AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

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The AFSAAP Newsletter now appears twice a year in June and December. Long and 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 April 30th and September 30th will appear in the June and December issues respectively. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences, Politics Discipline, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001.

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New Australian African Magazine

News and Notes

AFSAAP News
Note From the Editor

Once again, I delayed the final production of this issue of the Newsletter to include a note on the annual Conference, held in December, on this occasion at the University of Western Australia. A short report of the Conference follows. Everyone present agreed that it was enormously successful, and well-attended, although distance clearly precluded some of our members from being there. An occasion that keeps Association members in touch.

Between conferences the Newsletter tries to perform that function. It is now in its fourteenth year, the first issue having been in April 1979. Its aim remains to provide a means for Africanists to keep in touch with each other, and with current Africanist activities in Australia. The first issue was six pages. Today the Newsletter averages fifty five. The circulation list in 1979 included a hundred names. The Association's up-dated, (1991) Directory has some two hundred entries, but Australian membership of the Association is nearer three hundred and the Newsletter goes overseas as well. So we have grown! More important we hope it keeps members in touch not only with Africa-focused events in Australia but with African issues and events as well. All the more important as the media focus on Africa continues to decline; as official interest in Africa continues seemingly does the same; and as we have to fight to keep African studies in University curricula.

This issue includes articles on South Africa, Uganda, CHOOGM, Zambia after her multi-party elections, and Addis Ababa and Asmara since the end of the war. What delights me most is the extent to which it includes the experiences and observations of Australians working in or visiting Africa. This is indicative of the continuing personal links and associations between the two continents which survive despite the reduction of governmental involvement. In addition however those links ensure the kind of direct, first hand experience on which informed analysis is based.

Deryck Schreuder's shrewd observations on the CHOOGM meeting on Harare, also highlight the need for us, as an Association and as individuals, to maintain a public as well as private commitment to the African cause; and to respond to Janet Hunt's call (in her discussion of Australian African NGO links) to join with ACFOA in their international campaigning and in the major education campaign planned for 1993. In this respect there is much that members can contribute. In the meantime I have little doubt that we could also, and immediately, use the Newsletter itself to greater effect, to ensure an exchange of information, both of local events and also resources and facilities available across Australia. Such information has been included in past issues from time to time, but we need to do some up-dating: e.g. of library resources (hence Peter Limbo's list of hard-to-find reference sources available in the Reid Library at UWA). And there is the whole unexplored question of private collections of African materials which we have never addressed. It is also some time since we included information on university course offerings. Such information and much more would be invaluable, so if you are involved in any of these areas it would be good to share the experience. Please do.

Finally, I would draw attention to the fact that there are three different references in this issue to assistance to African university libraries. Obviously the book famine in Africa to which the late Michael Crowder drew everyone's attention in 1986 is still not over!

Cherry Gertzel
December 1991
1991 Conference Report

The 1991 Annual Conference of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific was held at the University of Western Australia from 1st to 4th of December. Over a hundred people attended what was in all ways an impressive and invigorating meeting. The University of Western Australia's lovely riverside setting added to the occasion. There was much exchange of ideas and also catching up with old friends and making new ones, one of the most important functions of the Annual meeting. Thirty papers were presented in nine sessions, including a panel discussion on Australia-Africa NGO aid links. Papers ranged widely (a list is attached) with the whole of the first day devoted to South/Southern Africa. Their quality was outstanding. Among the participants there was a number of distinguished visitors from Africa and from London, whose participation in all parts of the proceedings brought a sense of direct engagement with the contemporary African scene.

One of the highlights of the Conference was the sequence of evening lectures on South Africa given by the University of Western Australia's 1991 Octagon Lectures, by three of the Conference's distinguished visitors: Dr. Frene Ginwala, Head of Research, the African National Congress, spoke on Constitutional Negotiations in South Africa: The State of Play; Professor Shula Marks, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, spoke on 'The Roots of Ethnic Violence in South Africa'; and Professor Hermann Giliomee, Professor of Politics, University of Cape Town, spoke on "Afrikaner Political Thought and Constitutional Change".

The Association of three of the Conference's distinguished visitors with the University of Western Australia's Octagon Lectures highlighted the strong sense of local community involvement that pervaded the conference. Two of the objectives of the Octagon Lectures are:

"to stimulate discussion of significant issues affecting our way of life" and
"to increase the opportunities for contact with eminent scholars in any field".

In addition to conference participants these particular lectures attracted a considerable public audience which demonstrated the significant interest in Africa within the Perth community. The Conference began on the Sunday, with a full day's proceedings on South and Southern Africa for just that reason: to enable Perth working people with a concern with Africa to attend when they could not otherwise have done so. A second important feature of the conference was the variety of contributions, reflecting the fact that everyone who offered a paper was able to deliver it. This resulted in a wide-ranging set of issues raised and debated.

The quality of the papers presented, the presence of distinguished scholars from overseas, and the lively and friendly atmosphere throughout the conference all reflected the hardwork of the co-convenors of the conference, Norman Etherington and Pen Hetherington and the whole conference committee. We are indebted to them for what was a memorable and worthwhile meeting.

Conference participants received a set of abstracts of the papers presented. Copies of the papers themselves were available for purchase. All conference papers will in due course be available on microfiche.

Cherry Gertzel
Ms Janet Hunt, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, ‘Non-Government organisations Building Australia-Africa Relations’.

Dr. Alexandra Boyd, recently returned from the Sudan, ‘Understanding Female Circumcision: the Language and Rituals of Sexuality in the Sudan’.


Mr. Jacob A. deturi, National Centre for Development Studies, Canberra, ‘Church-based Obstetric Care in a Yoruba Community, Nigeria’.


Dr. Joan Wardrop, Social Science Department, Curtin University, ‘The De Klerk Reform Process: Ambiguity and Reality’.

Dr. Rob Lambert, Industrial Relations, University of Western Australia, ‘Freedom is within Arms’ Length: Trade Unions and Unemployed Youth in South Africa: A Perspective on the 1984-86 Popular Rebellion’.

Mr France Desaunin, Postgraduate in Social Science, Curtin University, ‘Politics and Industrialisation in a Peasant Society: the case of Kenya’.

Mr. Lawrence Mbijwe, Medical Technology, Curtin University, ‘The Role of Mau Mau in Kenya’.

Mrs. Kay O’Connor, Department of Education, Employment and Training, ‘From Expat to migrant: a preliminary case study’.

Dr. Paul Bowen, Department of Aboriginal and Intercultural Studies, Edith Cowan University, ‘Tradition and Control in Swaziland’.

AN AFRICAN CHOGM: HARARE, OCTOBER 1991
Deryck Schreuder

It was to be an appropriately African summit.


President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was in the Chair, and his Opening Address well linked general Commonwealth concerns to those of Africa today. The new Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anywuka of Nigeria, brought his own form of West African sophistication to the public presentation of the proceedings. And the newest member of the Commonwealth, Namibia, was admitted as 50th state, amidst much jubilation. Queen Elizabeth II, as attending Head of the Commonwealth, drew African crowds who appeared to be genuinely enthusiastic at her presence. The Commonwealth being the Commonwealth included in its schedule not only the informal ‘retreat’ for Heads of Delegations over the weekend - at Victoria Falls - but also a much reported cricket match - which was to be the last sporting ‘hurrah’ of Mr Bob Hawke, Prime Minister of Australia at CHOGM. It was also widely anticipated to be the last CHOGM for Dr Hastings Banda of Malawi, who appeared exceedingly frail, and for Dr Kenneth Kaunda, whose electoral prospects in the forthcoming multi-party elections were also deemed (rightly, it soon transpired) to be even more fragile.

Among the African issues discussed South Africa remained a prominent feature of deliberations. The presence of Mr Nelson Mandela and senor ANC officials - on the invitation of the Chair - was a highpoint of the early days of this particular CHOGM. Yet South Africa did not dominate proceedings as in previous CHOGMs. The Heads of Government ratified the recommendations of the earlier (May) meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Delhi - which had argued for the programmed management approach - linking any change in the application of sanctions to the taking of real and practical steps to end apartheid. That the Harare Communique accordingly addressed issues of arms embargo, financial sanctions and sporting relationships with South Africa. Broadly speaking, ‘contact sanctions’ were to be lifted, in recognition of changes brought about by the Government of President F W de Klerk: economic sanctions were to be lifted when ‘appropriate transitional mechanisms had been agreed enabling ‘all the parties to participate in international negotiations; and financial sanctions (plus the arms embargo) were to be kept in place, pending agreement on the text of a ‘democratic constitution’. Mr. John Major, at British Prime Minister in succession to Mrs Thatcher, dissenting from this timetable, and rather stressed the importance of immediate re-investment in South Africa to kick along economic growth and job creation. In the interim, HODs expressed the view that the Commonwealth ‘must remain ready to assist the negotiating process in ways that would be found helpful by the parties concerned’.

Following CHOGM, Chief Arinuka visited South Africa, and then reported to the 10 members of HLAG - the Commonwealth High Level Appraisal Group which had been created at the Kuala Lumpur Summit to consider the future of the Commonwealth. Currently (Christmas Eve, 1991) Commonwealth representatives (including Sir Ninian Stephen from Australia) have been invited to attend the initial proceedings of the CODESA all-party talks in South Africa as official observers. South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial society, was seen to presage its welcome return, in the future, to the Commonwealth itself, and so ending over 20 years of increasing international isolation.
The Harare summit was, of course, intended to do more than resolve 'old' Commonwealth issues. The final Harare Declaration drafted for this particular CHOGM was designed both to update the last previous general statement of principles (Singapore, 1971); and to provide a mission statement for the future of the organisation as an international body. These fundamental principles of intent, cooperation and implementation, all had significance for Africa. 'Human Rights' were given prominence. Amnesty International had recently identified 34 of the 50 Commonwealth members as violating, in some degree, its code - with certain prominent African members noted. The Harare Declaration was praised in international forums for its bold support of Human Rights, though it was pointedly asked how the Commonwealth intended to uphold its brave credo. It was also noted, with some discomfort that student protests at the University of Zimbabwe had been met with armed state reaction.

Democracy, political pluralism, good and accountable government, were also stressed in the Harare Declaration, so supporting the aspirations of African peoples and movements struggling for greater personal freedoms, more efficient and less self-serving administrations. It was noted however, by several acute observers of international politics, that the language of the 'New World Order' had been appropriated by the drafters of the Declaration in their enthusiasm to link pluralism to 'sound economic management recognising the central role of the market economy'.

Development and strategies for growth were accordingly another highlight of this CHOGM - a hardly surprising circumstance given that the great majority of Commonwealth members are classified as 'Third World' nations. Africa, for example, not only constitutes some 25% of Commonwealth membership (16 of 50 members, and some 230 million people) but 9 of 17 less developed countries in the Commonwealth are in Africa - with one nation, Tanzania, now even ranked below that of Bangladesh in a sad order of poverty. A British initiative to encourage debt remissions on the part of the developed economies - and follow up the Trinidad and Tobago Terms - focussed attention on enduring structural burdens and inequalities that severely hamper African growth and recovery.

Other major issues of reporting or debate concerned the rights and role of women, aids and public health, education and youth participation in sport, the control of drug trafficking and protection of the natural environment - all crucial issues for modern Africa.

Much the best of the work of the Commonwealth - or so it seems to me, as an academic commentator at CHOGM - remains at the level of technical, scientific and educational capacities and transfers; in areas of assistance and development sponsored by a great range of NGOs together with the facilitating role, for small or poor states, in providing a useful access to international affairs. African member states, for example, find considerable utility in Commonwealth membership for these essentially practical reasons.

Australian connections to the societies of the Third World are considerably enhanced through its own Commonwealth membership; and hopefully, perhaps, a deeper understanding developed of the nature of Afro-Asian peoples, their cultures and concerns. There is certainly an expectation in the African Commonwealth that Australia has a genuine commitment to aid, development and peace in the continent. That is a challenge awaiting Australian fulfillment at a time when Africa is in danger of becoming the forgotten continent in the so-called New World Order of International affairs.

The official language of the Commonwealth - 'Commonwealthese', to the irreverent observers and critics - often betrays a certain neurosis over the successful survival of this unusual international organisation of shared histories but diverse cultures. The Harare Declaration has proclaimed high principles for the future of that Commonwealth and its members. In many ways, the test of that Declaration will begin from Harare itself, so to speak: what Africa does in the years ahead for the freedoms of its peoples, what Africa achieves in supporting the lives of those peoples, and what Africa becomes within the global community, will surely provide a crucial test for the Commonwealth of the 1990s and the next century.

Like the great afternoon storms that rolled across the high plateau of central Africa after the heat of day, we shall have to wait and see what is their long term consequence - growth and new life, or discomfort and difficulty for villagers and city dwellers. If the Harare Declaration points to a crucial time of challenge and change for the Commonwealth, so it also appears to point to even greater years of decision for Africa and its peoples.
REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK IN UGANDA AND TANZANIA,
FEBRUARY TO JUNE 1991

Liz Dinnock

My research is concerned with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Uganda and Tanganyika in the period 1895 to 1940. It focuses on women, women missionaries from Britain and Australia, and African girls and women who were the main targets of their work and with whom they interacted. The main archival sources I had used before going to East Africa were from the CMS. Spending four months in the field was the first step to help me gain a perspective of African "other" that mission archives do not yield. One of my aims was to meet and talk with older African women whose early life brought them into contact with missionary women through school, church, Mothers' Union or clinic. To this end I visited Kampala, and Mbale, Port Portal and Mbarara in eastern and western Uganda. In Tanzania I went to Dar es Salaam and then to the core area of the former CMS Tanganyika Mission, to Berega, Dodoma and Mvumi. The search for archives and unpublished theses and papers was a second aim which drew me to libraries at the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Makerere and to church and mission archives at Namirembe and Dodoma.

