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AFSAAP NEWSLETTER

Volume VII Number 2 & 3, July and November 1985

The AFSAAP Newsletter is scheduled to appear three times a year, in March, July and November. Suggestions, short contributions, correspondence, and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by the first day of a month of publication will appear in that month's issue. Contributions should be sent to Dr James H. Polhemus, School of Social Sciences, Deakin University, Victoria, Australia, 3217. Correspondence on address changes and corrections should go to the same address.

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1986 AFSAAP ANNUAL CONFERENCE 23-25 AUGUST
ST HILDAS' COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE
A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

Close observers of the AFSAAF scene will note that there has been a hiatus between newsletters and that this is a double issue to get back on schedule. The editor acknowledges both blame and responsibility for the delay, which has its origins in a backlog of obligations on a number of fronts built up during a couple of months' fieldwork in Southern Africa during 1985. Nonetheless, it may be worth recalling that a newsletter of this nature is to a great extent dependent on the flow of news from its readers, a flow which has been fairly underwhelming over the past year with the exception of officers of the association and such stalwarts as Roy Pateman. At a time when African issues have achieved unprecedented prominence in New Zealand and Australia, this situation has disturbing implications for the relevance of the region's African Studies Association. Nevertheless, the editor begins the New Year with high resolve and hopes to have the support of the membership in making the newsletter a more lively reflection of the contemporary African scene in the region.

This issue includes Donald Ray's survey of African studies in Canada. Although Dr. Ray remarks upon the attacks on African studies by 'intellectual luddites', the contrast between the development of African studies in Australia and its not greatly more populous sister Commonwealth state is marked and gives food for thought. This issue also includes an updated version of the paper presented by David Allyn at the 1985 Annual Conference on the divestment issue - an issue which has yet to become an issue in the antipodes. An innovation which it is hoped will be a precedent for future issues is the publication of a short piece based on current higher degree research, in this case Dennis Walker's 'The Shift to Islam and Arabism among Modernising Egyptian Intellectuals'.

JIM GALE

Members of the African Studies Association will all have been deeply saddened by the sudden and unexpected death of Jim Gale last September. Jim was one of the founder members of the Association, who will be remembered above all for his key role in the fight against racism in Australia and especially against apartheid. As founder member and National Coordinator of the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation, he has been a moving force in the campaign to make Australians understand the nature of the South African crisis, and had come, at the time of his death, to have an increasing influence in relation to Australian policy on this issue. One of his major achievements was undoubtedly his role in bringing ABC (African National Congress) and SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) representatives to Australia and negotiating the establishment of their official offices.

AFSAAF members will remember Jim for his informed and powerful contributions to discussions on Southern Africa at our annual conferences. Notwithstanding the other considerable calls on his time and energy he always attended the conference, sometimes to give a paper, but always to make an important contribution to the discussion. Thus he was with us at the Canberra Conference last August, which he attended even though he was in the midst of final preparations for CARF's Conference on Namibia which was held, also in Canberra, the following weekend. At critical times he helped the Association to understand its own role, and all members will be grateful for that. We are proud to have been associated with him. The Association, as well as Africa, is the poorer for his death.

A Scholarship fund has been set up by CARE in his memory to bring a Southern African student to Australia. Donations can be sent to CARE, at 12 Alpha Street, Kensington Park, S.A. 5068.

Cherry Gertzel
EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The highly successful Eighth Annual Conference of the Association was held on 24-26 August 1985 at Burgmann College of the Australian National University in Canberra. Ably organised by Dr. David Dorward working at a distance from La Trobe University in Melbourne, the conference brought together more than seventy registered participants including scholars from Africa and the United States as well as Australia and New Zealand, Africa diplomats, Australian diplomats posted to Africa, representatives of private aid agencies, and members of the business sector. The conference included panels on Disease and Development, Civil-Military Rule and the State, Role of Western Intelligence Services in Nation Building, The Tragedy of Education, and Australian Policy toward Africa. A highlight of the conference was a plenary on Africa in Crisis: Issues and Involvement for Australians organised under the joint auspices of AFSAAP and the Society for International Development. The memorable keynote addresses for the conference were presented by Sir Michael Wood, Director-General, African Medical and Research Foundation, Nairobi. Papers presented at the conference are listed elsewhere in this issue.

1985 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Minutes of the 1985 Annual General Meeting, held at Burgmann College, Australian National University, on 24 August 1985. Attendance: 27

In the absence of the President (Cherry Gertzel), John Omar-Cooper took the chair.

1. Apologies

Apologies were received from Cherry Gertzel, Jeff Leewenburg, and Rupert Watson.

2. Minutes of the last AGM

These had been circulated in the November 1984 Newsletter. Approved (Ian Raa).

3. Business Arising from the Minutes

At the last AGM, the AFSAAP executive had been empowered to approach ADAF and the Minister for Foreign Affairs in order to present the Association's views on the Jackson Report and Australia's aid program in Africa. Members of the executive conveyed AFSAAP's views to ADAF officials on various occasions during the year. The executive was unable to secure an appointment with the Minister, but did convey its views to him by letter.

4. President's Report

This report, detailing the Association's main activities over the past year, was read to the meeting by John Omar-Cooper. Report approved.

5. Treasurer's Report

David Dorward reported as follows:

The Association remains financially sound, with an effective estimated balance after projected expenses of $2,746.11, of which $1,186.78 is currently held in a higher interest bearing term-deposit account, with the remainder on-call. We have a paid-up Membership (as of 20 August 1985) of 139; 100 Ordinary Members and 39 Student Members, plus one organisational membership. In addition, 36 Worthy Members have already paid their 1986 AFSAAP Membership Fees.

We came into the 1985 year with a slight decrease in the balance brought forward over the previous year owing to a loss on the 1984 AFSAAP Conference account. Last year's conference losses arose from a combination of a too-low Conference Registration Fee (particularly the Student Registration which was subsidised beyond the financial capacities of the Association) and the high costs of reproducing the Conference papers, which went over budget due to the number and length of papers. There were also problems related to the costs for the Conference Dinner which were not resolved until well into 1985. However, the situation in 1985 is under control and it is to be anticipated that this year's Conference will bring in some modest funds through the post-Conference sale of papers to Repository Libraries outside the AFSAAP Region and Africa (free sets are deposited at various Australian Libraries and Requesting African Institutions), albeit such post-Conference windfall is not included in the above estimated balance.

I draw your attention to this 1984-5 Treasurer's Report as distributed, covering 1984 and the interim figures to 20 August 1985.

Treasurer's Report 1984-1985

Brought Forward 1984 30 day Deposit Account $1,000.00

On-Call Account 699.33

Total $1,699.33

Credit 1984

1984 AFSAAP Conference;
Accommodation Fees $1,911.00
Conference Registration 1,335.00
Conference Dinner 800.00
Post-Conference sale of papers 205.00

Total $4,251.00

Paul Morawetz gift 200.00
Membership receipts 220.00
Interest of Account 60.22

Total Credit $4,731.22
Debit 1984

AFSAAP Conference
Paid to Trinity College
Accommodation $1,911.00
Conference Room Hire 210.00
Eve of Conference Reception 137.50
Morning/Afternoon Tea 117.00
Conference Dinner 962.75
Miscellaneous 5.00
$3,143.25

Paid to La Trobe University
Reproduction of Papers $1,362.00
Conference Poster 52.75
$1,414.75

Paid to African Ensemble
Film Hire Charges 150.00
Bad cheques and Bank charges 78.00
Gratitude to Secretarial Staff 66.00
Staff 20.00
$3,072.00

Stationery 4.85
Total $5,076.85

Total debit for year $345.63
Balance in Accounts $1,333.70

Brought Forward 1985
30 day Deposit Account $1,060.22
On-Call Account 293.48
$1,353.70

Credit 1985

1985 AFSAAP Conference (to 20 August 1985);
Accommodation fees $1,080.00
Conference Registration 1,340.00
Conference Dinner 500.00
Pre-Payment 2,520.60
Paul Norwetz gift 500.00
1985 Membership 640.00
1986 Membership fees 308.00
Interest on Accounts 108.56
Total Credit $4,476.55 + $4,376.55

Debit 1985

Paid to La Trobe University
Conference Poster $90.50
Pre-Conference mailings 67.60
Sub Total $158.10

Bank Tax and State Duty 4.35
Stationery 2.10
Owed to Burgmann College
Accommodation $1,080.00
Conference Dinner 500.00
Sub Total $1,580.00

Total debit to 20/8/85 $1,744.55 - $1,744.55 $3,985.70
Balance on Hand 20/8/85

6. Secretary's Report

David Goldsworthy reported that secretarial work had consisted mainly of:

(i) corresponding with potential new members;
(ii) corresponding with counterpart organisations in other countries;
(iii) meeting orders (mostly from overseas university libraries) for back sets of AFSAAP Conference papers;
(iv) meeting orders from individual and institutions in Australasia, Africa, USA and the UK for copies of the AFSAAP directory.

He reported that stocks of the 1984 edition of the directory were nearly exhausted, and that a new edition would be prepared in 1986.

In discussion, it was suggested that AFSAAP should attempt to expand its range of relationships (including publications exchanges) with counterpart organisations in Africa.

Report approved.

7. Newsletter

Proposals for the newsletter included:

(1) including more material about who is teaching, what, where;
(2) using it more as a vehicle of communication with academics in Africa.

The meeting expressed its thanks to Jim Polhemus for his work as editor.
8. Election of Committee for 1985-86

The following were elected unopposed:

- President: Cherry Gertzel
- Secretary: David Goldworthy
- Treasurer: David Dorward
- Newsletter Editor: Jim Polhemus
- Committee: Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremoh (Vic.), Norman Etherington (S.A.), Pan Metherington (W.A.), Helen Mill (A.C.T.), John Lee (N.S.W.), John Omer-Cooper (N.Z.), Yaw Saffu (P.N.G.), Mike Toole (C.A.A.), Zalma Tunis (Qld., student), Tony Vaih (A.D.A.B.)

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Association will be organized by Jeff Lesuwenburg and held at St. Milda's College, University of Melbourne on 23-25 August 1986.

Papers and other contributions are invited on all topics, to be sent in as soon as comfortably possible. Themes which it is hoped to develop are: women and development; Australian trade with Africa outside South Africa; southern Africa update; African political directions and the OAU; reviews of Australian/African development co-operation; Australian teachers' experience in Africa.

Papers accepted must be no more than twenty pages, and should be supplied by the end of June for copying. For participation in forums or panels, or discussion of the programme and extra suggestions, please contact the convenor: Jeff Lesuwenburg, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, Parkville, 3052. Phone (03) 344-5367 (work).

