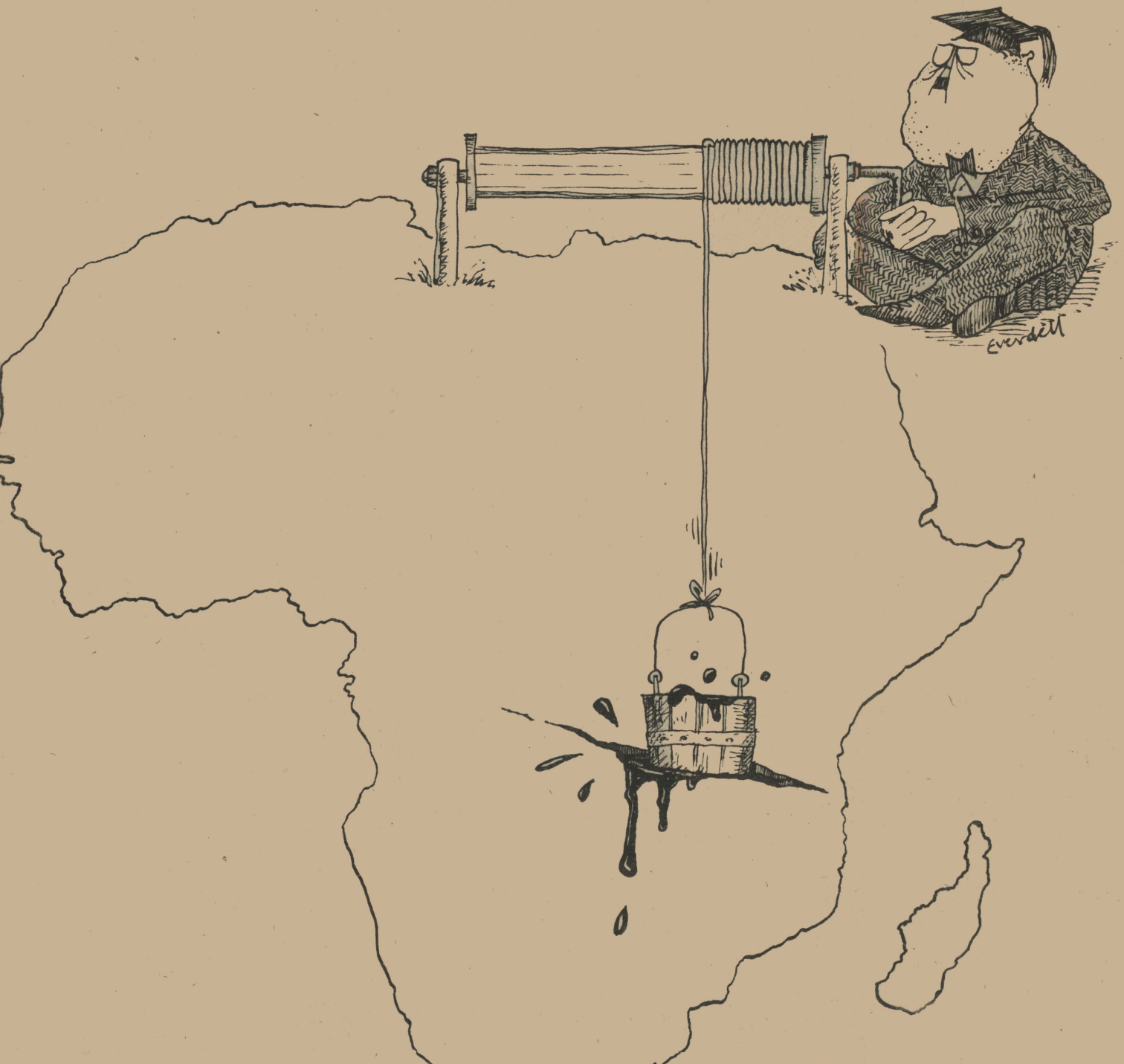


AFRICAN STUDIES IN AMERICA: THE EXTENDED FAMILY



*A tribal analysis of U. S. Africanists:
Who they are; Why to fight them.*

Published by Africa Research Group \$50¢ in the Empire

"The United States and the West must either lead in the process of modernizing the underdeveloped area or by default contribute to a kind of world in which our institutions and values cannot survive." GABRIEL ALMOND



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africa research group

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This pamphlet was produced for initial distribution at the African Studies Association Convention meeting on the first day of the Vietnam moratorium in insurrectionary Montreal, October 1969. It represents a collective effort by members and friends of the Africa Research Group, a radical research and education project concerned with exposing and combating U.S. imperialism in Africa. With credit, this pamphlet may be freely reproduced by friendly publications. An Africa Research Group literature list is now available.

The Extended Family: Introduction

African Studies in the United States is a child of the American Empire. It was developed to meet the needs of ever-expanding U.S. corporate and governmental penetration in Africa. Its complex international network of specialized university centers, research institutes, and para-governmental-para-university organizations represents a clear and present danger to legitimate African aspirations for freedom, justice and revolutionary change.

In these pages, we will document the existence of a heretofore unstudied TRIBE - an extended family of interconnected and incestuous "experts" who, while living off Africa, serve a system pitted against its needs. They are American "social scientists" comfortably ensconced in the institutional architecture of the American "intellectual" environment. Nurtured by foundation and government grants, they operate under the cover of the false "neutrality" of academic scholarship which permits them to camouflage their ideological biases and the strategic-policy implications of their work.

In the fifteen or so years since the U.S. wholeheartedly "discovered" Africa, these researchers through well-financed jet-setting safaris have amassed a mountain of information for filtration through the research apparatus of corporations and government agencies. There it is translated into the languages of consumption or counter-insurgency, or both, and used to formulate strategies aimed at "mobilizing" Africans and controlling their societies. Like the missionaries who 'opened up' Africa for subsequent exploitation by a now atrophied colonialism, the West's intellectual missionaries and paraspy agents have, through their research and publishing efforts, training programs, and control over the means of ideological formation helped shape and perpetuate the new framework of neo-colonial rule and imperialist domination.

Africans are not unaware of what is going on. There has been a growing chorus of protest against cultural imperialism and ideological penetration although too often it has lacked a deeper analysis of the strategy of modern imperialism. The machinations of U.S. Africa scholars cannot

be understood outside the context of an understanding of the role they play on behalf of the American Empire. It has become fashionable, for example, to attack U.S. scholars as CIA agents, as covert representatives of the "Invisible Government." It would be more correct to see them as servants of an "Indivisible System" where the source of your funding is less important than the function of your work.

In this pamphlet, the tools of research have been turned on the researchers in order to analyze and document the nature of the African Studies industry, its method of financing, and its role in the process of domination. As David Horowitz has observed: "Even if individual researchers and ideologues are not corrupted - though plenty of them are - the system of academic research and ideology formation is. Most academics no more perceive the ideological basis of their work than we smell air or taste water. The politically inoffensive (not neutral) is seen as unbiased objective, value-free science; a radical orientation stands out as prejudiced, inappropriate and, gravest of all, unprofessional."

A microscopic, if somewhat incomplete, analysis of African studies in the United States reveals that government agencies, the major corporations, their foundations, and conservative ideologies have been a major influence in shaping the directions and ideological content of research about Africa. As recently as 1966, a series of small specialist conferences organized to map out long range research priorities was financed by the United States Army under the

auspices of the African Research Committee. The Committee, controlled by Gwendolyn Carter of Northwestern University, received \$117,000 to "evaluate existing social science resources on Africa in the United States, Europe, and Africa." (Contract No: CN da 49 92 aro 94) This significant U.S. Army involvement is, at bottom, however, no more pernicious than its subservience to the major foundations. "The Foundations," David Horowitz has shown, "with their practical monopoly on substantial discretionary funds, have purchased control over the fundamental direction of research and academic energies on a national scale." Yet even this pattern of financing could not be as successful without a willing stable of intellectual mercenaries convinced that their work is at once independently conceived and in the national interest. The government has not simply "corrupted" these scholars: if it is rape, it is willing and these are consenting adults.

Most U.S. Africanists are engaged in perpetuating a form of scientific colonialism, a process defined by Johann Galtung, "whereby the center of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about the nation is located outside the nation itself."

This is essentially similar to what happens when raw materials are exported at a low price and reimported at a very high cost as manufactured goods...Scientists from the scientifically powerful nations often know more about other nations than these nations know about themselves...Social

Science knowledge about a small country in the hands of a big power is a potentially dangerous weapon. It contributes...to manipulation in the interests of the big powers. (Galtung, "Scientific Colonialism," Transition: Kampala)

[RACISM]

This process of scientific colonialism is racist as well. Not only has the African Studies profession been overwhelmingly white in composition, it has shunted aside and ignored the achievements of black scholars like W.E.B. DuBois, Rayford Logan, Carter Williamson, and others whose interest and concern for Africa predated that of the imperial establishment. While few blacks have been coopted into the tribe, with academic honors, instant professorships, and an occasional Ambassadorial post, most remain on the outside where they are actively combatting the hegemony of the honkoisie. They realize that the Africanists invite comparison with the attitudes of the colonialists many of them pretend to repudiate. Both considered it their "right" to demand access to data of all kinds and about all aspects of black peoples' lives.

This tribe of U.S. Africa hunters functions as more than mere researchers. They are trainers: "educating" cadre for American institutions at home while also often 'forming' the African elites with whom they will eventually have to deal. As scholarships for African students are cut back--too many.

were becoming embittered or radicalized by American racism - not a few U.S. mandarins hired themselves out to A.I.D. or the major foundations to "modernize" the African university system. The Rockefeller Foundation (James Coleman and Co.) in East Africa or Michigan State University in Nigeria have been busily at work extending American influence by "institution building." This all forms part of a strategy, of course, of creating strategic middle-class elites who will remain receptive to American interests. Their real goal is to reproduce more people like themselves.

[MANAGERS]

The creation of this intellectual and technical infrastructure reflects the new sophistication with which modern imperialism seeks to maintain control over the resources and developmental possibilities of the African continent. In an age of complex organization and multi-national operations, no empire can contain conflicts or manage change without collecting, analyzing, and acting upon detailed information about other states and people.



Corporate management is far more conscious of the objective function of behavioral science research being carried out in Africa than the people who actually practice it. Joseph W. Newman's observations in an article on motivational research published by the Harvard Business Review in 1957 is typical of management's view:

Social anthropologists make use of the concept of social class, which refers to social status and broad patterns of values attitudes, roles, and behavior within a culture. It implies a homogeneity of consumer wants and attitudes toward products and well-known brands. Knowledge of values and attitudes is basic to an understanding of resistance to change.

Because of the behavioral science influence, there has been a growing number of intensive investigations aimed at discerning motivational patterns. In this connection, psychological needs and cultural and interpersonal influences are receiving systematic study as determinants of buying behavior along with the economic, material, and situational factors. The existence of unconscious mental functioning has been recognized, and marketing research now is going beyond what people say they think and feel. Increasing use is being made of behavioral science methods which are especially suited to the study of motivation.

[STATUS SEEKERS]

In some respects, it is fortunate that much of the work undertaken on behalf of this network is analytically distorted and intellectually mundane. Fortunate because, as in Vietnam, the computers which predicted a complete American victory in 1966 can be proven wrong by the actions of a determined people. The Africanists who serve the Empire do so, in large measure, to serve themselves. "Africa," explains Stanley Diamond, "has been a laboratory for too many American careers; too many papers and books are simply status symbols in the social system, the social struggle of the domestic academy, shaped by that system and couched in its limited and evasive language.... African Studies has been careeristic or merely fashionable; concern has been less with the subject of study, with the condition, needs and potential of African people, than with the abstract problems that qualified a student as an academic expert or Africanist; the latter certification presumably indicating a certain control over data but by no means guaranteeing the application of general intelligence to the problems of the sub-continent."

. ["THE DIRTY WORKERS"]

These men stand exposed as much for the intellectual vacuousness of their product as for their links with the imperialist establishment. The "dirty workers" should be the easiest ones to combat: their biases are most visible and their policy implications most direct. For example, it is not difficult to pass resolutions against the men

who compiled that infamous study at American University on "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and Its Implications for Military Planning in the Congo" for the U.S. Army in 1964. One has only to breeze through a Praeger book catalog to flush out the worms who live by keeping tabs on the shifting "internal power balances" within African states or trade unions.

[MODERNIZATION OR MANIPULATION]

It is important however to challenge the "heavies" of economic development theory, comparative political behavior, and modernization. These are the ideologues of American power today: the men preoccupied with understanding the process of change so that it might be better controlled. Politically, they are liberal apologists for a system which they want people to "understand" rather than combat. Intellectually, by their control of university resources, they prevent the exploration of relevant social questions. Explains Horowitz:

Perhaps the most critical point of leverage in academic control is in the formation of perspectives, analytic models, agendas for research. Not all social phenomenon are visible to all analytic models and methodologies, and the social scientist who shapes his tools to collect government and foundation finances will not be equipped to research or even ask questions though crucial to an understanding of the contemporary world would not be looked on favorably by those agencies.