Journeying to East Africa in 1991 involved more than this. One cannot visit these countries without being acutely aware of current economic, political and social issues. For me this was particularly poignant as I had worked in Uganda in the 1960s. Memories of that country in the period immediately following Independence jolted me as I abhorred the huge contrasts between then and now. My journey took me back to the present, my memories of and contact with people and places that I had known in the 1960s, and a further reaching back through the memories of older people and archives to a more remote time earlier in the century. The issues that were foremost in my mind while I was moving around were a complex bundle of historical and contemporary, social, religious, political and economic. This piece of writing is a reflection on some of these issues.

In Uganda the overwhelming issue of the present day is the struggle to survive. This is not new. It has been continuous through nearly two decades of civil war and economic collapse. There is amazing resourcefulness and resilience. The Ugandan farmer provides minimal income, and housing, for his employees. Salaries of teachers, civil servants and university professors range from 3000 to 10000 shillings (Australian $5 to $13) a month. A stalk of matooke, the main staple food in the south of the country, costs 2500 shillings in the markets in Kampala. This feeds a family for up to a week. How does a family balance its budget with so small an income and such high basic food costs?

Strategies are varied, but people have second, even third jobs. Some start up their own businesses. Others, for example senior academic staff at Makerere, have consultancy work in government departments and NGOs. Those who have access to land not too distant from Kampala produce food crops which they sell in the city. During phases of intense military activity in the last twenty years people have been unable to go about their work freely. One of my former pupils told me how she started to grow chickens to provide her children with meat and eggs during one of those periods. When times improved she found that she could sell chickens and eggs from home. She now has ducks and a few turkeys. This supplies income additional to that from her job in a training college and a school and her husband's work in the public service and his small business venture.

With a son in secondary boarding school and a daughter in primary school, school fees for this family are in excess of 60000 shillings a term.

A multitude of people are involved in bringing goods into the country for sale in business premises on the streets. Much of this is overland with chains of contacts between Kenya and Uganda. Some is by air. Plane loads of women also, leave for Dar es Salaam for regular flights to Abu Dhabi and Dubai, for the purchase of cheap goods for Uganda's consumers. Along all the roads that lead out of Kampala people are making things - furniture, metalwork, crafts, road-side markets abound. The public sector may be slow to recover, but the informal economy thrives.

Richard Brown's plea for the need to understand the mechanisms of this is highly relevant to Uganda. (Getting Africa's Debt Crisis into Perspective, a paper presented at the AFSAAP conference, Perth, December 1991).

The effect of aid is to slow the reach of the people despite huge programmes initiated by bilateral and multilateral agencies. Extensive road reconstruction is under way. Where roads have been completed, for example between Kampala and Mbale, Mbende and Mbarara the rural areas have better access to the capital. But even in these areas minor roads are in bad condition so marketing of rural produce is limited to areas that are close to improved roads. Water and electricity supplies even in Kampala are unreliable. The development of a second turbine at the Owen Falls dam has been promised, but it will be two to three years before it is operating. Running a business or factory, a school or a University is problematic without reliable utilities. Research projects in science departments at Makerere are hampered by irregular power and water supplies. There are photocopiers machines of immense importance where modern texts are in short supply, but they cannot be used when the power is off. In the industrial area of Kampala I came across a particularly poignant case. A woman had set up a new bakery, efficient but well equipped. She provided employment for fifteen to twenty people. Two weeks running the power had gone off at a time when a batch of dough was rising and almost ready for baking. The generator which should have been brought into use was not working, and required spare parts that she could not get. Two weeks running the bread had to be thrown out. Here was a woman with initiative and skills, frustrated by matters outside her control.

Education is in its own state of crisis. There is dissatisfaction among secondary and tertiary students. Shortages of books and equipment and perceived poor quality of schools and staff has led to a wave of strikes by school students. There were strikes in the sixties, but for another set of reasons. Today education is no longer the key to a "good" job as it was earlier, and it is increasingly seen as unrelated to the needs of the people. In Eastern Uganda children are taken out of school seasonally, in some cases permanently, to be used in the magendo economy, especially with the movement of consumer goods across the border from Kenya. Trading brings income, education leads most probably to a fixed income job in the public sector with small returns. New conceptualizations about the value of education are being formed.

Makerere students likewise are disillusioned. The University was closed to undergraduates from November 1980 to May 1991. Demonstrations against the cutting back of grants for books, stationery and travel had led to police involvement and a shooting incident. President Museveni set up a Visitation Committee to investigate the affairs of the university that had led to the demonstrations and the regular strikes of students. It made recommendations for the University's Finance Committee for Future Education Service (PRESF) for one year, to instil in students the value of labour, an appreciation of community living and a deeper knowledge of their country. Concerned students to students the Committee noted that the Government can no longer fully finance tertiary education and that students should contribute to costs, and grants or loans applied for by students whose families cannot provide them. It is easy to see that, as in Australia and Britain where similar arguments have been used in recent years, students will not accept this readily. Applications for grants, scholarships and loans in Uganda are fraught with
complications concerning the procedures by which it is done. Will those who really need assistance be the ones who get it? How will PREFERENCES, with the implication of another year added to the education process help an already disillusioned younger generation.

Women’s lives in Uganda are hard. Family size is still much higher than in Australia. Many women have four, five or six children. A professional woman will have one or two jobs, domestic work to do and children to raise. Few women give up their work for child-raising. The involvement of men in domestic chores is very low. This applies especially to food preparation which is a time-honoured labour of women for men within the family. Poorer women in Kampala and other towns also try to add to family income. Large numbers of women sell things by the roadside. Some sell groundnuts, sweets, newspapers. Others prepare food for sale. This is a time consuming activity, time being spent walking to buy foodstuffs, walking home to cook it and then walking to a suitable location for selling it, all to acquire very small amounts of money. There will often be a baby on the back and a toddler at the side accompanying the mother in her work.

Many of these same issues apply in Tanzania. My journey into rural Tanzania and Uganda highlighted the gap that exists between urban and rural communities. Again, women are disadvantaged. Despite Nyerere’s policy of universal primary education and a legislative programme that aimed at improving women’s lives and rights, Tanzanian rural women lag behind. The number of girls enrolled in Form VI at secondary level decreased through the 1980s to 21% in 1987 (Basic Education Statistics, Min. Ed. Publications, Dar es Salaam, 1987). University enrolments of women were 25.6% of the total. These figures reflect the very low enrolment of rural girls in secondary schools and the expectations of rural women. Talking with rural men and women in the Berega and Mwani areas, I found that there is reluctance to send girls to secondary boarding school because they fear they will become pregnant. Town dwellers sometimes have the option of day boarding schools for their daughters. This is a problem, discussed at all levels, which requires urgent attention.

Another issue in the Central Tanzanian area that I visited is that of female circumcision. It is a widespread custom in Ukerewe and Uugogo around Berega and Mwani. One of my interests as an historian is to know how the CMS looked on the practice. I found that today it is a highly controversial topic in the Anglican church. Some speak out strongly against it and yet they have their daughters circumcised. It is a custom so deeply ingrained in the social fabric of the area that they know that girls may not be marriable if they do not comply with the accepted norm. Some leaders of the Church see this issue, and polygyny, as matters where traditional ethics should be more acceptable. They have both been matters where there has been a lot of double talk. Tradition does not readily change in matters that are of social significance especially in remote rural areas. Even the socialist ideology of Tanzania in the post-independence period has not been able to overcome the powerful forces of tradition.

AIDS is a major problem in both countries. In Uganda you are conscious of it everywhere. There are funerals every day. In some areas old people and children make up the bulk of the population, as young adults have died. Many babies are being born HIV positive, but the diagnosis is often missed because other diseases like measles creep in to kill them. The problem of how to look after increasing numbers of orphans is discussed widely. A drama competition in the schools was part of the Education department’s attempt in 1991 to encourage responsible attitudes to sex. A standard play about AIDS had to be performed. The last scene was left unwritten and students themselves were required to complete the play, an exercise that required discussion and thought. I had hoped to see one of these presentations but a change of plant prevented it. The spread of AIDS is the most saddening of all issues in these countries.

La Trobe University
November 1991
OBSERVATIONS ON ZAMBIA AFTER ITS MULTI PARTY ELECTIONS
Edward Kapewpe-

Now that the political dust is beginning to settle on the Zambian soil, I wish to convey to my readers the observations of what has transpired and the process make a humble contribution to the on-going debate on prospects for Zambia's Social Economic Development in the Third Republic.

Zambia has had a peaceful transition from a one party state to a supposedly democratic and plural one (it is yet too early to pass any judgement on the authenticity of the just gained democracy). The transition period was an epoch making moment for the Zambian people in general and the country is now being paraded as an example to be followed by third world countries under similar circumstances.

The new government has promised to uphold the rule of law and allow citizens to enjoy all the rights enshrined in the constitution of the land. Most significant is the promise to guarantee freedom of the press. The increased role of the media was witnessed even before the elections. A number of both partisan and non partisan newspapers were launched. It has now been acknowledged that the Movement for Multi-Party democracy's landslide victory during the elections was facilitated among other things by a relatively free press. Evidence of the rule of law can be gauged from numerous successful court injunctions which blocked political appointments and other undemocratically instituted policies just before the elections.

The new regime has promised to uphold the rule of law while adopting the capitalist system without any misgivings. The state will therefore have a very limited role to play in the economy. Some parastatal (Quasi-state) companies will be turned into private concerns to improve their efficiency while those of strategic importance to the nation will be made more accountable to the people. These had hitherto been the instruments of state capitalism in Zambia during the previous government and had been a nurturing ground for the Zambian capitalist class.

The previous government demagogically resorted to revolutionary slogans to hide egoistic aims as income inequalities and abject poverty became the order of the day. This was manifested in the call for the creation of a humanist society using socialism while embracing state capitalism and private property. Arrant confusion.

The next government has promised not to hide its capitalist tendencies and will open the flood gates to foreign goods. Apparently there is concern among entrepreneurs that to set up an industry and compete with South African firms will require a 50% tariff protection because of the high production costs in Zambia. Whether these issues will be an integral part of the new government’s strategy to promote capitalism is yet to be seen.

The new government will also continue to adhere to the IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes in a much more liberalised environment (the negative impact of these programmes on the poor still remains to be assessed from statistical abstractions). Some donors are also pledging more aid while debt forgiveness is on the cards in some circles. This it is argued is essential for the new democracy to succeed.

With regard to foreign investments, it appears Zambia will continue to present an unattractive bastion for capitalist penetration. The economy is still overwhelmingly dominated by the copper mining industry.

Whether or not the new government will lessen the plight of the poor is questionable.

The political power so gained by the recent change of government may not be reflected in the life situation of the poor and the lowly paid workers as their lives will continue to be subject to the contradictions between labour and capital (with the latter dominating). Without economic power therefore the Zambian people’s struggle to lead a full life and realise their potential will continue to be a pipe dream. Zambia does not even have a social security scheme firmly in place to lessen the impact of capitalist penetration as is the case in developed capitalist countries we are emulating. The commitment of the new government to carry out what it promised the electorate is already being put to the test. Only recently the Times of Zambia (25/11/91) front page carried an article in which a Deputy Minister and prominent politician Mr. Valentine Kayohe castigated members of the MMA who had initiated the national convention (which ushered in plural politics) and now having landed lucrative government jobs have abandoned their party obligations raising fears that the ruling party might lose popularity at the grassroots level. Does this go to support the hypothesis that the Zambian comprador bourgeoisie and other social groups that participated in changing the government had different perceptions of what kind of development they envisaged in the third Republic?

Let us hope it does not end up into a situation whereby on the one hand the rich are busy concentrating their energies and efforts on trying to catch up with the already over-developed west (for instance pursuing the private car civilisation to the latest model) while on the other hand the masses continue to complain about lack of public transport, health, education services and most important a guaranteed means to food security.

The present government is faced with a situation whereby it has to satisfy conditions for capitalist accumulation while trying to redress deterioration in the social-economic circumstances of the people. For instance in the health sector the government has to deal with increased pressure on health facilities. In the hospitals the government has to deal with cross-infections between patients in the wards due to congestion and lack of bed-space. There are even incidences of nurses being infected (especially in the labour ward of the University Teaching Hospital which has turned into a sweat room). The present government has also to address the necessity for a multi-sectoral approach to health problems. For instance to reduce the death rate among children resulting from malnutrition (40%) will not only require training of nutritionists but will involve access by the afflicted population to the means of subsistence and food security in general. To eradicate cholera will not only require efficient distribution of drugs but the provision of good water supply and sanitation. The Government has proposed to facilitate the operations of the private sector in the provision of social services. Experience to date shows that only the rich can afford private education and health services. Since only a small percentage of the population is covered by formal employment it follows that medical insurance schemes if implemented will only save a tiny minority. A perilous predicament.

Po Box 50268, Lusaka
November 1991

The views expressed in this article are entirely the author’s and do not reflect the thinking of any organisation.

* Edward Kapewpe returned to Zambia, where he works in the National Commission for Development Planning, last July, after completing his M.A. in Development Studies at The Flanders University of South Australia.
ALECK NKOMO: A PASS LAW OFFENCE AND THE RESULTING COURT CASE

Julian R. Veena.coome and Kevin L. Walsh

(This is the story of the legal proceedings against Aleck Nkomo who in 1985 was charged with offences contrary to influx control legislation in South Africa. It is also a story of confusion, incompetence and inefficiency by the authorities, and of a determination to see Aleck’s rights defended by his friends and a particularly skilful attorney. Although now some seven years ago, since when significant changes have begun in South Africa, it is yet another salutary reminder of the nature of apartheid. Ed note).

Note: exact names and details have been changed to preserve the identity of those involved.

When the West Rand Administration Board (W.R.A.B.) raided the servants’ quarters at a house in Jan Smuts Street in early December 1985, Aleck Nkomo was out. However, his girlfriend, Ivy and their baby girl, Spongele, both of whom shared with him the single brick-walled room, were in. The house in Jan Smuts Street is in Johannesburg’s northern suburbs. It is a modern, well-appointed home, with swimming pool, double garage and servant’s quarters. The W.R.A.B. checked Ivy’s papers and found them to be in order. However, Ivy and the house owner were given verbal and written warnings that Spongele, at nine months, contravened the Group Areas Act. Ivy was told to take Spongele back to her homeland. In Ivy’s case this was nearly 2000 km to the nominally independent Ciskei, near East London in the eastern Cape. Unable to go immediately and fearful that even her temporary absence would upset her various employers, for whom she worked as a domestic servant, Ivy made arrangements so that Spongele would not be found in the inevitable follow-up raid. Indeed she was not, but when the W.R.A.B. arrived 7 days later they found Aleck.