AFSAAP DIRECTORY QUESTIONNAIRE

Stocks of the 1984 edition of AFSAAP's Directory of Africanists are almost exhausted, and we plan to produce a new edition during 1986.

A questionnaire form is enclosed with this issue of the Newsletter. Please fill in the questionnaire and return it to David Goldworthy by 31 March 1986 if:

(i) you wish to be included in the Directory as a new entrant;

or

(ii) you wish to alter your existing entry in any way (e.g. to notify a change of address, new teaching or research interests, new publications, etc.)

If you choose not to return the questionnaire, your entry will be reprinted as it appears in the 1984 edition.

Entrants in the 1984 edition who, to our knowledge, no longer reside in the region will not be listed in the new edition.
# PAPERS PRESENTED AT AFSAAP ANNUAL CONFERENCES

The following is a complete list of papers presented at AFSAAP conferences from 1979 to 1985. (There were no formal presentations at the first conference in 1978).

Copies of papers presented at the 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985 conferences can be ordered from David Dorward (Department of History, La Trobe University). Charges are as follows (all prices in Australian currency):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Papers Details</th>
<th>Charge</th>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1 or 2 papers:</td>
<td>$3 each</td>
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<td>2 to 6 papers:</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>1 to 9 papers:</td>
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<td>10 to 19 papers:</td>
<td>$30 flat charge</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>1 to 9 papers:</td>
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<td>10 to 19 papers:</td>
<td>$30 flat charge</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1 to 9 papers:</td>
<td>$3 each</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 to 21 papers:</td>
<td>$30 flat charge</td>
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</tbody>
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For overseas orders, please add $5 for postage costs. For information about the availability of papers presented at earlier conferences, contact David Dorward.

Papers presented at the second annual conference Australian National University, 1979

79-1 Muhammad Ayoob, "South Africa in the 1980s: Is Violent Change Inevitable?"
79-2 John Ballard, "The State and Political Incorporation in Nigeria"
79-3 J.C. Caldwell, "Fertility Perspectives in Africa"
79-5 Griff Foley, "The Ideology of Educators in Late Colonial Rhodesia"
79-6 Rolf Gerritsen, "The Political Economy of a Trans-Volta State in Ghana"
79-7 David Goldworthy, "Civilian Control of the Military in Black Africa"
79-9 Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp, "South Africa: Capital Accumulation, the State, and the Reproduction of Labour-Power"
79-10 Richard Higginott, "Structural Dependence and Decolonisation: Modification and Elaboration from French West Africa - the Case of Niger"
79-12 Adrian Peace, "Negotiating Ethnic Identity"

79-13 John Perry, "Land, Power and the Lie: A Case Study from Lesotho"
79-14 Robert Pokrant, "Tailoring: The Survival of a "Traditional" Occupation Among the Hausa of Kano City, Nigeria"
79-15 Eric ten Raa, "The Sandawe of Central Tanzania After Villagisation"
79-16 Keith Sorrenson, "New Zealand-African Relations"
79-17 Tom Spear, "African Studies in Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea"
79-18 Charles Stahl, "Recent Change in the Demand for Foreign African Labour in South Africa and Future Prospects"
79-19 Helen Ware, "The Demography of Guinea"

Talks (No papers)

79-21 Neville Curtis, "The Politics of Fragmentation"
79-22 Cherry Gertzel, "Restoration of Civilian Rule in Uganda"
79-23 David Goldworthy, "African-Australian Relations"
79-24 Anthony McGowan, "Critics of Britain's Colonial Policy in Africa in the Inter-War Years"

Papers presented at the third annual conference La Trobe University, 1980

80-1 J.U. Ayalogu, "Universal Primary Education in Nigeria"
80-2 E.G. Dimka, "Why Teach About Africa"
80-3 David Dorward, "Films on Africa"
80-4 Anthony Hayward, "Problems in Teaching About Other Cultures to Australian Students"
80-5 Trish Henwood, "Become Aware of the People of Africa"
80-6 Richard Higginott, "The Continuing French Presence in Africa"
80-7 Caroline Ifeka, "Identity and Crisis: The Biafran Civil War"
80-9 Jock McClure, "Cabrai"
80-10 Paul Bury, "Franz Fanon in the Post-Colonial Period: À la Recherche du Temps Perdu"
80-11 John Omer-Cooper, "The Role of the University of Ibadan in the Spread of the Study and Teaching of African History in Africa"
80-12 Roy Pateman, "Some Implications of Military Cooperation Between South Africa and Israel"
80-13 Jan Pettman, "Africa and Attitude Change: The Teacher's Role"
80-14 Eric ten Raa, "Ritual Before and After Villagisation in Tanzania: The Case of Sandawe Twin Births"
80-15 Tom Spear and Stafford Kay, "Teaching About Africa: A Guide to Resources"
80-16 V. Subramaniam, "Nigeria's New Federalism: Testing Troubles and Traumas of Transition"
80-17 Noel VanZuilen and John Gregan, "Overcoming Stereotypes of Africa: The Case Study Approach"
Talks (No papers)

80-T1 John Ballard, 'The Passing of the Nationalist Generation'.
80-T2 Steve Brazil, 'Teaching About Africa'.
80-T3 Cherry Gertzel, 'The Passing of the Nationalist Generation'.
80-T4 Dan O'Brien, 'Zambian Educational Plans and National Debate'.

Papers presented at the fourth annual conference
University of New South Wales, 1981

81-1 Fessehaie Abraham, 'Population and Armed Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Two Decades of Genocide in Eritrea'.
81-2 J.C. Caldwell, 'Food Production and Crisis in the West African Savannah'.
81-3 Eddie Coghill, 'Africa-ADAB's Role and Responsibility in the Development Arena'.
81-4 John Davies, 'Capital, the State, and Post-Soviet Educational Reform in South Africa'.
81-5 David Dorward, 'Change Among the Eggon of Central Nigeria'.
81-7 David Goldsworthy, 'Ethnicity and Leadership in Africa: The "Typical" Case of Ton Mhoya'.
81-8 Kenneth Good, 'Relevant Theory: Production and Class Formation in their Socio-Historical Settings'.
81-9 John Lea, 'Changing Approaches towards Tourism in Africa: Planning and Research Perspectives'.
81-10 F. Lovejoy and M. Khilla, 'Female Circumcision in the Sudan: Traditional Practice and Government Policy'.
81-11 Dan O'Brien, 'Religious Leader Versus King: Oral Tradition in Zambia'.
81-14 Derek Overton, 'International TV News in Australia: Focus on Africa'.
81-15 Frances Perkins, 'Technology Choice, Industrialisation and Development: The Case of Tanzania'.
81-16 Eric ten Haas, 'Nutrition and Social Structure: A Central Tanzanian Perspective'.
81-17 Thomas Stapleton, 'Dilemmas in African Medical Education'.

Talks (No papers)

81-T1 R. Bunbury, 'Tanzania: Educational Media and the National Goals'.
81-T2 Michelle Grottan, 'Australian Perspectives on Africa'.

Papers presented at the fifth annual conference
Australian National University, 1982

82-1 Samuel M. Makinda, 'Conflict and Accommodation in the Horn of Africa: Kenya's Role in the Somali-Ethiopian Dispute'.
82-2 Daudi R. Mukangara, 'Non-Dependent Development Policies: An Evaluation of Theory and Practice with Particular Reference to Tanzania 1967-78'.
82-3 Maxwell Nmadzivhanoni, 'On the Question of the Youth and Current Ideologies in the Azanian Question'.
82-5 John Ravenhill, 'The OAU and Economic Cooperation in Africa: Irresolute Resolutions'.
82-6 Robi Sabimus, 'Is Angola Communist?'

Papers presented at the sixth annual conference
Monash University, 1983

83-1 David Dorward, 'Ritual Warfare and Colonial Conquest of the Eggon'.
83-2 Jim Gale, 'Mozambique: A Case Study in Destabilization'.
83-3 Derek Healey, 'The World Bank and African Economic Development'.
83-4 David Jones, 'Chiefship and Elected Authority in Botswana'.
83-5 John Lea, 'Squatting as an Epiphenomenon: The Evolution of Unplanned Settlement in Swaziland'.
83-6 Jeff Leimweber, 'Reaction to Revolution: Why South Africa Hangs on in Namibia'.
83-7 Scott MacWilliam, 'Organizing the Political Representation of the Kikuyu Bourgeoisie in Kenya'.
83-8 John Murphy, 'Rural Class Formation in Colonial Kenya'.
83-9 Andrew Peck, 'Peter Abrahams: South African Conflict and the Uses of History'.
83-10 John and Cassandra Perry, 'Republic Festival 1981: Who were the Guests at the South African Feast?'
83-11 James Polhemus, 'The Refugee Factor in Botswana'.
83-12 Randall Powels, 'Shangways and the Roots of East African Coastal Civilization'.
83-13 Eric ten Haas, 'Hunters and Gatherers and the Acquisition of Cattle: A Linguistic and Historic Documentation from Central Tanzania'.
83-14 John Ravenhill, 'Collective Clientelism: The Lome Convention and North-South Relations'.
83-15 Geoffrey Reeves, 'Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Cultural Revolution in Kenya'.
83-16 Yaw Safiu, 'The Post-Colonial State in Africa: Some Preliminary Observations on an Emerging Theory'.
83-17 Rosaleen Smyth, 'Britain's African Colonies as Subject and Object of British Propaganda during World War II'.
83-18 Klaas Wolbing, 'The United Nations and Southern Africa'.
83-19 Klaas Wolbing, 'Why Australia Should Never Diplomatic Relations with South Africa'.

