

During the period under study, a number of attempts were made to transfer some Locational and sub-Locational agricultural staff but the persons thus affected had to return to their own communities because there was no accommodation at the new stations. The development activities of the Locational staff, therefore, do not appear to have been affected by the transfer factor.

An attempt has been made in this paper to show empirically that administrative capacity in one Kenyan sub-District was too weak to sustain any conceivable development programme. We have traced this weakness to (i) inadequate experience, (ii) lack of resources, (iii) lack of proper education and training and (iv) frequent transfers.

These findings are not unique to Migori. The problems are the same throughout the country. The unhappy picture emerges as one reads the substantive chapters of the National Development Plans. Special studies have also been carried out by working parties and groups of individuals which have also established the existence of some of the problems we have identified in this paper. Since the problems seem to be national rather than local, the solutions must be found within that context.

## Book Review

*Rhodesia: The Struggle for Freedom*, by Leonard T. Kapungu (New York: Orbis Books, 1974), 177 pp.

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Dr. Leonard Kapungu has written a remarkable book on the explosive racial situation in Southern Rhodesia. In his very first paragraph he warns: "Rhodesia is destined for a bloody confrontation between the white settlers, who exclusively enjoy political and economic power, and the Africans, the indigenous people of the land, who for more than eighty years have seen all their basic rights eroded. Such a confrontation is inevitable. . . ."

Since April 1966 the Africans have been waging a guerrilla war to overthrow the racist Government of Prime Minister Ian Smith. The war has gradually been escalating, and today the political situation in Rhodesia is in a state of flux. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire and the impending complete transfer of power (by June 1975) in Mozambique which borders Rhodesia on the east, has suddenly quickened the pace of political events and has brought much nearer the day of the downfall of minority rule in Rhodesia.

*Rhodesia: The Struggle for Freedom* explains how the confrontation between whites and blacks came about. It all began in 1890 when a handful of armed white settlers, seeking mineral fortunes, occupied the country. From the very beginning, Dr. Kapungu tells us, coexistence between the settlers and the Africans was impossible because of the ruthless acquisitiveness of the former. By 1900 the settlers had sequestered African land which was their (African) economic mainstay. Africans were forced to live in reserves, mostly poor land exclusively set aside for them. The Europeans forced Africans to work for them for unbelievably low wages. To regain their independence the Africans fought two wars in 1893 and 1896-7. The uprisings were crushed with such brutality that Africans for a long time afterwards, were persuaded not to use violence as a means to regain their lost dignity and freedom.

From 1890 until 1923 the country was administered by a Chartered Company, the British South Africa Company. Without consulting the 800,000 blacks, the British Government in 1923, granted self-government to 30,000 whites. Between 1898 and 1962 no African sat in the Rhodesian legislature. The franchise laws were so manipulated that the African majority could never assume political power and other discriminatory laws were passed

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to prevent the rapid educational advance of the Africans and to exclude them from full and equal participation in the country's economy.

To put pressure on the Europeans to open the gates to political and economic power, the Africans organized political parties. Between 1957 and 1963 various African political parties—the African National Congress (ANC) 1957, the National Democratic Party (NDP) 1960, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) 1962, the Peoples Caretaker Council (PCC) 1963, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) 1963—were formed but were banned by the white Government one after the other. All these parties had tried to work within the Rhodesian constitutional system to bring about change. In addition, the African nationalists made fruitless appeals to the United Nations in the forlorn hope that this would force the whites to surrender their political and economic power. Dr. Kapungu correctly points out that the Rhodesian black nationalist leaders tried constitutional pressure tactics which had worked elsewhere in Africa. Such tactics succeeded in arousing public sentiment in the European metropolitan countries which directly governed these colonies. But in Rhodesia, whenever European interests were at stake the settlers defied England with impunity. In colonies like Algeria and Kenya, where sizeable numbers of Europeans had settled, independence came only after wars of liberation.

In 1965, after a series of negotiations with the British Government had failed to secure legal independence for the settlers, Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesia independent (UDI) of Great Britain. Negotiations had failed because Britain had insisted that guarantees be made in the Constitution that would assure progress to eventual majority (African) rule. Britain then instituted weak and ineffectual economic sanctions which failed to topple the Rhodesian regime.

UDI caught the African nationalists unprepared for a violent confrontation with white Rhodesia. Worse still, even before UDI the inability to achieve political power had caused a division among the ranks of the nationalists. The division, as the author suggests, was shameful. African fought against African while the enemy cheered. Families were broken up. Brothers who belonged to different political parties did not speak to each other. Houses of opposing leaders were petrol-bombed. In these shameful days the African nationalists concentrated their efforts not in liquidating settlerism but on liquidating one another. Ironically this carnage was ended by the white Government when it banned the two African political parties in 1964, much to the relief of the African masses. UDI should have united the nationalists. History will be particularly harsh on those nationalists who, at a time of grave crisis in the history of the country, for petty differences and jealousies, failed to suppress their egos and unite the people in a supreme effort against settlerism.

Now the fight against Smith is raging, and Dr. Kapungu advises what must be done to conclude the struggle quickly. He calls for discipline and unity among the nationalists. Once united, the nationalists will not spend

their time trying to outdo one another either by duplication or by deliberately exposing the other party's guerrilla strategy for propaganda purposes.

Dr. Kapungu's book is not only a brilliant analysis of the present political situation in Rhodesia, it is also a call to all Africans of Rhodesia to do whatever they can wherever they may be to help to bring down racism and oppression in their country. Dr. Kapungu also exposes the hypocrisy of Western powers in the crisis. For instance, the United States, while calling for the speedy downfall of white minority rule, strengthens that minority rule by openly breaking sanctions by allowing the importation of Rhodesian chrome. Recently it has become public knowledge that Dr. Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of State, has been advocating covert support for the minority racist regime in Rhodesia.

There is little to disagree with in this book. However, to call as Dr. Kapungu does, the present guerrilla war in Rhodesia a revolutionary "socialist" war is somewhat inaccurate. The war is intended to wrest political power from the Europeans and not to carry out a scientific socialist revolution. Despite brilliantly worded manifestos published by the parties in exile professing scientific socialism, there are, sadly, no socialists among the nationalist politicians leading the fight. None of them has a history that shows philosophical attachment to the goals and ideas of scientific socialism. Furthermore, their writings do not show or detail well developed ideas of projects to be carried out to effect socialism once the country is free. The term "revolutionary war" is appealing to the Third World and to the socialist block which support the struggle morally and materially. Nevertheless, socialism is desirable if the African masses are ever to enjoy the fruits of their struggle and the benefits of independence. Socialist sentiment is very strong among the guerrillas, and perhaps it is they who, if they assert themselves, can usher in socialism in the country.

At the time of reviewing this book events have occurred in Southern Africa which make Dr. Kapungu's book even more relevant. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire has caused Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, to rethink his position and attitudes on Rhodesia. He has persuaded Smith to release the Rhodesian African nationalists from detention and work out with them the future of the country. Dr. Kapungu's book makes it clear that failure on the part of the Rhodesian whites to come to terms with the blacks is fraught with the gravest consequences. Now even Vorster agrees that the alternative is "too ghastly to contemplate". The African nationalists, pressured by the Presidents of Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania, are now united under a single political party. Should the present talks fail, and with Mozambique due to be independent by June 1975, the Rhodesian African nationalists can only become more formidable than ever. Dr. Kapungu's book is not only timely, it is also necessary reading for anyone interested in racial harmony and peaceful change in Southern Rhodesia.