Aleck Nkomo is over fifty, and a quietly spoken Ndebele from Plumtree on the Zimbabwean border with Botswana. For most of the last nineteen years he has worked in South Africa, some of the time as a painter and the rest as a domestic servant.

Aleck has a wife who lives in Plumtree. They have two sons, now both old enough to support themselves. Ivy, his girlfriend, has four children, the youngest, Spongele, beheaded by Aleck. When asked, Aleck and Ivy were unable to agree whether Aleck fathered the third child. Aleck claims he did, and Ivy (Ivy) that he did not. Ivy’s children stay with her mother in the homeland of Ciskei, while Ivy works in Johannesburg to send money “home”, where, she explains, there is little work and the wages are poor.

Aleck had never regularised his papers in South Africa, but for nineteen years had worked and lived illegally in areas designated for whites. It was illegal to employ or provide him with accommodation, only Aleck was arrested and only Aleck was charged with an offence.

That evening Aleck was taken to a south Johannesburg Police Station and held overnight. Ivy spent most of that evening searching several police stations before she found Aleck. The following day he appeared at a hearing which he was unable to describe to us because he had not understood it. However, some of the details. Aleck’s hearing was abruptly terminated at lunch time and bail set at R400 (over three times his monthly pay). His Zimbabwean passport was confiscated and a receipt issued for the bail, which was raised by Ivy with the help of the employer’s daughter. Aleck was to appear in court on Thursday 19 December.

We first heard of the incident on the Wednesday after Aleck’s arrest when Ivy came to do the weekly cleaning at our flat. Depressed, she told us of the events and expressed her personal concern that she found guilty, Aleck would be deported and would no longer be able to help support her or Spongele. Out of concern that Aleck should have a fair trial, we offered to help, but telling our colleagues of our intentions was generally greeted with a “waste of time” sentiment. We spoke to Aleck and Ivy at length and examined the one piece of paper he had written in the course of the case. The charge was not written down, nor was Aleck aware of the charge. It was, however, obviously a Pass Law offence. To go directly to any attorney was unlikely to help, since many support Apartheid legislation and would regard such work as trivial and beneath them.

We turned to Black Sash at their offices in central Johannesburg. Inside the Black Sash office there seemed to be an atmosphere of controlled confusion. On both occasions when one of us went in with Aleck, we were faced with an orderly, seated queue of men and women all waiting to see the volunteer women helpers. Curiously, we were placed at the front of the queue each time; we do not really know why, but can only surmise that it was simply because we were white. The Black Sash helper asked a few basic questions, made a phone call and later that day an attorney phoned one of us (KLW) and an appointment was made.

On Friday 13 December, Aleck and one of us (JRV), went to the appointment at the Standard Bank Building in central Johannesburg. The Attorney’s Office is on the 10th floor, reached by a prison sentence and almost inevitable deportation. We asked Mike about an attorney’s fee - his reply was that work of this nature is performed pro Deo.

The court case was due to be heard on a Tuesday in mid-December. That morning Aleck and Ivy wore their Sunday-best clothes. Aleck’s employer, in her only display of emotion or concern, took a photograph of Aleck and said good-bye. She would have little difficulty in finding a replacement for Aleck. In contrast, her daughter accompanied us to the court building.

The court, Number 15 Market Street, is 200m up the road from John Vorster Square, the central Johannesburg police station. The ground floor of the court building is a block of windowless concrete. The upper floors are no better and a tatty, incomplete edifice on its roof is visible from a distance. One is left wondering whether the building was designed by an incompetent architect or built deliberately to create an atmosphere of despondency.

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** Chukagai High School, P.A. Jeka, Mberengwa, Zimbabwe.
Aleck's case was to be heard at 09h00 in Court 33. The names on the list of cases to be heard that session were largely 'Nkomo' and 'Moyo' surnames and were all Ndebele from Zimbabwe. The court appeared to be administered by a plethora of uniformed black South African police, with the occasional interference of a Prosecutor. A small crowd, mostly black, but with a few whites, heard the Prosecuting Attorney ask if the defendant had been granted bail were present. They were. Avoiding names calling each "you" or "that one", he held them in the order in which their cases would be heard, followed by the twenty or so cases where bail had not been granted. In a short moment, Mike Hornton, the Defence Attorney, sneaked off to talk to the Prosecuting Attorney. He came back with the shock news that all the cases to be heard had already been found guilty. This was being sentenced and fixed for about R50 or three months' prison, after which the Commissioner of Corrections would consider deportation. Sentencing is usually delayed a month from the first hearing to enable the courts to check with central records in Pretoria on any previous convictions.

The fact that Aleck had apparently been found guilty came as a shock to all of us, but, since he was to plead guilty, it was essentially academic, our purpose being to reduce to a minimum any prison sentence and, if lucky, avoid deportation.

Despite the Prosecuting Attorney's original order, Aleck's case was heard fourth, and not third. The three preceding cases initiated us into the procedures of such a court. The Prosecuting Attorney was young, thoroughly bored and spent much of his time with his head in his hands, as if nursing a hangover. He had a big pile of greying files, presumably one for each case. Having flipped through a file at the start of a case, he passed it on to the Magistrate, who slowly read it in a calm, business-like fashion. This was all done in deadly silence. Cases are held in both English and Afrikaans. We noticed that the Prosecuting Attorney always spoke to the Magistrate. For the benefit of the accused, all questions directed to them and their replies, but nothing else, were translated into Zulu and back into Afrikaans, by a scruffily dressed African lady. Zulu is the living language to which is a northern break-away tribe, but geographically separation has resulted in some language, pronunciation and usage differences. The accused regularly failed to fully understand the translation and were sometimes unable to reply to the questions. On these occasions the translator, who normally faced forward, oblivious of the accused, would turn around and shout at them. This usually resulted in a long and complex answer, which translated into a short phrase in Afrikaans.

Aleck's case began with the changing of places, Aleck moving from the observers' section to the defence box. His attorney took his place opposite the table of the Prosecuting Attorney, who did his usual quick flip through the appropriate file. The file was passed on to the Magistrate and a protracted period of silence followed. It was broken when the Magistrate asked the prosecution if Aleck had been found guilty. After an affirmative from the prosecution another long silence followed, the rustling of paper in the file clearly audible at the back of the court room. The Magistrate also enquired about the status of the case and the file was passed back to the Prosecuting Attorney, who, this time, carefully searched for the statements saying that Aleck had been found guilty. Unable to locate them, the Magistrate and Prosecuting Attorney held a private conversation involving much fingerling of the file and an occasional raised voice. An enquiry from Aleck's attorney revealed that Aleck's previous hearing had indeed been a proper court case, but had been adjourned at lunch time with a motion taken. It also transpired that Aleck's first hearing was heard before a magistrate temporarily transferred to the Pass Law Court and, since already started, could not be transferred to another court. The case, therefore, should have been heard before the original magistrate, a Mr. van der Merwe, in his normal court in the Magistrate's Court buildings, several blocks away in Bezuidenhout Street. Thus, the accused, his defence and friends, and his file were all in the wrong court.

Accompanied by the black court clerk, who kept his hand firmly on Aleck's file, we all trooped across to the Magistrate's Court, which, we discovered, was not due to commence session until 11h15 - about half an hour. The policemen on duty and the Prosecuting Attorney of that court told us that Mr. van der Merwe was on leave and could not hear the case. When the court commenced session, an extension of bail was proposed by the prosecution, who appeared totally baffled by the situation. The defence team, represented by the Magistrate, was obviously not impressed, and the Magistrate's inefficiency was tempered by our pleasure of knowing that Aleck was free for Christmas and the New Year. His case was to be heard in late January 1986.

Aleck spent his Christmas and New Year working at his employers and, despite having little time off and no money, thoroughly enjoyed himself. Over this period Ivy, with Spongette, took a return train to East London and delivered her daughter to their homeland but in the Ciskei. Spongette now lives there, looked after by Ivy's mother. Ivy told us that white-owned shops in that part of the Ciskei were found on Saturday, and people were able to buy things only in small shops in the homeland. Here the vegetables were frequently rotting and prices grossly inflated. In Johannesburg she would buy some basic items, like soap, and post them to her mother.

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On a Thursday in late January one of us (KWL) met Mike Hornton at Court 3 in the Magistrate's Court building in Bezuidenhout Street. Due to building work, we were moved to Court 33. Mike spoke to the Prosecuting Attorney, who explained that the case was to be heard at least two hours later when the Magistrate, Mr. van der Merwe, arrived. We were then directed to the waiting box at 10h00. The Prosecuting Attorney adjourned the case for a week so that Mike could get back to his office, rather than wait around all morning for the case to come up. Meanwhile, Aleck and Ivy were wandering around the court building trying to find out which court they should be in. They were eventually located by the Afrikaans-speaking admin clerk and本国 to Ndebele. We were then shown the waiting rooms and brought to Ndebele and Zulu. We then waited for the presiding Magistrate to confirm an adjournment, so we stood outside the court along with other cases, which had similarly arrived early. All of the cases heard were adjourned by another Magistrate when it transpired that Mr. van der Merwe would not be attending court that day. Aleck's case was heard entirely in Afrikaans and conducted solemnly but briefly.

The adjournment a week later was held in Court 3 at 09h00. The building work was continuing and noisy drills drowned much of the court proceedings. The Magistrate arrived late and adjourned the court for half an hour, during which Mike briefed Aleck on the questions he would ask him and then left to chat to the Prosecuting Attorney. At 10h10 the magistrate spent several minutes reading through the case papers. Throughout the trial three languages were used, one of which was Aleck's mother tongue. English was always used by Mike, sometimes by Aleck and sometimes by the Magistrate and Prosecutors. Afrikaans (which Aleck finds difficult to understand) was used when the Magistrate and Prosecutors were communicating with each other and by the Magistrate in his summing up. Zulu was used by an interpreter when translating the Prosecutors' questions from Afrikaans to Zulu, who sometimes replied in Zulu.

Aleck was firstly questioned by the Magistrate as to how old he was, how much he was paid, how long he had been in the country and how many dependents he had in South Africa. To the last question Aleck replied two and the Magistrate pointed out that he had claimed only one in the first hearing. Some confusion arose, not helped by the language difficulties nor the constant hammering of a pneumatic drill next door. The Magistrate eventually moved on without clarifying the issue. The Prosecutors then cross-examined Aleck, who was not able to answer satisfactorily why he had not applied for documents enabling him to live and work in South Africa. Mike then posed
questions he had previously rehearsed about his dependents in South Africa and Zimbabwe, his inability to find work in Zimbabwe and other mitigating circumstances.

Ivy was called upon to give evidence. She stressed dependence on Alec and confirmed that he supported two children. She later confessed to being worried about Alec's contradictory evidence on this issue. The Prosecution had no questions for her. The Court considered a letter from Alec's employer, which commended him on his good character, reliability and hardworking nature, and asked for leniency.

Mike's summation was a lengthy argument quoting the case law, especially the right of the Magistrate to grant bail before deportation hearings, and stressing the mitigating circumstances. The Prosecuting Attorney's summation was, by contrast, very brief and dismissive. The majority of his case rested on the length of Alec's stay in South Africa without applying for relevant documents. The Magistrate then adjourned the court for a few minutes to consider the case. On returning, he briefly summed up in prison and referred him to the Commissioner's Court for deportation proceedings. He also granted bail, which was extremely unusual in such cases and entirely due to Alec having had legal representation.

On a Monday in early February 1986, at 09:00, Alec and Ivy again dressed in their Sunday-best clothes and were met by one of us (JRV) outside the Commissioner's Court. This building, the Pass Law Court, has a hot air, since it is also the registry for Blacks to record births, marriages and deaths. Hundreds of people wait patiently to record their particular family event. Seated on plain wooden benches, they can be overheard, their voices interspersed with advertisement-type features with health messages. Passing through the waiting crowd, we found the Commissioner's Office, a small partitioned area extending from this waiting room.

The Commissioner's Court is not, strictly speaking, a court. The Commissioner sits in his office and decides what action should be taken. He is a Government employee and normally makes his decisions without either accused, friends or attorney present. Our Mr. van Maitz was on leave. We were introduced to his deputy, who was clearly pleased to see the accused, Alec, and one of us walk freely into his office. He checked his list of cases and politely told us that we "should have come yesterday", but showed no concern. Mike Hornon arrived late, just as the Commissioner's deputy had established that the relevant file had not been transferred to his office. We were to spend most of the morning searching for the file.

Initial enquiries in the Magistrate's Court led us to the Magistrate's Office. In this large office the public, the South African Police and the attorneys communicate with the court officials seated behind a bench. It has the plain character of Government offices worldwide. Several desks were occupied by staff lingering their way through files. Another desk was occupied by three young, white ladies who talked, sipped orange juice and ate crisps. The room was filled with cupboards full of identical files and on the walls hung one 1984 and two 1985 calendars. A frantic, but short-lived search for Alec's file and perhaps it was with the Pass Law Court.

Officials in the Pass Law Court denied having the file and insisted that they would not receive it. The Prosecuting Attorneys also knew nothing of its location. To help our search, the official of the court (which was not sitting) came back with us to the Magistrate's Court Building. Here we tried numerous offices and court rooms, but always ended up at the same room. This time the officials telephoned the Commissioner's Court, searched again and concluded that the file was missing. With the file now deemed missing, we returned to the Deputy Commissioner. Ivy, who is a particularly large lady and was wearing well-worn shoes, complained that she could not keep up, but all this walking would make her slim again.

