

nale Versuch, der sich die Kodifikation einer umfassenden Völkerrechtsmaterie zum Ziele gesetzt hat. Ob gelungen oder gescheitert — ein solcher Versuch wird nicht nur deswegen erheblich sein, um die Ursachen zu erforschen, warum er geglückt oder mißlungen ist. Man ist daher den Veranstaltern dieser wissenschaftlichen Leistung wie vor allem ihrer Vollbringerin zu lebhaftem Dank dafür verpflichtet, daß sie diesen völkerrechtlich in jeder Hinsicht ungemein wichtigen Vorgang dokumentarisch festgehalten und dadurch dessen spätere Erforschbarkeit gesichert haben.

ADEKUNLE AJALA

**Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects**

André Deutsch, London 1973, pp. XIII+442.

Mr. Ajala has written a readable and informative book which should be read by those seriously concerned or worried by the developments in Africa, for Pan-Africanism, whether motivated by political and economic self-defence or by reaction to centuries of colonialist and racist aggression, is a force to reckon with. The first part of the book is an interesting account of the evolution of the Pan-African movement. Between the two world wars, the movement was centred in the United States of America where the radical, anti-racist racialism of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the "moderate", bourgeois DuBois and the N. A. A. C. P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) symbolised the opposing currents in Pan-Africanism which are still with us to-day. The contribution of Africans at this time was slight. After 1945 the centre of gravity of Pan-Africanism moved to Africa. Nkrumah, Kenyatta, George Padmore (West Indian) and R. Makonnen (West Indian) were the dominant figures of this period. The first Conference of Independent African States, held in Accra from 15 to 22 April, 1958 marked the definite establishment of the Pan-African movement in Africa. The 1960 avalanche of independence added to the strength of the movement on African soil. The O. A. U. (Organization of African Unity), created on 25th May, 1963 gave a more concrete structure to Pan-Africanism, even though it was a compromise organization, intended to reconcile the radical Casablanca Group of African states with the moderate Monrovia Group. Mr. Ajala ends this part of the book with a review of the ideas of the men who influenced the course of Pan-Africanism, classifying them as "torchbearers" (Marcus Garvey, William E. B. DuBois), "progressives" (Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré) and "moderates" (Leopold Senghor, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, Emperor Haile Selassie and Tafawa Balewa). This historical introduction, which I found extremely useful, shows that the obstacles in the way of Pan-Africanism have a long history behind them. Many readers will no doubt appreciate the present significance of this statement from Marcus Garvey: "In the fight to reach the top the oppressed have always been encumbered by the traitors of their own race, made up of those of little faith and those who are generally susceptible to bribery for the selling out of the rights of their own people." (p.91) The second part of the book is devoted to the examination of the achievements and failures of the movement. Mr. Ajala correctly states that the foremost achievement of Pan-Africanism before 1963 was creating the feeling of African-

ness. The realization that what happens in one corner of the continent concerns all Africans. The establishment of the O. A. U. gave concrete expression to this African-ness by encouraging co-operation in the field of economic, political, social and educational affairs. Various inter-African disputes have also been settled within the framework of the O. A. U. But we must not overlook the fact that in some of the very serious crises, such as those of the Congo (now Zaire) and of Nigeria, the Organization was impotent.

Mr. Ajala considers in the third part of the book the question whether there is any need for Pan-Africanism. He examines the economic position of the African states, their need for rapid industrialization, the small size of their markets and comes to the conclusion that only a union of these states can enable them to solve their economic problems. The political situation of these countries also speaks in favour of Pan-Africanism for, without it, inter-African disputes would be difficult to solve and neo-colonialist pressure would gain the upper-hand. This book was published before the Angola crisis reached its peak but the author who had already analysed the various movements in the country (pp. 212—215), must no doubt have been amazed at the open betrayal of the African cause by some members of the O. A. U. in the face of the naked aggression against the new Peoples Republic of Angola by the racist Republic of South Africa, supported by the U. S. A. and with the connivance of many Western European countries. Thanks to the timely aid of the U. S. S. R. and Cuba (part of whose population are of African origin) the M. P. L. A. was able to resist successfully the second colonization of Angola.

How does the future of Pan-Africanism look like? Is one to be cheerful or gloomy? Mr. Ajala is optimistic and rightly so: "... some of the young determined Pan-Africanists may well fall by the wayside. Some may be bought off by their governments through special inducements. But there will always remain a hard core who will grow to become:

Men whom the lust of office does not kill,  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,  
Men who possess opinions and a will  
Men who have honour ...

It is this core of the dedicated Pan-Africanists who will show the light, so that the people may find the way. It is this group that will, in the end, lead Pan-Africanism to its final objective: African unity, with the establishment of a United States of Africa." (p. 342)

Kwame Opoku

FARID AKHTAREKHAVARI

**Die Ölpreispolitik der OPEC-Länder — Grenzen, Gründe und Hintergründe**  
Deutsches Überseeinstitut, Probleme der Weltwirtschaft, Diskussionsbeiträge Bd. 2,  
Weltforum Verlag, München, 1975, 179 S., 15,— DM, ISBN 3 8039 0114 6

Die drastischen Erhöhungen der Erdölpreise im Herbst 1973 und die gleichzeitige Angebotsverknappung des wichtigsten Energierohstoffes haben die seit langem bestehende grundsätzliche Problematik einer ausreichenden Energieversorgung der westlichen Industrieländer schlagartig in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses einer breiten Öffentlichkeit gestellt. Gleichzeitig wurde deutlich, wie sehr zu einer Zeit