[BLACK STUDIES]

An appreciation of what these Africanists have meant in intellectual and practical terms, suggests some dangers for the still developing "field" of black studies. If these people - and their scientific approaches - are permitted to sink their hooks into black studies programs, these too could be integrated into the prevailing apparatus and trans-



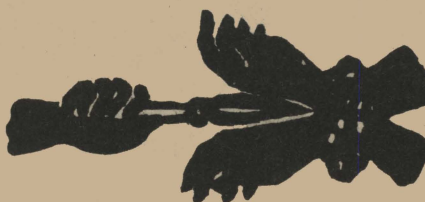
Karol Seles in VIE NUOVE, Rome

formed into stabilizing mechanisms within the system. There are already signs that the Africanists would like to incorporate black studies into their academic empire. Significantly, the Senior Seminar at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute made funds available to Donald Easum, one of the African specialists to study the whole phenomenon and how it might be co-opted. One article based on his research, "The Call for Black Studies" has already appeared in a special survey in the pages of Africa Report (AAI) which has "expanded this year to embrace a related field - the Year One of Black Studies." (May-June, 1969) At Columbia University, the old CIA student

leader Immanuel Wallerstein has helped to set up a black studies program while Franklin Williams was imported from the U.S. Embassy in Ghana to direct the University's whole Ford funded \$10 million inner city show. At Wisconsin, black students recently revolted when Crawford Young, another alumnus of CIA international student agencies and State Department Advisor on the Congo was named chairman of the Afro-American Studies steering committee. Arguing that "his motives are contrary to the interests of black people," they forced his resignation. He was rewarded of course with the Chairmanship of the Political Science Department.

The task of confronting the ideas now dominant about Africa is not an intellectual job: It cannot be left to the Africanists. Most are too incorporated into the dominant apparatus and blind to their own complicity. Ideas which serve the ruling class cannot be refuted in polite academic symposia or in unread and unreadable magazines. Only a political movement and body of theory ranged against the system which nourishes this intellectual cheering squad has the possibility of overturning bourgeois domination. There is a need for intellectuals in this process: ideological confrontation is a necessary part of political action, but it can never be separated from daily practice. If the evidence in this pamphlet means anything, its implications are clear: The African revolution is the duty of African revolutionaries, and at this stage they will be best served by completely barring servile U.S. academics from their countries. For Americans, there is an equally urgent need. Neo-colonial scholarship not only infects or seeks to control Africans, but it colonizes our own minds as well. The war against neo-colonialism begins at home.

Shaka
October, 1969



Who Pays the Bills

Funding for the network of African Studies comes from many sources, both governmental and private. Despite the plurality of origin, however, these funds tend to come from and go to the same structures, supported by the same ideology. The sources of funds share the same values, the same research interests, the same political goals, and in many cases the same people. They all are devoted to "institution building," elite formation, modernization, political integration and the other cliches of the ideology of American imperialism. They all strive to serve the needs which this ideology requires: highly specialized researchers, sophisticated forms of economic penetration, experts in African languages, advisors and consultants to both government and business, skillful Americans to "represent" American interests. Because these sources are the only major sources of funds within the U.S., they effectively have shaped African studies to meet their ideological conceptions and needs.

U.S. Government agencies are major benefactors of African research activities. Government funds subsidize contracted research, scholarships through the "Defense Education program" and other sources, and helped finance the network of African studies centers and institutes. In 1967, the Federal Government spent \$40.6 million in the form of contracts and grants for behavioral research on foreign areas and international affairs. While only a percentage was earmarked for African studies, it has been a substantial financial injection into the academic research industry. In March 1967, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research showed that 77 research projects on Africa were completed or in progress. Of these, 40, or nearly 60% were sponsored by the Agency for International Development. Twelve projects or 15% were sponsored by the various components of the Department of Defense. In 1964, Robert Baum of the State Department compiled a list of 400 government sponsored research projects on Africa costing \$76 million. 18% of these were undertaken under the auspices of the military. A complete listing of all government sponsored research is not available.

Government money is frequently mixed with non-government funds in order to maximize its impact. Many African Studies Centers, for example, receive help from both the Ford Foundation and under the National Defense Education Act. The lan-

guage training provided for under NDEA grants is intended to assist U.S. penetration in African societies. The program was justified by Kenneth Mildenberg, director of language development for NDEA in these terms:

It is apparent now that there is much local aversion to the continued use of European languages alone in schools and government and it is reasonable to assume that before long the complex forces of nationalism will press for the recognition, use and development of native languages.

While these NDEA grants (with their loyalty oath requirements) had a major impact in the institutional development of African studies, they are apparently being phased out because the return has not been great enough in terms of loyal specialists. (The wrong type of people are learning Swahili these days!) At present, the Institute of International Studies of the Office of Education is financing a major review of all government funding programs.

Non-Government Financiers: Ford

Chief "non-profit" paymaster of American Africanists is the Ford Foundation, whose assets exceed \$3 Billion - far more than the gross national product of most African countries. Its central importance in developing area studies centers in the U.S. during the post World War II period is

clearly seen in a study conducted by the State Department in 1967: of the 191 university centers of foreign affairs research in the U.S., 107, or 56%, depended upon Ford money for their main source of support. David Horowitz makes the importance even more clear: "In 11 of the 12 top universities with institutes of international studies, a single foundation, Ford, is the principle source of funds. Affiliated with the institutes at Columbia, Chicago, Berkeley, UCLA, Cornell, Harvard, Indiana, MIT, Michigan State, Stanford and Wisconsin are 95 individual centers. Ford is a sole or major source of funds for 83 of these..." What is true of foreign area studies in general is even more the case for African studies in particular. Since its first grants to African studies centers in 1954, Ford has continued, as a good family member, to spread its wealth through the family. Of the 18 major African studies centers listed by the State Department, 13 depend either completely or to a large extent on Ford funds; the other 5 are supported either by the U.S. government or, in rare cases, by the university itself. But Ford's influence extends further than is indicated by its direct grants to African studies centers. Ford also funds African studies by providing the major source of fellowships for graduate and post-graduate research in Africa. On the faculty level, Ford funds major projects undertaken by Africanists through a joint committee of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Since 1960 almost 100 such grants have been given, amounting to over \$500,000.

Through the Foreign Area Fellowship Program, another Ford front, over 430 research fellowships have been given to American graduate students since 1952. Beyond the financial importance of these fellowships, they are intended to provide a socialization process for budding young scholars, instilling in them the values of the American Empire through the subtle coercion of approval. Few graduate students can ever hope to do research in Africa without receiving one of these fellowships. While clever radicals have hustled some money from these boys, most of the recipients have demonstrated themselves to be sufficiently integrated into the ideological framework in which these fellowships are given. Ford's influence is thus transmitted from generation to generation, ever increasing the strength of its ideology.

Ford's power in shaping African studies is indicative of the power which large, rich foundations have in the U.S. As David Horowitz states: "...The foundation sustains the complex nerve centers and guidance mechanisms for a whole system of institutional power. To a remarkable and not accidental degree, this power has both characterized and defined American society and its relations with the rest of the world in the 20th century." Ford does not and can not use this power in a neutral way. Its power depends on its wealth which in turn depends upon the particular economic and political system which it has done so much to create and perpetuate. Ford's money came, after all, from the

same exploitative capitalism which has produced the wealth of America. The Ford Foundation in particular derives its tremendous wealth from the earnings of its \$3 billion investments made in capitalist industries and countries around the world. Recently, for example, it bought a 10% share of Eurofund, an outfit owned by the U.S. South African mining giant Englehardt. Ford thus earns its money in the same way as other capitalists: through exploitation of workers, American and African. Ford's interests are the interests of corporate power: to promote stability and contain radical change. Ford's elite managers circulate freely within ruling circles, exercising their power when necessary, meeting problems and crises as they develop, maintaining and extending the Empire in an ever hostile, rebellious world. Thus a McGeorge Bundy can shift from State Department to Ford Foundation, a Waldemar Nielsen can ooze from the Marshall Plan to a consultant at Ford, while Wayne Fredricks can float from the African desk at the State Department to a similar post at Ford without major reorientation of values or ideological commitment.

Ford moved into African studies in 1954, with grants to Boston University, Northwestern and Haverford. However, by 1958, Ford found itself without a clear direction in pursuing its interests and thus set up a crash study committee to report on the needs which African studies had to meet. Explained the committee's report: "In the light of the important role that American scholars and universities must play in the future in providing sound underpinning for the de-

velopment of sound national policy, scholarly knowledge and general understanding, it seems to me that it would be desirable for us to undertake a general review of the American academic picture in this field in preparation for the decisions that we will have to make during the coming year."

The study committee, consisting of L. Gray Cowan, Carl Rosberg, Lloyd Fallers and Cornelius de Kiewiet, conducted this review by consulting with academics and government agencies, including the CIA. Their findings provide crucial insights into Ford's thinking during this formative period. Citing the rise of "so-called activist groups at a time when American interest is so high," the committee warned against the exposure to American public opinion of "excesses or mistaken emotional judgments" which these activist groups might make. To counter this danger, sophisticated and trained Africanists are needed and it was the function of the Universities to provide them. "Without any reluctance," they wrote, "the Committee has been able to agree on the unwisdom (sic) of academic aloofness from the needs of national policy, or of Africa itself. It seems to us most appropriate and desirable to encourage Africanists individually and in their associations, to provide assistance in professional consultation, in training for specific needs, in designing research so as to be useful to government and business." The report called for a National African Study Center which would produce a pool of well trained "scholars and experts" from which the ruling class

could draw to meet its needs. While the National Center was not forthcoming, the thinking behind it did result in Ford opting to forge a select, elite number of centers which would provide such a pool.

[IN THE NAME OF PEACE]

To determine the approximate manpower needs of the American Empire in Africa, the Committee visited various governmental agencies. Within the State Department the Committee found a greater need as well as an openness to the type of knowledge which African studies could contribute: "In some (agencies) most notably the State Department, there was a most lively awareness that their performance depended upon the quality and the range of knowledge - economic, political, social, psychological - available to them." The Committee concluded in great cold war language:

Thus every agency and activity devoted to this end (avoiding war) has a prior and greater need for fundamental ideas and deep understanding than all the other agencies and activities devoted to physical security and preparedness combined. It means more to prevent war than to win war. It means more to cooperate with the "rising expectations" of over half the world's population than to sit in frustration before the stubborn frontiers of the Iron Curtain. The cold war is the greatest war humanity has ever fought.

It is the only war in which victory can be real.

And the Ford Foundation, by sponsoring and developing African studies in the U.S., becomes the secret instrument in this "war," one back-bone of America's penetration and control of the Free World which only a cold war victory would make real.



[FOUNDATIONS OF IMPERIALISM]

Throughout the years, Ford's influence has remained. What this means in terms of the content of research which Ford has funded can be seen from this simple chart of the content of the 430 research projects which Ford funded with fellowship money. The ideology of modernization accounts for the largest number of these projects followed by the more traditional, but no less dangerous, anthropological studies. Significantly, there is not one study of American economic penetration of Africa (despite the tremendous rise in direct, private investment in Africa by American corporations) nor any studies of how the repressive Portuguese and South African governments can be overthrown.

In short, Ford has directed its support of African studies into the channels dictated by the American imperialism which it both profits from and perpetuates. To direct this channeling Ford has hired as consultants some of the top American Africanists who have in part helped to form the ideology which they and Ford represent. The list reads like a Who's Who of Africanists in service to the Empire: L. Gray Cowan, Robert Baum, Arnold Rivkin, James Coleman, Roy Sieber, Gwendolen Carter, Philip Curtin, Rupert Emerson, Immanuel Wallerstein, Robert Lystad, Gus Liebenow, William Brown, Crawford Young, Alan Merriam, et al. These are the men who have helped to give out Ford's fellowships and who have insured ideological purity. These are the ruling council of the Tribe.

However, Ford is not alone among American foundations in funding African studies. The Carnegie Corporation was the first into the field, giving grants to Northwestern to establish the first African studies center, as such, in the U.S. Its main function, however, has been to give some travel grants and to support strategic planning or co-ordinating institutions such as the American Council on Education, Overseas Liaison Committee. In Africa, Carnegie money is likewise invested in elite planning institutions that shape policy frameworks and programmatic direction (e.g. Ashby Commission report on Education and Manpower in Nigeria). Likewise, the Rockefeller Foundation has given some travel-research money (most notably to Gwendolen Carter for her work in South

Africa) but primarily invests in institution building programs. Rockefeller has helped to build the Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Research Institutes in Africa (CODESIRA), and is deeply involved in restructuring and reshaping African education.

In its funding, African studies best shows its character as an extended family, serving the same interests and ideology. From government to foundation to university center the family is tight and self-perpetuating, renewing itself in its own image, and ever serving its patron saint, American imperialism.