The Deputy Commissioner received the news of the missing file without surprise. In the knowledge that the passport (needed by the South African authorities to prove South African nationality on deportation) was also but separately lost, he suggested that the case could be dropped, but would require a written statement from the Pass Law Court, stating the loss. He also agreed to validate Alec's papers by providing a pass, when he obtained a new passport, and authorised the return payment of the bail money.

At the Pass Law Court we asked for the written statement, but were informed that, since it was not they who had lost the file, they could not issue it. After a fifteen minute wait for attention, we also queried the status of Alec's bail at the court cash office. Here we were told that it could only be paid at the court where the case was heard.

Again we trudged back to the room in the Magistrate's Court. We arrived at the same time as the crisp-eating ladies (who had been absent on our last visit) arrived back with cans of Coca-Cola, which they proceeded to consume. The official we had seen written again dealt with our enquiry, but was clearly nervous about issuing a written statement saying a file was missing. He told us they would search for it. Twenty minutes later, the crisp-eating ladies were now involved in conversation about make-up. Alec's file was found and given to the accompanying Clerk of the (Pass Law) Court. With the agreement of the official, he accepted that Alec's bail could still be returned and the file was endorsed. After a short wait in a queue outside the adjacent office the R400 bail was safely returned to Ivy. The Clerk of the Court took the file away - we presume to the Commissioner. He also suggested that we should not return personally to the Court. In this manner we left the Pass Law Court case came to an end. The bail money was soon returned to Ivy's Building Society account and to the employers' daughter. However, Alec remained illegal. Indeed, he now had no passport, as well as no Johannesburgh pass.

On a Thursday in early February, Alec went alone to the Zimbabwe Trade Mission in central Johannesburg. He returned with the depressing news that they would not give him a new passport unless he remained home. The Zimbabwe authorities are officially against their nationals working in the "racist south". To get a new passport Alec would have had to travel home crossing to Botswana and then Zimbabwe illegally (the South Africa/Zimbabwe border is fenced, and mined on the South African side). This would be the same route and method he normally took, but would involve greater risks, since land mine explosions in the border area had forced an increase in border patrols by the South African Defence Force.

The following day Alec, Ivy and one of us (JRV) returned to the Zimbabwe Trade Mission to try again for a new passport. Consistently the answer was no; the officer explained that the South African police should not lose passports and had to provide a written statement explaining the circumstances. The probability of obtaining such a document was low. So Alec left the Zimbabwe Trade Mission stateless and illegal, but "free".

During the course of events Ivy had indicated that she would like to marry Alec, and he had also considered it, but had no Lobola (in reverse dowry paid to the bride's parents). Under the laws applying to Africans in South Africa, polygamy is legal - the husband is allowed several wives, but the wife only one husband. Ignoring Lobola, Alec and Ivy decided to get married, in the hope that, once married, Alec would be eligible for a Transkei passport. (Although Ivy lived in the Ciskei, she had always had a Transkei passport - not an uncommon anomaly.) At their initial visit to the Registry Office they were told to wait three weeks whilst Ivy's papers (but not Alec's) were checked.
In the three weeks awaiting their marriage ceremony, Ivy, who had long ago fallen out with Alec's employers and been told to leave, moved from Jan Smuts Street to similar servants' quarters in the northern suburb of Sandton. They are, however, able to see each other at weekends and occasionally during the week.

Alec and Ivy married and lived without further harassment, although apart except on weekends and holidays. Both of us (JRV and KLW) left South Africa shortly after these events, but for separate and unrelated reasons. Neither Alec nor Ivy has written to us, and we know nothing of their history since mid-1987. But we do know that without similar help from white friends and a skilful attorney any repeat of the arrest would result in a far less satisfactory result. Alec was unique in having not been deported, and he was lucky.

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Roy Pateman

Although I have been travelling to the horn of Africa for many years, it was not until September of 1991 that I was able to visit Addis Ababa and Asmara. The differences between the two cities are very striking and help to illuminate for us the very different history of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Addis is still a city dominated by an occupying army - even though the presence of the mainly Tigreans speaking forces of the EPLF is by all accounts much less intimidating than that of the preceding regime of Mengistu. Although it was only three months after the EPLF forces liberated Eritrea, the only troops you saw on the streets of Asmara were lightly armed guards around the armories and police stations. In Addis, a car was parked from 1 am until dawn, and every night one or two people who violated the curfew were shot. By contrast, in Asmara on the morning of New Year Day in the orthodox calendar (1 Meskerem 1984) and also on Mohamed's birthday (September 20) the churches and/or Mosques were full of worshippers from midnight until dawn - when anyone not awake was jolted by a 21 gun salute.

There are important cultural differences between the two capitals. In Addis one cannot set a foot outside a car or hotel without being hassled vigorously by a host of beggars. In Asmara, the only beggars are small, orphaned children abandoned by the retreating Ethiopian army and its camp followers or elderly people rendered destitute by the privations of the thirty year war. And if more fortunate Asmara citizens see foreigners being importuned they will always assist these hapless souls. There is not much laughter in Addis - which struck me as a rather dour and brooding city - while in Asmara, dilapidated as it is after thirty years of neglect, the coffee shops, cinemas and bars radiate a happy and sunny Mediterranean aura.

Both cities face myriad problems - and many of Asmara's could be eased by greater cooperation from the Ethiopians, some of the Amharas among whom seem not to have realized that they have lost Eritrea for good. But there are some encouraging signs which promise a brighter less confrontational future. When the EPLF entered Asmara in May and took possession of the Central bank, they found the safes virtually empty. A phone call from Essays Aferorki, Secretary General of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, to his friend, Meles Zenawi, President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, expedited a transfer of funds from Addis. After the fall of Massawa to the EPLA in February 1990, the Ethiopian regime began to dismantle the university. Many departments were relocated in Ethiopia, and students, textbooks, equipment - even the plates and forks from the student canteen - moved from Asmara. The Ethiopian government has agreed that the equipment and books should be returned. By the time I left Asmara - one week before classes opened this had not been done. Most of Asmara's large scale industry - 29 factories employing some 15,000 people - had closed during the last months of the Dergue and the remainder were working at very reduced capacity. The Dahlak shoe factory had raw materials - plastics and binder imported from Germany - for two weeks only when I visited it in early September. The Asmara Textile factory was also running out of chemicals. I talked with Suleiman, the Eritrean Industries Commissioner - an EPLF supporter who had remained in Asmara throughout the rule of the Dergue - and as further proof of Eritrean ingenuity, he indicated that an inventory of chemicals available in Eritrea showed that with careful management and pooling of resources, some plants could remain working and some others - the most welcome being the brewery - might start up again. Two weeks before I arrived in Ethiopia, Ethiopian Airlines had restarted flights from Addis to Asmara. Negotiations were aided by the fact that many key airline staff are Eritrean including the General Manager and the Manager of Flying Operations. The flights operate efficiently and profitably - the turn round of the planes at Asmara was the swiftest I have seen. The next essential element of modern life to be revived will be the telecommunications system. There is no technical reason why one should not be able to phone Asmara from
Addis, Rome or Sydney; however the state-run, PITI communications, (Amhara) bureaucracy in Addis wants to get the best financial deal out of the Eritreans. The basic argument is: who gets to keep the Birr it costs to use the phones for international calls? But this technical problem will be solved in time. There is evidence of very amicable relationships between the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments. And that ordinary Ethiopians are starting to realise just what atrocities their former government perpetuated in Eritrea and Ethiopia. I talked with the only Amhara member of an Ethiopian delegation to Massawa; he was extremely shaken after seeing the devastation caused by Ethiopian planes. Also, the Ethiopian Minister of Defense was interviewed in prime time on TV over two successive evenings in Addis. He gave graphic details of the casualties Ethiopian troops suffered during seventeen years of war - amounting to nearly 1 million men - and of war crimes committed by some of the army.

As more and more Ethiopians are coming to accept that Eritrea is independent of Ethiopia, so more international agencies are beginning to set up separate offices in Asmara. The U.N. World Food Program and Norwegian Church Aid are the first two; UNICEF were setting up a branch as I left and it is expected that Save the Children Fund will soon move its Khartoum office to Asmara. As several hundred Italians are hoping to move back to Eritrea, it must be only a matter of time before Italy reoccupies its splendiferous Consulate. The American Charges d'Affaires, a number of US Senators and a British Third Secretary, resident in Addis, have already paid official visits to Asmara. Australia ought to follow.

Very different winds are blowing in Asmara and Addis. Whilst I am convinced that the Eritreans will vote for independence in the referendum to be held within the next eighteen months and then succeed in building a just and prosperous state, I am less sanguine over the prospects in Addis. However, prospects are infinitely more rosy than they were at the time of my last visit.

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ARMSCOR AND ALPHAR: AN AUSTRALIAN CASE OF SANCTIONS EVASION

Dave Cox

A journalist once perceptively noted that whilst the Hawke Labor government had not led the international sanctions campaign against South Africa, it had been among the leaders. Michelle Grattan's comments related to a time when increasing state-sponsored violence in South Africa led to a significant hardening of international attitudes towards the apartheid state. The Australian government, like many other western states, responded by promoting sanctions in an effort to bring the South Africa government to its senses. When juxtaposed to Australia's unwillingness to suspend bilateral trade and investment, the sanctions Australia did impose looked rather ineffectual. But Hayden and Evans denied the charge of hypocrisy by reference to the government's strict adherence to United Nations and Commonwealth resolutions. Thus critics of the Australian government's South Africa policy were required to argue for a unique rationale which would see Australia promote sanctions beyond the international community. But on one occasion the government established a position well beyond the general provisions laid down in the Commonwealth's Glenegles Agreement. In defence of this action Hayden cogently argued that while the government action was not a strict application of the Glenegles law it was nonetheless in keeping with the spirit of the Agreement.

With this precedent in mind the recent revelations of Australian chemicals being sold to the South African arms manufacturer ARMSCOR need to be reassessed. Documents leaked to the Australian Financial Review Weekly via an inside source at the Australian company, ALPHAR CHEMICALS (NSW), had sold 200KG of Strontium Oxalate to ARMSCOR via a subsidiary, SWARTKOP PRODUCTS, in early 1984. Australian Democrat Senator Siö Spindler raised the matter in the Australian Parliament in mid November 1991. In reply to Spindler's question the Minister for Defence Senator Ray claimed, "As strontium oxalate does not constitute a defence item, it does not fall under the Australian commitments under the UN arms embargo". Ray failed to mention, however, that the Commonwealth heads of government decided at the Nassau CHOGM to the strictest enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. As strontium oxalate is a colouring agent used in the production of tracer bullets it would seem farcical to argue that this substance does not constitute a defence item.

While the government will continue to argue that the initial sale - and a further two shipments in 1987 of one tonne each - of this chemical does not breach any law it is clearly an abrogation of this government's responsibility to its Commonwealth partners as it represents a direct contravention of the spirit of the agreement reached at the Nassau CHOGM in 1985. After all the sale was to the South African state-owned arms manufacturer ARMSCOR. The government should be reminded that as with the extension to the Glenegles Agreement the spirit is often more important than the law itself. Senator Ray's puzzling reply to a supplementary question from Senator Spindler in which he stated, "Next he [Senator Spindler] will be saying we cannot export boot polish because it may be used on troops' boots" demonstrates a certain insensitivity and a distinct lack of political acumen. There is a real difference between shiny boots and shining bullets. Black South Africans in the urban slums would, I suspect, be able to inform Senator Ray as to the utility of tracer bullets as would those who have fallen victim in cross-border attacks by South African security forces.

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* A.P.D., (Senate) 14 November 1991.
** Ibid.
ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH

Govan Mbeki, Learning from Robben Island: the Prison Writings of Govan Mbeki (London; Cape Town: Curray; Philip, 1991), xxx, 202 pp. £9.95 pbk.

P. Limb

This is a valuable addition to the literature on both the history and politics of the ANC and democratic movement in South Africa. It presents primary sources - written on scraps of paper, or dictated to those with minute writing skills, by Govan Mbeki, released just before Nelson Mandela. The writings, hitherto only seen by Robben Island prisoners, were used to educate and stimulate during their incarceration by the dictatorial apartheid regime. A brief preface by ANC-CPSA activist Harry Gwala, and an intriguing and perspicuous longer historical introduction by Colin Bundy enhance its readability.

The essays by Mbeki, unchanged from their original form, but only a fraction of prisoner materials, that which could be preserved, were written for fellow prisoners and not for publication. Yet they read well. The sections on the economics of Afrikaner power and African resistance, written about 1981-2 (which, as Bundy observes, predicated the work by O'Meara on Afrikaner capital) are remarkably detailed, dissecting fractions of capital, and the barriers to a black bourgeoisie, stressing the need for as broad as possible an alliance against apartheid. Mbeki's readings for business and economics courses undertaken whilst in prison are put to good use in this wide ranging survey, which includes the rise of Afrikaner capitalism, monopoly capitalism and cycles, economic history of South Africa, movements in African real wages, and comments on who benefits from apartheid. The sections on political strategy are a useful source about the inner working of the ANC. A real aphorism for National Liberation. Also included are obituaries of Ruth First and Moses Mabida, and Mbeki's defiant reply to P.W. Botha's demand for unprincipled release.

Mbeki asserts that

When Inqindi [ANC] was formed, all strata of African society took part: the middle class led by the intellectuals, the peasantry represented by chiefs and their amaphakathi [councillors], and the working class consisting of the then urbanised Africans. In the period before 1920 - the working class took an active part. The presence of men like Letshuza, who was arrested in a worker's strike in 1917, in the executive ... cannot be ignored.

He claims that in 1923 he attended SANNC "meetings and concerts ... among peasants in the southern Transkei." If these recollections are accurate they raise an important point: the multi-class nature of a movement, as opposed to a party. Of course Mbeki was also interested in confirming ANC tradition, but the points have to be examined. The issue is not that the ANC was all things to all people, but simply that it represented or articulated all strata of Africans. He acknowledges leadership was provided by intellectuals but "it was a people's organisation ... we must not allow weaknesses of organisation to obscure this fact" (p. 127).

