

# GUIDE TO SOURCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS\*

## APPROACHES TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN HISTORY

The historiography of southern Africa shows a succession of scholarly paradigms that have strong parallels, if not exact correlations, to the history in which the scholars themselves are embedded. The sequence is clearest in the case of South Africa, but can also be seen in studies dealing with other countries in the region. In shorthand labels, one may refer to the colonial or racist paradigm, the liberal paradigm, and the Marxist or radical paradigm.

The racist approach is exemplified in the numerous works of Theal (see the discussion in L. Thompson, 1985, chapters 2 and 3) and in a summary volume such as Walker, 1959 (first edition 1928). Africans appear as backdrop and obstacle to the history of white advance, a perspective that lives on in South African government propaganda and in popular literature, if less commonly in academic studies.

The liberal approach, illustrated by early works such as Macmillan (1929) and de Kiewiet (1941), reached its high point in the two-volume *Oxford History of South Africa* (Wilson and Thompson, 1969, 1971). Its theme, as the Oxford history editors put it, was "the interaction between peoples of diverse origins, languages, technologies and social systems" (Wilson and Thompson, 1969, p. v). Such an open-minded approach helped spur a proliferation of empirical research. Outside of South Africa, the liberal emphasis flowed into study of the roots of precolonial African cultures and of modern nationalism, represented in such synthetic works as Oliver and Fage (1962). For independent Africa, this trend in historical scholarship coincided with the heyday of the social-science "modernization" paradigm, which linked economic and political "development." In South Africa, where African nationalism met the apartheid state, the liberal paradigm seemed to have little explanation for the persistence of racist views in a South Africa that was already well launched on its industrial takeoff.

\*To list all the sources consulted for this book would be impossibly lengthy. These comments do not provide a comprehensive bibliography of any topic, but are a guide for the interested reader as to where to begin. The character of the literature available differs significantly for the periods before and after 1960, depending in large part on the opportunity historians have had to analyze archival material. This guide reflects that division, but many works cited in each section deal with both time periods.

Radical critics, discontent with the liberal failure to see structure behind diversity, and with the simple juxtaposition of economic advance and political-cultural "irrationality," turned to Marxist perspectives. They sought to "reanalyze South African society and history in terms of class, capitalism and exploitation; to develop a class analysis of South Africa, and of the racial system in particular" (Johnstone, 1982, p. 9). Elsewhere on the continent, similar analytic impulses gained strength from the realization that African political independence did not necessarily mean changing the inherited political economy. The Marxists or radicals exhibited as great a diversity in methodology and detailed research as did those who clung to some form of the liberal paradigm. But they shared a concern to relate political and cultural developments to underlying economic structures and class forces.

Early critiques of liberal historiography can be found in Legassick (1972) and Atmore and Westlake (1972). Wright (1977) is a vigorous albeit superficial critique of the radical approach; Legassick (1980) and Johnstone (1982) respond to critiques and reflect on the debate. Clarke (1977) and articles in the *Review of African Political Economy* (7, 1976, and 11, 1979) are other important sources. For an entry to current research, the best sources are the introductory essays in Marks and Atmore (1980), Marks and Rathbone (1982), and Marks and Trapido (1986). These reflect the ongoing seminars on the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries at the Institute for Commonwealth Studies, published annually in mimeographed form since 1970. The work of Charles van Onselen (1982) and others associated with the University of Witwatersrand History Workshops is one expression of a growing emphasis within the radical approach on history "from the bottom up," with increased attention to oral sources.

The power of Marxist approaches is revealed in the growing tendency for liberal scholars to take much of the terms of debate from their Marxist colleagues. Two notable recent examples include Yudelma (1983) and Lipton (1985). The debate, as it evolved and continues, can be best followed by tracking several key journals, such as *African Affairs*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Review of African Political Economy*, and *Journal of African History*. Review essays discussing the historiography of other southern African countries include Phimister (1979) on Zimbabwe; Ranger (1977) on protest and resistance; Ranger (1978) and Cooper (1981) on peasants.

A recent survey text that both gives basic factual background and takes into account the new research is Parsons (1983). One can also measure the shift by comparing the two editions of Denoon et al. (1972, 1984). On South Africa only, Davenport (1977) is in the conventional liberal mold.