HOW TO KEEP RULING CLASS SUPPORT WITHOUT DAMAGING YOUR REPUTATION

This became a real problem for all U.S. academics in the wake of the CIA and Project Camelot scandals. Virtually every academic association has passed verbal denunciations of the very practices they had long winked at, while a host of committees were organized to find some "formula" which could preserve reputations and pay the bills. After considerable procrastination, the African Studies Association, released a statement filled with verbal gymnastics, meaningless legalistic distinctions, and naivete about the role of government and the nature of the Empire. What the ASA wants, of course, is the pie and the pudding: a way to receive government money and feel good about it. No Strings, emotional or actual. It avoids dealing with the meaning of foundation financing, the ways certain types of "basic research" can be used despite the intentions of its initiators, and the underlying congruity in values and ideology between government agencies, the corporations and their foundations. The statement itself, was read and approved by the government's Foreign Area Coordination Group before it was released to the ASA membership. Unfortunately, most U.S. social scientists do not need to be told what to study. No one is more anxious to get the scholars back in the field than the government. Only now some more circuitous routes must be designed. Two are already in the works: an International Education Act or a National Science Academy. Both might now be a reality if that nasty war in Vietnam wasn't proving so "dysfunctional" for the future of social science research.

The Government Network

WHO IS THE CHIEF SPOOK?

Could it be WILLARD MATHIAS, Clover Lane, Alexandria Va.? He was a visiting fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs in 1958-59; the Center's own Directory of Fellows identifies him as being connected with that great academic institution: "Central Intelligence Agency, Washington D.C." Can he be the key link man between U.S. Africanists and the CIA? Maybe L. Gray Cowan and Co. would know. Ask him.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Throughout the late fifties, while the State Department conservatively supported European colonial policies, the CIA was secretly forging information networks and manipulable institutions in Africa. In August 1958, the Committee of Africanists selected by the Ford Foundation to survey "the present condition and future prospects of African Studies" had a rare direct interview with the CIA to assess its need for personnel. According to their report, the CIA said it would need "a constant staff level of something like 70 people specializing in the African area: they particularly desire those who have training in economics, geography, or political science. They are, however, prepared to train a man if they can get a person whom they feel is suitable for their type of work." Their type of work indeed! The State Department, interestingly, only projected a need for fifty officers over the next ten years. The CIA was more on the ball. By 1961, according to State Department advisor Vernon McKay, "the professional staff of the Africa office declined from twenty-three to fifteen when certain long range research activities were transferred to the Central Intelligence Agency." (Africa in World Politics, p. 296) Based usually in American Embassies or consulates in African countries, CIA officers co-ordinate covert intelligence collection through the use of reconnaissance, communications and electronic espionage, and by 'running' networks of agents. They also collect usable data from overt sources - newspapers, radio-monitoring and scientific papers, as well as through regular open contacts with private citizens, members of African governments and organizations, and from friendly neutrals and allies. The CIA is also deeply involved in covert action programs aimed at manipulating African politics or forging institutions which shape development in pro-western direction. As part of this program, the

CIA helped subsidize a whole network of organizations active on African problems. Some of these have been disclosed in newspapers and magazines: African-American Institute (AAI), American Society of African Culture (AMSAC), Congress of Cultural Freedom, International Student Conference, World Assembly of Youth, Peace With Freedom, Inc., African-American Labor Center. (It also helped to organize: East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, East African Publishing House, Jomo Kenyatta Educational Institute, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, and Milton Obote Foundation).

For more information about the CIA's role see: Wise and Ross, The Invisible Government, A. Tully, CIA, The Inside Story, George Morris, The CIA and American Labor, and "The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer," Ramparts Magazine, June, 1969.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The State Department maintains several divisions engaged in intelligence and research activities. Through its Embassies and intricate communications networks, its analysts must digest a constant stream of information and generate policy proposals as well as conduct the formal diplomacy of the government. Its research institutions relevant to African problems include:

1. Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Now directed by Ray Cline, a C.I.A. Officer (N.Y. Times, October 4, 1969) this bureau "prepares studies of political, social and economic developments around the world. These "research memoranda" are for the most part classified and restricted to use by government agencies." William C. Harrop and Robert D. Baum head up the Office of Research and Analysis for Africa within the Bureau.

2. Office of External Research. Headed up by E. Raymond Platig, this office is also part of INR. This is the bureau which keeps systematic tabs on all U.S. academic Africa output. It has the most complete catalog of current and on-going research, publishes numerous bibliographies and directories and seeks to "facilitate the flow of information between scholars and policy-makers." It offers scholars the "benefits of its close relationship with the administrators of major private foundations, and its leadership in the coordination of government-sponsored research.

3. Foreign Area Research Coordination Group (FAR) See page 15. This is an interdepartmental group which seeks to coordinate all government sponsored foreign affairs research, avoid duplications, and rationalize current techniques for manipulating academic institutions and individual scholars. FAR has an Africa subcommittee run by Robert Baum. Its general meeting held to evaluate its first three years of existence was chaired by Robert Amory, identified as representing the "Bureau of the Budget." Amory, however, is well known as a top CIA spook. That meeting projected the needs for more counter-insurgency research to defeat revolutionary movements. The Indivisible Government!



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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FAR HORIZONS

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FAR's main objective is the systematic coordination of Government-sponsored foreign area research in the social sciences. It works to insure cooperative effort in research activities, to prevent duplication between agencies, to encourage maximum use of research results, and to promote good relations between Government and private research organizations. The Office of External Research, located in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the Department of State, provides the Secretariat for FAR.

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THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID)

This agency draws upon the resources of American Universities and Africanists in all aspects of its administration of the foreign aid program. Research is contracted to Universities and individual scholars for two types of projects: (1) Studies relating to the processes of economic and social development and (2) research and training connected with "institution building projects in education or public administration, etc." "Research," AID says, "is needed in the broad fields of human resources and social systems. Studies will be conducted which contribute to the design and structure of educational systems of the new nations. More work is to be done to increase our understanding of traditional social structures and value systems and the forces which are already at work to produce change in the developing countries. Other topics to be investigated include changing political structures, institution building, urbanization, rural development, and population dynamics."

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

This agency systematically conducts surveys of foreign opinion to find out how much the rest of the world hates the United States. The results must be depressing to these media manipulators because this information is quickly incorporated into an extensive "data bank" which is partly classified for security reasons. U.S. academics have been known to help the USIA with its library program, its subsidized series of propaganda tracts (e.g. Books like "African Student in Red China") and its publications. Interestingly, USIA publications distributed abroad are not permitted by act of Congress to be disseminated at home. No doubt because any resemblance between what they say and what the USA is really like is purely coincidental.

PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps has its own research division mostly for operational research. Contrary to most radical thinking, the Peace Corps is not primarily an espionage agency; its services to imperialism are more varied. The Agency does however pay individuals in the local population for giving information to Peace Corps volunteers. Two letters by a top Peace Corps official recently revealed in the Chilean Parliament disclosed that the Peace Corps had authorized cash payments for data in business activity, geological research, and student protest activities (Guardian, September 6, 1969) Many Africanists have sipped at the Peace Corps water trough as consultants, lecturers, and training directors.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

A Summary Report of a Conference Jointly Sponsored by:

The Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State
The Africa Subcommittee of the Foreign Area Research
Coordination Group (FAR)
The Agency for International Development (AID)

Held at

The Foreign Service Institute, Department of State

July 18-19, 1967

PARTICIPANTS

United States Government

Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Area
Research Coordination Group (FAR)

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Betty George
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Science, University of Chicago



THE OMNIPRESENT OCTOPUS

Africa offers, of course, a very promising field for the study of counter-insurgency. Last year I was myself approached by one such research corporation led by a man who had received a German doctorate in geopolitics during the Nazi era. [Hans Weigert of the Atlantic Research Corporation, ed.] I was bluntly asked whether I would sell my knowledge to help the U.S. Defense Department in planning military intervention in a certain African country. (Incidentally, the country in question was not South Africa, Zimbabwe, or the so-called Portuguese territories.) I declined When I later talked to my colleagues about it I discovered that perhaps one-third to one-half of American scholars in the African field [our emphasis, ed.] had been solicited by this Agency or similar ones of ethically questionable research. The Octopus is omnipresent, and quite a few scholars are taken in.

--Pierre L. Van Den Berghe
University of Washington
from Transition, Oct.-Nov.,
1967.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

A number of Defense Department agencies are involved in developing research about Africa. (See p.22) The U.S. military research network is a multi-million dollar affair with global interests in maintaining U.S. hegemony in all parts of the world. Some of its Africa output has been summarized elsewhere.

The problem of how to best tap academic research for military use was discussed at a top level, closed meeting of top American social scientists in the summer of 1967 sponsored by the Department of Defense. Gene Lyons, executive secretary of the Advisory Committee on Government Programs in the Behavioral Sciences of the National Research Council (and in private life a professor at Dartmouth), organized and chaired the meeting held in Williamstown, Mass. The classified report which the meeting produced offered the following summation of the needs for knowledge about Third World countries as well as the problems involved in meeting them:

"Despite the difficulties attendant upon research in foreign areas, it must be explicitly recognized that the missions of the Department of Defense cannot be successfully performed in the absence of information on (a) socio-cultural patterns in various areas including beliefs, values, motivations, etc.; (b) the social organization of troops, including political, religious, and economic; (c) the effect of change and innovation upon socio-cultural patterns and socio-cultural organization of groups; (d) study and evaluation of action programs initiated by U.S. or foreign agencies in underdeveloped countries. Solid, precise, comparative, and current empirical data developed are urgently needed for many areas of the world. This goal should be pursued by: (a) multidisciplinary research teams; (b) series of field studies in relevant countries; (c) strong representation of quantitative and analytic skills; and (d) broad empirical data base."

While this conference and its report are not specifically about Africa, the general statements it makes are as applicable to Africa as anywhere else in the Third World.

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

The best factual rundown on the links between the Pentagon and American scholars is: Michael Klare, editor, The Military-University Complex (NACLA: 1969) It is available for \$1 from the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, N.Y.C.

**DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SPONSORED FOREIGN
AFFAIRS RESEARCH**

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 1968

**UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.**

Foster, Hon. John S., Jr., Director of Defense, Research and Engineering, accompanied by Col. James M. Brower; Donald M. MacArthur; Rodney W. Nichols; and Morton H. Halperin.-----

The CHAIRMAN. I can't see the relevance of this one, and I wish you would explain it. It is called "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and other Psychological Phenomena."

Dr. FOSTER. I am not familiar with that.

The CHAIRMAN. And the implications on military operations in the Congo. How would witchcraft be relevant to military operations in the Congo?

Dr. FOSTER. I am not familiar with that particular study, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a very large one.

Dr. FOSTER. However, I am sure you realize if one is not aware of what people in that country believe—which we call witchcraft or sorcery—one might fall into considerable difficulty in attempting to help them.

The CHAIRMAN. Everything in a country could be said to be of some significance if you intend to occupy it, couldn't it?

Dr. FOSTER. Yes, sir; everything. But I did not consider occupation, and I doubt that the study was based on such a very unlikely subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Everything would be a legitimate subject for research.

Dr. FOSTER. Yes, that is true in that sense.

(The following information was subsequently provided for the record:)

Senior military officers have reported many instances of dealing with military situations in developing nations where witchcraft, sorcery and magic have played a significant role. One example derives from the experience of U.S. Army officers in working with Philippine guerillas against the Japanese in World War II. Another example is the final suppression of Mau Mau terrorism. A considerable amount of the success in that action is attributed to a few individuals' knowledge of the witchcraft and sorcery employed by the Mau Mau. A paper titled, "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and Other Psychological Phenomena in the Congo and Implications for Military and Paramilitary Operations," was the response by the Cultural Information Analysis Center to a request for information by the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations.

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WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY, MAGIC, and other PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMEN

and their implications on

MILITARY and PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS in the Congo

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SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON 16, D.C.

OPERATING UNDER CONTRACT WITH THE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Coup You!

Title: African Groups Relevant to U.S. Military Decision-Making.

Interested Agencies: Primary: STRICOM
Other: DCSOPS

Principal Investigator: William John Hanna

Location of Main Effort: Washington, D.C.

Objectives of Research: To provide informational support for effective U.S. military assistance, civic action, and intercultural communications by studying African (1) sociopolitical structures and dynamics and (2) leadership recruitment and attitudes. Specifically, there will be descriptions and analyses of the three most relevant target groups and their leaders: the urban, the intellectual, and the military. These analyses will be published for training use and will then form the basis for the development of a predictive model of violent and nonviolent military and nonmilitary change.

Background and Overall Design: The new states of independent Black Africa are undergoing rapid sociocultural and political change. The peaceful evolutionary transfer of sovereignty is now being followed by revolutionary upheavals and coups d'etat.

There are three principal foci of change and unrest:

(1) Urban communities were the centers of African nationalist activity and now are the setting for intense frustration and potential violent manifestations of unrest. Urban leaders have the crucial responsibility for mediating between national elites and local rank-and-file; they may soon be active in insurgency or counterinsurgency activities.

(2) Students are important because of their political involvement, intellectual resources, and prestigious status among the masses. Since there are few university-educated people in the new states of Africa, students help to fill a vacuum, and as a consequence they have a magnified political role. Many of them will be active in the leadership of any insurgency because of their oppositional mentality. The students also constitute the major reservoir from which future national elites will be drawn.

(3) Military take-overs in Africa reflect urban and intellectual discontent, as well as a vacuum of rational political power. But they are also a product of the particular military organizations and leaders of the new states of Africa, as well as of the organizational and infrastructural underdevelopment characteristic of new African states. Therefore, the military subcommunity and leadership must also be understood to optimize American actions and develop predictive models.