For such comprehensive essays to have been created within the stark confines of Robben Island is nothing short of remarkable, and eloquent testimony to the dedication of Mbeki and his fellow prisoners to the need for continual education, both as a principle and in the apartheidism, and as a viable strategy to boost morale and skills. Some of the essays are sourced - others not - for reasons of island security (the prisoners did not want to spark searches for their concealed texts).

Bundy, with access to interviews of Mbeki and relatives, reveals many essential facts of his life history. Born in 1910, Mbeki met radicals Eddie Roux and Max Yergan at Fort Hare where he studied to be a teacher. Resistance to the Herero Wars and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia also formed his beliefs, and he joined the ANC in 1935. This may have also been due to the influence of ANC radicals such as Edwin Motlatsane, who became a close friend. He declined to join the CPSA at this stage due to differing strategic ideas - feeling that "we cannot organise on the mines. We must go and organise in the rural areas."

The young teacher was quickly baptised into worker politics - working in a newsagency he was sacked for trying to organise a union, and after graduating was sacked from teaching for political activity - a not uncommon state policy which tried to quarantine intellectuals from Congress. He attacked efforts to deliberately import capitalism "into the African territories - any attempt to destroy the people's culture is no less than a declaration of that most iniquitous system" (1959, pp. xi-xii). Mbeki became editor of Territorial Magazine, later Inkandla ya Bantu, until replaced for his radicalism in 1944, and was also a co-editor of the left-wing Guardian. He was involved in radicalisation of rural areas in the 30-40s, active in the Transkeian African Voters Association, Bunga, and the Transkei Organised Bodies, but the ANC was unable to tap this rising rural militancy. In 1953 he was again dismissed from teaching in Ladysmith, for aiding coal miners. He became a highly successful ANC leader, mobilising workers and peasants in Port Elizabeth and Ciskei areas, and wrote The Peasants Revolt in the 1960s Randfontein revolt. Also active in MK, Mbeki was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 with Mandela and Sisulu. On Robben Island he maintained his pedagogic and political skills, and the ANC "re-established itself as a political organisation" inside prison walls.

"Most people when they came to Robben Island were at about [standard 8] level, and by the time they left they were doing degrees" - an achievement due in no small part to Mbeki.

That some of the material or views may have dated is acknowledged, but much has not. All recall the issues debated in the essays still have great relevance today: what caused apartheid; who benefits from the system, who are the victims; what should be done to change things for the better. General readers and scholars alike should find this an interesting and rewarding book, both from an historical angle, and for its political and economic analysis of South African colonial capitalism.

University of Western Australia
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Peter Limb

There is an obvious danger in assigning a single scholar to encompass a whole continent, especially when that continent is Africa, and this is one of several attempts to review due to its unevenness. The sections in which Freeman-Grenville specialises, Swahili culture and history, are finely done, some of the latter sections fall away into political bias of a tendentious kind. Perhaps I am over-critical, but not alone in the wish to raise the standard of African reference infrastructure.

The polemical texts first. He singles out and attacks Nkrumah, implying his demise was achieved by "the people." 142 Yet has nothing to say about a legion of later leaders. His account of colonialism gets off rather lightly, to say the least. Instead we are fed a red-herring: the most marked element in African politics since 1960 has been the extent of the influence of the U.S.S.R." (p.126) Apart from this (unintended) exaggerated praise, it doesn't say much about de-colonization or the creation of a valid generalization across the whole continent. He is quite paranoid about the "tide of Marxism-Leninism" which persists in Africa, in the spectre of Namibian and ANC plans for nationalisation. South African governments have implemented many nationalisations: ISCOR (steel), ESCOM (electricity), railways, etc. And with half the page taken up with this electrifying stuff it leaves very little space for other political issues. The UDF, ANC, AZAPO, SA Council of Churches... are entitled to be taken seriously in a work claiming to be "an authoritative account of 5000 years of African history." The texts are too short to develop meaningful debate, so that sweeping statements appear as authoritative. A few pages of footnotes and bibliography would not have gone astray.

But there are more faults. Coloureds have no quotation marks to note its offensive nature, it is the Republic of South Africa, but just plain old Zimbabwe or Namibia or whatever. Apartheid was not a pure, evil, for, of course, it was practised in the Ottoman Empire, and anyway, "the dismantling of apartheid can not be reversed." There is no mention of the lack of the vote, of democracy in South Africa. The Bantustans in text and maps are treated as independent or self-governing republics - without specific mention of their lack of international recognition. Further the "creation of Bantu homelands and of autonomous black states was an attempt to escape from the dilemma created by total African independence in other lands." (p.128) Yet, elsewhere, he notes the poverty of the Bantu "argues that an end must be made of a system reprehended by every moral and civilized nation." (p.88). Comments on the South African mining economy are quite out of date - and taste - it is suggested that "very much" of the mine labour is foreign, while the trend has been for a decline in foreign (e.g. from Malawi, Mozambique) sources and a turn to domestic labour; "persons of European descent have played an overwhelming part" (p.130) in organisation of the mines. Historical analysis on the effects of migrancy is largely ignored. Then there is the "Khoi-San (Bushmen and Hottentots)" (p.14) - which is it? Must the revolts of 1904-05 still be referred to as the Hottentot Revolt? The "Bantu" are comparatively recent arrivals in South Africa - the land was little occupied other than by Khoisan "people" - echoes of the Empty Land? Old myths are trotted out - By 1828 "Shaka" had conquered all [1] of Natal; the "Zulu... faced other African peoples, and with mutual hostility" (p.158); Bantu "had little institutional organisation" (p.86). There is nothing on the infecrance controversy. The four maps on South Africa 1652-1902 are Eurocentric.

Fortunately as time recedes Freeman-Grenville becomes more erudite and history, rather than dynasty propaganda, emerges. The sections on prehistory, Egypt and North Africa are informative and pithy - the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea is noted, and Hanno's remarkable voyage is approximated on a map. The Africa of Herodotus is reconstructed, trade connections in Graeco-Roman times surveyed and mapped, and the spread of religion extensively covered. Some choices are rather specialised: two pages each on monasteries in Judea and Egypt, the 1668 British expedition to Ethiopia, and on ships sunk off the Southern African coast in world wars. Azam is given due attention, there is an attractive reproduction of al-Idrisi's map of the world ca. 1154, and a large map of Cairo. A high point of the book is the section on eastern Africa, with detailed maps of Lamu and Zanzibar-Pemba (pp. 56-59) where the author gives us a glimpse of his expertise.

Trans-Saharan trade, the Moroccan conquest of Songhai, European settlements and colonisation are covered, with an interesting and detailed map of West African trading forts, and an extensive list of Christian missions from the 16th century. African states such as the Congo (18th century) are a special section on African traders in Kongo, Monomotapa, and Mosina as are the Slave Trade and Indian Ocean trade. A useful inclusion is a section on the growth of cities, highlighting Lagos, Dar es Salaam, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, and there are detailed maps of Beira, Togo, Namibia and Cameroon World War I. An informative map of African resistance makes up for a sketchy matching text.

Many of these themes are also covered in earlier atlases, at times in a more colourful way. In general the maps appear accurate, if colourless - black and white and a splash of orange. The over-use of relief shadings (justified by the author due to geography's role in history) makes some maps messy - I found it hard to read place-names on map 16 on Carthage - although others are clear.

In the modern period, South Africa is given undue attention, whilst states such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique are treated in a very cursory manner as its neighbours. Very little attention is paid to modern economic issues. This is good, old-fashioned, history. Of course writing text so concise to fit the demands of an atlas is difficult, although I feel this could have been an even better book with a little less bias and perhaps more cooperation with other scholars. The pre-1960 maps will benefit users, but a post-1960 atlas is now a priority if only to correct and broaden the incomplete sketch of contemporary Africa.

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Two distinct yardsticks increasingly are being used in international evaluations of African countries. The first is the extent to which a particular nation's manufacturing is internationally competitive. It follows that against the success stories of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, Kenya and similar countries in Africa are not exemplars but relative failures.

The second yardstick measures the capacity of African countries to 'feed their own people' and stresses the importance of food self-sufficiency as the primary measure of national health. The standard has gained a common-sensical importance in recent years out of the impoverishment which has followed a series of droughts. This collection purports to deal with the second category of countries, though whether Zimbabwe and Malawi deserve to be lumped in with Ethiopia and Mozambique as nations where food shortages have been regular, even endemic, is another matter altogether. The volume gives the Asianisation of African studies a new twist: rather than comparing the food-short with food-exporting nations on the continent, output from the most populous Asian nation-states, excluding Japan, is invoked to show the relative failure of agriculture in selected African countries.

The collection has been published for the African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development (ACARTSOD). After a brief Introduction by Duri Mohammed, the Executive Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and based, Tripoli-based, Centre, there are six essays of differing lengths by five academics working at the Universities of Dar es Salaam, Khartoum and Addis Ababa.

Nationalism and state reformism, the principal pillars of the collection, are given the most explicit espousal in Part I ('Rural Development Strategies and the Food Question in Africa'), commencing with a chapter titled 'Theoretical Framework'. Issa Musoke, author of the three essays which comprise the first part, identifies international capital, European settlers and colonial administrations as the trio of forces which 'underdeveloped' pre-colonial... sophisticated, militarily strong, politically able and economically viable civilisations' (p.22), creating dual economies in which the indigenous population was proletarianised and also formed as an impoverished peasantry. Musoke concentrates largely upon the three contemporary nation-states of Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Malawi for empirical material to illustrate the standard propositions of dependency. Thus, for instance, the deadly trio subjected a pre-colonial Swazi mode of production (p.25), to a state of under-development which has survived in the formation of a post-colonial, independent nation-state.

For Musoke, a shift in targets largely marks the passage from colonial to post-colonial (Chapters Two 'Capitalist Penetration and the Underdevelopment of African Peasant Agriculture; Three 'Approaches to Rural Development and the Food Question'). Increasing inequality, especially when European settlers held large farms employing Africans as wage workers in colonial Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is a particular focus in Musoke's second essay. The third, which deals with the post-independence periods in Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Malawi, replaces European settlers as the object of attack with state officials. Rural development schemes, funded by flows of money capital from the World Bank, the EEC and African Development Bank, have been subverted by bureaucratic qualities implicit in their formulation.

Musoke's essays, as well as the entire collection, are underpinned by what passes as pragmatism these days. Because households attached to land have eternal qualities: 'the

Peter Limb

Cherry Gertzel is well known in Australian development and African studies, is the author of numerous books and articles, especially on Uganda and Kenya, which she frequently visits and is also editor of this Newsletter, and is thus well-placed to compile a bibliography of recent works. She has done it well, creating, as the cover states, a work "intended as a guide to the materials available for the study of Uganda's recent history and politics."

2,662 clearly ordered entries focus on the post-1971 (the Amin, Obote and Museveni governments) period, although not without giving a fairly comprehensive pre-1971 survey, arranged by form or source of publication, rather than by subject (although there is a reasonable subject and key persons index). An informed and stimulating bibliographical essay presents a guide to the sources and raises research problems of the much-befuddled nation, such as the difficulty caused by limitations of empirical evidence gathered during the violent Amin period. Locally published journals are placed in their political context and their frequency established as precisely as possible. This is no ordinary bibliography - it is also a considered statement on the complexities and problems of research and publishing in Uganda. It captures the essence of the neglect of Africa by the mass media: the scanty attention to Uganda after the Amin years "it's not a reflection on the journalists, but on the owners and editors of their papers, and of the shift in their interests." (p.17) Gertzel reminds us that "The Uganda experience raises many moral issues, and demonstrates the extent to which development remains a normative concept." (p.24)

Although not an expert in Uganda, this reviewer did his best to find omissions, but was pleased to find even amongst the pre-1971 items most of the core works, and even less widely-known items such as that of Mukherjee, The Problem of Uganda (1956). The inclusion of only some pre-1971 items will invite criticism thus David Cohen's Historical Tradition of Buganda (1972) is included but not his 1986 Towards a Reconstructed Past. Other examples can be found. But of course, as already pointed out, this is primarily a post-1971 bibliography and should not be evaluated for its range of earlier material. Incompleteness is in the nature of bibliographies, and trying to encompass the bibliographical universe is a Sisyphean, and impossible task.

The sections of the bibliography are: 1. bibliographies; 2. government publications (further sub-divided by government or period); 3. works by international organisations (Amnesty International, FAO, Oxfam, etc.); 4. by political/human rights organisations and Makerere University, and pamphlets; 5. monographs; 6. Articles, papers, theses, newspapers and periodicals. All are well organised, clear, and importantly, partly annotated, adding to the book's research and library acquisition values.

Regarding the technical side of the book, it seems error-free and is attractively produced. However, the printer could read a book called The Mac is Not a Typewriter which advises, amongst other things, to never underline, (which is for typewriters) but to use italics. The result is that lines run into text below and look messy. The journal citations are not in italics or underlined, so text tends to become fuzzy. Filing titles such as The Evening Times under "T(he)" and not, as every librarian knows, under "E," is confusing.

The book is superior to other bibliographies in the field, and complements others on earlier history. Comparing Collision's Uganda (Chio World Bibliographical series; admittedly a more general series) and Scheven's Bibliographies for African Studies. Gertzel had many more items than both, having dozens of Ugandan periodicals and bibliographies, which Collision completely lacks. The articles section is sub-divided by periods, but the monograph section is, thankfully for ease of searching, a single sequence. The theses (including African) cited will aid the researcher, and the inclusion of lists of hard-to-locate Ugandan newspapers, books and pamphlets makes this a researcher or subject librarian's dream. One criticism is that there appears to be no list of indexed journals for the articles section. This section is strengthened by the inclusion of articles from East African journals, and has a wide inter-disciplinary range.

Highly recommended for all working on Uganda, and for tertiary and public libraries - mandatory for those collecting in African studies. Also very useful for researchers and libraries interested in studies of violence, the Amin years and development issues. This will undoubtedly become the basic bibliography for modern Ugandan history and politics. It is a credit that some researchers can find time to share the exhaustive citations they accumulate in fieldwork, and thus make the life of students, other researchers and librarians so much easier.