Magubane (1979) provides an overview from a Marxist perspective. Murray (1982) collects a number of the more important radical essays. L. Callinicos (1981, 1985) presents the radical view in a popularized format. Other sources useful for overview and bibliography on the region are Birmingham and Martin (1983) and the articles in the *Cambridge History of Africa*, volumes 6 through 8, and in Boahen (1985).

## SELECTED TOPICS: PRE-WORLD WAR II

*Imperialism and Conquest:* A good overview of British imperialism is Porter (1975). Clarence-Smith (1979) refutes the idea that Portuguese colonialism was "uneconomic," and Pirio (1982) dissects the structure of Portuguese imperialism in the late nineteenth century. Detailed bibliographies on European conquest and administration can be found in Gann and Duignan (1969–1975) and in Gifford and Louis (1967).

This phase of European expansion has been the subject of inexhaustible scholarly and political debate. Lenin's *Imperialism* is still essential reading, although his arguments have often been misapplied by both enemies and friends (see Stokes, 1969). Two useful surveys of the literature are Stokes (1975) and Kennedy (1977). One of the clearest explanations of a Marxist analysis is chapter 1 in Wolff (1974). Other critical overviews can be found in Magdoff (1978), Mandel (1975), and Barratt Brown (1974).

The applicability of the general theories to southern Africa is discussed by Etherington (1982). The clearest analysis of the debate is found in Atmore and Marks (1975), Marks and Trapido (1979), and Marks (1982). Tracing the references in these articles will lead to most of the other important sources.

*Mining and Its Impact:* The survey of Katzenellenbogen (1969) covers the continent, and includes numerous statistical tables as well as bibliography. Lanning and Mueller (1979) also provide an overview, with a more contemporary focus. Other important sources include review essays by Perrings (1977) and Van-Helten (1980); books by Perrings (1979), Wilson (1972), and van Onselen (1976); and articles by Turrell (1982) and Richardson and Van-Helten (1982). Study of labor and the gold mines has by now become a growth industry; Yudelman (1983) and Jeeves (1985) are two recent examples. Although some of the details may have been superseded by later research, Johnstone (1976) still stands out for the clarity and cogency of its basic argument. Innes (1984), on the Oppenheimer interests, is also a well-done overview of the South African political economy. Two recent works of many on the copperbelt are Parpart (1983) and Mhone (1982).

*Segregation and its Antecedents:* Key early contributions to the debate include Trapido (1971); Wolpe (1972); Legassick ("Capital Accumulation and Violence," 1974). Lacey (1981) perceptively traces in detail the divergent and convergent interests of mineowners and white farmers in shaping the system.

Study of the impact of white rule on African farmers was sparked by the work of Bundy (1972, 1979). A good overview is Palmer and Parsons (1977); Palmer (1977) is the basic work on Rhodesia. Morris (1976) exemplifies a more theoretically oriented approach. Later research, questioning points of emphasis and chronology in Bundy's work, is also showing considerable local variation. No new synthesis has emerged, but see the ongoing debate in *JSAS*.

Several recent works have drawn attention to the U.S.-South African parallel. Frederickson (1981), perceptive on pre-nineteenth-century developments, is less well informed on the newer research dealing with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cell (1982) and Greenberg (1980) are well grounded in the South African debate, and their comparisons are thought-provoking. Burawoy (1976) relates the comparisons to sociological theories. Particularly useful review essays commenting on some of these studies include Bundy (1984) and Johnstone (1984).

*Politics and Class in White Southern Africa:* In spite of a tendency in both Marxist and non-Marxist research to overemphasize the structural impact of shifts in the white electoral arena, there has been much useful work on the ethnic and class divisions in white South Africa. Leading non-Marxist scholars who are reexploring Afrikaner history are du Toit and Giliomee (see, for example, du Toit, 1983, and Giliomee, 1983). De Villiers (1976) contains much useful information on English-speaking South Africans. Bozzoli (1981) on manufacturing and Davies (1979) on white workers are two representative Marxist works. On Rhodesia see Leys (1959) and Phimister (1983).

*Resistance and Protest:* On anti-imperialist and humanitarian protest in England see Porter (1968) and Price (1972). Representative works on resistance and protest include Shepperson and Price (1958), Ranger (1970), Isaacman (1976), Drechsler (1980), Simons and Simons (1969), Marks (1970), and Willan (1984).