Papers presented at the seventh annual conference
University of Melbourne, 1984

84-1  Paul Abluwaila, 'Political Succession in Kenya: The Transition from Kenyatta to Moi'.
84-2  Martin Chancey, 'Crimes Created and Wrongs Experienced: Perspectives on the Social History of Crime in Colonial Africa'.
84-3  Zwabena Donkor and John Lea, 'Self-Reliance in the African Building Materials Industry: A Cautionary Tale from Ghana'.
84-4  E.W.F. Droogheere, 'The White Adviser to an African Monarch: Exploiter or Protector? A Case Study of Norman Etherington, A Nineteenth Century Encounter Between European and Zulu Medicine'.
84-5  Jim Cole, 'The Long Road to Freedom: Namibia in 1984'.
84-6  Kenneth Good, 'The Reproduction of Backward Agriculture and the Weak State in Africa: Zambian Experience'.
84-7  Mira Ivic, 'The Soviet and Cuban Involvement in the Horn of Africa'.
84-8  Rina Leenwaarden, 'Why Does Rosa Go Back? Sex, Colour and Confusion in Rudine Gordinier's Burger's Daughter'.
84-9  Kishneun Louie, 'Structure of the Nigerian Military Government: Evolution and Background'.
84-10 Samuel Nakinda, 'Superpowers in the 1977-78 Ogaden War'.
84-11 John Mugamba, 'Treaties or Scraps of Paper: The Legal Status of Colonial Agreements with Emphasis on Buganda'.
84-12 C. Mumbengegwi, 'Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in Zimbabwe: Some Problematic Contradictions and Prospects for Socialist Agricultural Development'.
84-13 John Murphy, 'The Colonial State in Kenya: Paternalism, Legitimation and Modernity'.
84-14 Jane L. Parpart, 'Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: 1926-1964'.
84-15 Eric ten Raa, 'The Alagwa: A Northern Intrusion in a Tanzanian Khoi-San Culture'.
84-16 Geoffroy W. Reeves, 'Popular Kenyan Literature and Politics'.
84-17 Timothy M. Shaw, 'Towards a Political Economy for Africa: Contradictory, coalitions and corporations'.
84-18 Rosaleen Smyth, 'How War Propaganda "Unsettled the Natives" in Northern Rhodesia during the Second World War'.

85-1  Felix Ameke, 'African Linguistic Routines and African Culture'.
85-2  Kwaal Annu-Kyereh, 'The Forgotten Outsiders: The Tragedy of Western Education in Africa'.
85-3  Amos Anyimadu, 'The Political Economy of Decay in Africa: A Survey of Emerging Themes with Special Reference to Ghana'.
85-4  Adam Ashforth, 'The State in South Africa: Legitimation Problems and Legitimating Strategies' (synopsis only).
85-5  Ebenzer Banful, 'Education and society in Roman North Africa'.
85-6  Simon Bayham, 'Civil-Military Relations in Ghana's Three Republics: Evolving Strategies of Civilian Control'.
85-7  Donald Denoon, 'Settler Capitalism and Temperate Medicine'.
85-8  Thabo Fako, 'African Medicine Against Intellectual Bias'.
85-9  John Purje, 'The Development of the Developing Nations in Africa: An Approach to the Centre-Periphery Relations'.
85-10 David Goldsworthy, 'Hands Across the Indian Ocean? The Hawke Government and Africa'.
85-11 Helen Hill, 'Issues Affecting African Women Arising at Forum 85, the Non-Governmental Meeting of Women - Nairobi July 1985'.
85-12 Jock McCulloch, 'Colonial Science and Revolutionary Psychology: Frantz Fanon and Octave Mannoni'.
85-13 John Omor-Cooper, 'The South African Frontier Revisited'.
85-14 Roy Putnam, 'The Role of Western Intelligence Services in Nation Building: Africa 1952-1984'.
85-15 James Polhemus, 'Botswana After Seretse Khama'.
85-16 Eric ten Raa, 'Simbo: The State, or Condition, of Being a Lion'.
85-17 Elizabeth Reid, 'Development Experience in Zaire: Project Design'.
85-18 G.T. Roberts, 'The Singida Project, Tanzania' (synopsis only).
85-19 Rosaleen Smyth, 'Propaganda, Development and the British Colonial Film Unit 1939-45'.
85-20 Michael Toole, 'Development Experience in Somalia'.
85-21 J.G. Tremlett, 'Development Experience with Special Reference to a Five Year Plan in Kenya - A Personal View'.
85-22 Jonathan Twining, 'Beyond Dependency and the World Systems Perspectives: The Non-Capitalist Path for Africa Revisited'.

Talks (No papers)

84-11 Panel on Australian Aid in Africa, Doug Campbell, John James, Robert McConn, Neil O'Sullivan, Gabrielle Fersley, Russell Rollason.
84-22 Panel on South Africa, Eddie Funda, Richard Johnstone, Jeff Leenwaarden.
85-T7 Randal Stewart, 'The Organization of Export Industry: Coffee in Tanzania'.
85-T8 Helen Ware, 'UN Conference to Mark the Close of the Decade for Women, Nairobi: The African Aspects'.
85-T9 Sir Michael Wood, 'The African Medical and Research Foundation, Kenya'.
85-T10 Panel on Africa in Crisis: Issues for Australians, Helen Hill, Caroline Ifeka, Patrick Kilbey, Daudi Muhangira, Joe Nowa, Roy Pateman, John Turnbull, Helen Ware.

THE DIVESTMENT ISSUE: AMERICAN RESPONSE TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

The state of emergency declared by P.W. Botha on July 21, 1985 sounded the death knell for the U.S. policy of constructive engagement towards the South African government. Media coverage of the widespread unrest in South Africa during the past fourteen months has penetrated the American consciousness to a much greater extent than coverage of the 1976 Soweto riots or the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. This increased awareness has resulted in intensified efforts by anti-apartheid groups to promote divestment and disinvestment in American companies operating in South Africa and a bipartisan call in Congress to impose economic sanctions. This paper will focus on the growing upsurge of public concern about apartheid and the impact of the Free South Africa Movement and student efforts to obtain divestment from South Africa. It will analyze the effects of Congress to pass legislation imposing sanctions which challenged the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement; a policy which has demonstrated its ineffectiveness at bringing about significant change in South Africa's apartheid system.

When the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) began its anti-apartheid protest in front of the South African embassy on November 21, 1984, few students of contemporary affairs would have anticipated either its staying power or the effect the demonstrations would have on the American public. Many observers predicted that the protests, organized by the Southern African Support Project and the FSAM,1 would not survive more than a few weeks. The movement not only survived the harsh winter but continued its protests for over ten months. Nor did the protestors limit their activity to the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. Similar anti-apartheid groups picketed South African consulates in Boston and Los Angeles. By mid-December 1984, more than 100 people, including sixteen U.S. congressmen, labor leaders, church officials and celebrities had been arrested for acts of civil disobedience.2 By late July 1985, the number of arrests had increased to 2,500 and demonstrations had been held in over thirty American cities with an additional 4,000 arrests.3

Analyzing the first nine months of anti-apartheid demonstrations in the United States, C.A. Lowthwait of the Baltimore Sun noted that "what was initially dismissed as just another outburst of anti-apartheid sentiment has emerged as the most active peacet ime protest movement in this country since the civil rights struggle of the 1960s".4 Is apartheid an issue whose time has finally come to the forefront for the American public? Many writers and media commentators feel that it has although some view this recent activism as intricately linked with President Reagan's landslide election in 1984 and the wounds it caused among Democratic supporters. It is probably too early to dissect the complex motivational factors that have drawn tens of thousand U.S. citizens to rallies, marches and anti-apartheid meetings. But since the November 21 action by the FSAM the dominant motivating factor has clearly been the South African context itself and events internal to the southern African region.
Roger Wilkins persuasively argues that the FSAM, which sparked the American interest in apartheid, was not a "response to the legislative action of the new South African constitution" and the 1984 constitution with its tri-cameral parliament was not a reform constitutional repression for South Africa's entire black population. 18

The role played by the FSAM during late November and December was pivotal in informing large segments of public opinion about apartheid but it was not the only factor involved. President Reagan on December 7, 1984, brought the Pretoria regime to the brink of collapse through the electronic and print media. The statement was unprecedented in its assertion of the “conscience raising” effects of the FSAM and other anti-apartheid campaigns. President Reagan's condemnation of the embryonic protests, Bishop Tutu's stature as a world figure and the ongoing turmoil in South Africa.

Kennedy returned from South Africa convinced that the impact of U.S. business on the system of apartheid "has been negligible to date." To press in the case for putting pressure on the white regime, including economic sanctions, Kennedy addressed the "business as a constructive force" ideology and attacked its credibility. Kennedy was in a strong position because economic sanctions are being imposed by national and international interests, and the whole notion of economic sanctions will in time be translated into political reform is belied by history," the Senator wrote after his return. South Africa provided a classic example, according to the Senator, "where more than a century of industrial development and economic expansion has been accompanied by more, not less, racial discrimination." 10

South Africa's official reaction to the Kennedy visit was voiced through its Foreign Minister, Roelof F. Botha. Interviewed by journalists in South Africa in late January, Botha singled out for criticism Senator Kennedy who had advocated American corporate divestment of business interest during his tour. According to the Foreign Minister, politicians like Kennedy advocated "taking punitive action against the black people of this country to get at the Rea gang administration." 11 The South African criticism intensified during the following months as a new consensus in the U.S. increasingly questioned the effectiveness of constructive engagement that the State Department and the White House continued to defend.
Protests broke into the U.S. According to 2835, the prohibitions evidenced by the president, with congressional approval, if South Africa satisfied any one of the eight conditions. The most internationally recognized settlement for Namibia, and entering the black population about full participation of the people of South Africa in the social, political, and economic life of the country.18. The message, not only to the 25 million black South Africans, but to oppressed people throughout the world.19

Senate bill 2835 was one of twenty measures against South Africa pending in Congress by early April. Although the legislation collectively the most in Congress was strongly in favor of a Refusing on the growing consensus in Congress, Senator Walter told his colleagues that: "I am proud that we are Senator," that had been arrested in front of the South African embassy and the arrest of the anti-apartheid demonstrators. "Throughout my service in Congress, the government of the U.S., that includes all of apartheid by our nation."16

While Congress debated sanctions, student coalitions and faculty groups mounted campaigns in nearly every state of the union. In South Africa, estimates of direct American investment in South African companies and U.S. investments in foreign South African businesses total close to $6 billion.17 The anti-apartheid protests in 1985 were marked by an unprecedented level of participation in demonstrations in the breadth and militancy of student groups.20 Between May 21 and 23, the Columbia University (New York city) blackout, student and faculty groups at over one hundred campuses participated in anti-apartheid demonstrations on National Divestment Protest Day, April 4.

The first week in April provided conclusive evidence that the protests were significant to South Africa. At Columbia University, students were arrested on the front door and a three-week blockade began for divestment of Columbia’s $2.5 million in South African companies. The protests were sparked by a hunger strike by students and after the trustees of Columbia refused to discuss the divestment issue. For the first time on campus, the divestment of Mandela Hall became the issue. The student and faculty groups formed an unprecedented alliance of students, faculty, and labor in support of divestment. Students had protested linkage between Columbia and South African investments dating back to the 1960s and again in 1970s. What distinguished the 1985 action was the support by major trade unions of the AFL-CIO in New York city. Additionally, many local political leaders gave their support to the students.

