Footnotes

- 1. All quotations in this article are translated from the Italian text, with the exception of T. O. Ranger's piece, which is quoted directly from the English original. We thank Professor Ranger for making the English typescript available to us.
- 2. For the critique of Kagame, see Jan Vansina, "L'évolution du royaume Rwanda des origines à 1900," Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer (Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques) new series 26 (2) 1962.
- For a list of references see Jacques Depelchin, "Toward a reconstruction of pre-colonial central African history,"
 Ufahamu 9 (1) 1979.
- 4. I. Wilks, <u>Asante in the nineteenth century</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), especially chapters one and two.
- 5. Cl. Vidal, review of Vansina's <u>The Tio kingdom</u> (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), in <u>Cahiers d'Études</u>

 <u>Africaines</u> (61-62) 1976, p. 397-404
- 6. Africanists may be interested to read how the problem of the impact of colonialism was discussed in India at the end of the 19th century; Bipan Chandra gives an excellent account of this in his The rise and growth of economic nationalism in India:

 economic policies of Indian national leadership, 1880-1905

 (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1966). My thanks to Aquino de Bragança for this reference.
- 7. L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, White settlers in Rhodesia (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977).

- 8. R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman, <u>Time on the cross: the economics of American Negro slavery</u> (London, 1974). The work was extremely controversial at the time and has been largely discredited.
- 9. "African slavery and other forms of social oppression on the

 Upper Guinea Coast in the context of the Atlantic slave trade,"

 Journal of African History vd. 7, no. 3 (1966) p.431-43.
- 10. He does cite volumes 2 and 3 of Suret-Canale's Afrique noire occidentale et centrale (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1964-1972).
- 11. He cites the 1977 Italian edition of her manual with H. Moniot,

 L'Afrique noire de 1800 à nos jours (Paris: PUF, 1974), but

 ignores her remarkable work on the period of the concessionary

 companies in Congo (Brazzaville),

Trefevence

- 12. An economic history of West Africa (London: Longmans, 1973)
- 13. (Paris: Maspero, 1966).
- 14. And ? Consideratel? Must be pre- 1973. Mars sister neutlinates
- T. O. Ranger, "Connections between 'primary resistance' movements and modern mass nationalism in East and Central Africa,"

 Journal of African History 9 (3 and 4) 1968; Depelchin, "Toward a problematic history of Africa," Tanzania Zamani (18) 1976, also in Journal of Southern African Affairs 2 (1) 1977; Ranger,

 "The people in African resistance: a review," Journal of Southern

 African Studies

 vol.4, no 1 (Oct. 1977) p. 125-46.
- 16. See especially Henry Bernstein and Depelchin, "The object of

African history: a materialist perspective," <u>History in Africa</u>
5, 1978 and 6, 1979. Also Depelchin, "Inequality and the
fetishisation of African history," unpublished article, 1980.

- 17. Endre Sik, The history of Black Africa, 4 vols. (Budapest:

 Akademiai Kiado, 1966-1974); Academy of Sciences of the USSR,

 A history of Africa, 1918-1967 (Moscow: Nauka, 1968). For an extended critique of Sik and his problematic, see Bernstein,

 "Marxism and African history: Endre Sik and his critics," Kenya

 Historical Review 5 (1) 1977.
- 18. For a detailed critique of Poulantzian ideas applied to South
 Africa, see Simon Clarke, "Capital, fractions of capital and
 the state: 'neo-Marxist' analysis of the South African state,"

 Capital and Class (5) 1978; also his earlier general critique,
 "Marxism, sociology, and Poulantzas' theory of the state," Capital
 and Class (2) 1977.
- 19. Particularly, for example, issues of October 1976 during the first National Seminar on the State Apparatus. Documents from this conference were also published under the title <u>Vamos</u> contruir um estado do Povo ao serviço do Povo (Maputo, 1976).
- 20. At least one exception is known to us, of a Portuguese CP member who was readmitted to the police force after he took Mozambican nationality, on the basis of his record during the struggle. There were no such cases in the army. The policy of the MPLA (and of the Algerian FLN) on this question is not known.
- 21. The somewhat schematic outline in this paragraph is in part the result of many fruitful discussions with Anna Maria Gentili.

22. E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, <u>The paradox of collaboration and other</u>
<u>essays</u> (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974).