The predictive model will probably include a large number of variables derived from cross-disciplinary conceptualizations. It is anticipated that special attention will be given to the differential causes of a four-fold typology of change: violent military, violent nonmilitary, nonviolent military, nonviolent nonmilitary. Among the questions the predictive model is expected to answer are the following: "Are there critical periods in the stages of economic development during which a country is more or less vulnerable to instability?" "What is the military activity potential in sub-Saharan Africa during the period 1970-1980?"

It is likely that direct or indirect military and ancillary aid will in the future frequently be required or requested in increasing amounts by friendly African governments. This eventuality will make it necessary for a judgment to be made as to the advisability of such aid, the form it should take, and the problems of its administration by agencies of the Department of Defense. Thus, there are clear and current policy needs for research designed to provide military decision-makers and administrators with relevant information and concepts on the urban, intellectual, and military subcommunities and leaders. Yet virtually none of the necessary research has been done; a recent comprehensive survey of the literature on urban Africa revealed no document which would provide the U.S. Army officer with the orientation necessary for effective decision-making or implementation. Similar research and documentation gaps pertain in the African intellectual and military spheres.

To fill these enormous and dangerous gaps in vital information and conceptualization concerning Africa, the present study contains two concurrent and interrelated activities. One is an analysis, for the purposes indicated above, of previously collected primary data direct from documentary analysis, participant observation, and systematic interviews with community leaders, community rank-and-file, and university students. The other activity is the collection and synthesis of all relevant and available secondary source data. This has already been completed with regard to the urban-related subtasks; it encompassed the inspection and abstraction of more than one thousand publications in English, French, and Spanish.

FY67 Projection: The first portion of this study, "Community Dynamics in Urban Africa," was begun under institutional research funding during FY66. It will be completed and the second portion, "Community Leadership in Urban Africa," begun in the first quarter of FY67. This second study, scheduled for completion in the third quarter of FY67, will be followed by two contemporaneous studies: student movements and military activities. Both studies involve contextual and leadership analyses. The entire project is expected to be completed by the first quarter of FY69.

Estimated Professionals to be Assigned in FY67: Three

Information Exchange: Department of State

Reports and Timing:

- (1) Community Dynamics in Urban Africa: To be completed during the 1st quarter of FY67.
- (2) Community Leadership in Urban Africa: To be completed during the 3rd quarter of FY67.
- (3) Student Movements in Africa: To be completed during the 1st quarter of FY68.
- (4) Student Leadership in Africa: To be completed during the 3rd quarter of FY68.
- (5) Indigenous Military Activities in Africa: To be completed during the 1st quarter of FY68.
- (6) Indigenous Military Leadership in Africa: To be completed during the 3rd quarter of FY68.
- (7) Predictive Model of Change: To be completed during the 1st quarter of FY68.

American University, Center in
Social Systems, Work Program for
Fiscal Year 1967 (Washington D.C.)

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE...

"At the personal level, it is our hope that reports such as this may in some small way repay the people of Africa for the hospitality they have shown us here and abroad."

William and Judith Hanna
Congressional Record 8/11/69

The University Complex

The happily decentralized look of the American African studies "family" is deceptive. The plurality of work-in-progress and the diversity of funding sources actually mask a fairly integrated and well-coordinated network of academic centers and research institutions operating to meet the Empire's need for detailed information and analysis about African affairs.

Operating on the deeply institutionalized assumption of a basic compatibility of interests between U.S. objectives and African needs, this network is coordinated and monitored by government and non-government agencies. In this country, the Directors of African Studies Centers have long had their own organization; now the U.S. spawned network of similar centers in Africa have their own similar agency as well. Control over funding has been in the hands of narrowly selected panels of approved scholars who form selection committees of such foundation fronts as the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, or the Foreign Area Fellowship Program. Operationally, such work is further coordinated within the "profession" by the A.S.A.'s own foundation funded Research Liaison Committee, while research priorities have been mapped out under U.S. Army auspices through the African Research Committee. On the Governmental level, such agencies as FAR and the Office of External Research keep regular tabs on academic production with enthusiastic cooperation of many scholars. These are only the formal and visible links; most of the closest relationships are informal; many of the important contacts no doubt take place behind closed doors.

It is not surprising, then, that out of some 500 courses offered annually in African studies, not one deals with the analysis of imperial penetration and neo-colonial domination. Instead, as our chart shows, most deal with "modernization" (Americanization) or "elite formation" or "African Political Systems" or the "Traditional Structure of Ibo Society" etc. Thus does the system perform its "ideological function."

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1954 with a \$200,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the B.U. Center has specialized in non-spectacular but important training of AID agents. William Brown, its first director, was one of the patri-archs within African studies before his death. Coming from the super-spy Office of Strategic Studies (OSS) during World War II, and continual service with the State Department Intelligence operation as chief Africa expert, Brown was a perfect choice for the spot. The Center was then continually supported by Ford money: \$50,000 in 1957; \$430,000 in 1959; and \$500,000 in 1963 for a five-year period. Its first direct government contract was awarded in 1959 by the ICA, forerunner of AID, to conduct training programs for ICA workers preparing to go to Africa. In 1962 the program was continued and expanded through AID funds to include a "de-briefing center" for agents recently returning from work in Africa. Since its establishment B.U. has trained over 400 American agents to work within African societies. In addition the B.U. Center is classified by the State Department as a Development Research Center and operates a data collection and literature monitoring and editing service for the government. B.U. accurately describes itself as "training specialists in African affairs for government, commerce and other non-academic careers."

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

While no established center is here, there is an African studies program headed by Edwin Munger, an apologist for

the South African regime. Among other functions Munger has served with the Ford funded, right wing American University Field Staff, covering South Africa, and worked with the South Africa Foundation, a pro-South Africa propaganda agency. The focus of CIT is economic development, particularly in South Africa as well as other white dominated countries in southern Africa. Funding comes in part from the Carnegie Foundation but otherwise from small foundations.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

No degree offered in African studies as such but the Institute of International Studies does offer a series of courses within its framework which deal with Africa. The Institute itself is deeply compromised by its services to imperialism. (See U.C. Berkeley: The Uses of Research (\$1) from ARG) Chief Africa honchos at Cal are Carl G. Rosberg a comparative politics man, and, until recently, David Apter, a leading modernizing mandarin. The Air Force thought enough of his work to plunk down \$99,000 for him to consider the "Military implications" of the Politics of Modernization. Fearing that his reputation might suffer, Apter gave up the grant. Now he is giving up on Africa as well in order to zero in on Latin America. This continent hopping is a prelude to institution hopping: he's now at Yale.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

One of the largest and most prestigious centers in the U.S.,

UCLA is famous for the "comparative politics" of its past director James Coleman. The Center was founded in 1959 with an initial grant of \$25,000 from the Ford Foundation. In 1960, after fattening up its language studies, UCLA was classified as a NDEA Language and Area Study Center and has been soundly funded since. Hence its curriculum is heavily laced with language courses as well as the mainstay of the discipline, political modernization and development. UCLA is also central to the study of African art and music.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

While there is no established program of African Studies here, there is a committee with \$40,000 annually to conduct courses dealing with Africa. The courses, as well as the men, are routine, listed in a boring one-two manner: "African Societies," "African Politics," "African History," etc. A key man is Aristide Zolberg, a fast riser in academic circles. Chicago also had a \$64,100 contract from the Air Force on "Political Development and Modernization in Islamic Countries." On an army sub-contract from American University, Chicago Professor Milton Janowitz directed a research project which produced a report on "Public Order and the Military in Africa", (Henry Eisen), 1967. Chicago also works alongside of Harvard and Stanford in the International Child Development Committee which currently is establishing permanent child development operations in two African universities.

COLUMBIA

Recognized in 1963 as a NDEA language and area study

center, Columbia's financial support for African studies comes from NDEA funds in addition to its share of the \$3 million Ford grant given to Columbia for area studies in general. Columbia has a nest of dirty-workers, the chief of whom is Gray Cowan, recent past president of the Africa Studies Association. Cowan has long been active in Columbia's School of International Affairs of which the African Studies Institute is a part, and during the strike was the SIA's strongest apologist. Of the purposes of African Studies he was quite candid:

"Originally designed somewhat as crash programs to create requisite numbers of young African specialists for posts in government, industry, or in international public and private agencies, the programs tended to concentrate at the M.A. level by fleshing out a normal degree in a discipline with, where possible, training in an African language. Graduates of area programs were not expected to continue in the academic field but to seek careers in the more activist aspects of American relations with Africa."

Cowan applauds this aspect of the Institute by claiming that it represents an area in which the university has "kept up with the pressing needs of the time." Cowan also sits on the important ruling class Council on Foreign Relations and participates there in policy making for American imperialism. Cowan is joined at Columbia by Immanuel Wallerstein, a man trained in the CIA-infested student world of the 50's and





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who subsequently served as a State Department advisor and discussion leader for the Council on Foreign Relations. At the time of the first Congo crisis, Wallerstein wrote several articles in the right-wing New Leader advocating support of Lumumba as an alternative to a Congolese Revolution, (subsequently crushed by imperialism).

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Cornell does not have a major African studies program; a lone "liberal" professor, Milton Konvitz does run the Liberian Codification Project, sponsored and funded by the Liberian Government. The point of the program is to "research existing laws of Liberia and economic, political, and social institutions, for the purpose of drafting new legal codes." The neo-colonial Liberian Parliament is alive and well at Cornell. Cornell trustees are heavily involved in business in South Africa. President Perkins remains a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank. In 1968, with a little help from Ford, the University sponsored a "symposium" on southern Africa featuring a stable of apartheid apologists, corporate managers, and running dog professors. The students broke it up of course and did something useful: they raised money for guns for African guerrillas.

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1957 the African studies program at Duquesne

became a NDEA funded language and area studies center in 1960. The focus of the program is to train students for "careers in teaching, government service, and business." Stress is thus placed on M.A. level work and large numbers of graduates. Duquesne is a training ground for minor, but necessary, functionaries. Because of its intensive language resources, including a microfilm collection of rare African languages originally collected by French Holy Ghost Fathers, Duquesne has become the center of intensive summer language programs.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY SERVICE

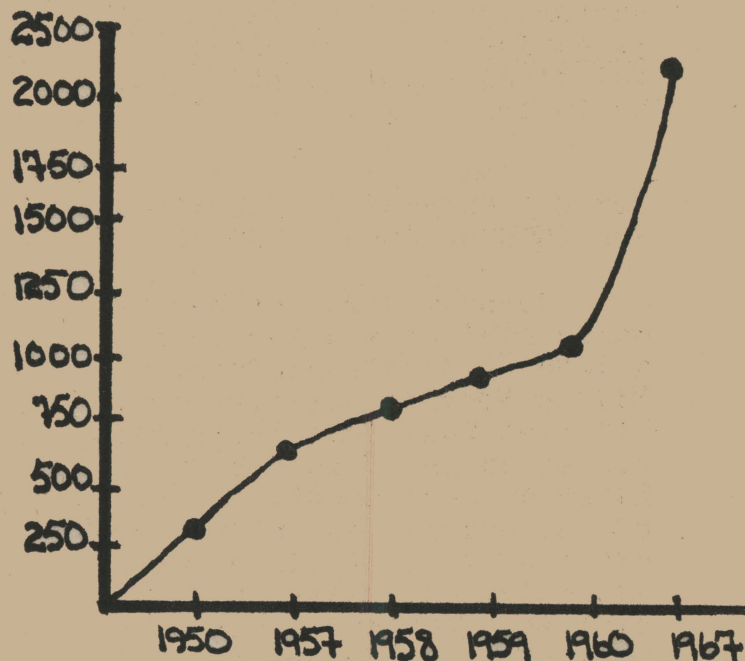
Economists at Harvard have their own agency peddling development schemes in Africa and other parts of the Third World. Organized by onetime U.S. intelligence agent Professor Edward Mason and directed by David Bell, of AID and President Truman's White House staff, the DAS puts together a package of development assistance for foreign governments. Sometimes the governments pay, and sometimes the U.S. government or a foundation picks up the bill. DAS has a one million dollar contract with the National Planning Agency of Liberia. Its most important project, however, was directed at Ghana. Less than a year after the coup which overthrew Nkrumah, Harvard's Gustav Papanek went to Ghana to advise the military junta. In a confidential report in September, 1966, he advised: "The outlook for a successful project is good. The government is relatively

stable, the top economic policy maker is competent, and the government is particularly receptive to foreign advisors." You can bet on that! Just to make sure that things go Harvard's way, in 1969-1970 the Harvard Center has, among its select visiting fellows, Ombao Emmanuel Noi, the recent head of the Economic Committee of the now deposed National Liberation Council of Ghana. Others at the Center include William Baron, of AID Nigeria and other appropriate Third World mandarins and manipulators. (For more information on Harvard's services to Imperialism, see HOW HARVARD RULES, available for \$1 from ARG, PO Box 213, Cambridge 02138.)