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Reid Library
Nedlands

John Moses

This exemplary German doctoral dissertation investigates the relations between British and German colonial officials in Africa prior to the First World War. The author's aim is to show that when the actual reports of the 'men on the spot' from both sides over the various episodes which gave rise to Anglo-German friction are dispassionately examined then an image of far greater mutual understanding emerges than hitherto generally believed. Indeed, Frohlich demonstrates beyond all doubt that the eventual Anglo-German conflict was not over colonial-rivalries as all but was ultimately the consequence of the German power elite's refusal to negotiate on naval armaments. In a word, the source of friction was located in the imperialist perceptions of officials in Berlin and London, and not at the periphery.

The research invested in this project has been extremely thorough. Frohlich evinces an intimate knowledge of virtually all the German and English language primary and secondary sources. For craftsmanship alone this doctoral thesis must have been awarded the highest grade. Both the organisation and the focus allow the argument to unfold in the clearest possible way. Indeed, for reasons in particular an English language version would be most welcome. It would also serve to augment the existing works by German Africa experts such as Horst Drescher (Rostock) and Helmut Bley (Hamburg/Hanover), both of whom have produced studies on German policy in South West Africa which are available in translation. As well, German perceptions of British imperialism are given more detailed treatment than in the otherwise excellent collection edited by Gifford, Louis & Smith on Britain and Germany in Africa (1967).

An additional virtue of Frohlich's work lies in its unconscious revelations regarding the perceptions of the more recent German historiography on Prussian-German imperialism. German historians of the 1980s in particular have perceived it as a task of some urgency to subject all aspects of Prussian-German domestic and foreign policy to a detailed scrutiny. In the case of colonial history this scrutiny requires the in depth study of the records of the imperial rivals, as in the present case. So Frohlich wrestles with the perceptions of British colonial officials as recorded in their various memoranda of the activities of their German counterparts in Africa. Overall, these perceptions are not unflattering of the German administrations, and that being the case, Frohlich concludes that "the Anglo-German antagonism" of the period was not exacerbated by colonial rivalry in Africa. Left to "the men on the spot" there would have been no Anglo-German collision in 1914.

Of course, none of the conclusions of this work are startling to anyone familiar with the many detailed studies of Prussian-German domestic and foreign policy and the nexus between them. Both the Fischer School based in Hamburg and the so-called "Kehrlites" (after the pioneering work of Eckhart Kehr 1902-1933) led by Hans-Ulrich Weber of Bielefeld had already established that the character of Prussian-German imperialism was really determined by "endogenous" factors. That is to say, unsolved internal German political and social frictions, in the main, led to the power elite adopting a particularly uncompromising stance in foreign policy, the "social imperialism" explanation. But even more conventional diplomatic history produces the same conclusions, provided one is prepared, like Frohlich, to take on board the respective mentalities. In this respect Frohlich has clearly been influenced by the monumental studies of Paul Kennedy on the Royal Navy, Anglo-German antagonism and the rise and fall of the great powers.

So, Frohlich's work reflects the concerns of his generation of German historians who demand a re-assessment of the 'Kaiserreich' and how it virtually self-destructed. The ability to integrate the findings of international scholarship is also a major feature of this endeavour. This said, Frohlich's book is, perhaps, primarily intended for German readership, but, as indicated, all students of European imperialism in Africa will find the work a mine of useful information and insights.

Particularly useful from this reviewer's point of view is the evaluation of the literature of the contemporary commentators on the Anglo-German problem. On the British side, Charles Sarolea had made the point that essentially the friction arose from conflicting political 'creeds', viz. Prussianism versus liberal democracy. The basic difference between German and British imperialists lay in the long term official goals for the subject peoples. The British could not resent the fact that Germany was striving to become a colonial power. It was the accompanying threat to British security that went with the building of battleships rather than cruisers that alienated Britain in the end.

Frohlich's study confirms this while at the same time supplying useful insights into the German experience in Africa.

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It is difficult at first to perceive how one might set about dealing with these two books in tandem. Achebe is the obvious link. But as readers the books make clear the link is deeper than this suggests. Beyond Hunger in Africa is the result of an attempt to evade the insidious control exercised by the stereotyped representations of Africa which we have developed in the last twenty years. As one might expect they are stereotypes which piggy-back on the old stereotypes, all the way back to the images of the Heart of Darkness. As this volume of speculative essays makes clear the authors seek to address the lamentable fact that 'famine has become the most common symbol of African life to the rest of the world, replacing other historically entrenched stereotypes'. (p. 12). This stereotype they argue is based on weak and misleading data, on short time horizons for evaluation and on overly simple methodologies, all processed by experts who reside outside Africa. As well as the inaccuracy and injustice of this image they are concerned that prevailing forecasts about Africa's future, extrapolated from current trends with no scope for unanticipated events, could become self-fulfilling prophecies, frustrating the marshalling of African creativity and energy for needed new directions. (p. 13).

Utilizing a deliberately wide-range of expertise from economists and political scientists to the leading Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe a group of African scholars have sought to establish what they describe as 'a unique compilation of current perspectives about the continent'. (p. 18). Part One consists of an analysis of the weakness of current forecasting of Africa's future. It argues that the 'conventional wisdom' forecasts summarized in Part Two are inadequate because they do not take into account likely 'surprise' events. Nor does a dialectic model suggest that they properly take into account that crisis and decline are likely to spur change and improvement. They themselves admit that many will consider the revised forecasts which they offer of Africa in 2050 as too optimistic, but in the 'big Lift' model they construct in Part Three, they offer a vision of what the next century may offer with an Africa recovering the strong growth of the immediate post-independence period and establishing its role as a cultural and economic force in the world.

More important, perhaps, than the likelihood or otherwise of these detailed and admittedly 'best case' conditions coming about is the point made early in the book that unless Africans can reverse the image of themselves in their own eyes and those of the world at large the chances of the perceived decline becoming an unavoidable reality is likely to greatly increase. For the authors of this volume the philosophy which underlies their project is summed up in the following way:

People do not discover their full potential unless encouraged and enabled to discover a sense of who they are, what they are worth and how these sentiments can be translated into meaningful social interaction. This is a universal observation but it has particular relevance to Africa, a continent whose culture has for centuries been despirituated. The self-esteem and self-confidence that turn human beings into agents of change will only come about as a result of great respect for and recognition of the role culture plays in society. (p. 6)

In the second of these two books Simon Gikandi has written what literary scholars will have to regard as the most sophisticated and thorough study of Achebe to date, supplementing the excellent work of David Carroll's recent updated study by relating Achebe's work to wider concerns of representation and ideology.
Rockefeller Fellowship for Cameroon Study

An ANU anthropologist has won a Rockefeller Foundation research fellowship for a collaborative study of women from one of the world's shrinking tropical rainforests.

The fellowship, valued at US$59,920 and tenable in 1992-1994, was awarded to Dr Caroline Ifeka, a senior lecturer in the ANU's Department of Prehistory and Anthropology in the Faculty of Arts.

In association with Cameroonian anthropologist Dr Jean-Felix Loung from the Institute of Human Sciences at Yaounde, Dr Ifeka will conduct ethnographic field research on status and fertility differences among women hunter-gatherers, cultivators and logging camp workers in the tropical rainforest of the southern Cameroon, a Francophone state in West-Central Africa.

Dr Ifeka said the object of her study was to investigate the impact of ecological and economic changes on diet, infant mortality, women's education and income and the consequences for fertility in sub-Saharan Africa's last remaining 'wet' tropical wilderness.

She will look at questions relating to local practices, such as whether hunter gatherers' use of lactation-promoting plants extends birth intervals, and therefore lowers fertility; whether inferior nutrition of non-sedentary hunter-gatherers means they seek to rear more children to compensate for higher infant mortality; and if the small number of literate cultivator/ logging camp women rear healthier children, and decide to limit their family sizes as child mortality falls.

The research will be carried out by scholars in Australia and in the Cameroon.

Subject to funding, Dr Ifeka said that her research would be expanded to investigate the impact of logging on endangered primates, principally the lowland gorilla.

[From ANU Reporter, October 1991]

A Short List of Hard-to-locate Reference Works on Africa compiled by Peter Limb

[Given the difficulties of locating many of the reference works on Africa in Australia, this list of some of those held in the Reid Library, University of Western Australia, may be useful to researchers. ed.]


University of Western Australia
Reid Library
Nedlands.
Research in Uganda and Tanzania: some notes on obtaining research permits and access to libraries and archive collections

Liz Dimmock

Obtaining research clearance is a time consuming but necessary part of doing research in Uganda and Tanzania. Despite starting the process eight months before leaving for my research trip, I arrived in each country without the necessary documentation.

In Uganda research in the humanities proceeds through the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) to the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology, but it involves other government departments including the Office of the President. The referral from one department to another adds time to the process, but is supposedly speeded up if the applicant attends in person. I visited one office thirteen times, sometimes making progress, sometimes not! This lengthy procedure fortunately did not delay my research. Letters of introduction to various officials and a letter that I could have shown to army or police personnel had I been challenged enabled me to do the things that I wanted. The actual "permit" was issued the week before I left to come home.

Affiliation with MISR as a Junior Associate is given to postgraduate students. This costs US$200 and entitles you to use the library and the guest house at Makerere. The library houses a large archival collection in the African section. This is reasonably intact, and all that I used was in a good state of preservation despite the horrendous state of the library building. Rainwater drips through the roof and ceilings, and barred wire barricades separate different sections. As I was leaving in June, rehabilitation of the building was commencing; but years of neglect in the maintenance of the book collection will not easily be recoverable. Hours of opening in term-time are normally from 9 a.m. until late evening, but from February to May in 1990 there were no undergraduates on campus, and hours were much shortened.

Using the guest house at Makerere is advantageous. It provides cheap good accommodation and a friendly atmosphere. The cost per night with meals is around US$10. There was even running water in the taps most of the time that I was there. The university is itself within walking distance of the city centre, and frequent microbuses (matatus) ply between the city centre and all places in and around the city and further afield.

The other main archival source that I used was that of the Church of Uganda. Some Church archives have been deposited at Makerere. At Namirembe, the Provincial headquarters of the Church, there is a large body of mainly unsorted archives. A letter of introduction was necessary to pursue this. A single windowless store-room houses the collection. Shelves around the walls go up to the ceiling but in the middle of the room tables, cupboards, shelves, even the floor are covered with piles of files, books, loose papers and packages. There was little order, except for a group called "Bishops' files", which had been stored in green boxes of uniform style in the 1960s. These alone had a labelling system which was useful in finding material. To reach the highest shelves you clamber onto tables and get coated with layers of dust and cobwebs. The collection is dry and reasonably well preserved, though insects have nibbled into some of the older nineteenth century material. It is, however, extremely difficult to use because of the lack of classification. Namirembe is about 2 km from Makerere.

For research clearance in Tanzania the paperwork is overwhelming. Fifteen copies of the application form, curriculum vitae and detailed research proposal have to be sent to the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (commonly known as UTAFTITI). Daunting as this may seem, the clause which says applicants "should not arrive before receiving a letter... that clearance has been granted" is more discouraging. I arrived without clearance, but found the greatest courtesy and assistance at UTAFTITI. Here I made only two visits to the office before getting the clearance that was needed. An official fee of US$200 was payable.

Dar es Salaam is a far more difficult city for the research student than Kampala. The UTAFTITI offices are 8-10 km from the city centre, the university about 15 km. There is no accommodation for visiting students on campus. Hotel accommodation is expensive, but the Lutheran guest house in the centre of Dar provides good accommodation for about US$10 a night. Public transport is hard to use. There are no matatus here. Buses are always overcrowded. Between the city centre and the university two buses are required, and the journey takes more than an hour. The stifling heat and high humidity are exhausting. Expectations of what you will accomplish in a day need to be reduced.

The library in the university has a large collection of Africana material. The student signs in and out of this section and has direct access to much of the material, including theses. Photocopying can be arranged, but books are not allowed out of the section.

I made useful contact with a women's-studies group in the Institute of Development Studies and was able to attend one of their meetings. But in general it was frustrating tracking down contacts. Three public holidays during the two week period I was in Dar added to the difficulties!

Dodoma is reached by air, train or "luxury" overnight bus, with booked seats and no standing passengers. Here I visited the headquarters of the diocese of Central Tanganyika. The archives contain log books of some mission stations dating from the 1890s, a veritable treasure house. But sadly there are gaps in the collection. The Bishop's secretary, and other staff, were extremely helpful, giving me free access to the archives, allowing some material to go out for commercial photocopying, and arranging for me to meet many people. There is a Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) conference centre in Dodoma which has excellent accommodation.

Doing research in Uganda and Tanzania is not simple or straightforward. I owe thanks to many people for smoothing the way through the complicated procedures, and advising me in matters concerning transport and accommodation.

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Research in South Africa

Khas Woldring

I visited South Africa and Botswana in March, April 1991 as part of my study leave.

I concentrated my research on industrial relations, changes in management attitudes and practices as well as on proposals for constitutional change.

In this period there was little progress towards constitutional talks but the ANC published its well-drafted Discussion Document which contains the principles underpinning and an outline of the ANC proposals. The government moved away further from the concept of group representation and opted for federalism. Industrial relations, management attitudes proved to be an area which yielded a wealth of information however. This provided insights into surprisingly positive developments which suggest economic progress and hope.

I talked with several politicians and senior administrators, ANC officials in Cape Town, Johannesburg as well as with union organisers in Johannesburg. I visited several university faculties of politics as well as of management and of business including the University of Cape Town, Rhodes, Witswaterand, the University of Durban-Westville. I also had discussions with the editors of the Weekly Mail and The Star.

A recurring theme during the visit was that the South African economy is in serious trouble and that any future government needs to address the gap between economic and population growth urgently. In practical terms the emergence of a strong union movement and of new participative management practices in the 1980s augur well for productivity growth. I studied a number of examples of firms which have set important examples involving workers in their decision-making processes and adopting a lead of social responsibility not experienced earlier. The emphasis on the rapid development of management potential and new styles of management is heartening. Not surprisingly, human resource managers and industrial relations specialists are in great demand and have become the main advisers to corporate management. As to economic models the three options are: centrally-planned economy, the neoliberals and the social market models. The most likely outcome of the transitional processes, I believe, is a relatively de-centralised state (one could say a de facto federation) in which tripartism, (government, employees and unions) will be an enduring and dominant feature with organised labour playing an increasingly important, semi-independent role.