On April 25, the Columbia Coalition decided to move the blockade to other sites of protest. The chain were cut from the doors of Mandela Hall and 1900 students marched to theパンtheon Baptist Church in Harlem. The march from the university to the black area underscored the students’ commitment to combat racism at home as well as abroad.19 Simultaneously with the April 4 demonstrations at Columbia, students from six Washington, D.C. area universities staged a "funeral march" to the South African embassy and joined a protest of 4000 municipal workers in commemoration of the death of American civil rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr.

Student activism on the West Coast centered on the University of California campuses, although students in both Washington and Oregon were active in divestment campaigns, with Western Washington University and Evergreen State College becoming the twelfth and thirteenth institutions to totally divest stockholdings in companies and banks involved in South Africa. Students at the University of California, Berkeley, began a blockade on April 10 of Sproul Hall, some of the few speeches of the mid-1980s. Protesters called for the divestment by the University of California (UC) of its $2.4 billion in South African related holdings. From mid-April until the end of May, more than 400 arrests occurred.11 Following the lead taken by Berkeley, anti-apartheid protests were organized on the other eight UC campuses, with UC Santa Barbara and UC Los Angeles the most active in promoting "camp-ins" and information meetings. There were little anti-apartheid activity on the University of California (UC) campuses during April but a nationwide demonstration against apartheid called for May 1 touched even some of the smallest schools in that system. At Humboldt State University, in northern California, more than 350 students boycotted classes and gathered to hear speakers condemn the apartheid policies of the South African government.22

The May First demonstrations, involving more than 200 colleges and universities, were coordinated by the National Student Network, a new organization that had five regional offices in 1985 in every state. No reliable figures are available for the total number of protests involved in a conservative estimate of 10,000 did not see unrealistic. Not only the size of the demonstrations were noteworthy but also the penetration into all regions of the U.S. At the University of Iowa (Iowa City), 200 students occupied the main administrative building for twenty-four hours before police arrested 137 of them. An outdoor blockade of the building was then set up and daily rallies continued throughout the spring semester. Also in Iowa, trustees of Grinnell College voted to divest $9 million in South African holdings, after prolonged student demonstrations.
In the south, at Georgia State University, a student University (Nashville, Tennessee), students voted 70% for the referendum for divestment passed by a vote of 70%. At Vanderbilt University, when their threatened civil disobedience action at a service fortnight Company occupations of administrative buildings also took place during April of Louisville (Kentucky), Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), Rutgers University (New Brunswick, New Jersey), Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), the University of Massachusetts (Amherst), and Tufts University (Medford, Maryland). At the two hundred or more campuses where protests occurred, the overriding issue was the students' call for colleges and universities took action to divest their South African policy of "selective divestment" or review of each investment on a case-by-case basis. The Regents of the University of California interesting is a case study of how the administrative machinery, which sees the reality of the South African situation and/or the arguments for divestment presented by the anti-apartheid groups.

One by-product of the UC demonstrations was the agreement to include the divestment issue on the agenda for the June meeting of the board of regents. Students responded by requesting that the term at the UC campuses end. The regents who remain firm on the divestment issue would be widely dispersed by the middle of June. The UC Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the state are the Speaker of the invested in thirty-five American companies with South African Principles. When polled in early May about their views on support of all divestment to those like Jeremiah Healy, no disagreement on the matter was expressed. He argued that the university would lose its stocks. In contrast, Democratic Lieutenant-Governor Leo McCarthy process held by small minority in South Africa is systematically dehumanizing and so contradictory to everything we value in a public university do its small bit to send a clear signal of disapproval.

Final hearings of the UC divestment question were held in San Francisco on June 20, the day before the regents were scheduled to vote on the issue. Although supporters and opponents dominated the two hour session, regents interviewed at the end of the hearings were less than optimistic about a strong stance by the full board. While some 100 demonstrators protested outside the Extension Center, Gay Seidman, a divestment advocate, told the regents: "You have no easy option. You can stay neutral. If you take action that is merely symbolic, you will send a message that can only be read in one way – as support for the brutal regime." At their scheduled June 21 board meeting the regents voted 16 to 10 to set up a committee to review corporate behavior of American companies doing business in South Africa on a case-by-case basis. President of the UC System, Dr. David Gardner, who drafted the policy, told the regents that "our desire to advance the cause of human freedom and economic enfranchisement in South Africa can be better advanced by remaining involved than by disengaging. It is a policy of selective investment as well as selective disinvestment." Action to the new policy ranged from bitter denunciation to criticism that the compromise had gone too far. Regent Dean Watkins voted against the Gardner plan, not because it was too weak but because he found that parts of it were an "unwarranted, undeshored attack on American business" and "an abuse of the trust fund function." For the UC, attorney general William French Smith, also voted against the compromise policy as being too punitive.

For the short run the regents had won, although by a modest number of six votes, and the UC anti-apartheid protest had lost. From the students' perspective the divestment issue had been both a moral and symbolic struggle against a racist government which denied the majority of its population political, social and economic freedom. The UC regents, and their counterparts at other universities, the moral issue was perceived, they said, as a pragmatic factor that made the question of divestment much more complex. If the apartheid issue has resurrected activism on campuses across the nation, it is largely because it has afforded students a clear moral issue to fight for. The idealism expressed by students, John Bunzel, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, argued that apartheid "becomes an issue of good versus evil, and if you want to do the morally pure thing, divest, get out and clear your hands of the blood of oppression." Many regents, trustees, corporate board presidents, as well as the Reagan administration, have expressed grave doubts about the effectiveness of divestment and sanctions. Their opponents express equally grave doubts about the effectiveness of quiet diplomacy, new investment and remaining silent while the riots, police killings and political repression continue in South Africa.
but events in South Africa since the implementation of a "state of constructive engagement" and to look more carefully at what is so that one may respond constructively toward the prevention of future events.

Arguments advanced by recent events in South Africa and other events that cost the nation's largest companies billions of dollars are going to do.

Institutions failing the divestment issue center, most frequently, on South Africa. An estimate of the first year cost of divestment for billion in South African related stock according to one report who Full divestments would have forced U.S. to alienate many of the stocks of smaller, riskier companies that took more to research and stocks of smaller companies tend to "outperform" those of large companies. The "bottom line," using a mathematical formula to account for volatility, there should be diversified portfolios and a South Africa-free portfolio.

At a majority of the universities, where the divestment issue became an agenda item, reports and conferences frequently voted, $750 million in stocks involving the firms engaged in South Africa, elected not to divest on a broad basis but to examine individual companies, firms' policies toward South Africa. The State University of New York and Stanford University, with $750 million in $250,000 companies, have few stocks' policies toward South Africa. The State University of New York and Stanford University, with $750 million in stocks involving the firms engaged in South Africa, elected not to divest on a broad basis but to examine individual companies, firms' policies toward South Africa.

The Sullivan Principles, written for non-discriminatory actions for American companies in South Africa, have not been adopted. Until the Free South Africa movement began its companies with direct investments in South Africa, the Sullivan Principles in November 1984, fewer than half the companies have been adopted. The increase in public awareness and calls for sanctions against the South African government against apartheid security have been forced to respond. The number of signatories late April 1985.

In spite of the corporate code being strengthened and more U.S. companies subscribing to its principles than ever before, the Reverend Sullivan has become less sanguine about the pace of reform in South Africa. Writing in The Washington Post at the end of May, Sullivan warned that "South Africa does not have ten years, or five, or four years to free its black population before there is mass violence." He condemned the view that 100 American companies who still have not signed the code and those who are "dragging their feet." Sullivan has asked Congress to make the recent additions to the code mandatory for all U.S. companies in South Africa backed up by embargoes, sanctions, loss of tax credits and other penalties.

The House of Representatives passed a bill imposing sanctions on all U.S. companies in South Africa until apartheid is abolished. "If statutory apartheid has not ended within 24 months," Sullivan cautioned. "there should be a total economic embargo against South Africa and withdrawal of all U.S. companies -- to be followed, I hope by withdrawal of other companies from other countries."46

The U.S. Congress has responded more quickly to the Changes in public mood than American businesses and institutions of higher learning. As noted above, anti-apartheid bills were introduced into the House of Representatives and the Senate early in April. A previous attempt made by Congress with the Export Administration Act to impose sanctions on South Africa had failed in the Senate.
in October 1984, To a degree, the bills introduced in 1985, especially in the House, were a reaction to the death of the Export Administration Act. More importantly, Congress was responding to the deteriorating situation in South Africa. In the aftermath of the new tri-cameral parliament, Black unrest erupted in townships the day before the new constitution took effect. In mid-September, six anti-apartheid activists sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban. Three days later, black miners killed by police. In early October, President Thabo Mbeki announced a referendum on “urban refugees” from the anti-apartheid movement. Eventually all six left the consulate and five were arrested and charged with high treason.

The announcement of Bishop Tutu as the Nobel Peace prize recipient for 1984 was made on October 16 and three weeks later “stay away” strike in South Africa. On December 10, while President Reagan condemned apartheid in a Human Rights Day speech in charged with treason in South Africa. Prior to this, President Reagan has met with Bishop Tutu at the White House and reiterated his belief in the policy of constructive engagement. The Republicans of the Senate, at the end of 1984, the ongoing death toll and widespread unrest had resulted in 200 deaths and over 4000 arrests in South Africa.

It was the combination of these events, fueled by the Free South Africa Movement, which generated a genuine bipartisan effort in Congress to pass legislation calling for sanctions against South Africa. Quiet diplomacy, rechristened “destructive engagement” by its opponents, called for sanctions against Pretoria during the first week of the month. A slender majority of the Senate, with 235 to 127 followed rejections of both more stringent measures aimed at South Africa's apartheid regime.

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Effects to pass the Senate anti-apartheid bill proved more difficult. Early in June, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Republican Senate leader Robert Dole (Kansas) called up the bill and voted 7-4, Senator Jesse Helms (North Carolina) would never object to the bill. Approval of the anti-apartheid legislation came three days later after a filibuster and failed to secure support on a series of changes for sanctions. The overwhelming vote of the first time the Republican controlled Senate against sanctions, had recommended such actions against the government of South Africa. Among the twelve voting against sanctions was Senator Barry Goldwater (Arizona) who said it was a “right against the U.S. to take this action against an ally, a friend in every way.” Democratic Senator Alan Cranston (California) responded by saying that “South Africa cannot be a reliable ally as long as it has rule by the heel of the boot.”