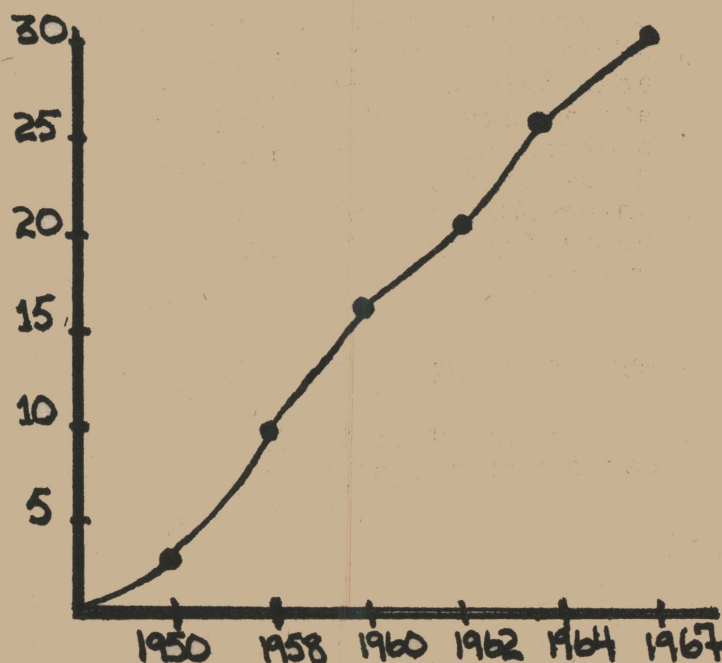
HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Howard is one of the few institutions whose interests in Africa predates the U.S. Empire's. But since its program was under the direction of black scholars, it was ignored and remained financially undernourished. With its stress upon languages, Howard was one of the first centers to receive NDEA money in 1959. From then, more cash came pouring in, but largely to train black diplomats for work in Africa. Hence the stress on language training - nearly half of the courses are in languages - and on study of African politics. Ford helped Howard fulfill this function with a \$600,000 grant to "prepare students for foreign service careers." The faculty is said to include a nest of government consultant types.

TOTAL AMERICAN DIRECT PRIVATE INVESTMENT in AFRICA [in millions of dollars]



AFRICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS in AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES and COLLEGES



INDIANA UNIVERSITY

African studies at Indiana began in 1961 with a \$2.3 million Ford grant and has since become one of the largest programs in the U.S. Its main function is training teachers and researchers for African studies and is one of the more important places where the network reproduces itself. Indiana's African program was part of the International program organized by Robert Byrnes, a scholar closely linked to the CIA. Look for Indiana grads in newly-formed Afro-American studies programs.

JOHNS HOPKINS, SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

African studies at Johns Hopkins is a haven for dirty workers. With the SAIS it shares the common function of providing needed agents and information for the American Empire. Its self-described purpose is "to provide thorough training for a limited number of young men and women who are seeking careers in international affairs with the government, with private businesses, with non-governmental organizations, or teaching and research." It was founded in 1957 and has since received over \$4.5. million from unnamed foundations for its work. The faculty is aptly prepared to fulfill their function, all coming from backgrounds of long service to the Empire. Vernon McKay, head of the program, served in the State Department Office of Dependent Area Affairs from 1948 to 1956, leaving for Johns Hopkins and

bigger things. He now is the chairman of the Advisory Council for African Affairs in the State Department as well as a member of the important Council on Foreign Relations. His other work includes helping to establish the African-American Institute with CIA money and advising the Ford Foundation. His book, Africa in World Affairs (1963), is an excellent guide to the mind of the ruling class policy toward Africa. McKay's colleagues include Robert Baum, chief of the Africa Division, Office of Research and Analysis, State Department, and also head of the Africa Subcommittee, Foreign Areas Research Council. Another colleague is Andrew Kamarck who in real life is an important economic advisor for the American front International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Upon his retirement, Dean Rusk accepted a position at this para-governmental Institute.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

One of the oldest African studies programs in the U.S., the program at Lincoln went neglected by white money until its usefulness was recognized in 1961 when it received its first government money. In 1965 an Institute of African Government was established and immediately put to use the following year by AID as an "in-service training program" for African bureaucrats. Also in 1965 some NDEA money was pumped into Lincoln to promote language study. It is one of the few programs to offer an undergraduate degree in African studies.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Through its Center for International Studies under the direction of Max Millikan, former deputy director of the CIA, MIT's social scientists have sought to generate theoretical work on economic development in African among other places, as well as sophisticated policy proposals. While the Center's brightest star, Walt Rostow, whose celebrated "Non-Communist Manifesto" led him directly into organizing LBJ's escalations on Vietnam, a lesser honcho, Arnold Rivkin, directed the Center's African Research project. Rivkin came to MIT after a long stint with the State Department Marshall Aid Program. He first visited Africa in search of rare metals. With money from the Carnegie Corporation, Rivkin conducted major studies in Africa in 1957-58. Two books and numerous articles were subsequently produced for public consumption including Africa and the West (How to keep the two together) and The African Presence in World Affairs (1963). In addition to the \$200,000 pumped in by Carnegie, other foundations, including Ford, have enabled MIT's mandarins to research other problems in Nigeria (through a special \$118,000 appropriation from Ford), Guinea, the Congo, and Rhodesia. While MIT's main contribution has been theoretical frameworks for penetration, it ran a Fellows in Africa program with over one million dollars from Ford. Millikan helped structure this program which brought "well-trained, working level assistance to African development institutions at a

time of acute need." (i.e. Put our boys into strategic positions in the new states. The "theoretical" purpose? According to Director Carroll Wilson: "Planning economic development in ways that will stimulate the private sector and achieve a good return on increased resources from public plus private investment in a relatively new kind of exercise." (Managing Economic Development in Africa, MIT Press, 1963)

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

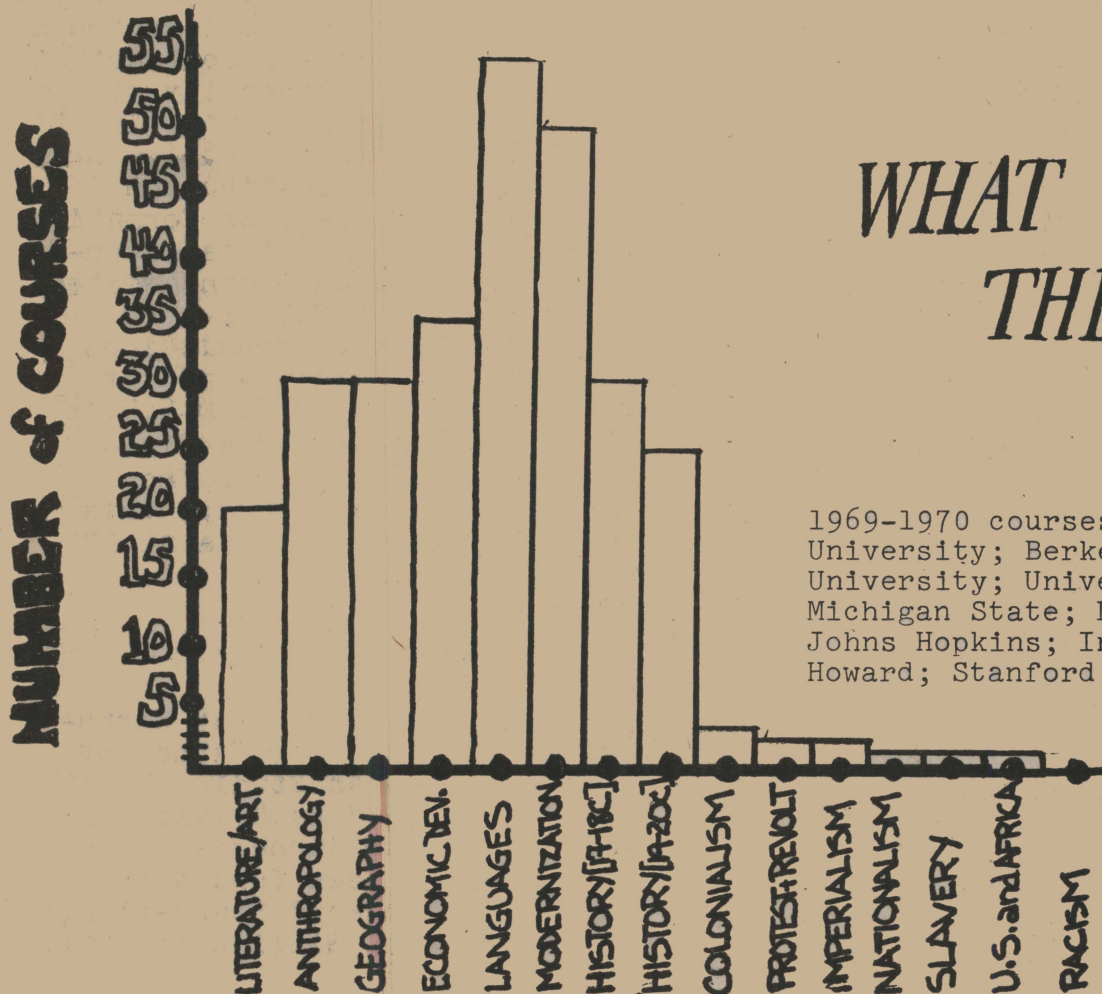
As one of the institutions which helped bring us Vietnam, M.S.U. has not been a disappointment so far in Africa. It has restrained its penetration to carry out AID strategy in Nigeria; its mandarins have implemented a multi-million dollar contract to develop the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. Unhappily, here too a war has wiped out its help. The strategy of institution building, middle-class formation and American control is dependent upon such American created universities. M.S.U. helped build one; the contradictions in Nigerian society wiped it out. Founded in 1960, M.S.U.'s program received an initial grant of \$154,000 from NDEA for language study; this was supplemented with a \$1.25 million Ford grant.

NORTHWESTERN

African studies at Northwestern is the grandfather of American African Studies. Founded in 1948 by Melville Herkovits with Carnegie money, it has since been funded primarily by the Ford Foundation, receiving \$1.3 million in 1961.

Its first director, M. Herkovits, was a prime mover in the development of African studies not only at Northwestern but also through the Africa Studies Association. His main work for the Empire was the so-called Herkovits Report which was prepared at Northwestern for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; the Report introduces the problems confronting American interests in Africa and sketches the policy which those interests demand. As the first of its kind the Report exercised significant influence. But Herkovits' main work was to build a center in which Africanists could be trained to take the many jobs which the Empire offered. Upon his death in 1963 Gwendolyn Carter, a longtime government advisor,

took over his position as director. In this position Carter was in touch with all that was happening in African studies in the U.S., a strategic spot which the U.S. Army did not overlook. In 1965 Carter organized the African Research Committee (outside of the official ASA framework) which included top Africanists in the U.S. as a channel to complete a job the Army had hired her to do. Earlier in that year she had received a \$117,000 contract from the Army for the purpose of "evaluating existing social science resources on Africa in the U.S." For its planning and strategy development, the Army needed to know the strength of African studies in the U.S. and the types of resources which could, if



WHAT THEY TEACH

1969-1970 courses offered at Ohio University; Berkeley; UCLA; Boston University; University of Florida; Michigan State; Lincoln University; Johns Hopkins; Indiana University; Howard; Stanford; Wisconsin; University of Washington.

COURSES

necessary, be mobilized for military operation in Africa, particularly counter-insurgency. Through the ARC and her position at Northwestern, Carter used the money to organize a series of specialist conferences throughout the U.S. to find the strength of U.S. African studies. These conferences were held through 1966 and 1967, attracting the top Africanists in each of the fields.

OHIO UNIVERSITY

African studies at Ohio is not a large center but one which fulfills a specific function of institution building in Nigeria. Its primary source of funds is the U.S. Office of

Education through NDEA grants for language study, particularly Hausa, and specific AID contracts. AID contracts with Ohio to help develop Ibadan Technical College and Kano Teaching College into American-type training colleges. Ohio also receives Ford money to develop "educational administration" at Ahmadu Bello University. Ohio is in 3 or Nigeria's 5 universities. With only 26 graduate students in its program Ohio seems more involved in developing African institutions in the image of America than in teaching American students.