Lismore
December 1991.

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Africa Research Projects funded by The Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies

The Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies is currently funding three African projects.

Pen Hetherington, University of Western Australia, History Department,
Scott MacWilliam, Curtin University Social Sciences, and
Joan Wardrop, Curtin University Social Sciences,

have been awarded research grants by The Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies.
[See the item on the Centre itself in News and Notes.]

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Publications from The Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies

Indian Ocean Review v. 4 no. 2 June 1991 carried articles on the Mozambique channel, Charles Darwin at the Cape of Good Hope, and the city of Mombasa. Available from: Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia 6009.

Also from the Centre,

Occasional Paper No. 4, Land Relations and Conflict in Eastern and South Africa, by Jan Testerink, (AUD $5.00 inc. postage)

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New Australian African Magazine

Africa News is published in Melbourne and its second issue, July-September 1991, is available for $3, subscription $20 for 6 issues. From: Africa News, 7/14 McChesney Rd., Vermont, 3133, Vic. The first issue included a full page advert for the AFSAAP directory, and the call for papers at the AFSAAP conference. Short items of news from countries as diverse as Algeria, Angola, Ghana and South Africa, and longer articles on apartheid, immigration problems of Africans, sports and culture make this an interesting publication which deserves support.

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Australian Africa NGO links: cooperating for development

Janet Hunt

Australian non-governmental aid organisations are involved in two aspects of development cooperation - overseas projects and advocacy, campaigning and education work in Australia.

1. Overseas Projects

Australian NGOs currently send approximately $120m overseas for development work. Of this, some 35-40% goes to Africa and particularly to Ethiopia, Eritrea, Tigray and Mozambique, with the next focus largely on Southern African (SADCC) and the other countries in the Horn of Africa. At present, according to the ACFOA data base, over 30 different NGOs are involved in providing assistance to Africa.

Globally, international NGO funding to Africa amounts to around US$1.5 billion per year. In Sub-Saharan Africa, where most is directed, this represents half of all private capital flows. Significantly, NGO funding is in the form of grants, not loans. NGO contributions contrast vividly with the transfers from Africa to the IMF of $600 million per year since 1986.

NGOs are used by AIDAB as a channel for official aid to Africa in four main areas:

1. Emergency relief and refugees $27.5m
2. Special Assistant Program for Southern Africa, SAPSA (N) $4.4m
3. Southern African NGO Program (SANGOP) $1.4m
4. AIDAB NGO Cooperation Program $2.8m (32% of the ANCP)

Small amounts go through:

5. Country Programs $105,000 Namibia
6. WID Fund 5 out of 20 projects $101,000

Emergency Relief and Refugees

The largest amounts have gone through the Food Aid Working Group, a consortium of four agencies (Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, Australian Council of Churches, Australian Catholic Relief, Community Aid Abroad). For example this group channelled over $7m in 1990/91.

SAPSA

SAPSA funding is primarily in the area of education and training and more than one quarter through one agency, APHEDA, (the overseas aid arm of the ACTU) who work closely with the ANC (assisting for example with the returnees program, the ANC school in Tanzania). SAPSA formerly included Namibia, when it was SAPSAN.
There have been several television documentaries made by or for NGOs screened on prime time television eg: on Ethiopia and Mozambique.

Mr. Hawke and senior members of the Canberra Press Gallery recently visited a World Vision project in Zimbabwe; Fred Hollows, Australian of the Year has worked with NGOs in promoting long term development aid to Africa through fund raising and education programs at the popular level.

Problems and Issues

The image of Africa is a major problem which NGOs recognise but to which they are aware they have contributed - an image of a continent in permanent crisis, with starving millions totally dependent on international assistance to survive.

NGOs are well aware that this image is far from the truth and have resolved to do something about it. ACFOA is planning a major education campaign in 1993 to focus on:

- development rather than disaster relief;
- reasons for hope - what Africans are doing for themselves and what possibilities there are for real, long-lasting change;
- the interconnections between Australians and Africans and the benefits of working together on solutions.

We are also working with an international contact group following up UNPAAERD with some international campaigning. I hope members of this Association will join with us in this effort in the best ways you can.

Canberra
December 1991
Intra-African Book Support Scheme launched

A new book donation scheme financially supported by the donor organizations Charity Projects (UK) which raises money through the Comic Relief appeal, and DANIDA (Denmark), and jointly administered by the Ranfurly Library Service and African Books Collective Ltd., will ensure that henceforth the books from 20 African publishers will get on the shelves of twelve major academic libraries in Africa. Libraries who thus far have been unable to purchase African books published outside their own countries because of the chronic foreign exchange constraints.

Comic Relief has donated a sum of 50,000 for the purchase of some 400 backlist titles published between 1987 and 1989/90 by member publishers of African Books Collective (ABC). These will be provided to each of the twelve recipient libraries by Ranfurly Library Service. And DANIDA has given a grant of Dkr.200,000 (ca.17,000) to supply the same libraries with one copy of each new and forthcoming title published by ABC member publishers and distributed by ABC; each library will receive approximately 120 new titles over the next twelve months.

This is probably the first time that a significant component of African-published material has been included in a book donation scheme, thus ensuring that students and scholars in one part of Africa can gain access to the scope and vitality of African publishing from other parts of the continent. The backing of the Intra-African Book Support scheme by two donor agencies, and the support to purchase books from African Books Collective member publishers for subsequent shipping and donation to select recipient libraries in Africa, aims to provide practical support on three fronts:

First, it will help to overcome book starvation in Africa. (It is hoped that other donors will follow the lead taken by Comic Relief and DANIDA, so that the scheme can be extended to additional universities, and also to major public and national libraries in Africa.) Second, to promote an intra-African flow of books, albeit at this time via Oxford, England! It is recognized that, in the long term, it would obviously be desirable to base such an operation in Africa. However, the obstacles of infrastructure and immense communication problems to providing any such service between different countries in Africa, are insurmountable at the present time. Meanwhile it is simple, practical and efficient to promote the flow through ABC. Third, the funding of sales of books to Africa will help to generate much-needed turnover for ABC - and that means supporting autonomous African publishing, and hard currency sales earnings for African publishers.

The Ranfurly Library Service is Britain's largest book aid charity. It is an independent voluntary organization, which works in partnership with people and organizations in over 70 developing countries to provide relevant books for their needs. Sara Harrity, RLS's Director, says 'we are delighted to have made some progress with the funding of this project since for the first time it will enable RLS to make a positive contribution to addressing the root cause of the book famine in Africa, by supporting the African publishing industry.'

Intra-African Book Support Scheme

List of beneficiaries/recipient libraries in Africa:

Ethiopia: Addis Ababa University Libraries; Ghana: Balme Library, University of Ghana; Kenya: University of Nairobi Libraries; Malawi: University of Malawi Libraries; Mozambique: Arquivo Historico de Mozambique; Namibia: Academy Library & Information Service; Nigeria: Ibadan University Library; Sierra Leone: Fourah Bay College Library University of Sierra Leone; Tanzania: University of Dar Es Salaam Library; Uganda: Makerere University Library; Zambia: University of Zambia Library; Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe Library.

African Books Collective Ltd. Member publishers.


[Note: several more publishers were expected to be admitted for ABC membership during the course of 1991]
The Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies

On September 3rd 1980 the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, Mr John Dawkins, announced the establishment of an Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies (IOCP) in Western Australia. In announcing the establishment of the Centre Mr Dawkins noted that it would give "an Indian Ocean focus to Australia's efforts to promote peaceful conflict resolution and extend research into peace issues ... and will greatly expand Australia's peace and conflict resolution expertise". The Centre's Indian Ocean focus will complement the Pacific Ocean focus of the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University in Canberra with which it works closely in areas of mutual concern.

Until the end of 1995 the Centre will receive financial support from the Federal Government as a joint initiative of Mr Dawkins' ministry and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The Centre has also received financial support from the participating universities and Curtin University's Centre for Indian Ocean Regional Studies (CIORS). Given the Indian Ocean focus of the new Centre it has subsumed the activities and resources of CIORS whose quarterly publication, The Indian Ocean Review, had become the publication for the IOCP. The merger has strengthened the Indian Ocean focus of the new Centre which will continue the research activities undertaken and planned by CIORS. CIORS has provided the Centre with a network of multi-disciplinary Indian Ocean research expertise to assist in the pursuit of conflict resolution and peace in the region.

In 1991 Notre Dame University in Fremantle joined the Centre.

Aims of the Centre

The Centre's funds are used to promote research into issues affecting peace in the Indian Ocean region ranging from international relations to environmental and resource-related issues. The Centre is primarily concerned to encourage research into specific issues relating to peace, and in doing so to propose methods of conflict resolution facilitating more informed public discussion of matters affecting the cause of peace in the Indian Ocean region.

Peace research is a multi-disciplinary exercise aimed at contributing to the avoidance of war and the creation of peace. In order to do this it must encompass all issues which cause, or have the potential to cause, tension, conflict and violence within and between nations, and bring the different perspectives of a wide range of disciplines to bear within a rigorous research program.

Within this broad aim, the objectives of the IOCP are:

(1) to identify existing and potential threats to peace;
(2) to analyse and describe these threats to peace;
(3) to propose and develop ways to reduce threats to peace and bring about conflict resolution.

These objectives are being met by undertaking rigorous, multi- and inter-disciplinary research on peace issues, and providing research training in Peace Studies.

Although the Centre necessarily considers peace issues on a global scale, it also concentrates on developments in the Indian Ocean region which may be considered causes, or potential causes, of conflict between states and within states. These include maritime issues and Antarctica, environmental and development issues, political and strategic issues, social and cultural issues, and areas where there are pressing and sensitive matters affecting regional peace and the development of Australia's policies in the region.

Consistent with these objectives, the research program of the Centre has a broad multi-disciplinary perspective within three principle foci:

(1) Arms control and the geopolitical setting;
(2) Environmental, resources and developmental issues;
(3) Social justice, equity and the law.

Linking these foci is the theme of conflict resolution, mediation and negotiation which are an integral part of peace research.

Research and Education Program

The Centre encourages regional and extra-regional experts to visit Australia under a Visitor's Program. The Visitor's Program is directed primarily at bringing expert Visiting Fellows from, within the Indian Ocean region, to work on individual and collaborative research projects in Western Australia as a means of encouraging greater regional interaction at an academic and community level. Such Visitors are generally located within a nominated host department at one of the participating universities in Western Australia. The Program also involves experts from outside the region and operates in many instances in close collaboration with similar research institutions in Australia, most notably the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Within Western Australia the Centre assists researchers from all tertiary institutions to undertake inter-departmental and inter-disciplinary research projects.

Such assistance covers the whole range of support mechanisms needed for research and is an essential part of any funding agreement that reports on research findings are produced which will be accessible to any concerned individual, group or organization. The Centre welcomes applications for research assistance from individuals and teams in all tertiary institutions in Western Australia. Decisions on which projects to fund are made by the Advisory Board on the basis of appropriateness to achieving the regionally-defined aims and objectives of the Centre. To disseminate research findings the Centre has a regular publishing program based upon research reports. Also, to encourage public involvement in its activities the Centre sponsors seminars, workshops and public lectures by Visiting Fellows and researchers.

To increase further public involvement in the Centre's activities it is planning a one-year postgraduate diploma by course work and a Masters Program by thesis in Peace Studies to be organised through the School of Social Sciences at Curtin University in cooperation with The University of Western Australia. In addition University Extension at The University of Western Australia organises community outreach programs and uses its Summer and Winter Schools as forums for Visiting Fellows, researchers and speakers co-sponsored with the Centre.

Publications

The Centre has three series of publications: "Briefing papers", "Occasional Papers" and "Monographs". In addition the Centre publishes some material in cooperation with other institutions and publishing houses.
Parliamentary Library Seminar

The Parliamentary Library hosted a seminar on 7 November 1991, at Parliament House, Canberra, on the subject ‘The Road to Democracy? Political Change in South Africa’. The seminar was chaired by Senator Chris Schacht, Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, with Professor Donald Denoon serving as panel convenor. There were four speakers; Professor Norman Etherington of the University of Western Australia opened the seminar with a slide presentation overview of the social and economic changes in South Africa over recent decades; Victor Modise, former head of the African National Congress Youth and Student Section in Tanzania, gave an overview of ANC policies and Black political hopes for the future; Dr. David Dorward, La Trobe University, examined the socio-economic problems confronting a post-apartheid government and addressed a range of regional implications; Dr Gill Burke, Visiting Research Fellow, RSFS, ANU, presented a paper on problems confronting the South African gold mining industry. The panel presentations were followed by a lively discussion, including several observations from members of the South African embassy.

The Parliamentary Library broadcast the seminar on the closed-circuit television throughout the Parliament.

Asmara University Looking for Teaching Staff

The newly reopened Asmara University is looking for suitably qualified people to teach in Eritrea for periods ranging from one month to a year. Initially, the President, AndeBerhan, is looking for faculty to teach Natural and Applied Science, Engineering, Education, Economics, Accountancy, Agriculture, Public Administration, Social Work and Management. In subsequent years, faculty from other disciplines will be welcome. Details over travel and living expenses, together with stipends can be negotiated with the University.

This is a great opportunity for Australians to use their skills in training the future leaders of Africa’s newest nation. Living and working conditions in Asmara are extremely attractive; the city is only 50 minutes by plane from Addis Ababa and five hours from Rome.

Interested parties should send a full cv. and dates they could work in Eritrea, either to: Fesschaie Abraham, Coordinator of The Eritrean Relief Association in Australia, PO Box 2284, Canberra ACT 2601 (ph: Canberra 257 5458) or Roy Pateman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles CA 90024, USA.

