

positive Urteil ist um so bemerkenswerter, als Verf. Afrikanerin und Assistentin an der Universität Abidjan ist.

Die in den letzten Jahren intensiven Bemühungen der EWG um die Ausarbeitung einer kohärenten Mittelmeer-, Assoziationspolitik und globalen Entwicklungshilfepolitik, besonders seit 1971, sind in einer Reihe amtlicher EG-Veröffentlichungen aus den Jahren 1972/73 ausführlich dokumentiert. Zu erwähnen sind insbesondere: Memorandum über eine gemeinschaftliche Politik der Zusammenarbeit mit den Entwicklungsländern, EG-Kommission, 350 S., 1972; Das Zweite Jaunde-Abkommen, EG-Kommission 24 S., 1972; Erneuerung und Erweiterung der Assoziation mit den AASM und bestimmten Entwicklungsländern des Commonwealth, EG-Bulletin Beilage 1/73, 42 S.; Der Europäische Entwicklungsfonds, EG-Kommission, 28 S., 1973. Die neueste Untersuchung der „Struktur und aktuelle(n) Rechtsfragen des Assoziationsrechts“ hat der Rezensent in ZaöRV 33 (1973), S. 266—311, veröffentlicht (vgl. ders., Die gemeinschaftliche Entwicklungspolitik der EWG, Außenpolitik 1972, S. 86—94).

E. U. Petersmann

FREDERICK S. ARKHURST (Ed.)

**Arms and African Development**

**Proceedings of the First Pan-African Citizens' Conference.**

Praeger Publishers, New York 1972. Pp. xvi + 156.

This book consists of papers read at the African Regional Symposium on Disarmament and Development, held at the University of Ghana on July 28—31, 1970. The title of the book is calculated to raise expectations; what could be more relevant than the theme of arms and development to a continent which has suffered so much because of its inability to defend itself against foreign aggression? Unfortunately, the title is more exciting than the content. To begin with, the subtitle is somewhat misleading. I am not sure that “pan-African” is an apt description for a conference at which North Africa, Francophone Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Southern Africa and many other countries were not represented. It is remarkable that countries with experience in armed struggle, such as Algeria, Mozambique, and Angola, were absent from a conference which they should have dominated. The editor could perhaps have explained to the reader why a meeting of academics should be presented as “Citizens’ Conference”.

The book begins with a survey of disarmament negotiations (pp. 3—21) which is competent and useful but its relevance to African problems is not made very clear. One is surprised to read from Arkhurst, who was Ghana’s representative to the UN, the suggestion that the energy of African armies should be directed to non-military objectives (p. 18). It reminds one of the view that the soldiers should contribute to improving agriculture. Why have an army at all, if it is going to spend its energy on non-military objectives? One should perhaps point out that African armies have important military tasks which have not yet been fulfilled: South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Rhodesia, still remain to be liberated. The editor feels obliged to conclude his survey with a restatement of petit-bourgeois ideology: “Development cannot be achieved by proxy. It will come only as a result of the sacrifices, sweat, and tears of the Africans themselves” (p. 20). Arkhurst displays a complete internalization of Western European prejudices. What he is in effect saying, is that the low level of development in Africa is

due to the laziness of the African peoples. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have yet to meet any people who are more hard-working than Africans. One should not confuse the indolent civil servant or the dejected unemployed with the majority of Africans who day in, day out, rise up early to do their work. The "poverty" of Africa has clearly nothing to do with the diligence or laziness of its people. One should instead look at the structure of the political and economic systems which permit the wealth of the continent to be sent elsewhere. Carney's notes on disarmament and African development (pp. 23-30) are interesting and one can agree with him that a reduction of expenditure on arms by the developed countries would not automatically lead to an increase in their aid to African countries. But does he really expect us to believe that "the hindrance to the development of the underdeveloped countries is a lack of science and technology"? (p. 29).

With the contribution of Gingyera-Pincywa and Ali Mazrui (pp. 31-45) we meet what, to this reviewer at least, should have been the main thrust of the book. The two political scientists emphasize that "white power in the Republic of South Africa will not abandon its privilege without a violent challenge, that Britain will not snatch away the reins of power from the white settlers of Rhodesia, and, finally, that decadent and foolhardy Portugal will cling to colonial power in Angola and Mozambique unless its hold over these countries is forcibly removed" (p. 33). It is only logical that the countries threatened by the racist regimes should seek to improve their military strength.

The failure of African countries to achieve a continental union, and the resulting mutual suspicion, has also led to more expenditure on arms. Boundary disputes are not lacking; they are often mixed up with ethnic rivalries which weaken the strength and authority of the central state. The newly independent state is thus forced to resort to arms in defence of its legitimacy against centrifugal forces. But the military expenditure of most African countries is very moderate (p. 40). In any case, would disarmament by African countries help anybody? The answer is quite clear: "An Africa already disarmed would be an Africa without credentials for determining the conditions under which others may also be disarmed" (p. 44).

Students of the social sciences may safely skip the second part of the book („Science, Technology and Development, pp. 55-93). Though Professors Torto and Goma are eminent scholars in their own fields of specialization (chemistry and entomology respectively), they are clearly no specialists in problems of development. They should have resisted the temptation to publish their contributions to the symposium. Scarcely anybody needs to be reminded that the organization of science must be treated seriously (p. 60) or that because of long distances in Africa, civil aviation is "an effective means of handling high-speed traffic" (p. 81).

The third part of the volume consists of contributions by Carney on priorities for development (pp. 97-118), and by Aluko on regional economic development in Africa (pp. 119-142).

On the whole, this book is disappointing. One could have expected a discussion on how states rose and fell with changes in the balance of power on the continent; how African states failed or succeeded in resisting European aggression and what guarantee there is that such acts will not be repeated. Although we are given figures on military expenditure, there is no discussion on the possibility of producing arms in Africa instead of importing them from Europe.

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