#### SELECTED TOPICS: WORLD WAR II TO 1960

Two general works, written during this period, with a wealth of information and critical perspective, are Gunther (1955) and Davidson (1952).

*Political Economy of Apartheid:* Carter (1959) is a detailed political account within a liberal perspective. Two crucial articles in the development

of a Marxist analysis are Legassick ("Legislation," 1974) and O'Meara (1975). Lipton (1985) gives the conclusions of a liberal scholar well informed on the debate. The Fagan commission report (Union of South Africa, 1948) is still worth reading for a picture of the "alternative" to apartheid; a systematic investigation of its significance and context is long overdue.

*Foreign Investment:* Much of the basic factual data on the South African economy can be found in Houghton (1973, 1976) and Nattrass (1981). Useful analyses of the role of foreign investment include Innes (1984), First et al. (1973), Study Project (1975), Rogers (1976), and Seidman and Makgetla (1980). On Rhodesia see Clarke (1980); on the Portuguese colonies, Castro (1978).

*Afrikaner Nationalism and the National Party:* The best study to date is O'Meara (1983). Adam and Giliomee (1979) is another basic work. See also Moodie (1975) for additional background on ideology, and Giliomee (1983) for a critique of O'Meara's Marxist approach.

*Postwar Colonial Policy and Decolonization:* A basic anthology with extensive bibliography is Gifford and Louis (1982). On Britain basic sources include Lee (1967), Goldsworthy (1971), Louis (1978). On Portugal see Clarence-Smith (1985), Minter (1972, 1973), and Bender and Isaacman (1976).

On Mau Mau and the Kenyan example, Buitenhuijs (1973), Wasserman (1976), Ranger (1985), and Gordon (1985) can serve as introduction to the voluminous literature. Clayton (1976) provides details on military aspects rarely mentioned elsewhere.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE PRESENT TENSE

For the period since 1960, material relevant to Western involvement and to the overall evolution of southern Africa must generally be gleaned from a wide variety of sources dealing with particular countries or particular crises. Most studies deal with the "present" situation at the time of writing, with the past brought in more or less systematically as background.

The most common type of work dealing with the region as a whole is the anthology. Such anthologies, despite their uneven quality, are useful not only for facts and bibliography, but for revealing the range of perspectives of their authors. A representative selection would include Davis and Baker (1966), Potholm and Dale (1972), Shaw and Heard (1977), Seiler (1980), Carter and O'Meara (1977, 1982a, 1982b), Clough and Ravenhill (1982), Callaghy (1983), and Aluko and Shaw (1985). The two Carter and O'Meara volumes for 1982 contain particularly useful bibliographies. Colin Legum's annual *African Contemporary Record* (ACR) is an invaluable source, particularly Legum's own essays on southern Africa.

Studies providing a regional overview include Hoagland (1972), Grundy (1973), Africa Research Group (1974), Davidson et al. (1976), Johnson (1977), and A. Callinicos (1977, 1981). C. Thompson (1985) systematically investigates the role of the Frontline States in the liberation of Zimbabwe. Johnson and Martin (1986) systematically describes South Africa's campaign against its neighbors in recent years.

Periodical sources I have found particularly useful include *Southern Africa* (New York, 1965–1983), *Africa News* (Durham, NC, 1973–present), *Facts and Reports* (Amsterdam, 1970–present), and *Africa Report* (New York, 1956–present). Publications of the International Defence and Aid Fund (London) and the South African Institute of Race Relations (Johannesburg) are among the most useful detailed reference sources.

#### COUNTRY BY COUNTRY: SOUTHERN AFRICA SINCE 1960

*Angola and Mozambique:* The best short introductions to the collapse of Portuguese colonialism are Maxwell (1982) and Bender (1974). Minter (1972, 1973) gives an overview of the relations between Portugal and other Western countries. Clarence-Smith (1985) presents one scholar's view of recent research on Portuguese colonialism in Africa; the bibliographies in Gallagher (1983) and Bruneau (1984) include references to additional sources.