Black South African Nurses Visit Australia

Inaugural Programme

Four leading black members of the South African Nursing Association, all with exceptional histories in executive and community and special unit nursing in black South African hospitals, arrived in Australia on 6 September for a four week training programme.

They were to visit Perth, Broome, Alice Springs, Adelaide, Sydney, and Canberra, seeing major hospitals and nursing services, community and Aboriginal health care facilities.

All women, they were Masadi Ramphele, Joyce Brenda Pooe and Thandi Sylvia Channe from Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, and Miriam Mashaaba from the Soweto Community Health Clinic.

Their visit heralds the beginning of a programme to be run by the Australian South African Training Trust (ASATT) for black South Africans.

Leaders in their fields of endeavour, recipients of awards include an environmentalist, two artists, an accountant who is also President of the black South African Surf Life Saving Association, an insurance executive, a company director from a large supermarket chain, two ophthalmologists to be trained by Fred Hollows, a community worker, six journalists, a hospital industry manager, technicians to work with Telecom and a Deputy Vice Chanceller of the University of Cape Town. They will travel to Australia over the next twelve months.

ASATT was established in 1990 under the auspices of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA). Its overall brief is humanitarian and practical, aiming to develop and enhance skills and black contacts within the new South Africa.

The Trust has the backing of the Australian Government. It was brought into existence as the need became obvious to develop and broaden black training as a vital key in the creation and stability of multi-racial, not discriminatory South Africa.

Funding for ASATT was approved this year by the then Minister for Trade and Overseas Development Dr Neal Blewett, on the basis that the Australian Government would provide establishment and operating costs over an initial two year period, with other Australian organisations and corporate groups providing service facilities and financial support.

Telecom has a foundation involvement in this extremely important education and trade oriented role. The ABC, Ansett, Qantas, Land Lease, TNT, Oxel Calibes, BP, Dulux Australia, and Greenpeace and the Holmes a Court Foundation have expressed a willingness to assist. The Minister for Education and Training, John Dawkins has expressed his support, and has offered assistance where practical.
Albertina Sisulu's Adelaide Speech:
The plight of Women and Children in South Africa

When Albertina Sisulu spoke in Adelaide at a meeting for women and again at a public meeting at Trades Hall, where her husband Walter was the main speaker, she spoke movingly of the plight of the women and children of South Africa.

She told us that during the 1976 student uprisings very many schools were burnt down, many of them by the police themselves. Most of them remain today just crumbling walls and rubble.

As a result a generation of children have been virtually untaught. Many times women have set up schools in their own homes and have tried to educate the children, but each they have been forced to close down because it is illegal to run unregistered schools. So the children remain untaught.

The women are trying to organise co-operative business enterprises and craft collectives, where people can be trained in various skills to help them survive economically, but the women themselves lack the necessary management skills to keep these facilities running satisfactorily.

Albertina therefore requested Australians to help provide funding so that women could be trained in these skills. She said that Australia had long been regarded as a strong ally in the fight against apartheid and that even now the Australian government was providing financial aid to pay the fares of exiled South Africans to return home to South Africa.

But she begged the mothers of Australia to help the mothers of South Africa to survive their appalling living conditions and to provide some hope for the future of their children. She said the women are thrice-oppressed. They are oppressed as women in society; as workers; and by their own men.

When Albertina talked of this latter struggle for women's rights at a parliamentary luncheon, where she was joined by every woman parliamentarian in the South Australian parliament, there was a gasp of amazement and some quick sums done, when she mentioned the numbers of men and women who are in the executive bodies of the African National Congress. It was clear that the percentage of women in parliament ANC positions is far greater than exists in the South Australian Parliament.

The women of South Africa have long shown a strength of purpose. While their men were away for long periods working in the mines, or in prison, they have kept the families going through conditions of appalling hardship. Albertina said that it is clear that it will still be a long time before life changes to any marked degree for the black population of South Africa. The women will keep doing as they have always done - struggling to overcome the immense obstacles of poverty and the apartheid system.

There is a very long way to go in breaking down apartheid before the oppressed people can feel that the change is 'irreversible' - the term used by governments around the world to describe the point at which they will lift sanctions. Albertina said that sanctions had been one of the main reasons that the breaking down of apartheid had begun. She begged her audiences to see that sanctions were not lifted or softened in any way until the oppressed people of South Africa decided that the time was right for it.

Irene Gale
Adelaide
September 1991

Ghana Educational Assistant Forum Inc.

Educational Assistance Forum (GEAF) has been formed to

- facilitate the collection and distribution of educational materials to educational institutions in Ghana;
- promote cultural exchange between Australian and Ghanaian educational institutions; and
- promote educational exchange between Australian and Ghanaian educational institutions.

We are looking for Australian academics and citizens who have worked in, or been associated with Ghana in any way and who would permit GEAF to use their names as sponsors or patrons on the organisation's letterhead for publicity and community support.

If you are interested in being part of GEAF, or knowing more about its objectives please write to us at the address below.

Dr. Kwame Asamudu
President
GEAF Inc.
PO Box 440
Belconnen, ACT 2616
Africa News from Western Australia

An Ethiopian Association Australia was formed recently and held its opening function, an Ethiopian New Year dance and African fashion show. It was well-attended and the performance of Ethiopian folk-dancing and costumes was stunning. Best wishes to the Association, who have been advised of the AFSAAP conference.

The visit to Perth of Walter and Albertina Sisulu in August was marred by flight problems, and about 300 people missed hear them speak at UWA. However their speeches to a breakfast gathering were inspiring and have been published in part in issue number 3 of the CARE magazine VIWA. This magazine-newspaper, which is a joint production of West and South Australian CARE (Campaign Against Racial Exploitation), is available from: WACARE PO Box 139, Mt Lawley 6050 for $20 for a year.

Zimbabwean and South African students at Curtin University have contributed articles to a cultural newspaper, The Bridge, published at the University.

Doug Pitney of the Education Department, UWA, has been collecting vast quantities of mainly maths textbooks (including full classroom sets of recent texts) to ship to Zimbabwe schools. He has been offered free storage space by a local firm. Anyone who can help please contact Doug at the University of WA.

Workshop on Public History

A Workshop on Public History will be held at the University of Witswatersrand, Johannesburg 17-18 July 1992, hosted by the History Workshop of the University State Museums will also participate. The main aim will be to reexamine representations of the past in South Africa. Anyone interested in participating should contact the Convener, Cynthia Kros, University of Witswatersrand, 2030 Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bethsheba Kilima, who holds a B.Com. degree from the University of Dar es Salaam and works for the Tanzanian National Bank of Commerce, arrived at Monash University earlier this year under AIDAB sponsorship. She is enrolled in the Masters program in Business Administration.

Also at Monash under AIDAB sponsorship is Edward Lugabinga. An economics graduate from Dar es Salaam, he works as an adult education project officer in the Tanzanian Ministry of Education. He is enrolled in the Masters program in Development Studies at Monash.

Adam Ashforth’s Oxford doctoral thesis has been published by the Clarendon Press under the title The Politics of Official Discourse in 20th Century South Africa. Adam was a tutor in African politics at Monash University in the mid-1980s. He is now teaching at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Richard Brown, formerly at the Hague, and who presented a paper on The Sudan at the 1990 Deakin Conference, has taken up an appointment with the Economics Department, at the University of Queensland.

AFSAAP NEWS

Minutes of Annual General Meeting held on 4 December 1991 at the University of Western Australia

Apologies for absence from the meeting were noted. Minutes of the previous AGM held at Deakin University in December 1990 were taken as read and accepted.

Treasurer’s Report

The Treasurer presented statements of the On-call and 30 Day Deposit Accounts. The statements accompany these Minutes. Discussion on finance led to recommendations: (1) Regarding the funding of overseas students and academic staff being brought to annual conferences, Pen Eatherington recommended that money should be raised within AFSAAP for this purpose. It was agreed this accounts should be sent to members, along with a request for donations for a fund which could be used for bringing overseas scholars from Africa to annual conferences. (2) A request for money to assist postage of maths books for Tanzania was fully discussed. A number of problems were raised. Are there procedures in place for handling the consignment when it reaches the docks at Dar es Salaam? Greater concern was expressed about the usefulness of the books in relation to secondary school syllabuses. A Resolution was eventually passed that $400.00 should be donated to hagilage costs, but that it should be conditional on the books being appropriate to the syllabus in Tanzanian schools. Peter Limb was to find out more. (3) It was agreed that the Association’s two accounts should now be merged as there is no longer a difference in interest rates.

The Treasurer’s Report was accepted.

President’s Report

The President reported on activities through the year in Melbourne. He referred to Paul Rich and his dynamic activity at Melbourne University; to the African Research Institute and the possibility of starting M.A. by coursework and Diploma courses in African studies; to the report of the Ecumenical Migalafan Centre on African residents in Melbourne; to the recent African film festival in the State Film Centre (since closed because of short fall of government funds) and the opening of new African restaurants in Melbourne.

A motion of thanks was expressed to Norman Eatherington and Pen Eatherington for organising the conference and especially for ensuring the participation of scholars from Africa. The discussion following this revealed that there had been many complications, especially in dealing with AIDAB. Bureaucratic wheels grind slowly, but AIDAB had provided major funding for which the Association is appreciative. A request from the floor asked for organisations of future conferences to encourage more African participation in paper giving. 6 out of 35 papers were given by Africans.

A motion to rescind the academic boycott of South Africa adopted in 1984 was discussed. A Resolution proposed by Cherry Gertsch, seconded by Deryck Schreuder, was passed unanimously. The full wording of the Resolution accompanies these Minutes.

A motion from the chair suggested that a letter should be sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade encouraging further involvement of the Australian Government in African affairs. This was supported unanimously. The wording of the Resolution accompanies these minutes. It was agreed furthermore that copies should be sent to other party leaders in the House of Representatives and to the OAU and other African organisations.
A motion was proposed from the chair concerning the East Timor delegation that had presented a petition to the Association at the Conference Dinner on the evening of 3 December. It was agreed after some discussion that the Petition which members of the East Timorese community expected to present to the Rt Hon. Kim Beazley who failed to attend as guest speaker, should be forwarded to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It should be accompanied by a letter from the Association asking the Government to support the East Timorese community in its requests.

Election of office bearers

The following were elected unanimously:

- President: Professor Deryck Schreuder
- Vice President: Dr. Peter Alexander
- Newsletter Editor: Dr. Cherry Gertzel
- Secretary/Treasurer: Ms. Liz Dimmock

1992 Annual Conference

Following phone calls with New Zealand members of the Association, the retiring President suggested that the next conference be held in Wellington in August 1992.

Liz Dimmock
December 1991

Resolution rescinding the Association’s 1984 Academic Boycott of South Africa

The following Resolution, proposed by Cherry Gertzel and seconded by Deryck Schreuder, was passed unanimously at the Annual General Meeting of AFSAAP on Wednesday 4 December, 1991:

In accordance with the Harare Declaration which agreed, inter alia, that

"people to people sanctions, namely consular and visa restrictions, cultural and scientific boycotts, restrictions on tourism promotion and the ban on direct air links should be lifted immediately in view of progress made in overcoming obstacles to negotiations and the need to give external support and encouragement to democratic anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa and to permit free interaction with them. The ban on air links would be lifted on condition that South African Airways (SAA) and other South African airlines proceed with appropriate affirmative action programmes."

This Association rescinds the Resolution against academic contacts with South Africa passed in 1984. AFSAAP also now urges its members to further, through academic contact, and the free exchange of ideas, the spread of non-racial and democratic ideals in South Africa and in the rest of Africa.

8 December 1991

Senator, the Hon. Gareth Evans, QC,
Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade
Parliament House
CANBERRA, ACT 2600

Dear Minister,

The African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) at its annual general meeting in Perth, Western Australia, on 4 December, 1991, passed the following resolution, enu.com. As Past President and chairperson of the annual general meeting, President elect and Conference Convener, we have been asked by our colleague to forward the resolution for your consideration.

1. This conference calls for the renewal of bipartisan recognition of the need for support, bilateral as well as multilateral, to the people of South Africa in their struggle to insure transition to a genuinely democratic South African state.

2. We welcome the agreement that has made the forthcoming all party talks possible. We recognize that this is no more than a stage in the transformation to a democratic state. However, we believe that ultimate success of this process is possible, not only with goodwill, but with the support of the international community.

3. We urge the Australian government and opposition to recognize the need for Australia’s continuing diplomatic and financial commitment to and support for the process of reform in South Africa.

4. We recognize also that the problems that face South Africa are an extreme manifestation of the problems which confront Africa as a whole. We regret the failure of the international community to give support to African states in their separate and combined attempts to establish democratic institutions.

5. We call upon the Australian government, as a member of the Commonwealth, as well as part of the international community, to continue to exercise a prominent role, not only in the support of the process of democratic reform in South Africa, but in the creation of a climate of security, equity, social justice and human rights in Africa as a whole.

6. We regret the failure of the Australian government to build upon its earlier and much lauded efforts in Namibia and the Horn of Africa.

7. We call upon the Australian government to commit a greater share of resources to development assistance, as well as relief aid, to Africa.

8. We regret the closure of Australian diplomatic missions in Africa, as an impediment to the development of commercial and cultural relations, the free exchange of information and inter-Commonwealth relations.
9. In the light of the strategic importance of the Horn of Africa, the continued presence of the headquarter of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, the impending referendum on the independence of Eritrea and its possible repercussions for the region, and the longstanding Australia aid presence in the Horn, we call upon the Australian government to restore its diplomatic post in Addis Ababa.

10. We call upon the Australian government and opposition to give bipartisan support for the restoration of a two oceans policy, thereby acknowledging the strategic significance, commercial potential and political importance of the Indian Ocean rim states, including those of Africa.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. David Dorward
Retiring President, AFSAAP, 1991

Professor Deryck Schreuder
President-Elect, AFSAAP, 1991

Professor Norman Etherington
1991 Conference Convener

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Statement December 1990 to 30 November 1991

AFSAAP S$: 30 Day Deposit Account

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Statement December 1990 to 30 November 1991

AFSAAP

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Balance AFSAAP 30th November, 1991  887.73