Due to different provisions in the respective bills passed by the House and Senate, Conference Committee meeting was necessary to work out a compromise version of the anti-apartheid legislation. However, before the committee could reach agreement, a state of emergency was declared by President Botha, effective July 21 in thirty-six magisterial districts of the Eastern Cape and black homelands in the central Transvaal around Johannesburg. July 31, when the thirty-five member Conference Committee reached agreement, more than 1300 people had been detained by South African security forces. In its revised form the bill was returned to the respective chambers of Congress, where it was passed by the House on August 1 by a vote of 380 to 48. The measure was then sent to the Senate, hopeful of passage before Congress adjourned on August 2 for a month long recess. As he had done when the sanction bill initially came up for a vote on the Senate floor, Jesse Helms threatened to filibuster and Senate Leader Dole delayed the final vote in order to move to other pressing measures. Thus as congressmen departed Washington on August 3, only the House had successfully passed the bill and Senate action had been postponed until early September.

The ongoing speculation as to whether President Reagan would vote or sign the anti-apartheid measure became a moot point with the delay in the Senate. In spite of the escalating violence in South Africa during the last week of July, there were no indications that the administration would renounce its opposition to sanctions, which White House spokesman Larry Speakes called “counterproductive and harmful to South Africa’s black majority.” For Stephen Solarz, a sponsor of the House sanction’s bill, the compromise version reflected “a new Congressional consensus that the only application of pressure rather than futile attempts at gentle persuasion. This sets the stage for a new policy of constructive engagement.”

The bill passed by the House and awaiting a Senate vote suffered some modifications in the Conference Committee compromise. It would prohibit loans to the South African government and block the large-scale sale of computers to South Africa. It would limit exports of nuclear goods to South Africa and ban the importation of Krugerrands for sale in the U.S. In addition to the sanctions, the bill would require American firms operating in South Africa to obey fair employment practices (i.e. the Sullivan Code) and would earmark $34 million over the next three years for scholarships for blacks attending universities in their home country. The ban on sales of Krugerrands could be waived by the President if he finds South Africa has met one of eight conditions set by Congress as indicating racial progress.
What was missing from the Conference Committee bill was the provision calling for an immediate ban on new investment by American companies in South Africa. The House conference agreed to drop this provision that linked further sanctions to a Presidential finding of apartheid. Under the measure, the President would have to recommend sanctions if he certified South Africa had not made sufficient progress toward ending within a twelve month period at least one of several specified sanctions toward ending apartheid. The President could choose from among a list of South African uranium and coal or other sanctions.

Although critics of the bill claimed it contained "more symbol than substance," they predicted that the Senate would pass it scenario of Senate passage, presidential veto and Congressional override failed to materialize, however. President Reagan's guarded statement about sanctions left little doubt in the minds of the next steps in the legislative process. The Senate administration officials suggested that the executive action "would penalize the Pretoria" August 23 that the president was "prepared to make concessions which majority."62

While the administration was suggesting that the president might authorize sanctions, the State Department announced its intention of sending squads of employees across the country to visit the problem, the deputy assistant secretary for African affairs said that the public relations effort was designed "to correct misimpressions The announcement, after months of growing criticism against the policy of quiet diplomacy, appeared as a final effort to reassure the president at a time when news from South Africa illustrated a lack of success for constructive engagement.

Between August 21 and September 6 a series of discussions on South African policy occurred among senior White House officials. Events in South Africa, including the detention of Kaizer Mthethweni, the Reverend Allan Boesak, a protest march on the stock exchange for a week, added to Mr. Reagan's dilemma. Violence, the president was faced with the almost certain prospect of a strong Senate vote in favor of sanctions. A presidential veto was likewise certain of being overridden by a Congress determined to send Pretoria something stronger than a verbal warning.

To avoid the pending clash with Congress and to reassert his control of foreign policy, President Reagan took the only viable option opened to him. On September 9, he announced that by executive order he was imposing limited sanctions on South Africa. The president's sanctions, similar to those passed by the House, did not call for an immediate ban on the importation of Krugerrands nor did it deal with the possibility of imposing additional sanctions if there was no progress toward ending apartheid after some year. Behind the president's executive order was the clear desire to avoid foreign policy disarray abroad and political humiliation at home.65 Mr. Reagan had regained the offensive but in doing so he had altered views he had held throughout his political career. He not only made his strongest statement against apartheid, calling it "deliberate, systematic, institutionalized racial discrimination," but also used for the first time the phrase "active engagement" to replace the much abused "constructive engagement."66

Senators Robert Dole and Richard Lugar, armed with Reagan's order, were able to convince other Republican senators to vote against calling up the Senate's sanction bill on the afternoon of September 9. A second attempt to bring the bill forward for a vote also failed and the satisfied majority leader promised to have the bill reconsidered if the South African government implemented basic reforms within six months. Reagan's sanction package had effectively killed the Congressional Anti-Apartheid bill.

Some might argue that we have come full circle with the apartheid issue; from mild to genuine concern and since September 9 back to mild concern. If this description has validity it applies more to the present administration than to the population as a whole. The American public has become much more aware of South Africa and apartheid during 1985. According to Randall Robinson, "before the Free South Africa Movement started, probably fewer than ten percent knew what apartheid was, or where South Africa is.67 A Washington Post-ABC News poll taken in January indicated that fifty percent of the random sample had heard of the demonstrations organized by the FSAH in front of the South African embassy.68 The number, 46% said they approved of the protests. 21% were opposed and 33% had no opinion. A second poll in mid-June found that the number of people aware of the protests had risen to 62%. Although the news level had increased, the numbers supporting and opposing the demonstrations stayed virtually the same.68 Among the 62% who had heard of the FSAM, half said they sided with Congress in efforts to impose sanctions against South Africa while 41% supported President Reagan's position and 9% were undecided.69 These figures, according to Barry Bussman, "show more support for sanctions than might be expected, given the popular belief that the president is well liked by the public and that Congress is not, and that Reagan is not speaking on behalf of apartheid, only how best to end it."70

The effect of President Reagan's executive order was to bring the administration's South African policy closer to the American mainstream, at least as it was expressed by Congress.71
However, as a correspondent for The Economist correctly noted, "No indication was given of what specific reforms the measures are supposed to enforce or what strategy America will follow to secure their enforcement." It is unlikely that the administration could provide a clear response to this pertinent observation. The president and his senior advisors have been preoccupied with the mid-November summit meeting in Geneva. The South African issue is, at least momentarily, behind the president. The White House has chosen not to respond, except briefly, to recent South African developments.

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Notes

1. The main organizers of the South African embassy protests were Randall Robinson (Director of TransAfrica), Walter Fauntroy (Representative, District of Columbia), Dr. Mary F. Berry (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights), Dr. Sylvia Hill (Professor, University of the District of Columbia) and Roger Wilkins (The Institute of Policy Studies).


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 32.


9. Ibid.


13. E. Kennedy, "A Call for Justice," p. 13. The additional conditions noted in the article are: the halting all removals of black populations on account of race and ending the policies of denationalization of South African blacks.

14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.


18. The anniversary of Sharpeville, March 21, witnessed the killing of 19 black South Africans near the town of Uitenhage in what is called the Langa massacre.


20. Student anti-apartheid protesters came from George Washington University, District of Columbia University, Howard, Georgetown, University of Maryland and American University.

21. Charges against all but 32 of those arrested at Berkeley were dropped by the Assistant District Attorney, who stated "that justice will not be served in (prosecuting) those defendants who did not use any degree of force or violence. Charges remain against 32 protesters arrested on April 16, who are accused of resisting arrest and the use of considerable amounts of violence during the protests. See Edward Iwata, "Charges Dropped in Anti-Apartheid Cases in Berkeley," The San Francisco Chronicle, May 22, 1985.


26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

29. Ibid.


31. Ibid: Regent Gaines is a law student at Boalt Hall, UC Berkeley and Regent Watkins is the founder of a Silicon Valley electronics firm.


34. Ibid.

35. Ibid. There would be a short-term loss that would be due to increased brokerage fees, costs for information searching on new firms and liquidity/price pressures. The question of rate on return is the least quantifiable cost of divestiture but a recent analysis by Wilshire Associates of Los Angeles is worth nothing. They created a hypothetical "South Africa Free" stock index by removing 152 companies with South African investments from Standard & Poor's 500 list of stocks. These were replaced with stocks of the next largest South African-free company in each industry. According to the study, "for the five years ending June 1984, a dollar in the 152 companies eliminated from the Standard & Poor's 500 would have grown to $1.94. A dollar in the replacement companies (South Africa-free) would have grown to $2.60, a difference of seven percent a year."


37. The Sullivan Principles required signatories voluntarily to (1) Desegregate eating, comfort and work facilities, (2) Provide equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time, (3) Develop and initiate training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs, (4) Increase the number of blacks and non-whites in management and supervisory positions and (5) Improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreating and health facilities.


40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.


45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Five provisions in the House sponsored Export Administration Act of 1983 focused on South Africa. They included a ban on the new corporate investment, an end to commercial bank loans to the government, a ban on the importation of Krugerrands, an end to export to the military and police and lastly, provisions mandating the Sullivan principles for American firms in South Africa.


50. By a vote of 345 to 77 the House rejected a substitution measure sponsored by Representative Ronald Dellums of California that called for withdrawal of U.S. investments already in South Africa. A Republican sponsored substitute bill calling for a three year study period before taking any action was defeated 310 to 108.


52. Ibid.

53. Under the emergency powers, government security forces could (1) arrest suspects without charges or warrants and hold them for renewable two-week periods without giving them access to family members or lawyers, (2) search any person, building or vehicle without a warrant and seize any article, (3) interrogate any detained person and (4) hold prisoners without informing the public or family members of their identities, numbers or places of detention.
A ban, effective, December 31, on export assistance to any U.S. company employing more than 25 people in South Africa that does not adhere to principles of non-discrimination (i.e. the Sullivan Code).

A directive that agencies of the U.S. government agencies operating in South Africa undertake efforts to increase procurement of goods and services by non-white-owned businesses.

Consultation with U.S. trading partners under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade on banning the importation of Krugerrand and a directive that the Treasury Department begin discussions on the minting of a U.S. gold coin.

An increase to $8 million in funding for scholarships for non-white South Africans and a boost to $1.5 million in U.S. support for human rights programs, one-third of which is earmarked for legal assistance.

Creation of an Advisory Committee on South Africa to provide recommendations within 12 months on "measures to encourage peaceful change in South Africa."


Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


In comparison to other respondents, Dr 'Ali Ibrahim did not visualise a very consolidated or rigorous or discrete Arab national community. He was conscious of Turkey as well as of the Arab countries, and his community impulse reached out to the supra-Arab wideness. In the thought of the Arab world rather than a  
tightening Arab nation. Dr 'Ali Ibrahim, probably thought of  
Arabism as one specific quasi-national expression of the spiritual  
values of Islam, which had spoken to the innate spiritual nature  
of "Eastern" peoples. An Afro-Azian community wider than  
the predominating Arab Muslim peoples might open out from  
this. Dr 'Ali Ibrahim expressed simultaneous openness to  
and independence from Western civilization. As an Arabo-Islamist,  
he adopted a utilitarian stance vis-à-vis the West and its modern civilization.  
"We will not throw ourselves unreservedly into the arms of the  
Western civilization nor reject it entirely. It is indispensable,  
too, that we borrow from the civilization of the Pharaohs and seek  
inspiration from their past just as it is wholly valid that we  
should seek inspiration in the civilization of the Greeks or the  
Assyrians". Thus Dr 'Ali Ibrahim applied cultural utilitarianism to  
the Pharaonic past, to downgrade or eliminate it as an element for  
the viable indigenous identity of modern Arab Egyptians. At the  
very moment that he rejected a complete break with Pharaonism he  
made it clear that he was prepared to give Pharaonic civilization  
only so much scope for assimilation into the new Egyptian culture as  
for any other alien civilization that might have something culturally  
to offer. The break with the neo-Pharaonic particularist  
nationalism of the 1920s was radical here.

Dr Ibrahim Ali in 1931, then, assumed that bygone, ancient,  
Pharaonic civilization was virtually just one more foreign culture  
and that modern Muslim Egyptians, despite the continuity of their  
plans and racial stock, owed only the most limited particular loyalty  
to the culture of their ancient Egyptian ancestors, if that. Dr Mansur  
Fahmi in his reply to the 1931 al-Hilal poll even more radically  
suspected the foundations of the ideology of Egyptian neo-pagan  
particularism. Born in 1886, Fahmi went to Paris in 1908 where he  
studied philosophy for five years, gaining his doctorate from the  
Sorbonne for his thesis on the position of women in Muslim history.  
Fahmi served as Dean of Alexandria University until his retirement  
in 1946, and later was to be an enthusiastic supporter of President  
Nasser's pan-Arabism. In reply to the 1931 al-Hilal poll, Dr Mansur  
Fahmi off-handedly dismissed the crucial assumption of the neo-Pharaonic  
particularists claiming that the race was an important determinant of  
national-political communities. He voiced some extreme for the  
long-standing argument of particularists, Westernizers or  
Pharaonist, that Egypt's specific geographical environment stamped a  
particular character upon its inhabitants. But Fahmi then strongly  
argued that the Arabic language once adopted in Egypt, had acted as  
as a channel for the Arab culture massively to enter Egypt and totally  
transform its population's characteristics. Thus, geographical  
environment did not mould culture in Egypt as decisively as  
particularists claimed. The racial continuity of the modern  
Egyptians with the Pharaonic ancients was at best only partial and  
in any case inconsequential if proven since race was no factor in  
the formation of nations:
The majority of the people of these lands received from the Arabs the language and the religion, being all alike in this those of them who have a connection with the Pharaohs or the Greeks or the Romans or the Tartars or other races. The sons of Egypt or whatever blood they may be - assuming Egyptian at any rate through their belonging to their (suhah) ... If the Egyptians are Egyptians after this fashion, they are Arabs by virtue of their language and the souls.

Egyptians, then, were Egyptian Arabs. Dr Mansur Fahmi added that "there is no need at all for us to bind our history ... or social life (exclusively) to one element (origin)" - but it is clear that he regarded the coming of Arabic as having decisively transformed the Egyptians.

In comparison to Dr Ibrahim 'Ali, Dr Mansur Fahmi in 1931 represented a more secular Muslim Egyptian consciousness in which the Arabs were visualized much more as a discrete, tightly-integrated national group within the Muslim belief-community, and the multi-sectarian Afro-Asian world. Dr Mansur Fahmi had a larger range of specific Arab traits in mind when he responded to al-Nilai about what balance of cultural and intellectual elements Egypt should choose.

Taha Husayn in his reply to the 1931 al-Nilai poll also briskly down-graded the Pharaonic past as a determinant of the modern Egyptian's identity. Most of the leading Egyptian thinkers whom al-Nilai polled on the vital question of the future path that Egypt would culturally take took care, it is true, not to reject utterly Pharaonic culture. They proposed some degree of synthesis of Arabo-Islamic, Pharaonic and modern Western cultures. Yet all their replies were notable for the firmness with which they implicitly down-graded Pharaonic civilization to the least important element in Egypt's emerging modern culture whether on Islamist or pan-Arabic the Muslim Egyptians did so in 1931 very much as acculturated intellectuals. Dr 'Ali Ibrahim argued that historically Islam had always been tolerant and assimilative of even non-Muslim talents or ideas. This certainly was true during the great classical Arab's Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliphates. In likening Egypt to Turkey as two of the most advanced of the Eastern peoples, Dr Ibrahim implicitly endorsed past specific modernization on European models that both countries had undertaken in the past decade, after World War I. It implicitlly partially endorsed positive achievements of Ataturk's reforms in Turkey as in the interest of Muslim, despite Ataturk's private anti-Islamic intentions. But Dr Ibrahim conceived Egypt's future as to be moulded within the framework of Islamic civilization and involving
AFRICAN STUDIES IN CANADA

Any attempt to write about an area of study or a discipline must be aware of the bounds of knowledge. The research is bound to give the author a sense of the importance of the subject. Despite the best efforts, errors will be made, judgments will be questioned, and the subject will be inadvertently overlooked. There will be a loss of feelings of the complexity of the subject. Attempts to adequately evaluate the literature immediately bring to mind the image of the twelve blind-folded elephants: each grasped a part of the interesting part of the anatomy. Such confessions also reflect the growth, vitality, and problems of African studies in Canada.

African studies have mushroomed since the 1950s until today there are several hundred Africanists in Canada. In the 1950s, the foundations of African studies in Canada included such luminaries as Douglas Anglin (Carleton), John (Laval). During the 1950s graduate training influences were often centered in the United States, Europe, Canada, and Africa. So the initial graduates in African studies at institutions such as Carleton, Toronto, and Laval have expanded to include over thirty-seven universities in seven Francophone universities and at thirty-six other universities. A clue to their distribution can be found in a 1976 publication of the Canadian Association of African Studies.

Most Africanists in Canada are social scientists, political scientists, and historians. Other Africanists study history, economics, geography, military studies, and women's studies. A much smaller but still significant number of Africanists study the fine arts and humanities. Most of these scholars work in the field of literature, with others studying African art apart from its religious and political significance. Another small but significant group of Africanists work in professions. Here the concentration is in the field of health studies, followed by those studying family studies and economics. For a time the joint project of the University of Ghana brought a number of Canadian scholars in the area of agricultural and social sciences into African studies. This probably reflects the demand for Africanists in the medical, engineering, and social sciences and suggests that existing Africanists need to communicate more effectively the needs and research opportunities of Africa to their non-Africanist colleagues. Surely these policies and research needs make a strong case for real inter-disciplinary co-operation. Too often projects and research fail because either the social or physical aspects are not adequately considered by the other side.

There are designated African studies programmes at Dalhousie, Laval, McGill, Toronto, York, and Simon Fraser. Numerous other universities have significant concentrations of African studies but have not yet formalized these into designated programmes. The University of Calgary may be regarded as typical of minor universities in Canada. Donovan Williams (History) became the founding father of African Studies at Calgary when he arrived in 1968. Since then he has been an influential Africanist at Calgary in his role of scholar, former head of the history department, CAAS regional representative, co-editor of the 1981 CAAS conference and co-editor of the two volume conference proceedings which evaluated the state of African studies, and as the initiator of a Minor in African Studies for the B.A. The arrival of Peter Shinnie in 1970 added an international lustre to the field of African archaeology at Calgary. African studies have since been expanded by the appointments of Doyle Watt (Anthropology, 1975), Donald I. Ray (Political Science, 1977), Nicholas David (Archaeology, 1980) and Dan Mato (Art History, 1981). In 1982-83 there were a total of eleven Africanist courses.

Besides the 1981 CAAS annual conference and the subsequent two volume State of the Art set on African studies, respectively organised and edited by D.I. Shinnie and D. Williams, other recent Africa-related activities in Calgary have included the only Canadian showing of the internationally-famous Treasures of Ancient Nigeria at the Glenbow Institute (1980) and the important exhibition organised by Dan Mato: Images of West Africa: Figures, Masks, Textiles and Furniture (an exhibition in honour of Peter Shinnie's contributions to African Studies; 1981). Also, the University has put on an application to make African Studies a recognised minor area of studies for the B.A. The granting of this request marks a major achievement in the institutionalisation of African Studies at the University of Calgary.

The Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) has greatly facilitated the burgeoning of African studies in Canada since its founding in 1970. The CAAS coordinates the representations of Africanists to governments and abroad. The annual conferences act as an invaluable meeting place for Africanists, and the consequent exchange of ideas. Through the conferences and the visiting Africanist programmes of the CAAS scholars from Europe and Africa are able to meet with their counterparts in Canada. Recent scholarly visitors have included A. Adu Boahen, Kwasi Wiredu and Eboe Hutchful of Ghana, Godfrey Muriuki of Kenya, Ali Osman of the Sudan and Ilunga Kabongo of Zaire. Their counterparts from Europe have included Anthony Kirk-Greene, David Birmigham, George Shepperson, Thurstan Shaw and Kenneth Ingham of Britain.
The sizeable membership of the CAAS included a pleasing francophone African scholars. A considerable number of anglophone African scholars have received at least part of their Archaeology at the University of Calgary, under the guidance of Ali Osman, Abbas Mohamed, S. Kamir and Mohamed el Din Zarong. Ghana (Ghana) and Ani Mohamed (Sudan) are studying for the M.A. and Ph.D. degree. Further examples of joint projects. The universities of Ghana and Guelph have Saskatchewan and Makerere (Uganda) from 1970 to 1973. The Institute for Co-Operation in the establishment of the Centre for Training and Study in Nairobi and Calgary are co-operating on a water research project in the library. The Canadian Journal of African Studies (CJAS) was publishing its sixteenth volume in 1982. Presently edited by Joel Gregory (domestic, Universite de Montreal), R. Jewish (University of Toronto), the CJAS has attained international stature and is among the first rank of intellectual importance in the field. The other ongoing publication of the CJAS is the Newsletter which has been published since 1972. The CJAS is an invaluable mine of information on what is going on in Africanist publications. Supplements have been published on various aspects of African studies in other countries. Canadian Africanists (medicine, University of Saskatchewan). Peter Shimnie (Archaeology, The University of Calgary) has founded Nyame Akuma (which means God's Age in Two ). This significant newsletter of Africanist anthropology and archaeology is published twice yearly. Its over three hundred subscribers, mostly in North America, Europe and Australia. David Lubell, an Africanist editorship from Peter Shimnie. Peter Shimnie has also funded the Canadian Journal of Africanist Archaeological Papers. This new series, Archaeology and edited by Shimnie, will be based on material drawn from the Ph.D. and M.A. theses of African universities which might otherwise go unpublished because of lack of funds in Africa. Canadian Africanists have also come to appreciate the "Canadian Journal of Development Studies" (published by the University of Ottawa), the "Review of African Political Economy" (published in England but with significant Canadian scholarly and editorial content), the occasional papers and monographs of such universities as McGill or Ottawa, as well as the new series from the University of Toronto Press. The Sage series of books on Africa has had so many Canadian editors that it is really Canadian in conception if not in printing.