On Angola and Mozambique see the bibliographic essay by Bender and Isaacman (1976). The Angolan crisis is most perceptively analyzed by Heimer (1979); Klinghoffer (1980) gives a kaleidoscopic view of events; Marcum (1969, 1978) is an essential source of data. Other books to consult include Bender (1978), Stockwell (1978), and Wolfers and Bergerol (1983). Isaacman and Isaacman (1983) gives an overview of Mozambique. Focusing on the current period are Hanlon (1984) and the collection of analytic essays edited by Saul (1985).

*Congo/Zaire:* On the colonial context see the first part of Young (1965) and Merlier (1962). Of the abundant literature on the "Congo crisis" and its aftermath, Comité Zaire (1978), Gran (1979), and Huybrechts (1981) are good places to start. Mahoney (1980, 1983) and Kalb (1982), both with access to U.S. presidential archives, and Weissman (1974), still superior analytically, deal with foreign intervention. Two recent books—Callaghy (1984) and Young and Turner (1985)—analyze the postcolonial Zairian state but largely exclude the external role from their field of view. See also the recent collections of essays edited by Jewsiewicki (1984) and Nzongola-Ntalaja (1986).

*Ex-British Colonies:* See Barkan and Okumu (1979) for a comparative perspective and introduction to the voluminous literature on Kenya and

Tanzania. On Zambia see Gertzel et al. (1985) and Anglin and Shaw (1979). Williams (1978) gives an overview of Malawi. On the ex-High Commission territories Halpern (1965) is still a useful source on the colonial period. Parson (1984), Bardill and Cobbe (1985), and Booth (1983) are good recent surveys.

*Rhodesia/Zimbabwe:* Windrich (1978) is a good survey of negotiations for the period she covers. Martin and Johnson (1981) and Frederikse (1984) each provides much insight into the closing stage of the war. Ranger (1985) makes systematic comparisons with Kenya and Mozambique. Of the many books being written about the last days of Rhodesia, Cauter (1983) is the view of an outsider skeptical about all sides. On the sanctions issue Strack (1978) provides much useful detail; Bailey (1979) tells the story of oil-sanctions busting, a factor which has yet to be fully assimilated into the wider discussion of sanctions.

*South West Africa/Namibia:* Dugard (1973) is the basic source on legal issues. SWAPO (1981) is an impressive overview; Ya-Otto (1981) a very revealing personal account. Other recent sources include Green et al. (1981) and Moleah (1983).

*South Africa:* Bibliographies covering some of the flood of writing on South Africa can be found in Adam (1971) and in Carter and O'Meara (1982a, 1982b). Recent journalistic introductions, each perceptive and well written, include Goodwin (1984), North (1985), and Lelyveld (1985). Davies et al. (1984) is a unique combination of analytic insight with essential background information. Recent analyses of the South African scene include, from a liberal perspective, de St. Jorre (1977), Adam and Giliomee (1979), and Price and Rosberg (1980); from a right-wing perspective, Gann and Duignan (1981). O'Meara (1984) and Saul and Gelb (1981) are the most comprehensive Marxist analyses.

On South Africa's foreign and military policy, see Minty (1969), Barber (1973), and Nolutshungu (1975), and, more recently, Geldenhuys (1984), Leonard (1983), Frankel (1984), Davies and O'Meara (1985), and Grundy (1983).

The *ANC News Briefing*, summarizing the South African press, and the new *Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg) are indispensable current sources. From South Africa the periodical *Work in Progress* and the annual *South African Review* are vehicles for radical analyses; *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, an organ for the new "ultra-verligte" Afrikaners.

#### COUNTRY BY COUNTRY: OUTSIDERS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA SINCE 1960

*Great Britain:* Austin (1966) and Barber (1982, 1983) provide much useful information and an establishment point of view. The annual sur-

veys in ACR are also essential sources. For a more critical point of view see First et al. (1973), Darnborough (1967), Labour Research Department (1970), and articles in the Anti-Apartheid Movement's *Anti-Apartheid News*. On the Rhodesian issue see the references above under Rhodesia/Zimbabwe; on Portuguese colonialism, Minter (1972, 1973) and Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné (1973).

