to continue? What has happened to BA SHIRU!? Is UFAHAMU next? Will any of those "radicals" of the short post-Montreal era of change be able to leave their newly acquired important posts in big universities and turn their backs on the lucrative grants afFORDed them? Like Baraka, "We have awaited the coming of a natural/phenomenon. Mystics and romantics, knowledgeable/workers/of the land./ But none has come./ but none has come..."

## SIDE-THOUGHTS

<sup>1</sup>Lest someone should ask right off how I am defining "radicalism," let me remark briefly that I am referring to radicalism at many levels. At the level of political theory Basil Davidson expresses it well:

The basic problem for Africans is to find their own way of revolutionizing the structures of the past, and revolutionizing the colonial structures which they 've had imposed upon them, and which they inherited, in large part, when they have become politically independent. Africans need this dual revolution along African lines; they need it because they have to move on to new systems and modes of production...This challenge can be met only by building entirely new structures...within which the general mode of production in Africa can move in what one may loosely call "urbanism and industrialism"...That is the kind of

revolution I am talking about...this kind of revolution will not be, cannot be, in the direction of capitalism. It must be in the direction of socialism. (UFAHAMU, I, 3, 1971, p. 8)

Radicalism in methodology is more than a "fresh" approach to various subjects. It is a recognition of the non-existence of "value-free" social science. It is a commitment to a value system. It is an approach based upon the realization that most of our (i.e. western) empirical generalizations, heuristic devices, theoretical constructs are value-laden, basically conservative, and based upon outmoded ideal types. Many of the conventional approaches have been unable to handle change, and, as an inadvertent (or, perhaps advertent) consequence, have militated against change. Radical Africanism militates against the complacent acceptance of these western models and calls for new paradigms for a new time--and a new place--the "Third World."

<sup>2</sup> The errors of complacency stem from the perhaps tendency to congratulate ourselves for the virtues of our liberation (both intellectual and political)...(Immanuel Wallerstein, African Studies Association NEWSLETTER, IV, 3, June 1971, p. 5)

<sup>3</sup> At the Montreal meetings Johnetta Cole and Willard Johnson, two black activists, proposed a radical transformation of the African Studies Association. "If the African Studies Association is on the side of the hunter, then let all the cats unite to turn the game around" (Willard Johnson's platform statement). The Resolution was eventually defeated by mail ballot and Johnson and Cole resigned:

Continued membership on the Board of an association of people who feel justified in earning their living off the study of peoples held low and made miserable by an order which our country dominates, with no direct and active effort to change that order, is insupportable. (Johnetta B. Cole and Willard R. Johnson, African Studies Association NEWSLETTER, IV, 1, February 14, 1971, p. 3).

<sup>4</sup> There was a special issue of the ASA <u>NEWSLETTER</u>, February 14, 1971 (Valentine's Day). As a response to cancelled memberships and general malaise and disenchantment within the ASA, the Association pleaded on the cover of this special issue, asking its members to "Be Our Valentine."

## AFRICAN ARTISTS AND SOCIETY:

A Reply

First of all, let me congratulate you on the excellent job Ufahamu has been doing in its coverage of and insight into the intellectual, social and political upheavals in Africa. It is an invaluable contribution to the debate, and is certainly the kind of contribution necessary if the truth must be known.

One cannot but agree entirely with the basic assumptions and conclusions of Edward Okwu's comment on "The Traditional African Artist and his Society" in *Ufahamu*, vol. II, no. 3. It is unfortunate, however, that he seems to have laid the entire complex problem of cultural alienation at the doorstep of the African artist.

I think it is necessary to realize that the African artist is today in the hiatus of that socio-historical removal from "traditionality" to "modernity." He is thus caught in the complex of an intellectual mirage where the past is very indistinct and the future absolutely unchartable, where a return to the main tenets of traditional societies will be at best a relapse into a form of negritudinal romanticism or at worst a negation of the very concept of progress, change or modernity. The crucial tragedy of this entrapment is that the past cannot be recalled or reconvened while the future seems bereft of values or even a promise of them.