Government funding has been crucial for the development of African studies in Canada; there have been very few contributions from private sources. Canadian agencies which have funded research projects in Africa include the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the International Development Research Centre, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Canada Council and the Canadian Research Service of the Department of External Affairs (Government of Canada), all of Ottawa.

A limited degree of academic-External Affairs contact has been maintained but on the whole the relationship has been one of aloofness. The foreign aid-business practices of the Canadian government have often been the subject of critical criticism but the Canadian government's policy of rhetorical support for ending white racism in southern Africa, while refusing to act in an effective manner to end this racism, has continued to bring profit to Canadian companies and stern criticism of the government from Africanists, the churches and other Canadians.5

It is perhaps indicative of the nature of African Studies in Canada that we did not entitle our 1981 Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) conference on the state of the art as being the state of the art of Canadian African studies. Rather our perspective was one that saw African studies in Canada as being part of an international intellectual network of scholars whose area focus is Africa. As can be seen in this article, there are some particularly Canadian characteristics of African studies which have arisen from our situation - problems reflecting the linguistic and geographic isolation of scholars. The bulk of our intellectual focus often tends to be upon our language group. So there is a tendency for francophone and anglophone scholars to be somewhat isolated from each other. This linguistic division also is often reflected in the choice of areas of field work - anglophones tend to study anglophone Africa and francophones tend to study francophone Africa. 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The Africanist community is divided in a manner reflecting the distribution of Canada's population - a few concentrations followed by a thin scattering of smaller centres and isolated outposts. The huge distances of Canada contribute to a concrete lack of communication between Africanists and a common sense of being isolated. For example, if a scholar in Calgary wishes to give a paper to a conference in Toronto or Ottawa, over two thousand miles away, the university's normal travel allowance would provide enough money for the scholar to fly as far as somewhere over Lake Superior.
before he would have to bail out of the airplane! Distances between scholars impose significant costs in time, money and intellectual discussion (although Africanists at different universities in the same centre have been known to exist in a type of glorious isolation from each other). In contrast to the monthly seminars of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London which used to attract regularly Africanists from all over Britain, distant mail is a better substitute for any such regular gatherings in Canada. The annual CAAS conference plays a key role in promoting intellectual interchange for Canadian Africanists. Our isolation is further complicated by the lack of frequent, near-by meetings outside our own discipline. European scholars have the possibility of attending the Africanist meetings of, in North American terms, nearby centres in neighbouring countries. By contrast, the only neighbouring country for Canadian Africanists is the United States. Such north-south dialogue is frequently hindered by the often rather daunting distances that such exchanges would involve. At times, alas too frequent, the isolation of Canadian Africanists is broken by the attacks of intellectual luddites in their own institutions and communities. Such knowledgelessness has been camouflaged under the cloak of false relevance. These attacks speak loudly of the ignorance of those involved and result in defensive actions to demonstrate the academic appropriateness of African studies. These factors of isolation are at play, no doubt, for all area studies, and other specialised studies, in Canada.

Any consideration of the "state of the art" of African studies must of necessity include a survey of contemporary major scholarly concerns and orientations. Africanists involved in the study of health and disease focused their attention on such questions as how to combat the disease, to maintain the favourable context for the disease and how to utilise available scarce resources. In the debate over the various policy options there has been a movement away from the "disease paralyses" for the urban elite to making primary health care available to the poor majority in rural and urban areas of Africa.8 On a different front, Canadian interest in African family planning has resulted in extra-budgetary support for the World Health Organization's Special Programme of Research Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction.9 The growing interest in African health by Canadian scholars and institutions is to be welcomed, especially given the funding cut-backs that have occurred in some traditional centres of tropical health research facilities in Britain and Africa.

The study of African art as a specialist division of art history is a relatively young discipline in Canada. Canadian scholars have been influenced by both the more established ethno-historical tradition of Europe and the newer art history discipline of the United States. The literature has mainly emerged in the last ten years.10 The study of African art has incorporated an increasing amount of fieldwork, for example, in the holistic study of festivals and the use of chemistry and physics in the analysis of the materials of African art. The study of African architecture is neglected in comparison to the scholarly attention it has attracted in the United States. African architecture should be examined not just as an example of African art but rather as an example of how architecture can respond to the social needs of the occupants.11

Canadian scholarship on African languages and literatures demonstrates considerable diversity in scope. There is a poverty of African language training in Canada. In contrast to Britain, there is no equivalent language study centre, such as the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Such a lack is a considerable hindrance to researchers in other disciplines seeking to do field work in Africa. Some Canadian non-Africanists scholars have demonstrated appreciable Eurocentric views; for example one Sudanese student at a prominent eastern Canadian university was not allowed to use Arabic, let alone his own language, as one of his Ph.D. language requirements despite the fact that much of the relevant research materials was available only in those languages.

Canadian literary scholars are faced also with problems of language. Like African scholars and writers, they must evaluate the appropriateness of whether to write in European or African languages: European languages will reach the elites who use that language, but the masses can often only be engaged by the use of their own, African, language. Beyond the question of whether to write in African or European languages, the Canadian literary scholar is faced with a problem that also touches the social scientist: can non-Africans ever hope to comprehend the African reality in all its complexity and completeness? Another problem within Canadian Africanist and African literary circles has surfaced in the related question of whether to write in the native vernacular or social education. One Canadian scholar has suggested a solution: "If the experience the poem communicates is of the first order of importance, the means by which the poet communicates it is also of the first order of importance and will cause the importance to be seen if art is meant to prompt people to action..."12

If the study of African philosophy, from the technical perspective of philosophy, is young, then such a discipline in Canada it is still in its pre-natal stage. In Canada the study of African philosophy has engaged for the most part the attention of political scientists, theologians and anthropologists.

Canadian Africanists are in the forefront of many interesting debates in the social sciences. These debates, which have often been aired within the Canadian Journal of African Studies, contain within them extremely important consequences for theory, public policy and political change. The hotly-fought and even bitterly-fought, debates between Crawford Pratt and John Saul over such issues as the relative roles of the bureaucracy, the party (and what the nature of it should be) and the Tanzanian model of development, as well as the debates between Peter Gutkind and Richard Sandbrook over the classical documents of the African working class and its subsequent potential for breaking out of what
seems to be a straitjacket (largely externally imposed) of underdevelopment or uneven growth are of international significance because they will affect the conceptual models of scholars and the policy applications of administrators for the next generation.

Since the 1960s Canadian Africanist social scientists have gradually been moving away from theories of equilibrium towards a recognition of, and application of, the intellectual merits of conflict theories. As one of the editors of the Canadian Journal of African Studies recently noted:

Influenced [directly and indirectly] by the historical and dialectical methods of Marxist analysis, a small but growing minority within each of the disciplines that work in Africa has emphasized conflict (as opposed to harmony or "harmonious competition") disequilibrium (as opposed to equilibrium), and the dynamic impact of continuous - and discontinuous-change (as opposed to static, cross-sectional analysis). 14

The rise of this trend has been provoked perhaps as the conflictual, disparate and asymmetrical nature of African societies became so obvious to Africanists that in increasing numbers they have been donating their equilibrium models to the fossil section of the intellectual museum's "Old Curiosity Shoppe". Of course this is not to argue that now they have agreed on one theoretical approach.

Evidence of this trend can be seen in the various components of Africanist social science. The increasing use of class analysis in Africa reflects the recognition of conflict. In geography, 15 economics and political science there has been a move away from the concepts of dualism and a continuous harmonious operation towards more higher form of social organization in the use of concepts such as core-periphery conflict and accommodation as spatial disparities which emphasize, however much the size of pie may grow or shrink, that not all are allowed to eat. The movement from a static view of society has been noted also in anthropology. 17 Women's studies have been founded on the assumption that the sexual asymmetry of societies needs to be explained in terms of the terms, origins and rationales of the exploitation of women in society. 18

In conjunction with this question, scholars are asking themselves: "Is modernization theory dead?" 19 The main assumptions of modernization included a faith in the concept of Western (i.e., capitalist) values, standards, technology, urban, industrial. However the obvious ethnocentrism of this model has been contributing to its gradual demise and the search for alternative theories, most notably political economy. For example, Africanist as their initial hopes that the law could be used to promote development by establishing and reforming legal structures were dashed. Instead they have perceived that the "modernization of law often contributed to skewed distribution of wealth and power". 21 In

Canadian Africanist geography, there has been a similar movement. To avoid the problems of "urban bias, ethnocentrism and spatial fetishism," the criteria of political economy and dependency are being adopted in order to consider more adequately the social, economic and political processes "which underlie and influence the spatial patterns which previous studies had emphasized." 22 Similar trends are perceptible in such disciplines as political science, economics, sociology, demography and anthropology.

Canadian Africanist social scientists have also been concerned with such research problems as the societal purposes of their research, disciplinary boundaries and linguistic barriers. Social science research in Africa has been accused in the past, and some would argue the present, of being prone to an assortment of the following biases: serving colonial (and/or Western) interests; serving the privileged African classes; being more concerned to build academic disciplines than in understanding or changing the societies being "studied"; sexism; and the previously-mentioned use of law to entrench those in power rather than serve the citizen. 23 However, since the 1960s and the 1970s, there has been an upsurge in self-critical analysis of Canadian Africanist studies by the scholars themselves.

A major intellectual problem facing Africanists is how to benefit from advances made in disciplines other than one's own. Canadian Africanists are forced, with varying degrees of failure into specific disciplinary straitjackets by their university employers. Scholarly career patterns are based on departments of our discipline - we betide the scholar caught out in the interdisciplinary open in times of financial cut-backs, for departments will choose to sacrifice his first. For those in interdisciplinary fields of study such as women or law this is not such a problem. Africanists as a group tend to consume all the literature that focuses on the geographic research area, regardless of putative discipline. Also the Canadian Journal of African Studies as well as the annual conference of the CAAS have provided the opportunities for a type of intellectual cross-fertilization to take place.