*United States:* Three recent overview articles are Karis (1982), Rothchild and Ravenhill (1983), and Houser (1984). For the period before 1975 two sources with much useful detail are the dissertations by Lake (1974) and Seiler (1976). Noer (1985) is a solid study well grounded in, but also overdependent on, research in U.S. archives. Critical pamphlets for this period include Gonze et al. (1962), *Africa Today* (1970), and Houser (1974). Danaher (1982 dissertation, book version published 1985) provides much information as well as a critical Marxist analysis, concentrating on the period since 1974. In separate publications, Danaher has also supplied an annotated bibliography (1979) and a review of current arguments (1984). Bissell (1982) gives an alternative right-wing view of the Carter period; Duignan and Gann (1985), an overview from the right wing.

Anthologies that should be consulted include Arkhurst (1975), Whitaker (1978), Lemarchard (1981), and Bender et al. (1985). Books presenting overviews include McKay (1963), Hance (1968), and Nielsen (1965, 1969), all within a "liberal establishment" perspective. Jackson (1982) provides a liberal critique; Gann and Duignan (1981), a right-wing perspective.

In addition to books cited earlier, see Lake (1976) on the Rhodesian issue; on the United States and Portuguese colonialism, Mahoney (1983) and the forthcoming dissertation by Witney Schneidman; on Namibia, Cooper (1982). For more detailed research, there is ample additional material in congressional hearings, particularly those of the House Africa Subcommittee since 1969. The archival material available in the Kennedy and Johnson libraries has only been partially explored, and new State Department documentation is also becoming available.

For current information and criticism of U.S. policy see the publications of TransAfrica, the Washington Office on Africa, and the American Committee on Africa.

*Other Countries:* The surveys in ACR, covering major countries' relations with Africa each year and other countries on a less regular basis, are an essential resource. So are the documents produced by the UN's Centre against Apartheid. In addition to these and to the sources cited in footnotes in chapter 9, Barber (1983) has a useful appendix on French and German involvement.



For an entry to the literature on the Soviet Union and other Communist states, see Albright (1980) and (1982); on Cuba, LeoGrande (1980).

#### LITERARY AND OTHER CONNECTING THREADS

*Literary Threads:* On both Haggard and Buchan, the thought-provoking essays by Couzens (1974, 1978) relate literary analysis to the broader historical context. None of the other sources I have consulted is as incisive, but there is basic information on some of the authors I have quoted in Etherington (1984, on Haggard), Daniell (1975, on Buchan), Pearson (1966, on Fleming), Callan (1968, on Paton), and Becker (1983, on Michener). Maugham-Brown (1985) relates Ruark and other writers to the Kenyan social context.

*"Establishment" Connections:* The study of connections between leading sectors ("elites," "ruling classes") across national lines is often avoided by scholars fearful of being associated with "conspiracy" theories. Such ties, admittedly both variable and difficult to evaluate, may help supply the missing link between studies stressing structural relationships and those immersed in the details of policymaking. Among studies that have explored this territory see Kendle (1975), Nimocks (1968), Watt (1965), and Quigley (1981) on the Kindergarten group; Shoup and Minter (1977), Sklar (1980), and Sanders (1983) on the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the Committee on the Present Danger; van der Pijl (1984) on Atlantic unity. King (1971) and Berman (1983) deal with the role of U.S. foundations.

*Minerals and Strategic Significance:* In addition to the materials on mining cited above, Leith (1931) and Eckes (1979) take a global view. Lanning and Mueller (1979) provide essential data on Africa. Spence (1970) and Bowman (1982) are two clear discussions of the modern strategic debate. Hull (1981) examines right-wing views and data about southern Africa; see also sources cited in *Africa News*, October 13, 1980.

*Sanctions and Divestment:* The best recent statement of the case for sanctions is Catholic Institute of International Relations (1985), which contains extensive references to other sources. Litvak et al. (1978) and Clarke (1978) are well written and still relevant to the current debate. Hauck et al. (1983) provides an overview of the debate, and Love (1985) describes the divestment campaign in Michigan and Connecticut. Spandau (1979) and Sincere (1984) are two extended statements of the antisansctions position. Kitchen and Clough (1984) both describe and try to reinforce the still dominant "centrist" taboo against serious consideration of sanctions.

## SOURCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Commonly cited journals are abbreviated as follows: AA, *African Affairs*; AN, *Africa News*; JAH, *Journal of African History*; JSAS, *Journal of Southern African Studies*.

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# NOTES

## Chapter 1

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## Chapter 2

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