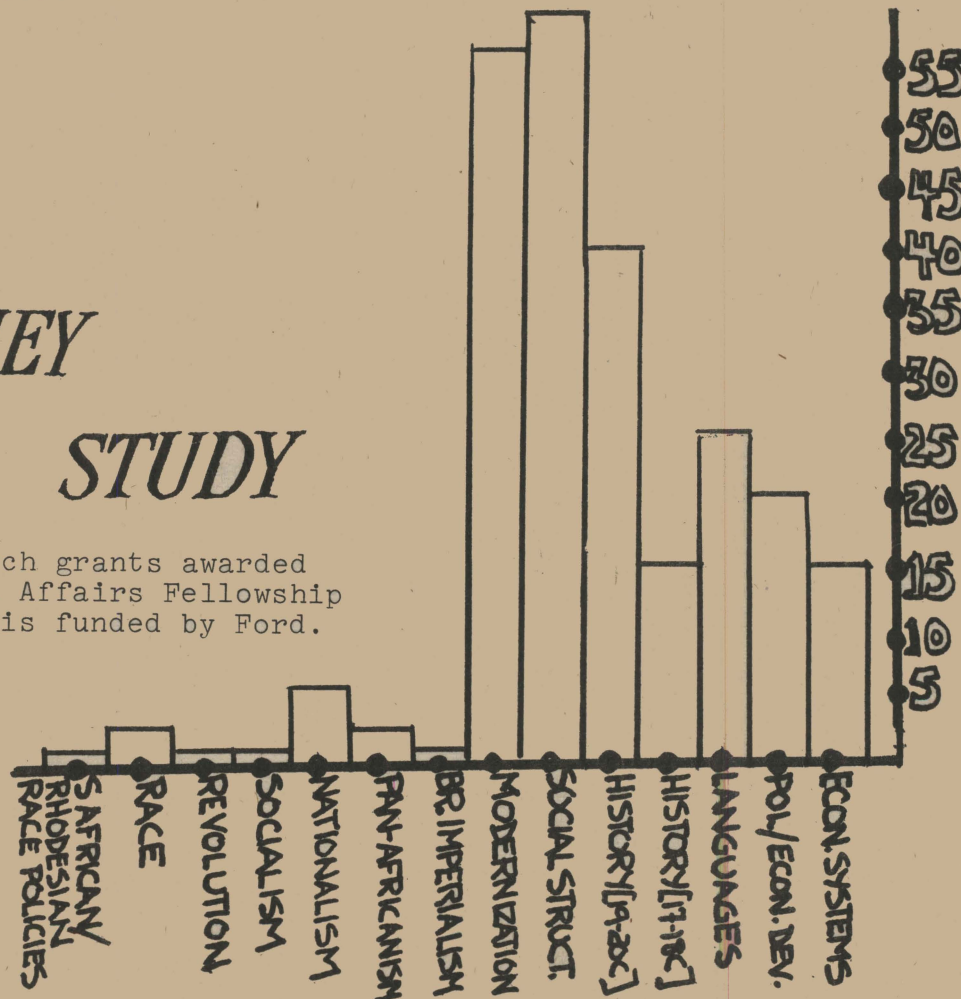
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Africa hunters at Stanford lack a center of their own. In-

WHAT THEY STUDY

1952-70 research grants awarded by the Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program which is funded by Ford.

TOPICS:



THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN—MILWAUKEE

COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53201

Alvin W. Wolfe

In answer to your question whether I have found it difficult to publish certain things in this area of American financial interests in Africa, certainly the answer is yes. The whole business is mighty complicated, and while I do not mind relating it, it takes so long to get it all down and it ends up as just one more set of evidences that we are all under some degree of pressure from those who control the resources (whether these be the mines themselves, the railroads, the money that derives from them, the foundations seen as resources, the universities which provide scholars some resources, the finances to run the journals, the finances to keep "academic" associations alive). Of course, most of the influence is quiet, almost unnoticed, especially by those closest to it. For example, when Helen Kitchen told me she did not want to publish my "interlocking Cape to Katanga Team" paper in Africa Report because H.K. Hochschild was Chairman of the African American Institute she did not even realize she was submitting to such influence as I was discussing because, as she saw it, he never once has objected to anything she chose to publish. When William Foote Whyte turned down the "African Mineral Industry" paper for Human Organization because, ostensibly, "it does not present solid enough new research data" was he aware that one of his readers making such a judgment, Wilton Dillon, then with Phelps-Stokes, showed the manuscript to F. Taylor Ostrander, Assistant to the Chairman of American Metal Climax, who then took copies and used my material to attack me personally before Mining and Metallurgy meetings? If it was not new, why all the fuss? If it was not important, why did such a world-renowned figure as Clarence Randall, devote a whole address to it-- though I couldn't get it published by the Society for Applied Anthropology? And what influenced Manning Nash, editor of Economic Development and Cultural Change when he decided not to publish the manuscript which was finally published by Social Problems? He reported that the delay in making their decision "comes from the number of talents we needed to engage, in anthropology and international trade," but that finally they agreed that "it is an unusually fine paper but our readership has both a more sophisticated understanding of the problems of large companies in international operations and are less interested in the anthropological contributions." What is meant by "more sophisticated understanding of the problems of large companies in international operations"? Does that mean his readership knows enough not to rock the boat? Why should he publish what is an "unusually fine paper"?

Then, there was the questioning to which the Chancellor of Washington University was put by Spencer Olin, of Olin-Mathieson, of course, concerning my attacks on big business. Olin is a friend of Clarence Randall. The Chancellor, like Helen Kitchen and like William Foote Whyte and like Manning Nash, was quite unaware of any pressure, and assured me that I was free to do any scholarly work I wanted -- but of course it should be scholarly! I should not fail to mention to you, even in this most brief resume, utterly incomplete anyway, how Immanuel Wallerstein's Nomination Committee for the African Studies Association (a scholarly association) nominated for the ASA board of directors of F. Taylor Ostrander, the assistant to the Chairman of American Metal Climax, the same company that Helen Kitchen was protecting gratuitously in referring to H.K. Hochschild. Further, Helen Kitchen was already on the board of directors of ASA at the time. Had Wallerstein's committee nominee been elected American Metal Climax would have had better representation on the African Studies Association than any academic institution. When I complained to Paul Bohannon, who was then President of the African Studies Association, he seemed to feel that I didn't have very "sophisticated understanding of the problems of large" associations (the quote is from Manning Nash, but the idea is about the same).

Organizational Nexus

In 1965 the Department of State published a directory entitled, Africa Programs of U.S. Organizations (publication 7902), which listed the current programs of 724 American non-governmental organizations and institutions interested in Africa. Many of these organizations act as instruments of American cultural, political, and economic influence.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The findings, opinions, and advice of U.S. Africanists are transmitted to the U.S. ruling class through a number of channels. One of the most important forums for such exchanges are the restricted confidential discussion groups sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, a prestigious organization controlled by major U.S. corporations which researches foreign policy problems and generates highly influential proposals for implementation by government. Its membership, restricted to 1400 top government officials, bankers, corporate presidents and selected "experts", reads like a Who's Who of the inner circle of the U.S. ruling class.

Since 1952, Africa has had a prominent place in the Council's program. In virtually every year since then, small discussion groups have met to consider African problems and their implications for the United States. Records of all of these meetings are not available; but enough are to suggest the tone of their efforts and complicity of a number of prestigious "neutral" U.S. Africanists. In 1958, the Council's Discussion Group on Africa South of the Sahara was headed up by Harold K. Hochschild, then Chairman of the Board of the American Metal Climax Corporation. Its Secretary was Alphonse A. Castagno, now of the Boston University African Studies Center. Discussion leaders for the year's sessions included: Vernon McKay, Sir Andrew Cohen, Former Governor of Uganda, Lloyd Steere, then head of the CIA funded African-American Institute; James Green, once U.S. Consul General in Leopoldville. The only African participating was of course, the late Tom Mboya of Kenya. In this same year, the Carnegie Corporation gave the Council a special grant of \$45,000 to enable a number of leading members to spend several weeks in Africa under the auspices of the Council. The Group which took this safari included: William Burden, a director of Lockheed Aircraft, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Columbia Broadcasting System, American Metal Climax, and the Chairman of the Board of the Pentagon-linked Institute for Defense Analysis; Eli Whitney Debevoise, a bank trustee and major corporate lawyer; ex-Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter; Max Millikan, the onetime CIA chief who now runs the M.I.T. Center for International Studies; and, one of the Council's most influential men and major benefactors, David Rockefeller, of the Chase Manhattan Bank, long known for its interest in African freedom. That's just a partial list. You will be pleased to learn that some of these men were able to afford their own tickets.

The following U.S. Africanists have since accepted invitations to participate in or lead discussion groups about Africa for this jauggernaut of American power: L. Gray Cowan, James Duffy, Helen Kitchen, William H. Lewis, Vernon McKay, Edward Munger, Ruth Schachter Morgenthau; Arnold Rivkin, Immanuel Wallerstein and John Marcum. Some books have emerged from these sessions which offer insights into corporate thinking. Africa Battleline (Harper & Row, 1965) by Waldemear Neilson, President of the AAI, offers a sophisticated strategy for U.S. maneuvers in Southern Africa. Members of the group which helped shape the book's ideas were: Vernon McKay, Ernest Gross, Thomas Hovet, Thomas Karis, Helen Kitchen, George Loft, John Marcum, and Edwin S. Munger. A similar tome on African economic problems was produced by William Hance (African Economic Development, Praeger, 1967) and grew out of a discussion group which met planning economic policies for Africa for two years, 1955-57, the period prior to most states winning "independence." In addition to many of the people already listed, this group included Lansdale Christie of powerful Liberian mining interests, J. Wayne Frederick, now Africa boss for Ford; Alan Pifer, now President of Carneige; Lloyd Garrison of the New York Times, and Robert West, now at the Fletcher School. Damm!

EDUCATION AND WORLD AFFAIRS

EWA is a foundation front run in cooperation with the State Department's AID. It is a mechanism of coordinating and linking university programs, "agencies of government, business and foundations in the U.S. with the institutions of other agencies." EWA has undertaken a study for AID in conjunction with the Africa Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education (L. Gray Cowan) as well as studies of manpower needs and educational capabilities in nine African countries.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION--OVERSEAS LIAISON COMMITTEE

Within the U.S. the American Council on Education is a reactionary organization, essentially a club of college presidents, which has fought radical demands for changes in our elitist university system. Its Overseas Liaison Committee sends out expert teams to do "evaluations," mounts special innovative studies and supplies specialized short-term assistance to African institutions. It is supported by the State Department and the Carnegie Corporation; more recently the Ford Foundation has contributed to its funding as well. The OLC's members include Karl Bigelow, R. Taylor Cole, L. Gray Cowan, C. W. Kiewiet, James Dixon, Luther Foster, Frederick Harbison, Eldon Johnson, Bryant E. Kearl, Arthur J. Lewis, John S. McKnown, Glenn Taggart, Carl C. Eicher.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

With plush offices in the U.N. plaza, the AAI is a major corporate-foundation-para-government instrument. It was founded and funded for 8 years by the CIA through various conduits. Originally, a number of sincere black Africanists - William Hansberry, Horace Mann Bond et al - were used to give the whole thing legitimacy. But the big honchos have been the Directors from American Metal Climax Corporation and their friends. Predictably, Vernon McKay and L. Gray Cowan are among the trustees.

DISCUSSION MEETING REPORT

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA

Discussion Leaders: Edward K. Hamilton
Immanuel Wallerstein
Chairman: Waldemar A. Nielsen
Rapporteur: Jane W. Jacqz

Second Meeting
March 20, 1968

Digest of Discussion

(This digest has not been edited by the participants.)

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

58 EAST 68TH STREET

NEW YORK 21

AAI's staff members have been drawn from the ranks of CIA linked organizations. People like Frank Ferarri, James "Ted" Harris, Waldemar Neilson were all servants of imperial institutions before they joined the AAI. At present, in addition to its other chores, the AAI has now set up a curriculum project to insure that an acceptable version of African affairs be transmitted through the schools. Towards that end, they have organized "in-service training programs" for teachers, including one that was held last year in Harlem. (See "The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer" in the June, 1969 Ramparts)

OTHER SPECIALIZED INSTITUTIONS

CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SYSTEMS(CRESS)
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON D.C.

This Center operates under a contract with the U.S. Army Research Office (\$1.9 million in 1967). CRESS is the federal contract research Center responsible for social science research relevant to military operations in the area of counter-insurgency, psychological warfare and military civic action. Founded in 1956 with world-wide responsibilities as the Special Operations Research Office (SORO), CRESS was reorganized in 1966 following the disclosures of the notorious "Project Camelot". It now conducts long range studies aimed at improving the effectiveness of U.S. military personnel attached as advisors to the Armed Forces of other countries. It has prepared surveys of articles on counter-insurgency relevant to Africa as well as U.S. Army area handbooks for such countries as: Kenya, Algeria, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Senegal, Tunisia, and two special psychological warfare studies on Ghana and the Congo. It was also responsible for the infamous Witchcraft study on the Congo. (See pp. 20-21)

ATLANTIC RESEARCH CORPORATION
GEORGETOWN RESEARCH PROJECT, ALEXANDRIA VA.

This private research organization had a Defense Department contract in 1967 for a study of "Africa and U.S. National Security." Its Director Hans Weigert received his degree in geo-politics from a Nazi university during World War II. He has approached a number of U.S. Africanists including Pierre Van den Berghe for help in counter-insurgency research for use in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS CORPORATION

The Research Analysis Corporation was originally organized by the Army as their equivalent to the RAND Corporation and is now a Federal Contract Research Center responsible for study, research, and analysis relevant to U.S. military operations. Its social science division issues hundreds of studies each year. Among R.A.C.'s Africa studies have been: "French Policy Towards the Algerian War"; "Strategic Analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa" and "U.S. Strategic Interests in Tropical Africa."

THE EVALUATORS AND COORDINATORS

Since Africanists when left to their own devices tend to pursue their own predilections, whims, and non-functional intellectual interests, the government and foundations are constantly creating mechanisms for coordinating and rationalizing the research product. One step in doing this is to underwrite surveys of ongoing and projected research. Two examples of this type of activity are the Research Liaison Committee of the African Studies Association, an internal policing agency, and a comprehensive Language and Area Studies Review presently being undertaken for the Institute of International Affairs Studies of the U.S. Office of Education.

LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES REVIEW

This project was initiated in June 1968 and has the support of the African Studies Association. The survey, under the direction of Richard Lambert will mail and collate 15,000 questionnaires to area specialists and will also include site visits to (1) "examine the characteristics of individual faculty members and students," (2) "scrutinize the scholar's published product," and (3) "define the precise role of area professional organizations in the development of the field." Why is the government bothering? Explains Margaret Gardiner, Administrative Assistant: "The final product of the Language and Area Studies Review will be a thorough report analyzing the role and impact of area studies. The government will be provided with a national manpower survey in area studies, a standard for measuring effectiveness of past and present funding, and criteria for determining priorities in future funding."

AFRICA RESEARCH COMMITTEE

This Committee was Gwendolen Carter's baby and the midwife was \$117,000 from the U.S. Army. The organization folded when many Africanists began to get nervous in the wake of the Project Camelot and CIA scandals. The Research Liaison Committee, with "clean" Ford money, took on many of its projected functions. Most of the money went for a series of "specialist conferences" at plush meeting centers throughout the U.S. The money was consumed over drinks in Aspen or in the hot baths at White Sulphur Springs. Here's what they discussed and who came:

1. Research in the Western Indian Ocean, held Oct. 1965 at Syracuse, attended by Philip Allen of the State Department and seven Africanists.
2. Priorities for Psychological Research on Africa, held in June 1965 at the University of Chicago, chaired by Robert LeVine and attended by nine Africanists, including Leonard Doob of Yale.
3. Research Priorities in African Law, held Dec. 1965 at Columbia, chaired by Arthur Schiller, attended by 15 Africanists including Charles Runyon of the State Department.
4. Sociolinguistic Research in Africa, held Jan. 1966 at Stanford, chaired by Jack Berry, attended by nine Africanists.

5. Migration in Africa, held Feb. 1966 at Northwestern, chaired by Franklin Scott.
6. Geographical Research on Africa, held March 1966 at UCLA, chaired by Benjamin Thomas, attended by seven Africanists including Edwin Munger and Willian Hance.
7. African Arts: Dance, Visual Arts, Music and Oral Literature, held March 1966 at Indiana University, chaired by Alan Merriam and Roy Sieber, attended by five Africanists.
8. Research in Sukumaland, Tanzania, held May 1966, chaired by G. O. Lang, attended by five Africanists.
9. Unemployment in Africa, held May 1966, attended by 14 Africanists including Aristide Zolberg, William Hanna, and Robert LeVine.
10. African Library Resources in the U.S., held May 1966 at the Center for Continuing Education, Chicago, attended by 11 Africanists, chaired by Hans Panofsky.
11. African Urban Research: Theory, Strategy and Utilization, held June 1966, at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, chaired by George Jenkins, attended by ten Africanists.

These eleven conferences prepared reports from their deliberations which included specific recommendations for the improvement of the various fields. Because of the status of the men who prepared them, these reports have become the standard reference works when the "state of the discipline" is questioned. To facilitate the implementation of the recommendations which they made, Gwendolen Carter organized a closed meeting of leading Africanists in Colorado in late 1966. She described the meeting and its participants in a letter to William Brown in the spring of 1966 as follows:

It is our hope that a considerable number of public and of private organizations will be interested in one or more of the recommendations made by the specialist conferences. The only way we can find this out, however, would be through a meeting with representatives of such agencies and foundations as the National Academy of Sciences, the Ford Foundation, AID, the Department of Defense, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Smithsonian Institution. Such a meeting would seem to be the best way to determine the possibilities of securing the implementation of the conference reports.

The last bit of ARC-Army money went to bring these very people together. At a meeting at White Sulphur Springs in November 1966, all the chiefs of government, corporation, and foundation-land showed up to meet with the overlords of academia--Baum, Carter, Gene Lyons (a Department of Defense adviser), Vernon McKay, Phillip Curtin, Bill Hance, Benjamin Rivlin, Aristide Zolberg, and so on. They discussed the "position and problems of the American scholar in Africa." The position was getting worse. Something had to be done. That something was to be the Research Liaison Committee.

RESEARCH LIAISON COMMITTEE

In the summer of 1965, William Hance and Philip Curtin divided Africa up among themselves and jetted off on safaris calculated to explore the tightening "research climate." The trip was an eye-opener: they reported a growing "sensitivity and suspicion" by Africans toward snooping American scholars. They recommended several steps to prevent U.S. academics from getting thrown off the continent: (1) closer contact with African scholars; (2) better preparation for U.S. travellers; (3) more financial support for African research institutes and (5) more discretion and better manners for Americans. The ASA founded the Research Liaison Committee, based at Columbia under the watchful eye of Gray Cowan and the competent hand of Shirley Fisher, to preserve this academic Open Door Policy. The friendly Man at the Ford Foundation pitched in \$140,000 to help things along.

The Research Liaison Committee carries out its mandate by keeping records of all American research being carried out in Africa and thus facilitates a more rational coordination by the foundations and easier access for the government. The Committee, composed largely of members of the ASA oligarchy, acts as a weathervane for the changing research climate. For three years, members of this inner circle have been sent on African tours to pinpoint sensitive problems in the field and measure threatening storms or impending rainy seasons for potential researchers. The members of the Committee who have travelled in Africa to report on research opportunities include Vernon McKay, Igor Kopytoff, Benjamin Rivlin, Robert West, Robert Lystad, Carl Rosberg, and Alphonso Castagno. John Marcum and William Zartman have just been coopted into this tribe.

CODESIRA: EXTENDING THE NETWORK TO AFRICA

As African countries and societies limited the access of foreign academics, and as U.S.-trained mandarins returned home, new "indigenous" institutions were needed to employ them and give U.S. social science an African base. CODESIRA is the outgrowth of attempts by America's tribe of Africanists to regulate the activities of their academic offspring. A foundation funded with university links and close governmental relations, CODESIRA is a good imitation of its fathers. CODESIRA is a coordinating body of 15 African research centers, headed by H.M.A. Onitiri of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research. It was founded in 1964 at a meeting at Bellagio, Italy, a villa belonging to the Rockefellers, to encourage the development of social studies of Africa conducted by Africans, thereby helping to circumvent the growing problem of accessibility encountered by American scholars. While its original funding was from the Rockefeller Foundation, its main source of support has been, like its American counterparts, the Ford Foundation.

In practice CODESIRA's function has been to collect descriptive summaries, data and final reports of all research undertaken by the 15 member institutes in the fields of economics, political science, and sociology. CODESIRA thus operates as a depository and a funnel for all social science research done in Africa. As would be expected, the mouth of the funnel is in Africa while its spout pours the findings into the U.S. Direction of CODESIRA effectively rests with the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University. Information about Africa is compiled and stored under the sharp eye of Robert West.

What If ...

"What if the machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, secrets and unconscious motivations of the wealthy and powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried into, analyzed and cross referenced, tabulated and published in a hundred inexpensive mass circulation journals and written so that even the fifteen-year-old high school drop-out could understand it and predict the actions of his landlord, manipulate and control him?"

Martin Nicolaus, Remarks
at the American Socio-
logical Association Con-
vention, 1968

Consider the Alternative

The foundation on which African studies was built in the 1950's is cracking. The classroom itself is no longer safe for the servant class of scholars, professors and administrators who laid the groundwork for the discipline. Fieldwork is increasingly hazardous for their flunkies who are combing the continent for the fleas of revolution. What looked like a secure profession a few years ago is fast becoming a pit of quicksand for those who do not have the need or the sensibility to seek an alternative.

There are a lot of honest people involved in the business of African studies who find its managerial functions and their own exploitation repugnant. But for too many years they have sought personal solutions to what is essentially a social problem. They have lived like ostriches with their heads buried in research cubicles. They have never challenged the fundamental assumptions or institutions ruling their "profession."

They have done this largely, because there appeared to be no alternative. Why was there no alternative? Because none was created. Now the revolt of their subjects, both the students of Africa and the Africans, has enabled, or rather forced, them to consider the alternative. That alternative is the changing of institutions and yourself in the process. You are the alternative. At least you are part of it. The rest is collective desire and social force.

Such an approach will obviously not be - nor can it be - sanctioned and legitimated by the present system of academic and economic production. It is extremely unlikely that Africanists will be able to challenge those forces controlling their own profession, much less the international economy, without developing new techniques of struggle. The few attempts there have been to erect an independent voice on African affairs, such as the group around Africa Today, have been lost in a swamp of lukewarm liberal politics and now, it appears the Ford Foundation has sucked them along too into a racy new center in Denver. By the same token, the number of American Africanists with any degree of commitment and lack of complicity can be counted on two hands - people like Richard Sklar, Herbert Weiss, Alvin Wolfe, Stanley Diamond.

Faculty and students operate the means of academic production; they are the producers of education. They must now seek to socialize control of the factory schools which they run; they must collectively exploit all the facilities provided by the exploiters. What are these facilities? They are the typewriters, the xerox machines, the computers, the libraries, the telephones, the classrooms; all the material forces which produce education and research.

What do you do after that? The following are some practical tips on how to proceed from here to there:

1. Shift the focus of research from whatever you are doing now to the institutions of corporate power and how they organize their activities in Africa.
2. Support the efforts of Africans who want to alter the terms of academic trade; demand that all funds for research about Africa be matched with support for African research about America.
3. Stop using funds earmarked for dirty work; obtain money by any means necessary, but utilize it for power research relevant for the needs of revolutionary movements.
4. Organize your own research groups within the community where you live and work; relate them to independent groups elsewhere like NACLA, ARG et al.
5. Refuse to cooperate with all forms of coordination (coercion) and surveillance by the government, the companies, the CIA, or the foundations; don't waste time trying to improve public relations with these institutions.
6. Find ways to neutralize scholars who do dirty work; they should not be allowed to carry out their assignments.

Lobbying within professional organizations, or currying favor among university administrators will get nowhere. The rapidly polarizing situation in the United States and within a revolutionary world urgently demands a choice or a confrontation. Ask yourself: What am I working on and who am I writing for? The undernourished guerrillas in Angola have concrete needs but so does the movement to transform American society. Both movements need to understand the nature of the forces ranged against them. "The world," as Junebug Jabbo Jones warns, "is on fire and the danger zone is everywhere."



THE TRIBAL (ROSTER

(A RADICAL WHO'S WHO ~ OF THE ~ AFRICAN STUDIES ~ (ESTABLISHMENT

Thirty five people founded the African Studies Association in 1957; some 1500 attended its last convention. While the "field" has mushroomed, a small oligarchy of well-connected and deeply interconnected men exercised control through the mechanisms which have already been described. It is their graduate students now who are worming their way around the Continent, collecting "data" and competing for funding and prestige. The list that follows offers a selective rundown on the most important Africa hands in the United States: their various institutional affiliations and government connections. Some of the people listed may have severed their ties with some of these bodies, but if they have, they certainly have not chosen to publicize their political reasons. Our advice: if you sight some of these people prying around in your country—or your mind—report them to your local revolutionary anthropological society.

Symbols Used: (DOD) Defense Department Dirty Worker; (SDA) State Department Advisor; (CFR) Council on Foreign Relations; (FA) Foundation Agent; (CIA) Central Intelligence Agency; (ASA) African Studies Association Founding Fellow; (SSRC) Social Science Research Council; (ACLS) American Council of Learned Societies; (ARC) African Research Committee—Department of the Army; and (RLC) Research Liason Committee

NAME/INSTITUTIONAL HOME/AFFILIATIONS/FIELD OF WORK/COMMENTS

- APTER, DAVID/Yale/SDA, SSRC, ASA, DOD—had \$90,000 contract from the Air Force but surrendered it for "cleaner" Ford funding/
"High Priest of Modernization"—best known for turgid tomes on the "Politics of Modernization", a theoretical approach to development which rationalizes the existence of imperialism; one of a group of scholars who recently (6/69) called on President Nixon to pay their respects.
- ASHFORD, DOUGLAS/Cornell Center for International Studies/Contributed at least one article on counter-insurgency in Morocco for American University SORO collection; frequently attends State Department conferences.
- BERG, ELIOT J./AID Consultant, Chairman of Joint State Department-AID Task Force on Labor in Africa (1962)/Mission is to rationalize American investments in Africa; spent some time applying modernizing efforts in Liberia.
- BAUM, ROBERT/Department of State/Chairman of the subcommittee for Africa of FAR (Foreign Areas Research Council) which co-ordinates all government sponsored research including that of the CIA; heads up Africa Research for the State Department; on the side teaches at Johns Hopkins' School for Advanced International Studies; The Man.
- BIENEN, HENRY/Princeton/DOD, State Department Local Development Conference, contributor to CFR magazine "Foreign Affairs".
- BLACK, LLOYD D./Northern Illinois University/AID—consultant and author of the Strategy of Foreign Aid, CIA—admits to being a CIA consultant on AID matters. ASA.
- BOHANNAN, PAUL/Northwestern/SDA/Author of Africa and Africans widely used in introductory anthropology classes.
- BREITON, HENRY/Michigan/SDA/Author of reactionary book on Nkrumah.
- BROWN, WILLIAM O. (deceased)/Boston University/Office of Strategic Studies (OSS), the fore-runner of the CIA, State Department Bureau of Intelligence, ASA, ARC.
- CAMPBELL, WALDEMAR/Department of State/Chief, Division of Research on North, East and South Africa; frequently surfaces at student symposiums to defend U.S. government support for South African fascism.
- CARTER, GWENDOLYN M./Northwestern University/SDA, SSRC, Ford Foundation Training Program in Africa, Organizer of African Research Committee (ARC) which received \$117,000 from the U.S. Army Research Office for evaluations of existing social science resources on Africa in the U.S. (Contract No. 49 092 ARO 94)/
"Auntie Gwen" is a frequent traveler to Africa; she used to be accompanied by a trained cadre of Smith College girls who interviewed many leading African liberation movement leaders; who has these notes now?
- CASTAGNO, ALPHONSO/Boston University/RLC/Helped the CFR organize their confidential discussion groups on Africa.