The predicament of the modern African artist is a most trying one. In fact, he is in a worse position than his modern Western counterpart whose "disenchantment" is a logical outgrowth of the technical conflict between man and machine, between man and "god." As Mr. Okwu rightly points out, while Western society evolved, the inherent tendency towards "bifurcation" was complicated by a mythical notion of "progress" as being possible only through an active cultivation of the scientific/materialistic ethic. the Western artist evolved with and within his society, while ironically the African society, as well as the African artist, is evolving merely inside the Western womb and acquiring false values in the process. Most Africans are today made to expect the pattern of existence in Western societies, thus ignoring the age-old formula of learning to walk before learning to run. This unfortunate dilemma somehow lifts the charge of misrepresentation partly from the shoulders of "misled" artists to the

shoulders of a "misdirected" society since art, as one understands it, must be a sensitized, if quarrelsome, recreation of the life within and outside the artist.

Moreover, the post-Victorian atomisation of man's sensibility in Western societies occurred almost contemporaneously with the dislocation of social equilibrium in traditional African societies. For the Western man, the result is the cultivation of the materialist ethic urged by Darwinian and Malthusian theories of existence and sustenance while for the African the result is the current hiatus, the current lack of smooth transition from the artist of a society where things are beginning to fall apart, the artist in the infancy of society, to the artist of Ayi Kwei Armah's The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born and Wole Soyinka's The Interpreters. The question, it seems to me then, is not so much how to strike a compromise between the language or postures of the "traditional" and the "modern" African artist as how to readjust the lifestyle of our peoples to reflect our true milieu.

Finally, even in the overt effort of our "young African artists" to show Caliban as potent as Prospero there is a strong presence of the Caliban flavor, an unmistakable effusion of his racial circumstance. No true African artist can effectively bleach away his true sources, the circumstances that informed his infancy and the environments that nurture his human development. The most outside of the African outsiders still have their works informed, though more in content than in form, by basic African artistic cadences, nuances and symbolism. It is, therefore, not impossible to save the "modern" African artist (in fact, Okwu's illustration with Chris Okigbo's later poetry as the exile's complete return confirms this point), but "modern" African society must be saved with him. If the African artist should return to dig his roots and find a cake of white ants there will undoubtedly arise for him a new literary malady: African disenchantment.

## Algeria:

## Ten Years of Independence

"The Algerian people, by taking the situation into their hands, and by persistently affirming their will to struggle, consciously or unconsciously have tied this will to struggle to the historical necessity to conquer and untiringly promote every aspect of progress in its most efficient revolutionary form."

- The Tripoli Program, June, 1962

During the week of July 2-8, 1972, Algeria celebrated ten years of independence. There were feasts, speeches, expostions and parades. Meriam Makeba recorded her first song in Arabic for the occasion. Not a single Head of State was invited; the festivities were to be by and for the people. In the smaller cities of the South, troops of musicians performed and there was cous-cous for all to eat.

An air of purposefulness pervaded the atmosphere. The preceding ten years had not been easy. Political, economic and social unrest had followed the years of bitter warfare. The FLN (National Liberation Front) had been weakened by internecine conflict; agricultural and industrial production rates fell while unemployment rates rose. In 1965, the austere and reserved Houarie Boumediene and the army officers of the Council of the Revolution replaced the more colorful government of Ahmad Ben Bella. Reports by such observers as Arslan Humbaraci (Algeria, A Revolution that Failed, 1966), seemed dismal indeed.

However, in 1972, Boumediene was proclaiming Algeria to be on the road out of "underdevelopment." An extensive program of industrialization, i.e., the Four Year Plan, was underway. Visiters to Algeria were impressed with the air of vitality as compared to earlier years. Government speeches centered around the three major programs of reform: industrialization, the Agrarian revolution, and Arabization (sometimes called the "Cultural Revolution").<sup>2</sup>

## Industrialization

For many, the celebrations had a double cause as Algeria had the previous year concluded trade agreements

with France which had resulted in complete ownership of the oil industry. The exploitation of oil is transforming the coastline of Algeria as refineries, pipelines and ports are built. Oil revenues are expected to finance much of the Four Year Plan. Skida, Oran and Annaba are to be the new industrial centers, in addition to Constantine and Algiers. In Skida, Japanese and Italian engineers are building a large ethelene plant. Refineries which liquify gas and oil are also being constructed. Eight million tons per year of crude naptha can now be exported. Heavy industry is being centered in Annaba. The steel factory has been vastly expanded. In 1968, 700 men were employed in it. By 1972, this figure had swelled to 5,500 and official estimates call for more than 10,000 by 1980.