Another pressure towards intellectual isolation has come from language blockers. There is an unfortunate tendency for Africanists to reflect the larger Canadian problem of living in a society with two official languages. There is a tendency for scholars in one language to not read work published in the other official language. In part this is a reflection of the sheer volume of published work in both French and English as well as the tendency of scholars to follow their own language into an African country with the corresponding official language. No doubt this linguistic isolation has led to considerable intellectual loss. Certainly the Canadian Journal of African Studies and the running of CAAS meetings have been exemplary in their efforts to overcome the problem.

Besides the above-mentioned concerns, Canadian Africanist historians face certain specific problems. In some quarters there has been a feeling in Canada and Africa that the "Golden Age" of
Canada has continued to make valuable contributions to African archaeology with the graduate training of African archaeologists, the establishment of publishing outlets, the provision of funds for excavations and in salvage archaeology. It would be hard to find anyone who would not acknowledge Peter Shinnie’s outstanding contributions in these fields as well as his scholarly contributions. In light of the drying-up of African funds for archaeological research in the face of a series of natural and politically (both internal and external) disasters, Canadian contributions may well prove to have been crucial in getting African scholars through a time of enormous troubles.

Africanist political science in Canada has found itself in the midst of the global challenge posed by political economy to all other schools of political science. The winds of change have blown with such force through Africa during the 1960s and the 1970s that the political landscape is often unrecognizable to those who remember the “certainties” of the colonial era. This combination of intellectual challenge and political change has pushed, if not forced, Africanist political scientists into a reconsideration of the discipline’s fundamentals that has not been experienced since the false dawn of behaviourism.

There has been a fundamental shift in focus away from the traditional themes and foci of study: the institutions of power. In the wake of coups, revolutions, economic crises that seemed beyond the power of the institutions, and the cancerous growth of what materialist historians in Quebec call the demagogistic forms of that country’s political institutions, many political scientists realized that the institutions were often “fragile and temporary”, and that where the institutions were more enduring they were often “less and less likely to be instruments either to advance a common good or to limit and control abuses of power.”

Some as Cranford Pratt has expressed it, “recreated into history, particularly colonial history.” This retreat from contemporary Africa was perhaps in reaction to models and theories which did not seem to explain or predict trends in African politics. The concerns of the 1950s and early 1960s were the problem of state creation and formation: nationalism, colonial rule, the new parties and other institutions of the newly-created states. The institutions of independence were usually distanced to the nationalist leaders by the colonial power which underwent a “death-bed” conversion to the principles by which they had never governed while they thought they could remain: the show but not the substance of liberal democracy. Such institutions were unable to prevent their overthrow by coup and civil war in at least twenty-five African countries. Such institutions did not prevent the rise and continued entrenchment of white racism in South Africa. Thus scholarly attention switched to seeking explanations for coups, racism, and the search for new institutions and models of development, be they one-party states or the revolutionary situations of the post-national liberation armed struggles.

Africanist military studies in Canada derive their parentage mainly from history, although by its nature successful military studies depend on interdisciplinary research. Direct or indirect military participation in military fighting in Africa has been limited to furthering the Western Empires in the Boer War (1899-1902) and seeing out the aftermath of Belgian colonization in Central Africa in the 1960s. Canadian scholarly interest has not been confined to these events as the interest in the West Africa demonstrate.

Africanist archaeology in Canada, as elsewhere, has found itself divided into those who are interested in the early to middle stone age, in which case they tend to be oriented to world history, and those who focus on the later stone age onwards, in which case they tend to identify themselves more closely with Africa. Africanist archaeologists continue to face the need to accumulate more hard evidence in order to solve the problems of dating and defining the stone age as well as those of food production and the beginnings of metallurgy. The so-called “Bantu Question” continues to vex archaeologists. Was there or was there not an early expansion or dispersion of Bantu-speaking peoples from the west African area now known as Cameroon along an arc to east, central and southern Africa? The debate was initiated by historians on the basis of certain linguistic evidence. Since then archaeologists, including Calgary’s Nicholas David, have joined the fray. This has been part of a general tendency towards more complex and diverse explanations. Compared to the size of Africa, there is a paucity of archaeological sites and these are unevenly distributed. The lack of funds, compounded in recent times, to finance excavations of the number and extent continues to hinder the ability of archaeologists to draw more certain conclusions.
The other response to the apparent futility of studying the political institutions in isolation from the other aspects of society was the extensive redefinition of political science in light of the insights of political economy. There was a need to find a theoretical framework which encompassed the relationships between politics and economics. Two schools of political economy have come to dominate the response to this need.

The first, and least intellectually substantial, school is that of liberal political economy. The work of Apter, Uphoff and Fiehler has produced no substantial literature in the genre. However Canadian Africanist political scientists have been more influenced by what Pratt argues are the modern exponents of John Stuart Mills Essays on Political Economy: Gunnar Myrdal, Paul Prebisch, Rene Dumont and Dudley Seers. They share a common desire to promote the well-being of those whom they study through the co-ordination of economics and political science in these studies.29

By 1970 dissatisfaction with the main topics of earlier political science scholarship and with the inadequacies of the 'pseudo-science of the behavioral approach' had primed political scientists' receptivity to the intellectual brilliance of several Marxist political economy schools in Europe as well as the theoreticians of Latin Americanist schools of underdevelopment and dependency.30 As a result radical political economy emerged as the dominant school amongst Canadian Africanists. This school, which really consisted of several sub-sets, was influenced by Marx, Lenin, Chayanov, Poulantzas, Andre Gunder Frank and Raymond Moore. Canadian Africanists have increasingly been drawn into the political economy debate around four major themes: the need to take class into any account of politics; the need to study both the political prerequisites and the technical aspects of the public policies supposed to promote development; the need to understand the potential of the bureaucracy as a help or hindrance to development; and the real effects of the world economy and outside powers on Africa's ability to achieve autonomous development by means of either capitalism or socialism. These debates point to the continuing need to study the methods of mobilisation, use and control of power.31

Such debates attest to the intellectual vigour of African studies in Canada. If there is doubt about the future of such scholarship, the question would reflect the concerns of scholars to survive the economic crises of the 1970s and the 1980s. One suspects that this is a theme common to all area studies.

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25. See for example the work of Myron Echenberg, David Daniel Ruddy and A. Sydney Kanya-Forstner. For a review of the literature, see the War and Society section of Ray, Shinnie and Williams (eds.), op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. 250-270.


27. Pratt, op.cit., p. 64. I am indebted to Cranford Pratt for his analysis of the change in focus of political science and the rise in importance of political economy. It is of considerable interest and significance that similar perceptions of similar changes emerged at the 1981 CAAS by the contributors from demography, geography, history, women's studies, legal studies, anthropology as well as political science. These contributors were not chosen in order to make this point: that they tend to agree is a mark of an intellectual movement.

28. Pratt, op.cit. Of course, examinations of the nature of colonialism are necessary because there are important theoretical and political problems at stake. The apologists of colonialism, such as John Kenneth Galbraith in his television programme "The Colonial Idea", provide, perhaps inadvertently, the rationale for renewed imperial intervention: 'at least colonial rule provided law and order, these people can't be trusted to rule themselves'. Thus Henry Kissinger argued that the U.S. could not allow the Chilean people to be ruled by a constitutionally-elected socialist government. Theoretically the debate over colonialism and imperialism has profound consequences for the schools of political economy.


30. Pratt, op.cit.

HOLD AND NOTE

Buy Pateman reports from Washington

The US House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs - Sub committee on Africa and Human Rights, held a hearing on October 16th to consider whether the Ethiopian Government was conducting a deliberate policy of starvation in the northern provinces and in Eritrea and whether there were human rights abuses.

Six individuals testified and gave widely different accounts. Professor Marcus, a senior US Ethiopian scholar, took the view that we should stop interfering in Ethiopia's internal affairs, whereas Professor Ed Reller was inclined to the view that the abuses were not the result of the government's intent but rather part of a considered policy. William Shabbaz, a previously U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia, gave testimony to the Commission on the fact that the United States government, in its dealings with the Eritrean government, has been withholding food aid from the Eritrean people. The Eritrean government, according to the testimony of Tenet and Feyissa, the executive director of the Eritrean Relief Committee, has been deliberately withholding food aid to the Eritreans from conflict areas. This testimony is in variance with the testimony of Tenet and Feyissa to the Eritrean government, and the testimony of the United States government.

The discussions brought out a strong deep and widely-shared sense of commitment to Africa. It was generally agreed that, now that the focus of attention had shifted to the Sudan, the United States government should be more proactive in addressing the problems of the Sudanese people. The members of the Commission were somewhat confused over the contradictory nature of the testimonies - however, an overwhelming majority of them condemned the government of Ethiopia for its treatment of the Eritrean people.

Australian Aid to Africa - The Newton-Turner Report

In 1985 the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACOFA) commissioned Dr Helen Newton-Turner, a retired CSIRO animal biologist, to investigate the areas of expertise in Australia which might be useful for African agricultural development, and to prepare a report. The intention was to give some substance to the generalization, often made but seldom documented in any detail, that Australia is uniquely well placed among developed countries to assist African agriculture because of the broad environmental similarities between Australia and large parts of Africa. Various AFSAP members were among those consulted by Dr Newton-Turner during her preparation of the report.

Dr Newton-Turner's report, Australian Agriculture Aid to Africa - Appraoches Revisited, was published in April. In just under 200 pages, the report provides a comprehensive picture of the large body of relevant agricultural expertise that exist in Australia. As Dr Newton-Turner observes, "the African countries themselves recognize that Australia has this expertise; they have a strong expectation that we can and will help."

On 28 May ACOFA convened a seminar in Canberra to discuss the report, and David Sorward and David Goldsworthy attended on behalf of AFSAP. Some eighty people were present, including government officials, aid consultants, and aid NGO representatives. The principal speakers included J.R. Mr C.J. Kumar, the Kenya High Commissioner to Australia; Dr Noel Mantie, an agricultural aid consultant; Senator Kerry Ainsworth; and Mr Doug Campbell, Head of the Pacific, Asian and African Programs Branch in the Australian Development Assistance Bureau.

The discussions brought out a strong, deep and widely-shared sense of commitment to Africa. It was generally agreed that, now that the focus of attention had shifted to the Sudan, discussion should move forward to the deeper problems of adapting and applying it, with due sensitivity to the social framework of African agriculture.

ACOFA is preparing a report of the seminar discussions. Meanwhile, any AFSAP members who would like to obtain copies of the Newton-Turner report should write to ACOFA at S.P.O. Box 1512, Canbera, A.C.T., 2601.