CHILCOTE, RONALD/University of California/Why does a scholar sympathetic to the struggles of the nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies allow the notorious Hoover Institute of Peace, War and (Counter) Revolution at Stanford to publish his books and store documents of the nationalist struggle?

COLEMAN, JAMES/UCLA/SDA, ASA, SSRC, American Society of African Culture (AMSAC--CIA funded) Advisory Board;;leading agent of the Rockefeller Foundation in East Africa which is "modernizing" university education and reinforcing bourgeois educational approaches in Tanzania. (See:Grant Kamenju, "In Defence of the Socialist University", Transition 32)

COLLINS, ROBERT/University of California, Santa Barbara/A Young Riser trained at Oxford and Yale; notorious for his behind-the-scene defense of South Africa against student protest against University complicity with South African fascism. An important man to watch.

COWAN, L. GRAY/Columbia/ASA, SDA, SSRC, African-American Institute, CIA contact man? Overseas Liason Committee of the American Council on Education--they're the people who are trying to develop techniques so that U.S. colleges can "screen out" protest prone students (i.e. radicals)/ He was dispatched to the Congo to consult after police opened up and shot 16 students in a recent demonstration; Cowan's Institute is part of the Columbia School of International Affairs, a CIA contracting service center. For several years, he has had the ASA's Research Liason Committee under his thumb.

CURTIN, PHILLIP D./Wisconsin/ARC, RLC/Slippery character; never commits himself on political questions; he built the empire of comparative tropical history at Wisconsin; made a trip to Africa in 1965 for ASA to check out research environment, warning on his return of the dwindling access to Africa for American Africanists due to arrogance and irrelevance to local needs; Motive: to keep the Empire running smoothly.

DOOB, LEONARD/Yale/Chief, Bureau Overseas Intelligence O.W.I. (WW II), ASA/Author of Communications in Africa which was funded by the U.S. Army.

DE KIEWIET, C.W./SDA, ASA, CFR, Chairman, Overseas Liason Committee, American Council on Education; Ford Foundation Screening Committee; ACLU; Advisory Committee on Underdeveloped Areas, Mutual Security Agency; Director of George Eastman House and the Lincoln Rochester Trust Bank; President Emeritus of Rochester University.

EMERSON, RUPERT/Harvard Center for International Affairs/CFR, past President of ASA, has served in the State Department.

FERKISS, VICTOR/Georgetown/Preoccupied with "Africa's Search for Identity" while helping Boston University train AID personnel; also consults for the Peace Corps.

FREDRICKS, WAYNE/Ford Foundation Director for Africa/DOD, 1951-1954; Program Associate, Ford Foundation, 1956-1958; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, 1961-1967; served as Ford Foundation program advisor while at the State Department; ASA; CFR.

GOOD, ROBERT/Department of State, now on a grant studying the problems of Zimbabwe/Ex Ambassador to Zambia; Co-ordinator of Kennedy's Task Force on Africa, 1960; Director, Office of Research and Analysis for Africa, State Department, 1961-1965.

GREEN, REGINALD/The Treasury, Government of Tanzania/Economic Advisor financed by the Ford Foundation/NSA-CIA student leader.

HALPERN, MANFRED/Princeton/SDA/Another "modernizer"; his beat is primarily the Middle East but the fallout, blown by southern winds, has dropped seeds in tropical areas. He would like to be a soldier but it doesn't pay as well.

HANNA, JUDITH AND WILLIAM JOHN/CRESS--Center for Research in Social Systems, American University, Washington, D.C. (DOD)/CRESS received nearly \$2 million in fiscal year 1968 for counter-insurgency research for the Department of the Army. Dirty Workers.

HANCE, WILLIAM/Columbia/ASA, FA, CFR, ACLS, SSRC, ARC; leading advocate of the thesis that the only way to change South Africa is to step up U.S. investments so that more Africans will be needed in better jobs thus creating pressures for change and eventual breakdown of apartheid--and keeping American profits high. He's not in a hurry to overthrow apartheid.

HOVET, THOMAS/University of Oregon/U.N. specialist; staff member, international studies group, Brookings Institute; member of CFR study group.

KAMARCK, ANDREW/World Bank/Author of CFR book on economic development; key man of World Bank and link between Africa studies and "finance capital"; has been known to teach at Johns Hopkins.

KARIS, THOMAS/CCNY/Served in the U.S. Embassy, South Africa; helped compile Guide to transcript of the Treason Trial in South Africa for notorious Hoover Institute.

KILSON, MARTIN/Harvard/Has participated at State Department Conferences; attacked black student struggles at NAACP Convention, 1969.

KLOMAN, ERAMUS/IBM Corporation, New York/ex Assistant to President at American Metal Climax Corporation; Assistant to Director at CIA supported Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (1950-1953). Spook.

LEFEVER, ERNEST W./Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C.

LEVINE, ROBERT A./Chicago/ARC-DOD/Now on major Carnegie Grant in Northern Nigeria; has had National Institute of Mental Health grants and funds from Ford; has prepared surveys of the dreams of Nigerian schoolboys to determine their attitudes towards status mobility, achievement motivation and obedience to social values according to their respective ethnic groups. This type of behavioral science thrives by feeding data on the cultural life and motives of its subjects into research apparatus of corporations and governments.

LYSTAD, ROBERT A./Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
RLC/edited a major survey of social research in the African
field for the African Studies Association (funded by Ford);
traveled to Southern Africa to assess the "research climate"
for the RLC; former book editor for Africa Report.

MARCUM, JOHN/Lincoln University/RLC, SDA, CFR Discussion leader.

McKAY, VERNON/Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies/
ASA past President, CFR, RLC, African-American Institute Trustee,
Member, U.S. National Committee for UNESCO; Chairman, Advisory
Council on African Affairs, State Department; Trustee, South
African Institute of Race Relations (Ford Foundation funded).

MERRIAM, ALAN P./Indiana University/ASA, SSRC-ACLS; President's Task
Force for Africa, 1960; Belgian American Education Foundation.

MORGANTHAU, RUTH SCHACHTER/Brandeis/SDA, CFR Discussion groups; together
with Husband Henry, helped run an AID financial communications
program at Brandeis for Nigeria; served on the ASA committee
to investigate government sponsored research.

MUNGER, EDWIN/California Institute of Technology/ARC, American University
Field Staff roving representative, 1951-1961/Reactionary
apologist for South Africa; may soon be rewarded with an
Ambassadorship.

NIELSON, WALDEMAR A./African-American Institute/State Department Advisor and
former employee; Ford Foundation Executive, 1953-1961;
Executive Director of a President's Committee on International
Affairs, 1960; published African Battleline, 1965, for the
Council on Foreign Relations which is a sophisticated outline
for U.S. strategy in Southern Africa.

OSTRANDER, TAYLOR/Assistant to the President, American Metal Climax Corporation/
SDA, President, African-American Chamber of Commerce, ASA/
Widely believed to be one of the most influential corporate
advisors on the government's Africa policy. (See: Wolfe Letter, p. 36
His assistant, Winifred Armstrong, does his leg work at
academic meetings and political events.

PERLMUTTER, AMOS/Harvard/Responsible for a \$40,000 contract from the Air Force,
1966-1968, to study: "Political Functions of Military Elites:
North Africa and the Near East" under the auspices of Inter-University
Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Inc.

PIFER, ALAN/Carnegie Corporation/SDA, CFR, ASA; U.S.-South Africa Leadership
Exchange Program; Trustee, African-American Institute (CIA funded for
8 years).

RIVKIN, ARNOLD (deceased)/World Bank/Director of African Research at MIT's
CIA's organized Center for International Studies; published
Africa and the West: Proposals for the Free World (sic) Policy
(Praeger, 1961).

ROSBERG, CARL/University of California, Berkeley/SDA, RLC/Recently harassed
by students at Dar es Salaam for trying to teach functionalist
nonsense in a socialist country.

SAMUELS, MICHAEL/Georgetown University, Center for Strategic Studies/
Studies Portuguese territories; a man to watch.

SHEPERD, GEORGE/University of Denver/Editor of Africa Today, formerly published by the American Committee on Africa; in his Politics of African Nationalism he advises the U.S. to accept radical nationalism and even a union of socialist states as an alternative to Communism and revolution.

SEGAL, AARRON/African-American Institute/New editor of Africa Report.

SKINNER, ELLIOT/U.S. Ambassador, Upper Volta/First black scholar at Columbia; member, American Society of African Culture.

SLOAN, RUTH/Ruth Sloan Associates, Washington, D.C./ex State Department employee and SDA; has done studies as consultant for State Department and African-American Institute.

SPENCER, JOHN H./Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts/Senior Advisor in Foreign Affairs to Ethiopian Government, 1943-1961.

STOLPER, WOLFGANG/Michigan/While part of the Ford funded MIT team, he wrote the first Nigerian Economic Plan (without facts). It didn't work.

SUTTON, FRANCIS X./Ford Foundation/SDA, ASA/"If one may venture to use a term stirring unpleasant connotations, it may be said that the Foundations have an important role in linking the modernizing elites of the world. Collaborative efforts at development assistance and higher learning foster a network of professional and personal contacts throughout the world." International capitalism defined.

WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL/Columbia/World Assembly of Youth, International Student Conference--both CIA fronts; SDA, CFR Discussion Group leader.

WEINSTEIN, BRIAN/Howard University/Spent time in Africa training neo-colonial public administrators; prepared report on schools of public administration for AID.

WEST, ROBERT/Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts/RLC, CFR/One time top CIA student leader; Rockefeller Foundation agent in Nigeria; organizer of CODISERA to tie African research institutes closer to the U.S.; helped to manage Congolese finances after Lumumba was murdered.

WOLPE, HAROLD/Northwestern/Prepared reports for State Department and AID.

YOUNG, CRAWFORD/Wisconsin/SDA/Top level student leader in the CIA infested and funded National Student Association and International Student Conference as well as recipient of a fellowship from the Catherwood Foundation, a CIA conduit; frequent visitor to the Congo on Ford and State Department funds; wrote a study of Congolese politics which ignores the central role played by the U.S. Young refers to the latter somewhat obscenely as "external prolongation of Congolese politics"; was named head of Black Studies Committee at Wisconsin but a student revolt forced him to step down into the Chairmanship of the Political Science Department. A man to carefully watch.

ZOLBERG, ARISTIDE/Chicago/A young riser anxious to "create political order"; keynote speaker at a State Department Conference on Local Development, 1967; ARC

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**Research Climate
In West Africa**

IGOR KOPYTOFF, professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, visited eight West African countries in summer 1967 to survey the climate for research. His report was subsequently published in the African Studies Bulletin (an excerpt appeared in the March 1968 issue of FAR Horizons) and was circulated for comment to the U.S. Ambassadors in the countries studied.

From Upper Volta, Ambassador Elliott P. Skinner, former professor of anthropology at Columbia University, reported that he concurred with Professor Kopytoff's findings and added the following results of his own observation.

... Africans have still not gotten over their dislike of being studied, and like many of the people in the third world, or in analogous situations in more developed countries, they often cannot help resenting being the object of study rather than considered normal human beings who by definition need not be studied. This is a dilemma which only time will heal. However, I feel that those of us who are in contact with Africa and Africans and do have scholarly interests in Africa and its people should not blind ourselves to this basic but too often unstated fact. I know that we must increase our

knowledge of Africa if only because we need this information to live with them in a rapidly shrinking world. But we should try as best as we can to ease their embarrassment and often hostility to what they very often consider to be an unwelcome intrusion in their daily lives. Professor Kopytoff's suggestion that we associate Africans with our studies is certainly one way of dealing with the problem, except that in their sensitivity many Africans find this to be a new and often more insidious form of exploitation. They suggest that now that outsiders must admit that they cannot really get correct basic data in African societies, they enlist African help under the guise of collaboration. It may be that the time will soon come when we will go to Africa primarily as *students* and not as *researchers*, thereby doing what Africans have been doing in the United States for the last 60 or more years. This possibility was forcibly brought home to me at a recent conference at the University of Ife in which African scholars took all foreign researchers to task and suggested that it may be only after Westerners have lost their arrogance that fruitful cooperation will be possible between the two. I believe this statement to be an extreme one, but do understand the basis for it.