#### The Agrarian Revolution

The basis of the Algerian economy is agriculture, and a new program of agricultural development is being planned. The Four Year Plan for agrarian reform is as important as industrialization; the government expects that the development of the two sectors of the economy will be interrelated and interdependent. While the new plan has not been officially instigated, significant reforms are being made. Civil servants and members of the liberal professions are responding to campaign appeals and are donating their land to the state for redistribution to landless peasants. The government distributed seven million acres of land during the week of celebration. Self-management (autogestion) and collectivization are being extended into the traditional sector. During the summer, student volunteers went into the countryside to explain the new program to the peasantry. Grants have been made available to villagers who wish to rebuild their homes. This year, an exceptionally successful harvest is being brought in. The coincidence of the bumper crop and the new reform program will aid the cause of the Agrarian Revolution.

## Arabization

One of the most frustrating and controversial legacies left by 130 years of French colonization is the cultural influence of French civilization. Most of the intelligentsia had been educated in the French system. Many scarcely knew Arabic. The Egyptian National Assembly was shocked to hear Ben Bella proclaim, in his first address: "nous sommes arabes, arabes, arabes!" It

only needs to be pointed out here that the linguistic problem (French and Arabic) has always been a major conflict of the two cultures. Boumediene had tried to foster Arabic and Islamic cultural values; the theme of conflict between North African and European values and the desire to modernize while maintaining an Arabo-Islamic personality had preoccupied intellectual thought. Algeria finds itself to be Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and Africa, all at once.

A major aspect of the "Cultural Revolution" is in education. Thousands of schools have been opened and nearly every village has its own school. A "Campaign for Literacy," for people of all ages, is being conducted throughout Algeria. The once dual systems of French and Arabic education have been unified, with a knowledge of both languages required. Arabic is being extended into the university levels and history, geography, sociology, psychology and most of the natural sciences are now taught in Arabic.

Algerian planners make no attempt to diminish the magnitude of the tasks they have set before the nation. They have a largely rural population, high unemployment and a very short history of national unity. The government has not been able to provide a national assembly or an elected president or prime minister. Boumediene generally avoids the discussions of socialist ideology which were prevalent in earlier years. Algeria continues to provide aid, however, to revolutionary, anti-colonialist movements, particularly on the African continent. Most of these groups have offices in Algiers and their statements of solidarity were included in the texts of the ceremonies. 7

After the devastating War of Independence, the Algerian people have embarked upon a progressive but difficult course, which calls for economic austerity in the interests of the future course of the nation. The forced removal of French Colonialism (1962) freed Algeria to develop in her own historical terms. Ten years later, in 1972, we witness progressive measures on the agenda as goals in the continuing process of the Algerian Revolution.

As the editor of Algerie-Actualite, Youcef Ferhi, stated:

Today, we must struggle against ourselves in order to enlighten this nation which remains an example in the fight for liberation and which will be tomorrow an example of the fight for economic development which will liberate the people and give a sense to life.

## Footnotes

 Humbaraci, Arslan. Algeria: A Revolution that Failed, Pall Mall Pub., London, 1966. See also: Chaliand, Gerard. Algerie, Est-il Socialiste, Paris, 1964.

 ash-sha'b ath-thaqafi. adh-dhikra l-'ashira li-listiqlal, by al-ibrahimi, vol. 2, July 5, 1972,

supplement, p. 3.

 The Guardian Weekly, with Le Monde, vol. 107, no. 4, July 22, 1972, p. 13.

4. Ibid., p. 13.

 L'Action (Tunis), no. 4, April 22, 1972, supplement, p. iv.

6. Algerie-Actualite, no. 350, July 2-8, 1972, pp. 19-20.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

U.C.L.A.

- by Nancy E. Gallagher

The artist whose prints are featured in this issue is John Muafangejo, a graduate of St. Mary's Anglican High School, Namibia (S. W. Africa), and ELC Art and Craft Centre, Natal, South Africa. His work has been featured in one-man shows in South Africa, Namibia, Sweden, and the United States. He is the founder of St. Mary's Art School in Odibo, where he teaches linocutting, wood sculpture and weaving.

[Ed. Note: In our efforts to provide greater exposure to African artists, we invite others to send us some of their works for inclusion in our forthcoming issues.]

\* \* \* Kuncy E. Sallacher son an

The designs in this issue are from Abbia stones, by Frederick Quinn. Reprinted from African Arts, Vol. IV, No. 4, Summer 1971.





Adam and Eve (1968)





A Shephard (1972)





Chief Manduma (1972)